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MORMON SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

MSSA

Journal of the Mormon Social Science Association (*JMSSA*) is the official publication of the Mormon Social Science Association. We welcome papers from all social science disciplines, as well as work in other disciplines using a social science approach. We accept original research, synthetic reviews, and theoretical or methodological essays on topics relevant to all aspects of the Latter Day Saint movement.

We encourage submissions from students, junior scholars, and underrepresented voices in Mormon Studies. We will not consider papers simultaneously submitted elsewhere, or previously published work. The journal is atheological and nonpolemical.

All submissions are screened by the editor(s) or editorial board to determine their suitability for the journal. Papers deemed suitable are forwarded for peer-review. Subsequent to peer-review, papers may be rejected, returned for revision and possible resubmission, or accepted for publication.

All submissions must be accompanied by an abstract not to exceed 250 words. Abstracts should state the research question(s), identify basic methods, and summarize main findings. Footnotes should be used sparingly, and only for essential clarification. The journal conforms to the "author-date" citation system outlined in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition (Chapter 15).

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Introducing *Journal of the Mormon Social Science Association*

Rick Phillips, University of North Florida*

We are pleased to present the inaugural issue of *Journal of the Mormon Social Science Association*. This journal is the culmination of a dogged and lengthy effort to address the unmet needs of social scientists studying the Latter Day Saint movement in all of its manifestations, both historical and contemporary.

In 2014, the board of directors of the Mormon Social Science Association met at our annual meeting in Indianapolis, Indiana. At the meeting we discussed the need for a scholarly journal analyzing the Latter Day Saint movement using the theories and methods of social science.

Social scientists specializing in Mormonism publish in a variety of general and religion-themed journals, but these venues sometimes impose limitations on our work. For example, major journals in the sociology of religion are aimed at scholars working across the field, and thus articles on Mormonism must produce findings that are relevant for a wider audience. This is well and good, but what about papers with important but esoteric findings that are useful to scholars studying Mormonism, but not necessarily for those studying other faiths?

Moreover, when writing for a general audience, the uniqueness of Mormon theology and polity often necessitates digressions that are superfluous for specialists. Pausing to clarify terms like "priest," and "paradise" can be unwieldy. Explaining doctrines that are well understood within Mormon Studies—e.g., "exaltation" and "endowment"—can obstruct the flow of one's argument.

For these and other reasons, members of the Mormon Social Science Association—a scholarly society in its fifth decade—agreed to launch a new refereed journal tailored to our work. But the project was more easily conceived than realized. We wanted to produce an open-source journal that is freely available to the public, but we did not want to charge article processing fees. We also wanted control over the peer-review and editorial process. For these reasons, we were reluctant to partner with an established academic publisher. There would be nothing in it for them.

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These hurdles stymied the production of the journal until a benefactor stepped forward to fund the project. The University of North Florida in Jacksonville, Florida, also provided considerable support.

We are pleased to offer unrestricted, free access to this scholarly journal for all interested readers, and we look forward to offering more quality scholarship in subsequent issues. If you would like to help fund this project, you can join the Mormon Social Science Association, or donate to the MSSA here. https://www.mormonsocialscience.org/join-the-mssa/donate-to-the-mssa/

Journal of the Mormon Social Science Association

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Education, Religious Participation, and Conservatism Among Mormons in the United States

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Abstract. This paper examines the relationship between education and measures of religiosity, family structure, and conservative values comparing members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons or LDS) with the nation using the General Social Surveys from 1972 to 2018. Compared to the country at large, education is more likely to be associated with church attendance, marriage and child-bearing, and conservative values among Mormons. As a result, the LDS Church has a much higher percentage of members who attend church regularly, have been to college, and are conservative. Despite dramatic social change over the last several decades, the differential influence of education persists.

Secularization is a general process whereby religion becomes less salient in social institutions such as education, government, and medicine, and as a framework for understanding the world around us. But the phenomenon is multi-dimensional and is manifest differentially in different cultural contexts (Davie, 2013). To the degree that education is an indicator of secularization, evidence indicates that the process is complex. Data from the General Social surveys (GSS) in the U.S. conducted between 1972 and 2018 show a slight negative relationship between education and religious attendance (attendance drops by .01 times per month on average for each additional year of schooling completed). This negative relationship exists because religious groups with lower average education have higher average attendance (the correlation between average attendance and average education across Christian religious groups is -.21). But the education effect—based on fixed effect regression using major Christian denominations—is positive when averaged across groups. Attendance increases by .03 times a month on average for each year of schooling completed within Christian denominations. Moreover, getting a bachelor's de-

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gree is associated with a decline in religious belief, but there is a still an overall positive relationship between education and church attendance (Schwadel, 2016). Education may facilitate participation in formal religious activities. Hungerman (2014) reviews conflicting literature and finds that higher levels of education lead to lower levels of religious affiliation in Canada. This finding is consistent with GSS data showing that education has a larger positive relationship with non-affiliation (r=.090) than with church attendance (r=.001). Also using Canadian data, Dilmaghani (2019) finds that higher education is associated with non-affiliation and lower attendance.

The positive relationship observed between education and church attendance does not extend to other aspects of religious experience. People with more education distinguish between formal participation in religious organizations and acceptance of religious worldviews in other aspects of their lives (Schieman, 2011). Glaeser and Sacerdote (2008) conclude that education increases social skills that enhance the utility of social activities such as going to church, but also emphasizes secular beliefs at odds with a religious worldview. The positive relationship between education and church attendance on the one hand, and the negative relationship between education and other aspects of religion such as belief and use of religious views in everyday decision making on the other, suggests compartmentalization. But the relationship between education and religious characteristics varies by religious tradition (McFarland, Wright, and Weakliem, 2011). For example, the positive relationship between religiosity and education is present among evangelical Protestants, Black Protestants, and Catholics, but not among mainline Protestants.

Another relevant line of research demonstrates that religious affiliation is associated with a wide variety of social characteristics including marriage, childbearing, women's labor force participation, and earnings. Lehrer (2004) argues that religion alters the perceived costs and benefits of engaging in different types of social activities. Moreover, religiosity accentuates the effects of religious affiliation. Theological emphasis on family and socioeconomic achievement alter the importance people place on choices they make. Scholars have paid less attention to the relationship between education and these social behaviors within religious communities. If the relationship between education and religiosity is shifting, then the relationship between education and related social characteristics may also change.

This paper examines education, church attendance, and several other social characteristics, comparing Mormons (members of the Church of Jesus

Christ of Latter-day Saints) with the U.S. population. Mormons are of interest because the relationship between education and church attendance is particularly strong among Mormons (Heaton and Albrecht, 1984). In addition, ample evidence indicates that Mormons differ from the national average in several social characteristics that are associated with religion (Heaton, Bahr, and Jacobson, 2004). The compartmentalization hypothesis implies that education might be positively associated with church attendance, but not with strength of religious identity or with other characteristics related to religion such as attitudes toward abortion or homosexuality. However, if the relationship between education and church attendance is stronger for Mormons, education may also have a different influence on these social characteristics among Mormons.

First, I compare educational attainment for Mormons and the nation. I then reexamine the relationship between education and church attendance. Third, in light of the compartmentalization hypothesis, I compare the relationship between education and formal participation with the relationship between education and strength of religious affiliation. Finally, I explore the relationship between education and several other social behaviors and attitudes. Where possible, the paper will also assess whether relationships are changing over the last four decades. The religious landscape has changed dramatically as mainline Protestant membership declines and the number with no formal religious affiliation grows.

Data Source

Analysis is based on the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (https://gss.norc.org/about-the-gss). The GSS asks questions about standard demographic characteristics, attitudes, behaviors, and attributes in the United States since 1972 using a national probability sample. All surveys from 1972 to 2018 are pooled. It is one of the best sources covering social and attitudinal trends. For purposes of this analysis, it is one of the best sources for comparing Mormons to the national population. GSS data also enables us to see if there are trends over time. Comparison with three other data sets including the National Election Surveys (NES), the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (SCCBS), and the Pew U.S. Religious Landscape Survey (PEW) shows that three of the four surveys show similar relationships among attendance, education, and conservatism for Mormons and the national population (see Table A in

Table 1

Respondents in the General Social Survey

Year	Not LDS	LDS	Total	Year	Not LDS	LDS	Total	Year	Not LDS	LDS	Total
1972	1,598	15	1,613	1985	1,504	30	1,534	2000	2,798	19	2,817
1973	1,498	6	1,504	1986	1,434	36	1,470	2002	2,743	22	2,765
1974	1,476	8	1,484	1987	1,789	30	1,819	2004	2,770	42	2,812
1975	1,480	10	1,490	1988	1,448	33	1,481	2006	4,440	70	4,510
1976	1,490	9	1,499	1989	1,507	30	1,537	2008	1,989	34	2,023
1977	1,519	11	1,530	1990	1,347	25	1,372	2010	2,029	15	2,044
1978	1,522	10	1,532	1991	1,485	32	1,517	2012	1,958	16	1,974
1980	1,450	18	1,468	1993	1,586	20	1,606	2014	2,505	33	2,538
1982	1,850	10	1,860	1994	2,957	35	2,992	2016	2,844	23	2,867
1983	1,567	32	1,599	1996	2,882	22	2,904	2018	2,322	16	2,348
1984	1,443	30	1,473	1998	2,820	12	2,832				
								Total	**64,050**	**764**	**64,814**

the Appendix). The PEW survey is an outlier. This analysis uses the GSS data because it includes a broader set of social variables and allows us to examine trends over more than four decades. Table 1 shows the years the survey was taken and the numbers of respondents.

Analysis proceeds in three steps. First, national/LDS comparisons of the relationship between education and other social characteristics of interest are graphed. Second, statistical tests for the relationships nationally and among Mormons, along with the difference between these groups on education effects, are calculated (see Table 2). Statistical tests are derived from OLS regression if the outcomes are measured at the ordinal or interval level and with logistic regression if outcomes are nominal.

Table 2

Significance Levels for the Relationship Between Education and Social Characteristics

	National	LDS	Difference
Religious attendance	n.s	.001	.001
Strength of affiliation	.001	.001	.001
Ever married	.001	n.s.	.002
Divorce	.001	.001	.005
Children ever born	.001	n.s.	.001
Gender equality	.001	.005	.001
Accept homosexual relations	.001	n.s.	.001
Accept abortion	.001	.038	.001
Social spending	.016	.001	.001
Political views	.001	.001	.001
LDS conversion	—	.014	—
LDS defection	—	n.s.	—

The first two numeric columns in Table 2 show the statistical significance level (*p* value) for the relationship between each characteristic and education. The first numeric column shows the *p* value for the entire nation. The second numeric column shows the p value for the LDS subsample. Relationships between variables that aren't statistically significant are labeled "n.s.". Since "conversion" and "defection" are specific to the LDS subsample, p values for these relationships appear only in the second numeric column. The third numeric column demonstrates that the relationship between these various characteristics and education is significantly different for Mormons than for the rest of the nation in every instance.

I also test for trends over time using OLS regression or logistic regression depending on the distribution of the characteristics of interest. Statistical tests for trends over time are reported in Table B in the Appendix. In addition, I evaluate whether relationships between education and social characteristics can be explained by frequency of church attendance again using OLS regression or logistic regression.

Are Mormons More Educated?

LDS men and women are more likely to enter college than is the case nationally. They are also slightly more likely to go beyond 16 years (LDS men are 4.5% higher than the national average and LDS women 2.2% more likely to have postgraduate education). On average Mormon men have .75 years more

Figure 1

Years of Schooling Completed (proportions)

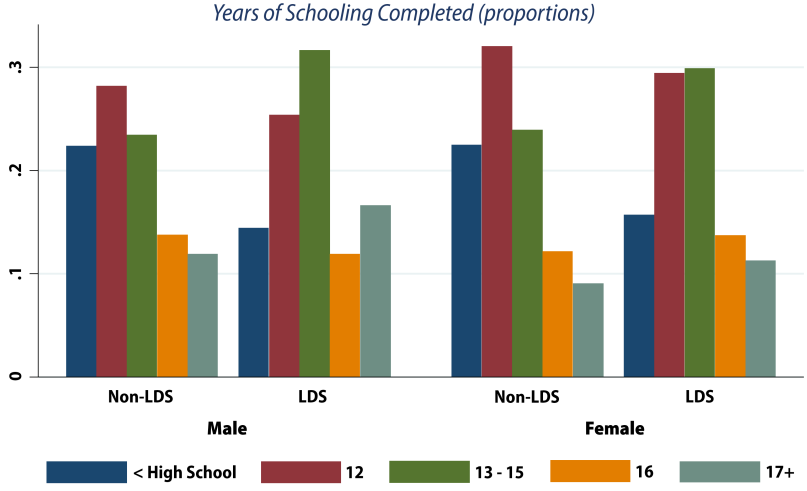
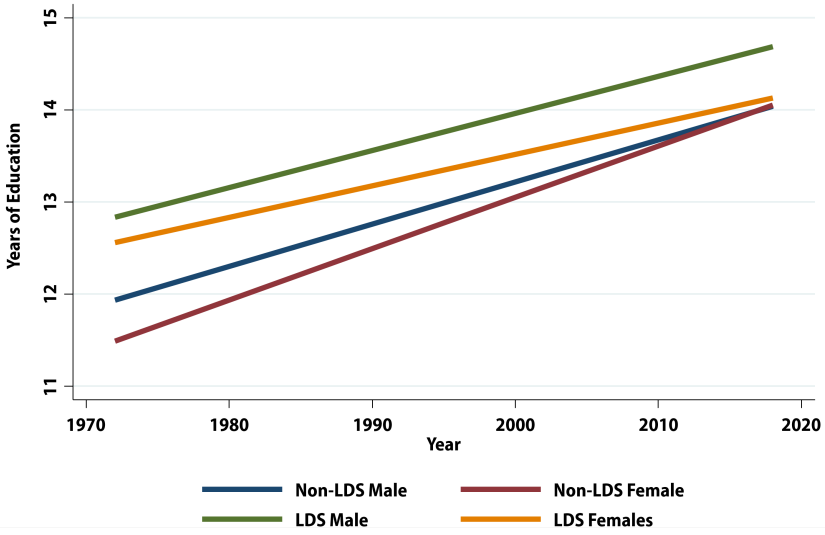


Figure 2

Educational Attainment



schooling and Mormon women have .6 years more schooling than the gender specific national averages. The largest difference is that 10% more LDS members have gone to college.

Nationwide, women have gained some ground in educational attainment since the 1970s, and are now essentially equal with men. Gains for LDS women have been slower than for other groups, so their educational attainment is comparable to men and women nationally, but lower than for LDS men. However, these differences aren't statistically significant.

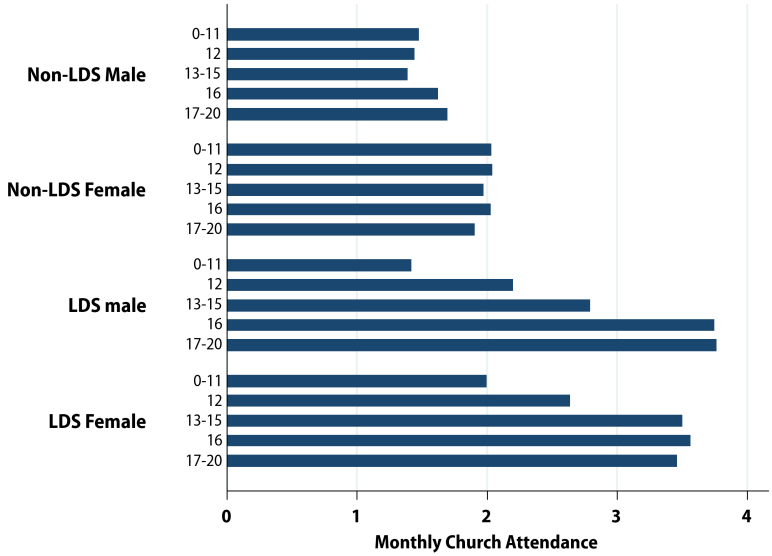
Education and Religious Participation

GSS respondents report that they attend church 1.8 times per month on average. Overall, church attendance has a small positive correlation with education in the national population, but there is a substantial positive and statistically significant correlation among Mormons. Note that the lowest-attending group is LDS males without a high school degree (Figure 3). Female attendance tends to be more frequent than men's nationally and among Mormons, but this is not the case for LDS females with college degrees, and there is even a slight drop-off in attendance among the most educated females.

Therefore, LDS congregations have a higher percentage who have gone to college and attend regularly (40% compared to 13% nationally). Among

Figure 3

Monthly Church Attendance



regular church attenders, education is 1.3 years higher in Mormon congregations than is the case nationally and this difference is statistically significant.

Although average church attendance has declined as average education has increased, the relationship between education and attendance is relatively stable over time for Mormons and the nation at large (see statistical tests in Table 2).

Compared to other groups, education of weekly church attendees is relatively high in the LDS Church (Figure 4). Only Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Jews are higher.

Strength of Affiliation

The compartmentalization hypothesis posits that education has a positive relationship with religious attendance, but not with more intrinsic aspects of religiosity such as faith. I test this by comparing attendance with the strength of religious affiliation (measured by the question "would you call yourself a strong [whatever their religious preference] or not strong" member of your religion). Thirty-eight percent of the respondents in the nation say their affiliation is very strong, and 63% of Mormons say their affiliation is very strong. Because attendance and strength of affiliation are measured on different scales,

Figure 4

Years of Education Beyond High School Among Weekly Religious Attendees

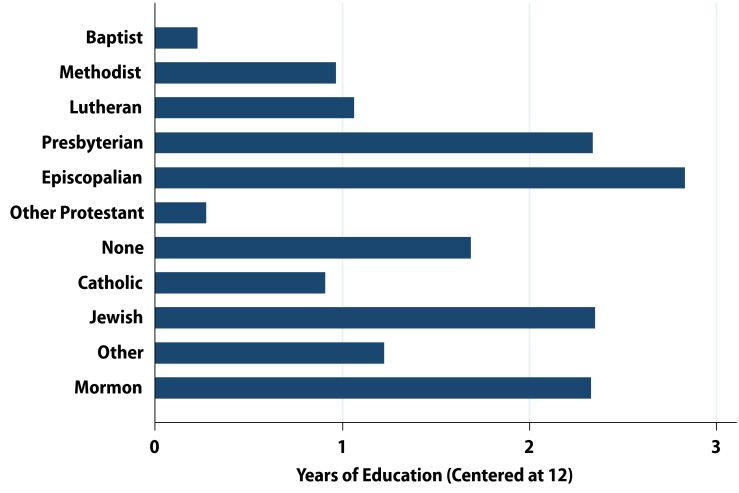
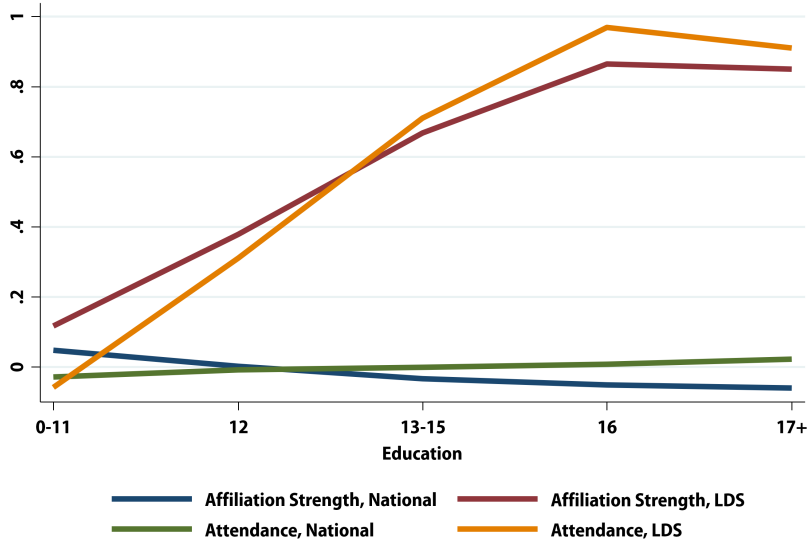
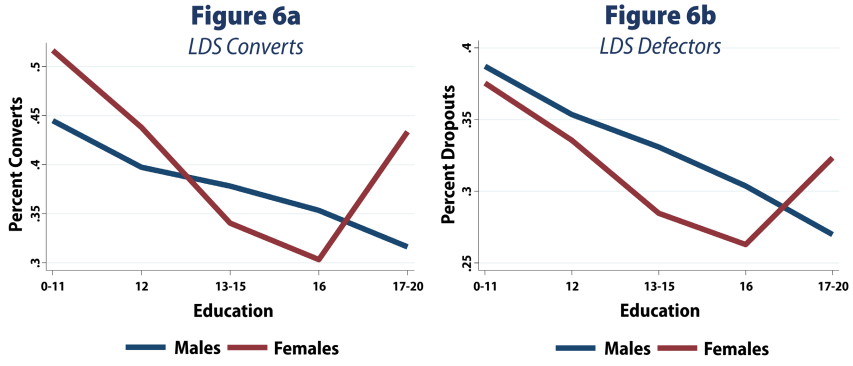


Figure 5

Strength of Affiliation and Religious Attendance





I standardized these measures for Figure 5. The compartmentalization hypothesis is supported in the national population where education has a slight positive relationship with attendance and a small negative relationship with affiliation strength. But compartmentalization is not evident for Mormons, as education has a positive relationship with both attendance and affiliation strength. Examination of change over time suggests a slight convergence because the negative relationship between education and strength of affiliation is becoming weaker in the national population and the positive relationship among Mormons is also becoming weaker.

Conversion and Defection

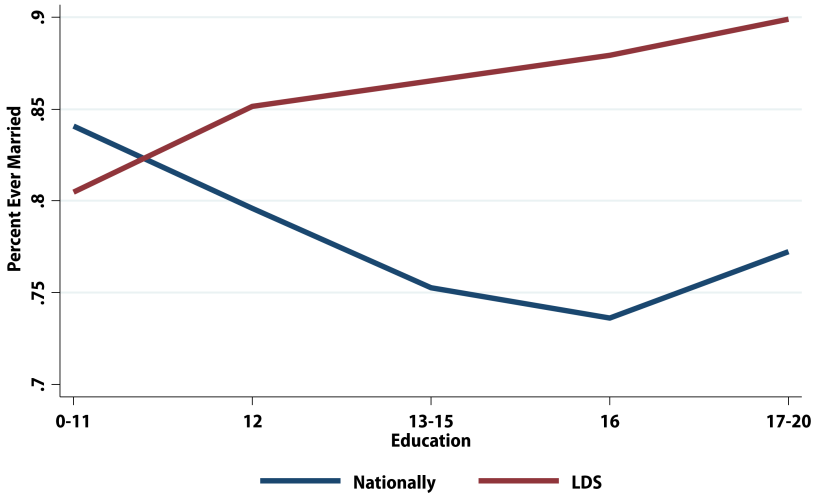
Thirty-nine percent of current Mormons say they converted (since age 16). The proportion of members who are converts declines with education, with the interesting exception of females with post-graduate education (Figure 6a). The patterns for defection look very similar (Figure 6b). Thirty-two percent of those who were LDS at age 16 no longer are. More educated members are less likely to defect, with the exception of women with postgraduate education. Even though the conversion rate into the LDS Church is relatively stable over time and the defection rate is increasing, the relationship between education and religious switching is stable.

Education and Family Life

LDS doctrine emphasizes the importance of marriage in God's plan for eternal progression. Mormons are more likely to marry (86% of the LDS sample has ever been married compared to 79% nationally) than the U.S. population.

Figure 7

Percent Ever Married



Moreover, unlike the U.S. population, education is positively associated with getting married (Figure 7). The relationship between education and marriage is reduced by 22 percent, but not eliminated, when controlling for the positive relationship between church attendance and marriage. Analysis of temporal shifts indicate that even though the marriage rate is declining, the positive relationship between education and marriage is relatively stable over time among Mormons.

Divorce and marital separation are equally common among Mormons and the national population: one fifth of those who have ever married have been divorced or separated. The relationship between education and divorce is slightly negative in the nation, but more negative among Mormons (Figure 8). The negative effect of education among Mormons is reduced by 40%, but not eliminated, when church attendance is statistically controlled. Even though divorce is increasing, the relationship between education and divorce is relatively stable over time.

Mormon women report having almost one child more than the national average (2.73 compared to 1.93). Unlike the national pattern of smaller families as education increases, more educated Mormons have larger families (Figure 9). The effect of education on children is moderated somewhat when church attendance is statistically controlled, but it is not eliminated. Also, the religious difference between Mormons and others in number of children

Figure 8

Percent Ever Divorced or Separated

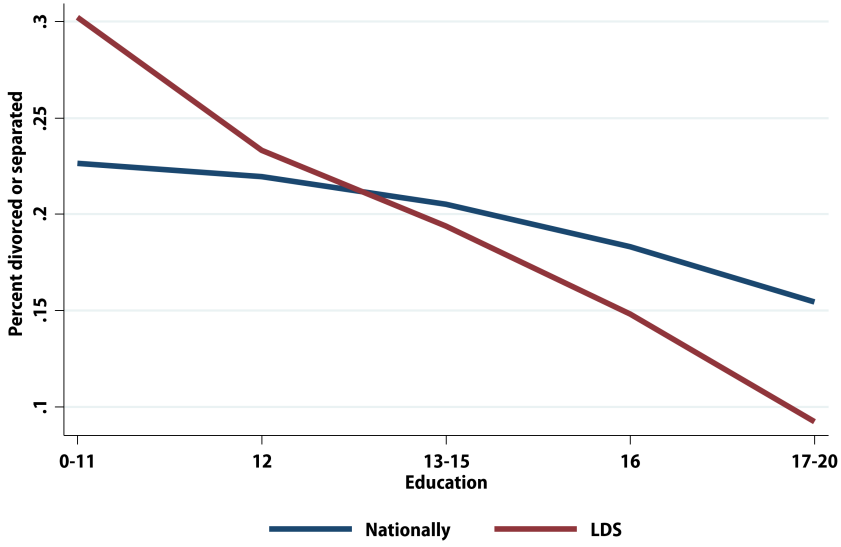


Figure 9

Number of Children

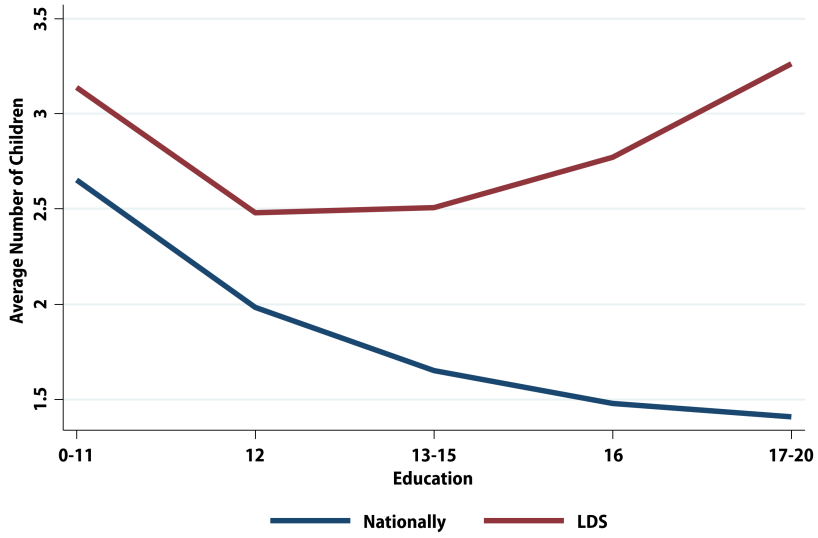
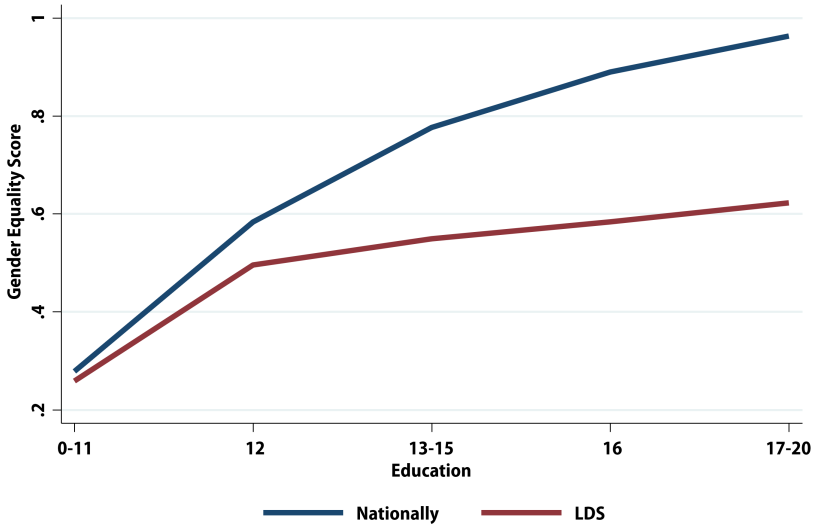


Figure 10
Support for Gender Equality



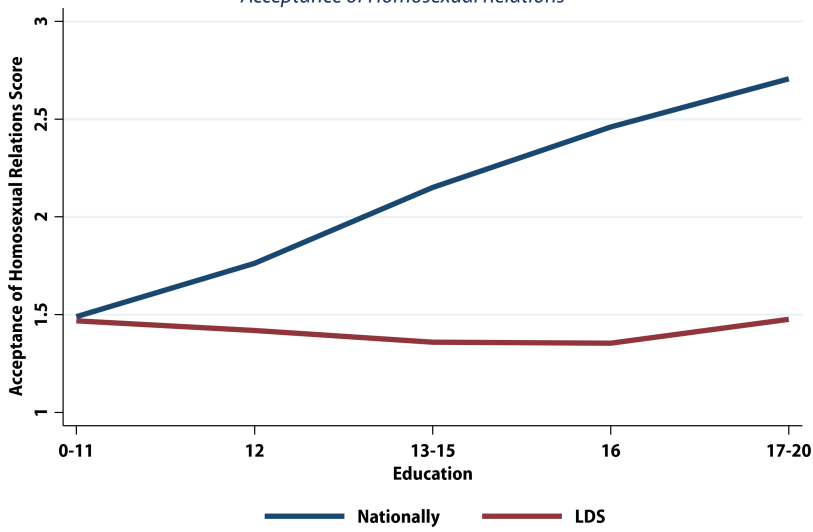
among those with a college education does not appear to be declining over time. Even though family size is declining over time and the negative impact of education on family size is becoming slightly more negative in the nation, the positive relationship between education and family size is not declining among Mormons.

Education and Social Attitudes

LDS teachings highlight motherhood as the most important role for women, and the responsibility of men to preside at Church functions and in the home. A scale for gender equality was created by combining questions on women's role in politics, maternal employment, and putting the husband's career first (alpha=.757). Mormons score lower than the national average on this scale. For example, Mormons are more likely to think that a mother's working hurt children (47% compared to 33% nationally), and that it's better for men to work and women to tend the home (61% compared to 38% nationally). Although the relationship between education and gender equality is positive for the nation and for Mormons, the positive relationship is weaker among Mormons (Figure 10). Statistically adjusting for church attendance increases the positive education effect among Mormons by 30%, but this effect is still smaller than in the nation. Overall, women are more supportive of gender equal-

Figure 11

Acceptance of Homosexual Relations



ity than men, and the gender difference is comparable for Mormons and the nation. As support for gender equality has increased, the relationship between education and support for gender equality has weakened slightly for Mormons and the nation as a whole.

The LDS Church teaches that homosexual relations are wrong. Eighty-three percent of Mormons who have been surveyed since 1972 agree that homosexual relations are always wrong compared to 62% nationally. Figure 11 shows average scores on a scale from 1 (homosexual relations always wrong) to 4 (homosexuality not wrong at all). Nationally, more educated people are more likely to say homosexuality is acceptable, but not among Mormons where the relationship with education is flat. When church attendance is controlled for, the education effect becomes somewhat positive among Mormons but is still much smaller than in the nation. As moral judgment against homosexuality has declined, the relationship between education has shifted in the positive direction for Mormons and the national population but the relationship is still relatively flat for Mormons.

The LDS Church policy is that elective abortion is a sin that could lead to excommunication. Nineteen percent of Mormons say it is permissible to get an abortion for any reason compared to 42% nationally. Favorability toward abortion follows a similar pattern to that toward homosexuality: a positive re-

Figure 12

Acceptance of Elective Abortion

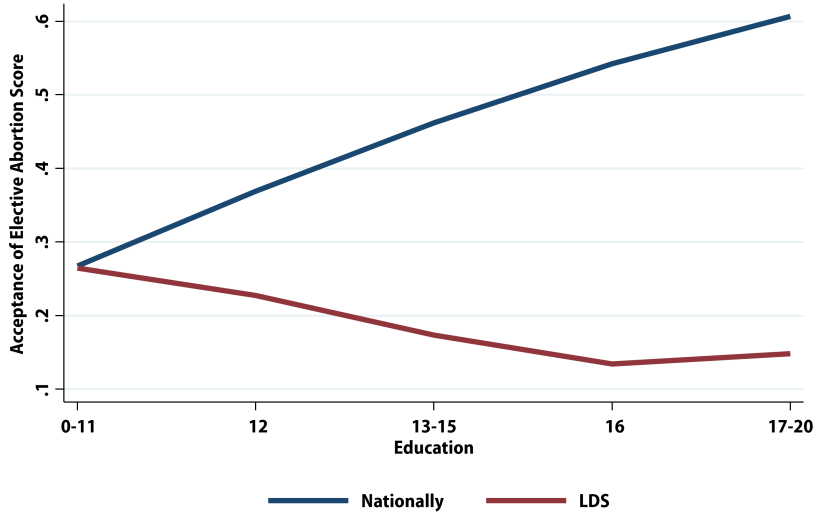
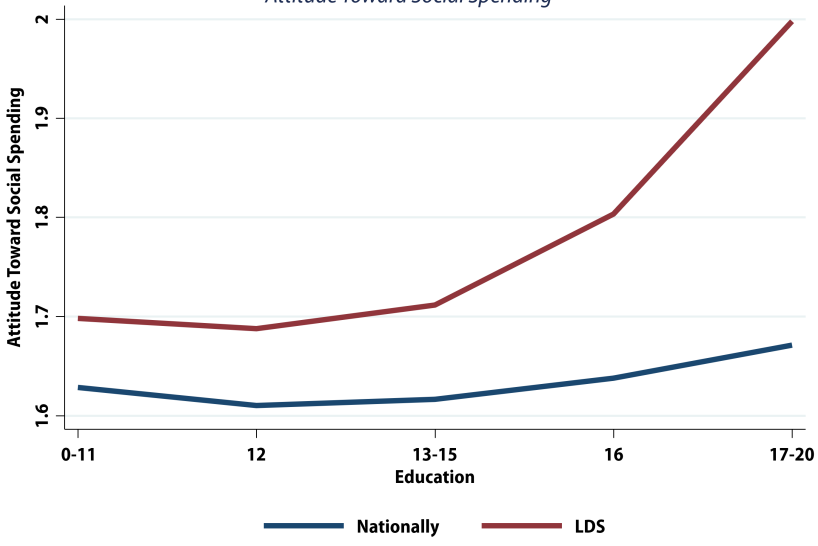


Figure 13

Attitude Toward Social Spending



lationship with education in the nation, but not among Mormons (Figure 12). When church attendance is accounted for, the relationship between abortion and education becomes positive for Mormons, but is still much smaller than the effect nationally. Acceptance of abortion has increased somewhat in the nation (0.2 percent per year), but not among Mormons. However, the relationship between education and support for abortion has been stable over time for both groups.

There is a slight tendency for more educated people to think the U.S. spends too much on social programs in the nation. I created a scale including spending for the environment, health care, welfare, social security, and assistance for childcare (alpha=.62). The scale ranges from 1 for spending too little to 3 for spending too much. Compared to the nation, Mormons are more likely to say too much is spent on protecting the environment (14% compared to 9% nationally), healthcare (11% compared to 6% nationally), social security (11% compared to 6%), and assistance for childcare (12% compared to 7%). This tendency is much more pronounced among more educated Mormons (Figure 13). As with other factors considered, statistically controlling for attendance reduces but does not eliminate the education effect among Mormons. The positive relationship between education and opposition to social programs is declining in the national population but not among Mormons.

Mormons are more conservative than the nation as a whole, with 53% saying they are conservative compared to 34% nationally. Figure 14 shows average values on a scale that ranges from 1 for very liberal to 7 for very conservative; the modal response is moderate (value 4 on the scale). Given the findings so far, it should be no surprise that educated Mormons are more conservative politically, even though educated people in the U.S. have a slight tendency to be more liberal. About a third of the relationship between conservatism and education among Mormons can be explained by church attendance. Over time, the negative correlation between education and conservatism has shifted for Americans in general, becoming slightly more pronounced, but the positive correlation among Mormons has not changed.

The intersection of education, church attendance, and political conservatism creates a unique demographic in Mormonism. One-third of the membership attends church regularly (two or more times a month), has gone to college, and is politically conservative. No other major religious group in the United States comes close to this (Figure 15). Presbyterians and Episcopalians do not reach 15%, and the national average is 10%. The percentage of the pop-

Figure 14

Political Orientation

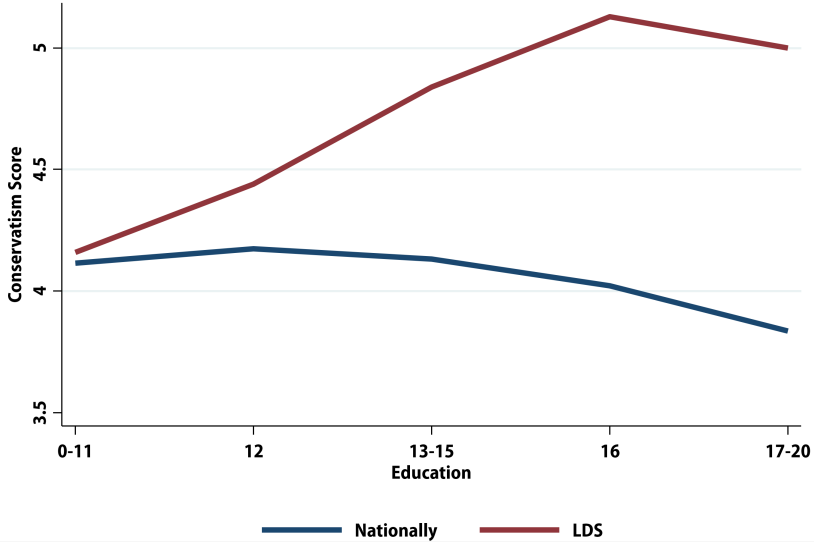


Figure 15

Intersection of Religious Attendance, Education, and Conservatism

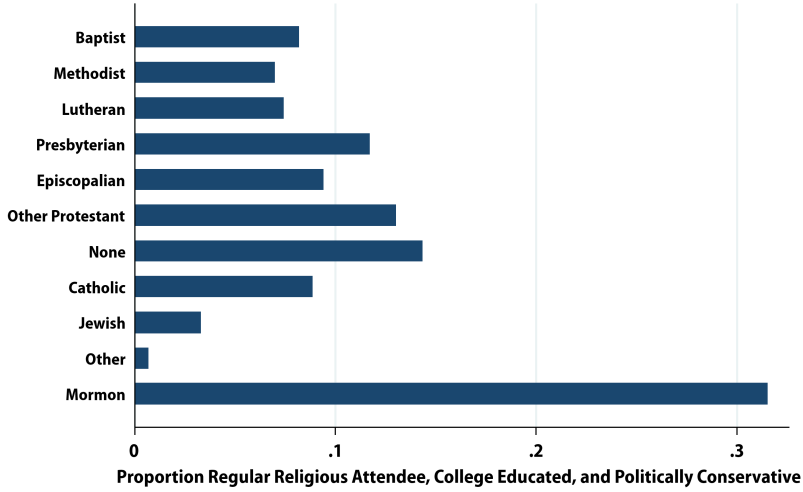


Table 3

*Factors Accounting for the Positive Relationship Between Education and Conservatism**

	U.S.	LDS
No controls (Zero order correlation between education and conservatism)	-.057	.233
Control for:		
Church attendance	-.057	.141
Married	-.061	.219
Attitude toward abortion, premarital sex, homosexuality	.033	.193
Gender norms	-.010	.262
Attitude toward spending for social programs	-.060	.196
Attendance, attitude toward sex, attitude toward social programs	.022	.183

**(Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Conservative Political Views)*

ulation who are college educated, frequent religious attenders, and politically conservative has increased over time both nationally and among Mormons, but the correlation between education and fitting in this group has declined slightly.

Decker (2019) attributes conservatism among Mormons in Utah to resistance against the nation's growing approval of nonmarital relationships, abortion, and homosexuality. In Table 3, I consider whether traditional morality explains the relationship between education and conservatism among Mormons. The first row of numbers shows the effect of education on being conservative for the nation and for Mormons (using regression analysis). The first column reports results for the nation and the second shows the same statistical model applied to Mormons. The effect of education is negative in the nation and positive for Mormons. Subsequent rows show the effect of education when other factors are added to the statistical model. Church attendance does account for about 40% of the relationship among Mormons, but other factors are less relevant. Statistical control for being married, attitudes toward abortion and homosexual relations, gender norms, and attitudes toward government spending on social programs do not account for the relationship. In short, the relationship between education and conservatism extends beyond traditional family values. The correlation between education and conservatism among Mormons is higher in the Mountain West than in other areas, but is positive in the remainder of the country.

Conclusions and Prospects

This paper documents a systematic pattern of differential educational influence. Among Mormons, higher educational attainment has a more positive

relationship with religious involvement, marriage and child-bearing, and political conservatism; and a less positive relationship with acceptance of homosexuality, abortion, and gender equality when compared with the rest of the nation. Conservatism among educated Mormons appears to be a broader phenomenon than a response to any specific issue. Moreover, the differential impact of education in Mormonism cannot be explained solely by the high correlation between education and church attendance. Clearly, the compartmentalization hypothesis does not apply to Mormons. They do not evidence a pattern where education is associated with church attendance, but not with strength of religious identity or social attitudes.

The data suggests no single explanation for the unusual role of education among Mormons. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints emphasizes individual morality above social justice, family above community, tradition above adaptation, and individual responsibility above public policy. Leaders dress and speak conservatively. The LDS Church has three universities, and administers religious programs for high school and college students that emphasize the superiority of religious perspectives over secular or scientific perspectives. A lay ministry integrates members into the organization and more educated people are more likely to have the skills to fill these positions. Because of these interrelated phenomena, social and political conservativism tends to become linked with an overriding ideology closely linked with education and religious participation.

Analysis suggests that the intersection between education, religious involvement, and conservatism is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. The pattern of influence is relatively stable over time despite societal changes in family life and social attitudes. Senior leaders in the Church have given many years of service and been well integrated into the religious culture. All of the top fifteen leaders have postgraduate degrees and/or respectable careers in business. In recent years, the Church has announced a policy of "Home Centered, Church Supported" doctrinal curriculum (Nelson, 2018). This policy reduces the time members spend in official Church activities and emphasizes the responsibility of families to teach and provide wholesome activities for children. This change could lead to a more liberal approach among more-educated Mormons. On the other hand, and more likely, conservatism can increase, owing to the current disposition of more-educated Mormons.

The linkage among education, religious participation, and social conservatism provides several advantages. Inclusion of more educated people

enhances social capital and financial resources to maintain and grow the organization. The conservative image promotes a sense of stability that fosters confidence.

There are also several disadvantages. Segments of the population are more likely to be excluded (note the drop in attendance and retention among women with postgraduate education and low attendance of men without a high school degree). Conservative values also can obstruct adjustments to social trends. Elimination of formal racial barriers to full religious participation did not occur until 1978, long after integration occurred in other major social institutions. Inclusion of women in leadership and acceptance of LGBTQ members also lag behind national trends. Interpretation of scripture is also filtered by social conservatism to legitimize this perspective at the expense of messages that are more egalitarian and inclusive.

Appendix

Table A displays the direction and strength of the relationship between (1) education and church attendance, and (2) education and conservatism for both LDS and non-LDS subsamples from four surveys.

Table B on the following page shows the direction of the trend over time for the relationship of various social characteristics with education for both the national sample and the LDS subsample. Since conversion and defection are limited to the LDS subsample, these cells are left empty for the national sample. A "+" denotes a positive direction. A "-" denotes a negative direction. Relationships between variables that are not statistically significant are labeled "n.s.".

Table A

Comparison of Relationships between Education, Church Attendance, and Conservatism in Four Surveys

	NES	SCCBS	PEW	GSS
LDS:				
Education and attendance	.349	.171	.094	.345
Education and conservatism	.178	.107	-.161	.231
n=	497	219	641	764
Not LDS:				
Education and attendance	.036	.057	-.001	.002
Education and conservatism	-.004	-.104	-.119	-.057
n=	42,351	29,014	34,430	64,050

Table B

Statistical Tests for Temporal Change in the Effects of Education

	National	LDS
Education effect on:	*Direction of trend*	*Direction of trend*
Attendance	n.s.	n.s.
Strength of affiliation	+	-
Marriage	+	n.s.
Divorce	n.s.	n.s.
Children	-	n.s.
Gender equality	-	-
Homosexual relations	+	+
Abortion	n.s.	n.s.
Social spending	+	n.s.
Politically conservative	-	n.s.
LDS conversion		n.s.
LDS defection		n.s.

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The End of Growth? Fading Prospects for Latter-day Saint Expansion

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Abstract. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints faces diminished prospects for growth in the twenty-first century due to both institutional and societal factors. Growth rates in congregations and active membership averaged below one percent annually from 2009–2019.

Fertility, retention of member children, and new conversions have experienced ongoing declines. Institutional decisions that were once adaptive have become liabilities hindering growth and internationalization. The dichotomy between the Mormon "homeland" and the "mission field" has fueled asymmetric information, misaligned incentives, principal-agent problems, and a culture of nonparticipation in personal evangelism by leaders and members. Reforms have sent mixed messages without resolving underlying pathologies.

Societal conditions are decidedly less favorable for LDS growth than in the late twentieth century. The human rights situation has deteriorated worldwide, Christianity is experiencing proportional decline in most world regions, and prospects for mission outreach in unreached nations are dim.

Medium-term growth in active LDS membership and congregations is likely to average below one percent annually. Over longer periods, losses may occur. The faith experiences its brightest prospects in Africa, where it is likely to achieve active growth. The LDS Church has lost its competitive advantages and is likely to continue to underperform its major competitors.

"New World Faith" No More

In 1984, Sociologist Rodney Stark predicted that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was emerging as a "new world religion … on the threshold of becoming the first major faith to appear on earth" since Islam (Stark 1984). Projecting approximately 4% forward annual LDS membership growth, Stark concluded that the LDS Church's path to becoming a major world religion was

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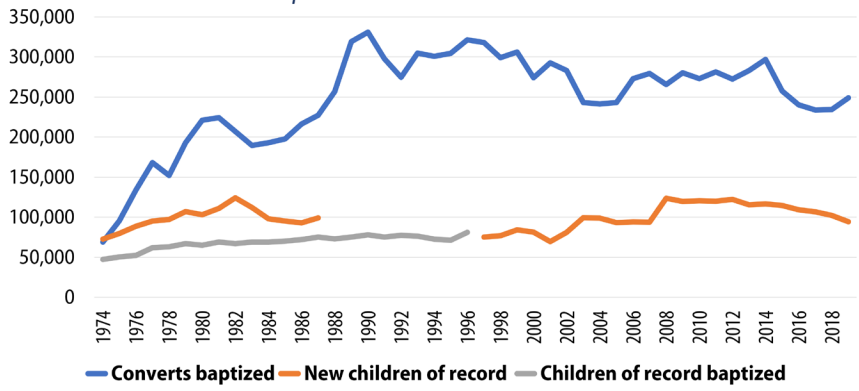
Figure 1

Converts Baptized and Increase in Children of Record



all but inevitable: "In historical terms, [Mormons] must lose their conversion capacities very quickly if they are *not* to become a major world faith." In 1996, he noted that growth over the prior fifteen years had exceeded his "highest projection by almost a million members" (Stark 1996, 177). That same year, another study projected that by 2020, there would be between 36.4 and 121 million LDS members worldwide, while acknowledging uncertainty (Bennion and Young 1996).

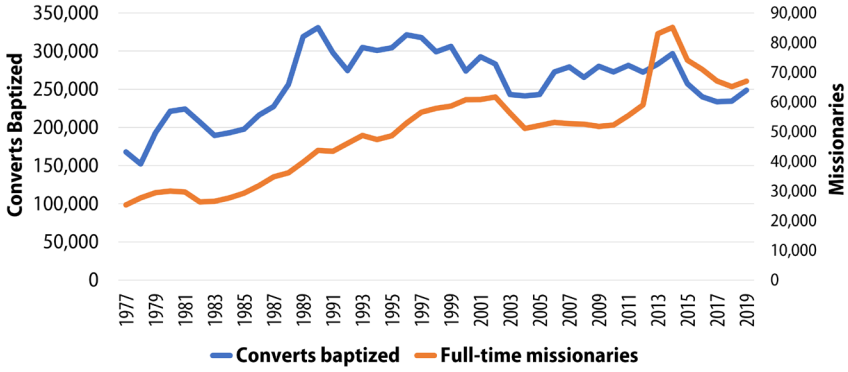
Since that time, LDS membership growth has decelerated rapidly. In recent years, the LDS Church has been adding fewer members than it was thirty years ago through both convert baptisms and children of record (Figure 1). In 2017, LDS growth rates declined to their lowest levels since 1937, and convert baptisms fell to a thirty-year low.[1] Growth receded further in 2018. Year-end 2019 LDS membership was reported as 16.5 million, less than half of Bennion and Young's lower estimate. The LDS Church reported 16,663,663 members at year-end 2020, marking the lowest annual percentage increase since 1857 and reflecting reduced proselytizing during the coronavirus pandemic.

The decline in absolute growth has occurred faster than any increases from larger membership or institutional adaptations. The fertility rate among North American Latter-day Saints has dropped sharply. Annual increase in children of record born to member parents has declined from 20.6 to 24.1

[1] Annual statistical reports are presented at the April session of LDS general conference and published in the May *Ensign* magazine of each year online at https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/magazines/ensign

Figure 2

Converts Baptized and Full-time Missionaries, 1977-2019



per 1,000 LDS members in the 1970s to 5.69 in 2019. Retention of member children has waned. Average annual convert baptisms per missionary fell from between 7.1 and 8 in the 1980s to between 3.4 and 3.7 from 2015 to 2019. The full-time LDS missionary force has plateaued and started to slump. Two sociologists of religion noted in 1996 that "the single best predictor of the annual Mormon conversion rate is the size of the LDS missionary force" (Shepherd and Shepherd 1996, 38–39). That correlation no longer holds (Figure 2).

LDS congregational growth has substantially lagged nominal membership growth (Figure 3). Between 1981 and 2017, nominal Mormon member-

Figure 3

LDS Membership and Congregations, 1999–2019

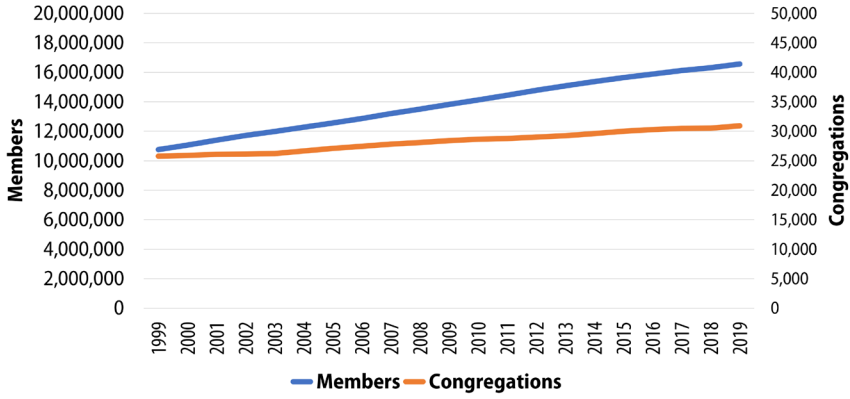
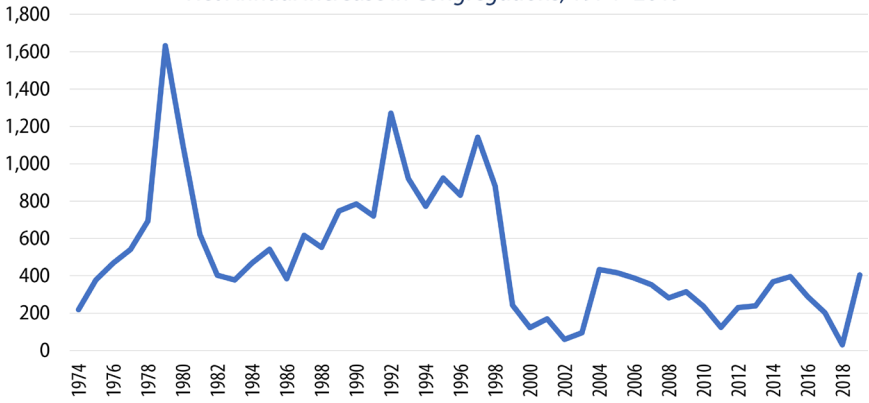


Figure 4

Net Annual Increase in Congregations, 1974–2019



ship increased nearly 3.3 times, from 4,936,000 to 16,118,169, while the number of LDS congregations increased only 2.3 times, from 13,213 to 30,506. The number of new congregations organized annually increased throughout the late 1970s, rising again from the early 1980s to the late 1990s before crashing down in a wave of consolidations and closures, and has never recovered (Figure 4). From 2000 to 2019, the increase in LDS congregations averaged less than 1% annually. Sociologist Armand Mauss noted that the gap between membership increase and the creation of stakes, or administrative groups of congregations, is "clear indication of a retention problem" (Canham 2005).

Figure 5

LDS Membership by Region

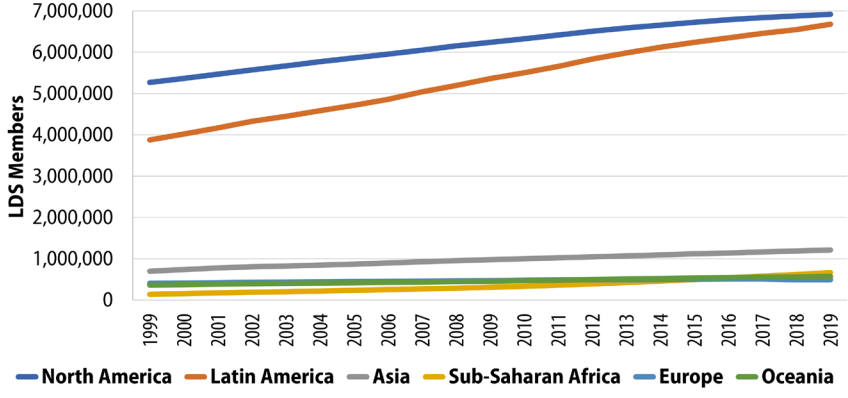


Table 1

LDS Membership by Region, 1999–2019

	1999	2009	2019	Change	Change %†
North America	5,269,998	6,238,727	6,920,086	1,650,088	31.3%
Central America	1,301,875	1,812,828	2,289,184	987,309	75.8%
South America	2,464,785	3,378,958	4,178,365	1,713,580	69.5%
Caribbean	110,212	166,701	209,071	98,859	89.6%
Latin America Total	**3,876,872**	**5,358,487**	**6,676,620**	**2,799,748**	**72.2%**
East Asia	693,699	964,461	1,187,100	493,401	71.1%
South Asia	2,715	9,596	16,159	13,444	495.1%
Middle East/N Africa	403	1,799	3,634	3,231	801.7%
Central Asia/Caucasus	656	3,158	4,055	3,399	518.1%
Asia Total	**697,473**	**979,014**	**1,210,948**	**513,475**	**73.6%**
Sub-Saharan Africa	136,635	308,255	665,301	528,666	386.9%
Oceania	363,470	455,239	572,895	209,425	57.6%
Western Europe	374,201	420,433	459,539	85,338	22.8%
Eastern Europe	29,941	51,657	33,869	3,928	13.1%
Europe Total	**404,142**	**472,090**	**493,408**	**89,266**	**22%**
World Total*	**10,748,590**	**13,811,812**	**16,539,258**	**5,790,668**	**53.8%**

†Change (absolute number and percentage change) is calculated from the 20-year period of 1999-2019.

*A small discrepancy (less than 1%) is noted between regional totals from country data and global figures. The LDS Church reported 16,565,036 members globally at year-end 2019, 0.15% more than the total of 16,539,258 from countries with available data. This discrepancy likely reflects membership in countries for which the Church does not report statistics.

Regional Trends

Growth trends have varied by region (Figure 5). Between 1999 and 2018, nominal LDS membership increased by 5.8 million. Of that membership growth, 48.3% (2.8 million) occurred in Latin America whereas 28.5% (1.65 million) occurred in North America (Table 1). An additional 9.1% of membership growth happened in Africa (528,000 members), 8.9% in Asia (513,000 members), 3.6% in Oceania (209,425 members), and just 1.54% in Europe.

Congregational growth figures are sharply different (Figure 6 and Table 2 on the following page). Over this period, 62.1% of congregational increase

Figure 6

LDS Congregations by Region

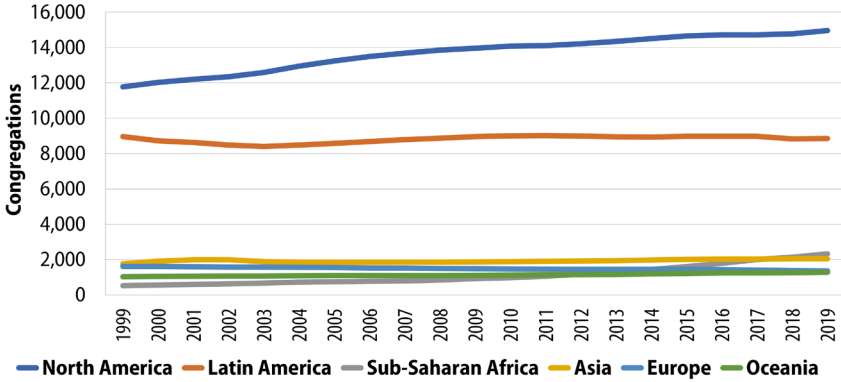


Table 2

LDS Congregations by Region, 1999–2019

	1999	2009	2019	Change	% Change
North America	11,770	13,957	14,956	3,186	27%
Central America	2,779	3,080	2,954	175	6.2%
South America	5,908	5,544	5,570	-338	-5.8%
Caribbean	279	339	333	54	19.3%
Latin America Total	**8,966**	**8,963**	**8,857**	**-109**	**-1.3%**
East Asia	1,739	1,800	1,926	187	10.7%
South Asia	20	35	66	46	230%
Middle East	7	23	33	26	371.4%
Central Asia/Caucasus	5	18	16	11	220%
Asia Total	**1,771**	**1,876**	**2,041**	**270**	**15.2%**
Sub-Saharan Africa	532	933	2,322	1,790	336.4%
Oceania	1,036	1,107	1,283	247	23.8%
Western Europe	1,354	1,158	1,099	-255	-18.9%
Eastern Europe	267	330	267	0	0%
Europe Total	**1,621**	**1,488**	**1,366**	**-255**	**-15.8%**
World Total*	**25,696**	**28,324**	**30,825**	**5,129**	**19.9%**

(3,186 units) occurred in North America and 34.9% (1,790 units) in Africa. Just 5.2% of new congregations (270 units) were organized in Asia and 4.8% (247) in Oceania. Congregations experienced net declines in Latin America (109 congregations closed) and Europe (255 closed), offsetting some gains elsewhere.

While Latin America accounted for nearly half the increase in nominal LDS membership, the number of congregations in the region declined due to ongoing retention problems. Notwithstanding nominal regional membership that will soon surpass North America, the flood of converts in Latin America has done little more than replace losses.

In Europe, the LDS Church is in decline as active membership experiences attrition (Mauss 2008), intergenerational transmission of the faith is low (Decoo 1996, 107–108; Van Beek 1996), and converts among native peoples are sparse. Migrants have been more receptive, but often struggle to assimilate due to cultural, social, and linguistic barriers (Lobb 2000). In Eastern Europe, the LDS Church has experienced two "lost decades" with active membership and congregations peaking between 1995 and 2000 in most nations and experiencing no real growth since that time, notwithstanding increases in nominal membership (Stewart 2020). Vast population centers in Asia have accounted for scant LDS growth. Oceania has long been disproportionately served with LDS missionaries, and congregations have increased even more slowly than nominal membership.

Only in North America and Sub-Saharan Africa has the LDS Church experienced significant congregational growth closely paralleling nominal membership. From 1999 to 2019, the number of LDS congregations in the U.S. and Canada increased by 27% while national populations increased by approximately 17.5%. Yet the LDS Church faces headwinds in North America which make continuation of historical growth trends unlikely.

The LDS Church experiences its brightest growth prospects in Sub-Saharan Africa, where it has achieved higher convert retention with primarily native missionaries. From 1999 to 2019, LDS membership in Africa grew nearly fivefold from 136,635 to 665,301 while the number of congregations increased more than fourfold from 532 to 2,322. Vast opportunities remain. In 2013, about 25% of Africans lived in municipalities with an LDS congregation (Stewart and Martinich 2013). By 2019, 20 nations in Sub-Saharan Africa with a combined population of approximately 725 million people had ten or more LDS congregations. Fourteen Sub-Saharan African nations and territories

with an estimated 203 million people had fewer than ten congregations, and 17 nations with 163 million inhabitants had no reported LDS congregations. The United Nations projects that more than half of the 2.2 billion global population increase anticipated by 2050 will occur in Africa, which will thereafter be the only world region expected to achieve substantial population growth (United Nations 2019).

Latter-day Saint membership in Africa is more than an order of magnitude below its major competitors. At year-end 2019, the Seventh-day Adventist Church reported 9.56 million members in 34,253 churches in Africa (SDA 2020). Average weekly SDA Church attendance in Africa was 5.27 million, more than estimated average LDS attendance worldwide (Stewart and Martinich 2013), and the faith baptized over 619,000 converts: nearly as many as the entire LDS membership on the continent. The Jehovah's Witnesses reported 30,090 congregations in Africa, 1.7 million proclaimers, and 6.26 million annual memorial attendees in 2019 (Watch Tower 2020a).

In time, LDS membership in Africa may be likely to reach millions, and to comprise a substantial proportion of the faith's global adherents. Yet there are obstacles. Locals have termed it the "rich church" due to its expensive Western-style chapels (Stack 2014), and it is heavily dependent on financial subsidization by the North American church, constraining growth and capacity. Nor does the faith's growth in Africa portend bright futures elsewhere. It is the exception that demonstrates the rule, as one of the few regions where faiths declining in the West still find fertile fields. This, too, will not be so indefinitely.

Why Did Predictions Fail?

The vision of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints becoming a major world faith has become increasingly implausible. While the Church will continue to be influential in North America, a prominent fixture in Latin America, a leading faith in parts of Oceania, and emerging in Africa, a future of sustained worldwide growth can no longer be assumed.

The growth analyses of Stark and Bennion and Young represented important scholarship offering valuable insights. They fell short primarily due to underlying assumptions. Straight-line predictions of LDS growth assumed constant rates of fertility, convert growth, and retention. Stark's projection of 4% annual LDS growth rates started to fail shortly after his 1996 follow-up (Stark 1996). Stark articulated the importance to LDS growth of "fertility … sufficiently high to offset both mortality and defection," yet did not consider

ongoing declines. He noted that "the majority of Mormons today were not born in the faith, but were converted to it" but did not explore the differences in participation between foreign converts and lifetime North American Mormons (Stark 1984).

Stark's acknowledgment that "straight-line projections are risky" was followed by an appeal to historical trends rather than forward-looking analysis. He did not closely consider societal trends because, rejecting the secularization hypothesis, he did not believe that they were disruptive to LDS growth. In support, he cited his prior research findings that "Mormon growth is very positively associated with measures of modernization and industrialization" and that "Mormons thrive in the most, not the least, secularized nations." To Stark, Mormonism was the ascending faith of the modern age. Even as traditional faiths declined, he reasoned, Mormonism would grow to fill the spiritual void of secular societies.

However, LDS growth is indeed affected by secularization trends. Cragun and Lawson demonstrated a negative correlation between the Human Development Index, an aggregate of dimensional indices of per capita income, education, and health, and the growth of Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-day Adventists (Cragun and Lawson 2010). A multivariate regression analysis of international Mormon growth from 1997 to 2017 found that HDI was the largest single (inverse) correlate of growth rates, correlating with 49% of variance in membership growth and over 60% of congregational growth (Stewart 2019).

Writing in 1996, Bennion and Young projected high and low LDS membership growth rates from 1990 to 2020 which compound to 9.6% and 5.2% annually (Bennion and Young 1996, 17). In fact, annual compounded LDS membership growth over that thirty-year period averaged 2.56%, falling to 1.6% for the decade of 2009–2019. They cited key drivers of growth, including birth rates and the size of the missionary force, and briefly acknowledged inhibitors, including low retention and member activity rates, membership growth "outstripping the leadership base," and challenging political conditions. Yet these factors were nowhere incorporated into their statistical projections. They questioned whether to "ignore the early 1990s" during which "growth rates dropped by at least half in every region except Africa" as "a brief aberration or consider them the beginning of a new downward trend." Discarding their own caution, they took average growth rates from these years as the lower limit for the next twenty-five.

Bennion and Young's lower-end projection of 36.4 million LDS members in 2020 proved exuberant, overshooting the officially reported number of 16.5 million by more than double. Their model's assumptions were optimistic in view of known trends at the time, including ongoing secularization, struggles with retention of converts and member children, and declining US Mormon fertility rates. The LDS policy of "building from centers of strength," which sharply limited the Church's outreach into new areas, had been rolled out worldwide by 1993, making the claim of an aggressive "'Open Door' policy" seeking "any opening that would allow [the Church] to establish a new mission field" obsolete at its writing.

The formulations of Stark and Bennion and Young assumed the LDS Church to be an intrinsically healthy organization, while disregarding evidence of institutional dysfunction. Other projections based on historical data have fallen short. The full-time missionary force, for example, has not expanded by 50% per decade since the mid-1990s, nor grown commensurate with nominal membership (Shepherd and Shepherd 1996, 43–44).

Claims that declining Mormon growth is an inevitable result of external factors are disconfirmed by the more rapid growth of other Christian sects. Over the past three decades, both the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Jehovah's Witnesses have overtaken and pulled far ahead of the LDS Church. The Seventh-day Adventists baptized a record 1.2 million new members in 2016 and 1.27 million in 2017 (SDA 2016, 2017) even as LDS growth fell to record lows. In 2019, 91,140 Seventh-day Adventist churches were attended weekly by an average of 9.5 million of the faith's 21.4 million members (SDA 2020). Also in 2019, the Jehovah's Witnesses operated 119,712 congregations and baptized over 300,000 converts (Watch Tower 2019a); more than 20.9 million attended their annual Memorial of Jesus Christ's Death (Watch Tower 2019b). An average of 8,471,008 Jehovah's Witnesses spent over two billion hours proselytizing and taught more than 9.6 million investigators monthly. These faiths have found ways to thrive while navigating similar external challenges.

Predictive models for complex phenomena are no more accurate than their underlying assumptions and have often failed, and not only in sociology. While statistical modeling provides the appearance of rigor, attempts at calibration with historical data often introduce new errors based on the authors' assumptions, biases, and decisions regarding which factors to model and which to ignore (Freedman 2011, Ioannidis 2005). Trends influencing growth

are systematically evaluated here without any attempt to formulate a statistical model. Thoughtful assessment of current and expected future trends will not take us further from the mark than straight-line projections of historical growth rates.

What is Growth?

Research has illuminated gaps between the LDS Church's membership claims, self-reported religious participation, and member activity (Knowlton 2005, Phillips 2006, Stewart and Martinich 2013). Phillips (2006, 54) noted that "the church meticulously counts those who join, but does not attend to those who leave." As a result, nominal LDS membership tends to increase even when active membership is stagnant or declining. Lawson and Xydias (2020) found that Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses tend to undercount members, whereas the LDS Church overcounts international adherents by a wide margin. They documented from national censuses and sociological surveys a correlation between self-reported LDS Church membership and self-identified religious preference of 90% in the United States, but only 28% internationally. A substantial proportion of members claimed by the LDS Church, including approximately 10% in Utah and 37% in Chile, cannot be located (Canham 2005, Stack 2006). Unless found, their records are maintained in the "Address Unknown File" until age 110 (Phillips 2006), some thirty-eight years longer than the median worldwide life expectancy in 2016 (WHO 2020).

Shepherd and Shepherd (1996, 45) noted that due to low international activity rates, the number of stakes formed is a more reliable indicator of active membership. LDS congregations vary in size from small branches to large wards, whereas stake formation requires a minimum number of active adult priesthood holders. Yet many nations have no LDS stakes, and the formation of stakes in nations with a small church presence may lag growth trends by many years. While imperfect, the number of congregations may be a more sensitive indicator of real growth trends.

Evaluating Growth Prospects

The deceleration of LDS Church growth over the past two decades reflects institutional and societal factors for which information was available at the time, but which were not closely investigated or accounted for in published projections. Today's realities reflect the consequences of yesterday's choices,

and tomorrow's results will arise in large part from factors currently at work. Future institutional decisions, societal trends, individual choices, and stochastic events all influence growth. Systematic evaluation of growth dynamics, current trajectories, and influencing factors can offer a framework for evaluating the likely range of future outcomes. Not all outcomes are possible, and some outcomes are far more likely than others.

Institutional Issues

Mormonism began as a competitive disruptor, an innovative faith promising ongoing revelation and spiritual guidance. Yet historical decisions that offered benefits when initially adopted have increasingly become liabilities that hinder the faith's ability to adapt and internationalize. Institutional factors have long indicated that the membership growth rates of the 1980s were not sustainable. This also appears to be the case for even more modest contemporary growth.

Fertility and Demographics

US Latter-day Saint families averaged one child more than the national mean in the late twentieth century (Heaton 1989). The Pew Research Center reported in 2015 that eight in ten US Mormons had a spouse or partner within the faith, and that Mormons between age forty and fifty had an average of 3.4 children (Lipka 2015). Contemporary Mormons are marrying later and having fewer children. The Pew Research Center's 2014 American Religious Landscape Study found that the number of adult US Mormons who were parents of children under age 18 fell from 49% in 2007 to 41% in 2014. Moreover, 19% of Mormon adults were never married, up from 12% in 2007 (Pew 2014). The average age of Mormon adults in the US rose from 41 in 2007 to 43 in 2014. US converts also tend to be older. In 2007, 48% were over 50 and 61% had no children living at home (Pew 2009). The 2016 Next Mormons Survey found that adult US Mormons had a mean of 2.42 children, and that 57% of Mormon Gen X-ers had zero, one, or two children (Riess 2019b).

Based on demographic data, sociologist Ryan Cragun (2018) projected that members of the LDS Church are likely to be a minority in Utah by the 2040s. Outside of the US, few LDS members have large families (Heaton 1989). LDS women in Mexico and Brazil "have noticeably fewer children (15 to 20 percent)" than the national average, and are on par with the national average in Chile (Heaton and Jacobson 2015). Further declines loom. Medi-

um-term increases in LDS birth rates are unlikely due to reduced viability of traditional gender roles and changing societal norms.

Missionary Service

Large Mormon families historically fueled church growth and expansion of the full-time missionary force. Trends in reported children of record, which has historically correlated with full-time missionary numbers nineteen to twenty years later, suggest that the number of full-time missionaries is likely to increase in the immediate future before plateauing between 2028 and 2032 and then declining. An earlier peak is possible due to rising youth attrition and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Reliance on full-time missionaries as the primary driver of Mormon growth poses competitive disadvantages in populous regions where North American missionaries face restrictions but local adherents can evangelize more freely. In India, foreign missionary numbers are severely restricted, but Seventh-day Adventists had over 1.1 million members by year-end 2019 with over 670,000 attending weekly (SDA 2020). The constitution of China prohibits "foreign domination" of religious affairs, whereas laws in Russia forbid public proselytizing and require identification of missionaries as "foreign agents" (Stewart 2020). Foreign missionaries incur a learning curve with culture and often language as well as higher expenses than outreach by locals. Demographic flattening of full-time LDS missionary numbers poses limitations in human resources. Even if the doors of restricted nations were to suddenly swing open, the LDS Church would have no one to send without reassigning missionaries from other fields.

Member Retention

In the late twentieth century, only about 25% of international LDS converts and 50% of US converts were attending church a year after baptism (Willis 2001). Elder Dallin H. Oaks noted that "attrition is sharpest in the first two months after baptism" (Oaks 2003). It has been reported that up to 80% of first-year attrition occurs within the first two months, and that in some areas, large numbers of converts did not return to church after baptism to be confirmed (Stewart 2007).

In contrast, the LDS Church has historically retained most of its US member children. Albrecht (1988) noted that 22 percent of US Latter-day

Saints remained active life-long, whereas another 44 percent returned after periods of inactivity. A 1996 national survey found that 86.2% of Mormon youth reported that their views were "very similar" or "mostly similar" to those of their parents, higher than any other group surveyed; 88.7% reported that they already had or definitely would contribute to their church (Smith, Faris, and Denton 2004). Pew's 2014 Religious Landscape Study found that 64 percent of US adults raised as Mormons still identified as Mormons (Lipka 2015). Subsequent Pew research has found that Mormons remained stable as a proportion of the US population, but the proportion is no longer growing.

International trends were less favorable. Van Beek observed in 1996 that in the Netherlands, "almost all older [LDS] couples have one or more, sometimes all, of their children inactive or disaffiliated" (Van Beek 1996, 133). This trend is increasing in the US. Of thirteen to seventeen-year-olds who identified as Latter-day Saints in 2002, the National Study of Youth and Religion reported that only 61% still identified with the faith at a ten-year follow-up. A quarter of those who had left identified as nonreligious, whereas 5% each identified as conservative and mainline Protestant, 2% as Jewish, and 2% indeterminate (Denton and Flory 2020). These figures were higher than other faiths surveyed (53% of Roman Catholic teens, 46% of conservative Protestants, and 23% of mainline Protestants had retained their adolescent religious identity), yet demonstrate substantial attrition. Riess reported in 2018 that fewer Millennials remained active in the LDS Church than in prior generations, with a median age of 19 at disaffiliation (Riess 2018). Other US surveys have found that between 46% and 64% of those raised as Mormons identify with the faith as adults (Riess 2020). Among those who identify, not all attend or participate.

The combination of falling birth rates and declining youth retention has created a compounding demographic math problem for the LDS Church (Stewart 2007, 25–30). Fewer young Mormons arriving at mission ages (18 for males, 19 for females), lower rates of missionary service, and fewer average converts per missionary have contributed to the decline in convert growth and member children. While the retention of LDS youth has eroded less rapidly than for some other faiths, the intergenerational transmission of Mormonism has fallen below the replacement rate. These factors signal the end of Mormon growth through high fertility and youth retention, and point to future losses.

Decline of Outreach

LDS convert growth is experiencing substantial headwinds, and not only because of flattening and decline of full-time missionary numbers. Surveys

suggest that contemporary LDS missionaries spend less time in traditional proselytizing activities than their predecessors, and more time as pastoral ancillaries.

During my mission to Russia in the early 1990s, the area presidency instructed missionaries across the region to spend at least half their time with members in response to struggles with retention and activity. With the deemphasis and critique of traditional proselytizing as ostensibly "less effective," convert baptisms declined sharply while member activity rates experienced little improvement. At a conference of the Russia Saint Petersburg mission in late 1993, President Thomas F. Rogers cited his survey finding that the average companionship in the mission reported approaching only five to ten new people a day in a city of nearly five million. One returning missionary boasted that in two years, he had never knocked on a stranger's door. Many committed missionaries returned repeatedly to investigators who put forth little effort, instead of risking rejection in approaching the millions of unreached.

Surveys of over 200 people I conducted between 1998 and 2009 in seven major Eastern European cities found that only 2% to 6% of individuals reported ever being approached by Mormon missionaries, whereas approximately 65% reported being approached by Jehovah's Witnesses, often multiple times (Stewart 2020). As I traveled to 56 countries over the past quarter century for field research and have queried hundreds of missionaries and numerous mission presidents, I found that few missions have any plans or directives for systematically reaching local populations. The mandate for broad outreach emphasized in Jesus's teachings (Mark 16:15, Matthew 28:18–20), in LDS scripture (D&C 19:29, 24:10), and by church presidents (Kimball 1974) has frequently been dismissed as impractical or unimportant. Christ's directive for the word to be preached widely, with those prepared manifesting by their conduct, has often been supplanted by expectations of miraculous success with little effort by sharing the message with a pre-selected few. Mirroring paradigms of the full-time missionary program, member-missionaries also spend far more time "attending meetings, planning, and coordinating" than in personal interactions with non-members (Ballard 2000). These attitudes contrast with the no-excuses focus of Jehovah's Witnesses on reaching large numbers through personal evangelism, and with the Adventists' strategic vision for world outreach.

Decades of low missionary contacting effort reflect institutional directives. Independent missionary finding techniques were designated as "less effective" in the 1986 *Missionary Handbook* and the 1988 *Missionary Guide*. The

2004 manual *Preach My Gospel* (2004, 156) offers an ostensible improvement, instructing missionaries to "talk with as many people as you can each day." Yet the accompanying statement that "nothing happens in missionary work until you find people to teach" discounts the value of outreach beyond the corporate bottom line of baptisms, as well as the scriptural mandate to present all people with the opportunity to accept or reject the message (D&C 30:11, 80:3). Prior missionary department research has noted that finding people to teach constitutes up to two-thirds of missionary work. Elder Dallin Oaks reported in 2003 that the average LDS missionary in North America spends only nine hours a week teaching investigators (Oaks 2003).

No indicator of independent missionary finding efforts or people reached is included among the "key indicators" that LDS missionaries report. The *Preach My Gospel* manual references street contacting only once, to note that it is not a "key indicator"; tracting is twice mentioned incidentally as an activity that some missionaries do (*PMG* 2004, 138–9). No guidance is offered into these or similar activities. LDS missionaries are instructed to "set goals for how many new investigators you will find this week," but no credit is given for reaching people. These "goals" emphasize others' responses rather than missionaries' efforts, fueling moral hazards. In contrast, Jehovah's Witnesses consider outreach measures among the most important. One Jehovah's Witness I interviewed noted that if one is constantly meeting new people, growth will follow. Broad vision for outreach and a tireless work ethic have been central to the Witnesses' growth, even in challenging religious markets like Europe where other faiths have experienced declines.

Gerontocracy

The LDS Church is the only major Western faith in the US in which the highest leaders serve until death (Prince, Bush, and Rushforth 2016). As health care and longevity have improved, LDS leaders have ascended only in their twilight years. Most have experienced long periods of physical and/or mental decline, requiring a caretaker bureaucracy to support administrative roles. Prince et al. (2016, 99) observed that "a power vacuum at the top, caused by the incapacitation of the Church president, can put the entire church at risk of damage that might otherwise be prevented by a competent president."

Contemporary Latter-day Saints increasingly expect ethical and responsive church policy. The 2015 Exclusion Policy, which prohibited children of LGBTQ couples from baptism and church fellowship, may reflect gerontocracy issues of the Church's senior leaders who grew up in an era of homopho-

bic prejudice. This policy was reversed in 2019 after three and a half years of sustained protests, and contributed to resignations and inactivity (Riess and Knoll 2019).

Organizational dysfunction and paralysis from incapacitated leadership have hampered outreach efforts. Signature mandates of LDS Church presidents, including David O. McKay's 1959 speech "Every Member a Missionary" (Holman 2009), Spencer W. Kimball's call for strategic planning and global coordination of world missions (Kimball 1974), and Ezra Taft Benson's "Flooding the Earth with the Book of Mormon" (Benson 1984), experienced little implementation or follow-through due to the leaders' declining health.

In this void, the LDS faith lost competitive advantage and market share to younger and nimbler competitors. Sixteen years after LDS President Kimball's unheeded mandate, the Seventh-day Adventist Church adopted a "global Strategy … to mobilize every believer and all church organizations and institutions in achieving our global mission" (SDA 1990). This coordinated and strategic approach to global missions facilitated a new era of accelerating growth from the early 1990s to the present even as LDS growth declined. Following LDS President Benson's call for far greater printing and distribution of the Book of Mormon, less than one dollar per member was spent annually by the LDS Church on printing missionary copies of the Book of Mormon in the early 2000s (Stewart 2007, 372-376). Yet literature strategies have been successfully implemented by the Jehovah's Witnesses. Their signature *The Watchtower* and *Awake!* magazines are by far the most widely distributed magazines in the world, with a per-issue circulation of over 42 million copies in more than 190 languages and 41 million copies in more than 80 languages, respectively (Watch Tower n.d.). By late 2019, the Witnesses had translated their literature into over 1,000 languages, including some languages with no other available online content (Watch Tower 2019c).

Institutional Dynamics

The LDS Church's dual nature as a regional and global faith, and differences between the homeland "Zion" and the "mission field," have posed competing demands. The Utah church, and the American church generally, have enjoyed privileged status, while generating negative externalities for the international church and the unreached.

The nineteenth-century policy of "gathering to Zion," first in the American Midwest and then in the Mountain West, facilitated the development of a cohesive Mormon culture (Arrington 2004). Isolation allowed Mormon lead-

ers to shape a society and to exercise political and economic clout. The legacy of the gathering involved tradeoffs and unintended consequences, some of which have become liabilities for internationalization and growth. Historical dynamics have tended to reinforce each other while undermining potential alternatives.

There were few non-believers to preach to in early Mormon communities. Almost from the faith's inception, missionary work was understood as sending rather than being. Personal evangelism was compartmentalized as an itinerant, short-term duty of priesthood-holding adult males rather than being instilled as a gospel habit to be implemented regularly by all members. LDS women and youth were not systematically engaged in personal evangelism. Women in other faiths may be more likely than men to share their beliefs (Stewart 2007, 421–23); approximately two-thirds of US Jehovah's Witness proclaimers are women (Lipka 2016). As LDS women are the traditional nurturers and educators of children in the homes, many LDS children were not taught how to share their faith with others. Young LDS men and women arrived at the age of full-time missionary service with little if any prior experience in personal evangelism.

Conditions of missionary work in a Mormon-dominated society are very different than elsewhere. Mormons who were born and raised in the faith lost track of how non-Mormons think and feel. This disconnect has hampered growth and retention. Itinerant missionaries focused on reaping an immediate harvest rather than sowing for long-term local growth. The emigration of most nineteenth-century converts from their native lands left few behind to build congregations. Mormonism defined itself early in its history as an American faith that depended for growth on the preaching of itinerant missionaries rather than on the personal evangelism of lay members.

Due to the paucity of non-Mormons in Utah, the celebrity status of church authorities in Mormon communities, and the declining health of senior leaders, the mantra of "leadership by example"—elsewhere considered a core principle—had been largely discontinued with respect to personal evangelism by the mid-twentieth century. The faith was deprived of the insights and experience of participatory mission leadership. Mandates and initiatives based on stylized notions of the conversion process became the norm in missions worldwide, and in key cases, were incorporated into the institutional missionary program. The limited testing of churchwide programs was conducted almost exclusively in North America, where it was heavily skewed toward the "Mormon Cultural Region."

Members assimilated what they saw rather than what they heard, and could safely tune out exhortations to personal evangelism. The mantra "every member a missionary" introduced by President David O. McKay in 1959 has remained an empty slogan, with actual performance reflecting nearly the opposite. Elder Russell M. Ballard noted (2000) that only 3% to 5% of US LDS members regularly participate in missionary work, and that Latter-day Saints are more uptight than non-Mormons in religious discussions.[2] Other research has found that US Latter-day Saints are far less likely to participate in personal evangelism than non-denominational Christians (Barna 2001). Numerous member-missionary initiatives have come and gone without changing this dynamic.

LDS Church culture was closely bound to US culture (Rigal-Cellard 2018, 199), which was exported as "a gospel norm" (Chen 2008). English became an official language in LDS chapels worldwide. The need for integration into local societies and for differentiation of the faith's teachings from the American cultural milieu were deemphasized by claims to universality. International members faced "double marginalization … manifest both inside the Church and in their own country" (Chen 2008, 3), and have experienced low retention.

The privileged status of the American-based Church has fostered disproportionate attention to some mission fields, especially the United States, Northern Europe as the ancestral land of many early Mormons, and Latin America and Oceania as ostensible lands of Book of Mormon peoples (Mueller 2017). In early 2020, 115 (28.8 percent) of the Church's 399 full-time missions were located in the United States and Canada, which account for less than 5 percent of the world's population. Another 154 (38.5 percent) of missions were located in Latin America, home to just 8.4 percent of humans. Fewer than one-third of LDS missions serve the remaining 87 percent of the world's population. Such inequities are ethically problematic from the perspective of the Church's exclusivist claims. In economic terms, the high concentration of LDS mission assets in slow-growth, religiously saturated nations and the minimal presence in receptive nations where most Christian growth is occurring, represents a lack of diversification that inevitably leads to lower long-term growth than a more balanced, diversified mission portfolio.

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[2] The figure of 3 to 5 percent given by Elder Ballard in the August 1999 Conversion and Retention Fireside is incorrectly reported as 35 percent in the subsequent Ensign article. I have confirmed with the LDS Church Missionary Department that 3 to 5 percent is the correct figure.

Moral Hazard and Adverse Selection

Mormon dominance and isolation in the Utah region led to greater *moral hazards* in missionary outreach than for faiths integrated as minorities within larger cultures. In contrast to local members with a vested interest in building strong congregations, itinerant missionaries are not connected to local communities, have little incentive for quality, and experience no accountability for convert loss. The costs of their failures are borne by the people they teach and by local congregations. The "almost strangling focus on baptisms" (Van Beek 2005) as the principal indicator of Mormon growth fueled *principal-agent problems*. Incentives of missionaries and their leaders became misaligned with the needs of those they were commissioned to serve and with the long-term growth of the institutional church.

The isolation of the Utah Zion, as well as the institutional culture of secret-keeping and nondisclosure that had arisen during the polygamy era (Bartholomew 2019), created an *asymmetric information* gradient. Birthright Mormons had little access to the church experience in the "mission field," and relied largely on Church-controlled publications for information. Official LDS membership statistics do not distinguish between retained and unretained converts, and baptizing unprepared converts who were not retained required far less effort than making lasting conversions.

Exploitation of asymmetric information fueled *adverse selection* in missionary program leadership. The focus on high baptismal numbers without regard to convert retention favored those willing to abrogate ethics. Many who advocated for rushed baptisms were assigned to influential positions in the Missionary Department and church leadership (Quinn 1993). Rather than being locally contained and remedied, elements of rush-baptize approaches were systematized by the institutional missionary program and propagated worldwide (Stewart 2007, 432–444). For example, a generation of missionaries and mission leaders were taught the "Rector System" by former LDS general authority Hartman Rector, Jr. In his widely circulated accelerated baptism manifesto *Already to Harvest* (1988), Rector presented the example of missionaries in Mexico who covenanted to baptize 25 people in one month. Led by "the spirit," the missionaries engaged in a whirlwind push for baptisms. To meet their quota, missionaries made "font calls" on the last day of the month to baptize individuals with no prior teaching. No mention is made of how many became active members. In later years, Rector fell victim to a Ponzi scheme that shared much in common with the system of missionary work he advocated,

including high-pressure calls for immediate decisions based on charismatic testimonials (Peterson 2009).

The Accelerated Baptism Program

The "Accelerated Baptism Program" reflects a stylized notion of conversion as a one-time charismatic event based on "feeling the spirit," rather than as a spiritual, intellectual, and emotional process requiring work over time. Admonitions of the faith's scripture regarding the qualifications of prospective converts (e.g., Moroni 6:1–3) were set aside for a high-pressure race to baptism.

Economist George Akerlof's classic paper "The Market for 'Lemons'" found that asymmetric information that cannot be accurately discerned by the less informed party leads to low-quality products ("lemons") displacing quality ones ("peaches") in the market (Akerlof 1970). Many periods of apparently rapid increase in international LDS membership, including in the United Kingdom (Quinn 1993), Japan (Numano 1996), Australia (Newton 1996), Portugal, and across much of Latin America and the Philippines, resulted from high-pressure rush-baptize tactics which left long-term burdens of inactivity while adding few participating members.

Less sensational but more broadly influential has been the extent to which elements of the "accelerated baptism program" were incorporated into the institutional missionary system. The 1988 Missionary Guide and accompanying missionary discussions of the *Uniform System for Teaching the Gospel* were billed as departures from the "aggressive salesmanship of earlier plans in favor of a more 'human relations' form of persuasion" (Shepherd and Shepherd 1996, 38–39). Yet the teaching program was calibrated to a window of about two weeks between first acquaintance and baptism. This period allowed little time for life change, development of new habits, or member fellowshipping, and disadvantaged even sincere converts taught by dedicated missionaries adhering to official guidelines (Stewart 2007, 432–44).

Official lesson plans instructed missionaries to make daily contact with investigators and to seek short-term baptismal commitments on the first or second visit. At this point, most listeners had not attended church or read more than brief selections of LDS scripture. Individuals who wished for more meaningful periods of study and preparation had to decline repeated baptismal challenges; the teaching relationship often did not survive.

Missionaries felt pressured to keep arbitrary baptismal dates, even when investigators failed to follow through with church attendance and other core

commitments. The program's focus on baptisms as the key indicator not only of the success of missionary labors, but of the spirituality and worthiness of the missionaries themselves, fueled a belief that "God wants everyone to be baptized." Ostensible standards were rarely permitted to impede, and were routinely waived at baptismal interviews for expressions of belief and future promises. Those baptized with minimal preparation experienced high attrition. Many were not "active investigators" and never became active members (Clark 1998). The spirituality of missionaries suffered and some lost their faith entirely (Quinn 1993, 39–40).

Accelerated baptism programs fed a vicious circle of convert loss. Although some international converts became committed and believing Latter-day Saints, asymmetric information, pressure for missionaries to meet monthly baptismal goals, and lack of accountability fueled similar dynamics worldwide. The number of international converts lost to attrition came to outstrip those who became active members by a wide margin. Millions were lost to the church soon after baptism. Concerns about high-pressure rush-baptize tactics were dismissed with official assurances that the programs were inspired (Newton 1996). Fractional convert retention arising from official teaching programs went unreported in church publications and reports beyond the occasional vague, often euphemistic, acknowledgment.

Vast numbers of inactive members on the rolls exerted an inhibitory drag on membership and congregational growth in excess of a "free rider" problem (Stewart 2019), sapping the energy, resources, and enthusiasm of local members while diverting missionary and member time from new outreach. Members, traumatized when converts they had worked to befriend exited almost as quickly as they had entered, came to maintain emotional distance and were reluctant to warmly fellowship new people as a defense against the psychological trauma of loss. Others were overwhelmed and "waited to see 'who the good ones were'" (Moore 2002). Louder admonitions from the pulpit without underlying remedies failed to improve these dynamics. Failures of promises accompanying programs prescribed by American authorities, many of which were culturally problematic, led to a "backlash of guilt and frustration" with little evidence of quality improvement or institutional insight (Mauss 2008, 46).

The standardized LDS missionary program systematized an objectification of prospective converts that would have been unthinkable in relation to one's own friends and acquaintances, prioritizing pursuit of baptisms over

timeless ethics and the best interests of those being served. The "I-It" as opposed to "I-Thou" paradigm (Quinn 1993) facilitated exploitation of prospective converts and *could not* have been long implemented by a faith whose leaders were regularly engaged in frontline proselytism, but arose from the leveraging of asymmetric information by unaccountable functionaries detached from the human cost. The relentless push to baptism, prioritization of institutional programming over individual needs, and the revolving door of baptism and inactivity, were incompatible with members' needs to maintain positive relationships with acquaintances even if religious teachings were not fully accepted. Consequently, lay Mormon members have been, and remain, deeply reluctant to invite friends and acquaintances to be taught by full-time missionaries. For similar reasons, full-time LDS missionaries have been largely ineffective in mentoring member-missionaries, notwithstanding massive time investment.

The "accelerated baptism program" lacked solid theological or philosophical rationale. It did not arise from practical insight or durable success, but from misaligned incentives, principal-agent problems, and the exploitation of asymmetric information. The theses that rushed baptism of converts "to get them the Holy Spirit before Satan could get to them" would lead to personal epiphany and active church membership, or that "getting them on the rolls" would help "the Church to better meet their needs," were always at odds with the results. Economist Lawrence Iannaccone documented "why strict churches are strong," noting that "any attempt to directly subsidize the observable aspects of religious participation (such as church attendance) will almost certainly backfire" (Iannaccone 1994).

To the extent that the size of the LDS Church has made some corporatization inevitable, proper models must be selected. America's leading corporations are overwhelmingly ones that focus on developing long-term customers through demonstration of value. High-pressure sales tactics never represented "best practices" of American business, and had been roundly repudiated by leading companies and business thinkers long before the rise of the Mormon "Accelerated Baptism Program." In 1947, *Harvard Business Review* editor Edward Bursk acknowledged that "salesmen in many lines decry 'high-pressure selling' as a crude relic of bygone days" (Bursk 1947). Bursk detailed the effectiveness of "low-pressure selling" in which the salesperson allowed the prospective clients to reach a decision freely and independently, supporting their natural inclinations to buy rather than driving a decision.

Contemporary Jehovah's Witness and Seventh-day Adventist approaches to conversion have long utilized principles of "low-pressure selling" (Stark and Iannaccone 1997, 140). These groups have implemented more rigorous baptismal standards, baptized more converts, and achieved higher convert retention than the LDS Church. Jehovah's Witnesses typically conduct baptisms only three times annually, and emphasize "a strong, rational basis underlying their wish [for baptism], rather than just emotion" and firm, demonstrated commitment to keeping one's promises (Secaira 2016). Witness converts typically attend for six months to a year before baptism, and some longer. Seventh-day Adventists do not prescribe a specific period, but for decades have required "a radical change in the life" of prospective converts. Candidates must complete dedicated Bible study and receive approval of the local church board to safeguard from "unknown problems in a candidate's life that should have been taken care of before baptism" (SDA 1981). Many prospective converts attend for months; the most enthusiastic are rarely baptized with less than six to eight weeks of study. These deliberate, unpressured approaches emphasize full implementation of required life changes before baptism and help prospective converts to "count the cost" of discipleship, with the sober recognition that parting ways is better for all parties than the baptism of unprepared converts.

Rarely in modern times has the LDS Church achieved convert-based growth consisting of both high quality and quantity, although there have been some bright spots, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Institutional acceptance of the false dichotomy between quality and quantity posed by quick-baptize proponents, and long perseveration in this path, will be understood by future historians as a fateful decision by which the LDS Church abdicated its potential to become a major world religion.

Philosophy and Worldview

Two potentially problematic philosophies I have often heard in field work shall be designated as Mormon *determinism* and *authoritarian positivism*. These philosophies are far from universal, yet pose barriers, and warrant further research. Mormon determinism affirms the inevitability of the Church's continued world growth and eventual triumph over external obstacles. It asserts that even if members and missionaries put forth little effort, or well-intended programs miss the mark, the Holy Spirit will nonetheless guide positive outcomes. Weak-form determinism makes some allowance for free will, but minimizes the consequence of personal choice. Setbacks and errors are seen as

temporary and largely devoid of lasting consequence. Determinism has fueled complacency while impeding accountability, institutional insight, and process improvement.

Authoritarian positivism imputes that administrative directives are right, not because of consistency with timeless principles, nor because of meritorious results, but because they are proclaimed by inspired authorities who hold priesthood keys. Spiritual impressions of leaders have at times been prioritized over principles, relevant data, and the need for insights from direct personal involvement in the missionary process. Claims of being "guided by the spirit" have granted vast latitude, but have not infrequently demonstrated "confirmation bias," and pose downsides when untethered from lucid understanding and responsiveness. Poor results have unswervingly been attributed to external impediments or poor "followership," rather than flawed guidance.

Missionary Program Reforms

The LDS Church has recognized many challenges and has instituted adaptations and reforms. While offering some insights, many ostensible reforms have consisted of half-measures or mixed messages (Stewart 2007). Yet the rush to baptize poorly prepared converts who have received only minimal teaching has not been repudiated by the LDS Church. A more abbreviated teaching program and scaled-back official standards have actually lowered the bar.

Some contemporary LDS missions have achieved meaningful improvements in convert retention through the implementation of local standards. Requirements to attend church for six weeks before baptism in some missions in the Philippines and Latin America have been reported to dramatically boost one-year convert retention rates. These improvements have generally reflected local mission or area guidance, rather than robust institutional reforms, and have rarely survived changes in mission leadership. LDS missions in much of the world continue to struggle with cursory teaching, rushed baptism, and low retention.

The 1988 *Missionary Guide* conveyed First Presidency directives that prospective converts must "attend regular Sunday church meetings and feel unified with Church members" (LDS 1988), which would presumably require regular attendance over time to achieve. In 2002, the First Presidency proclaimed that all prospective converts must have attended several sacrament meetings prior to baptism, meet the bishop or branch president, and meet other standards (FPL 2002). This guidance scales back the prior directive. Pro-

spective converts are no longer required to attend any church meetings other than sacrament meeting, and need only meet the bishop or branch president rather than attend and engage sufficiently to "feel unified with Church members." Just as the prior mandate was routinely ignored in LDS missions, the 2002 directive has widely been set aside or creatively interpreted. "Several" is defined as "more than two; three or more." Nonetheless, many mission and area presidencies represented the requirement as attending only twice (and in some cases, once) before baptism, and encouraged baptism as soon as minimum thresholds could be met.

The 2004 *Preach My Gospel* (*PMG*) manual provided missionaries with limited education regarding their role in convert retention. Yet *PMG*'s abbreviated curriculum, directives for daily contact, and key indicators have led to ongoing pressure for missionaries to baptize prospective converts as soon as possible. Officially-sanctioned directives to impose arbitrary baptismal dates within about two weeks of the first or second lesson have often denied prospective converts opportunities for unpressured church attendance and integration with local members.

The 1937 *Missionary's Hand Book* lacked a systematic teaching program, instead incorporating tracts and films, including problematic relics of the Mormonism of its day (*MHB* 1937). Notwithstanding limitations, the *Hand Book* contained numerous insights regarding finding, teaching, and time management absent from contemporary manuals.

The standardized LDS missionary lessons arose from the adaptation of missionary Richard Lloyd Anderson's *A Plan for Effective Missionary Work* developed in the Northern States Mission in approximately 1946. The LDS Church published *A Systematic Program for Teaching the Gospel* in 1952 with seven lessons (149 pages), *A Uniform System for Teaching Investigators* in 1960 with six "discussions" (91 pages), *The Uniform System for Teaching Families* in 1973 with seven lessons (219 pages), and the *Uniform System for Teaching the Gospel* in 1986 with six discussions (117 pages) (White 2010).

With just four lessons that can be taught in short (3–5 minute), "medium" (10–15 minute), and "full" (30–45 minute) versions, the contemporary *Preach My Gospel* manual (published in 2004, with minor revisions in 2018 and 2019) presents the most abbreviated teaching in the history of the standardized missionary program (*PMG* 2004, 29–81). The "short" and "medium" lesson plans provide official mandate for so-called "doorstep discussions," an accelerated baptism tactic in which missionaries would mention key concepts

in the course of brief conversations and count it as an official lesson. Many individuals whom missionaries have engaged in casual conversation are reported as "investigators" who have received teaching lessons, unbeknown to the individuals themselves and without formal acceptance of a teaching relationship. The manual acknowledges that some converts may need additional teaching, and offers the opportunity to teach partial lessons, yet nowhere disavows the three- to five-minute "lessons" as satisfying ostensible requirements for baptism. Previous lesson plans typically required a minimum of 45 to 60 minutes for each of the six or seven lessons and had no approved abbreviated version.

After baptism, converts are to be "taught the first four lessons again" by either full-time or ward missionaries. A fifth lesson ("Laws and Ordinances") is added after baptism, often with ward missionaries or home teachers present. *PMG* notes that "baptismal candidates should at least be aware of these laws and ordinances before baptism," while implying that more than brief mention would be exceptional.

Instructions for the four missionary lessons to be routinely re-taught to all converts after baptism provide official acknowledgment of the cursory teaching and fragile understanding of many converts at the time of baptism. Many converts continue to fall away without completing the post-baptismal lessons. Drastically scaling back the teaching of prospective converts, even while continuing to push short-term baptismal commitments from the second or even first lesson, is a curious "reform" for a faith experiencing a crisis of convert loss.

As well, "the missionary organization is replete with corporate Americanisms" (Van Beek 1996). *Preach My Gospel* has removed some Americanisms while retaining its corporate mindset. The 2019 *PMG* manual centers missionary planning and time management on four "key indicators" that focus exclusively on baptism and its immediate requirements: the number baptized and confirmed, the number with baptismal commitments, the number of non-members attending sacrament meeting, and the number of new people being taught. Lessons taught to new converts were reported as a "Key Indicator" in the 2004 *PMG* manual, but this item has been dropped with the 2019 update. Neither reported church attendance of recent converts for any period after baptism. Missionaries are instructed to "set goals and make plans for people to be baptized in the coming week," to discuss "any commitments these people may be struggling with," and to make daily contact. No mention is

made that prospective converts struggling days before an arbitrary baptismal date are likely to experience relapse and attrition, and may be better served with more preparation and less pressure.

Official church manuals have presented problematic tactics, even as leaders have downplayed institutional culpability. For instance, in his explanation to mission presidents in 2019 of why "missionaries shouldn't invite people to be baptized without feeling the Spirit," Apostle M. Russell Ballard articulated difficulties with the practice, imputed it to naïve missionaries, and stated that "Church leaders don't know where these practices began" (Weaver 2019). Yet the LDS Church's *Uniform System for Teaching the Gospel* used by missionaries worldwide from 1986 to 2004 instructed missionaries at the end of the second lesson: "Unless otherwise prompted by the Spirit, you should at this point invite the investigators to be baptized on a specific date" (LDS 1986). Revisions have offered little improvement. The 2004 *PMG* manual instructs missionaries from the first lesson: "do not hesitate to invite people to be baptized and confirmed … The invitation … should be specific and direct," including a proposed baptismal date (*PMG* 2004, 40). Similar instructions are reiterated after the second discussion, with no mention of a requirement to first "feel the Spirit" or implement necessary life changes. The revised 2019 *PMG* manual directs missionaries to extend the baptismal invitation after the second discussion "as directed by the Spirit" but without the nuance noted by Elder Ballard. The short, "medium," and "full" lesson plans all instruct missionaries to invite listeners: "Will you follow the example of the Savior and be baptized on (date)?"

President Gordon B. Hinckley counseled missionaries: "if you will work hard, the matter of converts will take care of itself … give it your very best" (Hinckley 1997). Yet the corporate missionary program poses relentless pressure for baptismal numbers. Missionaries are instructed that "their goal should be to have increasing numbers for every key indicator" (*PMG* 2004, 139). One's best effort is never good enough. In the twentieth century, demands for ever-increasing production output in some command economies led to widespread falsification and even famine (Livi-Bacci 1993). Goals and quotas based on the response of others rather than personal effort are inherently manipulative. On my own youth mission, the decision to disregard institutional goal-setting demands and to be satisfied with our best efforts was a turning point that lifted a heavy psychological burden and improved productivity.

The LDS Church's missionary program reforms have rearranged the furniture without remedying core pathologies. After more than a fifty-year

retention crisis resulting in the loss of millions of converts and multiple iterations of missionary program "reform," the LDS Church today presents just four lessons that can be taught in as little as three to five minutes. That this is viewed as satisfying teaching requirements for prospective converts bodes poorly for the faith's future. A gap persists between policy directives and the ostensible standards for baptism proclaimed in LDS scripture and by senior leaders. LDS missions that have broken the mold to achieve higher convert retention have implemented higher standards. Some contemporary Mormon missionaries appear to be better listeners, more sensitive to individual needs, and more focused on helping individuals develop gospel habits and achieve meaningful spiritual experiences. More realistic evaluation of the preparation of prospective converts has achieved local, often transient, implementation. Yet worldwide, low convert retention reflects the continued push for baptism over short periods with minimal teaching and preparation.

Other Institutional Adaptations

In October 2012, the age of eligibility for full-time missionary service was lowered to 18 from 19 for men and to 19 from 21 for women (Stack and Schencker 2012), transiently boosting missionary numbers but achieving no sustained increase in convert baptisms. Other adaptations have included jettisoning the terms "LDS" and "Mormon" to emphasize belief in Christ in 2018 (Stack and Pierce 2018) and transitioning from a three-hour to two-hour Sunday meeting schedule in 2019. Home and visiting teaching programs, long noted to be dysfunctional in the international church (Mauss 2008), were replaced with a more flexible "ministering" program in April 2018 (FPL 2018).

Lay "ministering" emphasizes Christian service and prayerful consideration of individual needs, and encourages members to engage in open conversations with others with sincere warmth and caring. The ministering program promotes interactions that are more natural, responsive, and involve real listening in contrast to earlier scripted dialogues that emphasized delivering a designated message. The LDS Church's extensive and at times overwhelming demands—it is a "greedy institution," as acknowledged by the faith's leaders (Van Beek 2005)—have contributed to burnout, feelings of inadequacy, and attrition, especially among international members. The recognition that there is a healthy limit to the burdens placed on church members is adaptive, as is the understanding that non-essentials must be pared down or eliminated to ensure priority to core missions.

These reforms offer constructive but limited remedies. Several offer "quality of life" improvements to the church experience for members, and may help to strengthen and stabilize membership. However, they do not address core pathologies underlying declining LDS growth.

Quality Improvement Processes

President Russell M. Nelson noted in April 2018 that "good inspiration is based on good information" (Nelson 2018). Virtually all successful organizations implement robust quality improvement processes. Yet LDS missions have traditionally operated behind an informational firewall. Acceptance of fractional convert retention as inevitable, *a priori* attribution of retention problems to local congregations, and circular logic defining official programs as inspired, became rationalizations for actively disregarding crises and doubling down on accelerated baptism tactics even as losses mounted.

The personal loss and disillusionment experienced by countless unretained converts in few cases resulted in process improvement. Pockets of insight have been transient, rarely surviving personnel rotations. Instructions for outgoing mission presidents not to talk to incoming ones about their mission experiences and policies prevented meaningful collective learning. Concerns from local members have been systematically disregarded until crises reach a point that they can no longer be ignored, often with lasting damage (Newton 1996). By policy, letters from missionaries to higher church authorities are returned unopened to the local mission president. Although the faith's leaders have taught that the current church president is the only individual who will never lead the Church astray (Benson 1981), these and other policies treat mission and stake leaders *de facto* as infallible, preventing meaningful accountability and undermining possibilities for quality improvement.

The LDS Church's conversion and retention crises have thus lingered far longer, and have been remedied less decisively, than for Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses (Paulsen 2002). The lack of credible, consistent, and responsive institutional quality improvement mechanisms weighs heavily on future forecasts. Less responsive organizations inevitably lose competitive advantage to more agile challengers.

Future Adaptations

Future institutional responses will influence growth prospects. For any organization, not all theoretical choices are feasible. Each decision or policy moves

the organization in the chosen direction at the cost of potential alternatives. Young organizations typically have more policy choices than older organizations, which may be constrained by precedent, expectations, and established interests. The best that is reasonably achievable under internal constraints and external circumstance is called a constrained optimum (Morgan 2015; Prosser 1993). The constrained optimum may still be far from the global optimum. Boundaries may change over time as the organization embarks in new directions, opening new possibilities. As circumstances change, the optimum may also change. Policies formulated for yesterday's needs may be unhelpful or even counterproductive under new circumstances.

Substantive reform can occur, but organizations can experience a "status quo effect," "sunk cost effect," and "switching costs" when departing from history and practices. Ashby and Theodorescu noted that decision-makers tend to demonstrate "choice inertia" and may "repeatedly choose suboptimal options while neglecting to explore for the existence of better options" (2019). They further observed that "choice-inertia can lead to poor performance even if the original choice was the best alternative available. This occurs when changes in the environment make the original choice obsolete but the choice strategy does not adapt."

The adaptations and reforms of the LDS Church to date have demonstrated only narrow excursions on established themes. Variations have principally involved matters of form, such as the age of eligibility for missionary service, the length of church services, the faith's preferred nomenclature, and regimented versus flexible ministering. Little change is attested in underlying paradigms, such as the perception of LDS missionary work as compartmentalized to special and often itinerant callings rather than as a universal duty, the rush to baptize prospective converts over short periods, and leadership non-participation in frontline proselytism. These factors suggest that the LDS Church will continue to experience "choice inertia" and that full remedies are unlikely.

Societal Factors

Following World War II, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints experienced the convergence of numerous favorable factors for growth, including the US baby boom, improving human rights and personal freedoms in many nations, generally favorable attitudes toward Americans, and opportunities for outreach in numerous previously unreached nations. Contemporary con-

ditions are far less favorable across these and other indicators. Fertility rates have plummeted, Christianity is in deep decline, human rights and freedoms are receding, and prospects for unrestricted proselytism in unreached nations are remote.

Secularization and Materialism

Religiosity has tended to decline with increases in the Human Development Index (HDI), an aggregate of dimensional indices for average per capita income, education, and life expectancy. Increased material prosperity and scientific explanations for natural phenomena have lessened the sense of dependence on the divine. Cultural institutions have furthered secularization trends, and Sunday entertainment may directly compete with religious services (Cragun et al. 2019). Variability has been documented in the relationship between religiosity and health (Zimmer et al. 2019), education, and income.

Declining Fertility

A global "fertility crash" (Tartar et al. 2019) has seen world fertility rates drop from approximately five children per woman in the five-year period from 1950 to 1955 to 2.5 in the period from 2010 to 2015 (Pew 2015a). Further decline to 2.1, the replacement level, is projected by 2050. US Millennials are less likely to marry and have children than prior generations (Bialik and Fry 2019). Most US young adults in a cohort studied from 1997 to 2011 had their first child out of wedlock (Cherlin et al. 2016). While birth rates have fallen among almost all groups, the decline has been particularly steep among the non-religious. Religious people have more children on average than non-religious people, and fertility rates of non-religious populations worldwide are below replacement fertility rates (Lipka and McLendon 2017). The stagnation of population growth and disruption of family structures present challenges for a faith that has focused much of its public messaging on traditional nuclear families, and in which singles have experienced low retention (Riess 2016).

Human Rights

The spread of democracy and pluralism to expanding areas of the world in the second half of the twentieth century led to greater respect for human rights. Many nations broadened freedom of conscience, speech, and the press and

facilitated an environment in which individuals could choose to affiliate with the faith of their choice or no faith at all. While ostensibly acknowledged as universal and self-evident by signatories of the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, these rights peaked worldwide in the early twenty-first century and have been progressively infringed since that time. The Pew Research Center reported that from 2007 to 2017, "laws, policies and actions by state officials that restrict religious beliefs and practices have increased markedly around the world. And social hostilities involving religion—including violence and harassment by private individuals or groups—also have risen since 2007" (Pew 2019a).

Freedom of speech has also been receding. The Higher Education Research Institute has found that today's US college students are "more openly hostile to free speech than earlier generations of collegians" (Rampell 2016; Eagan et al. 2016). Activists have conveyed intolerance to dissenting views "as if free speech were zero sum," and speakers with dissenting views have repeatedly been "disinvited or forced to withdraw from campus speaking engagements." An absolute majority of incoming college freshmen favored restrictions on speech for the first time in 2019 (Stoltzenberg et al. 2020, 41). Professor Emeritus Guenter Lewy observed that "today's students identify speech as violence and feel they can meet it with coercion," creating an "atmosphere of harassment and intimidation" that "undermines the tradition of free inquiry that used to be the hallmark of higher education" (Lewy 2018).

Freedom of the press has been integral to the spread of Mormonism, yet it is waning worldwide. Experts interviewed by the British Broadcasting Corporation identified "the breakdown of trusted information sources" as one of the "grand challenges we face in the 21st Century" (Gray 2017). Americans of different political persuasions share "little overlap in the news sources they turn to and trust" (Mitchell et al. 2014). A majority of Americans say that fake news has caused "a great deal of confusion" about basic facts (Barthel et al. 2016), and they do not expect the situation to improve (Anderson and Rainie 2017).

Reporters without Borders reported in 2019 that "the number of countries regarded as safe, where journalists can work in complete security, continues to decline, while authoritarian regimes continue to tighten their grip on the media" (Reporters without Borders 2019). In 2015, the group noted that as "conflicts proliferated … all warring parties without exception waged a fearsome information war" in which "media, used for propaganda purposes or

starved of information, became strategic targets" to be controlled or silenced (Reporters without Borders 2015). Religious pretexts were prominent in restrictions of the press and of speech: the "criminalization of blasphemy endangers freedom of information in around half of the world's countries," serving as "an extremely effective way of censuring criticism of the government in countries where religion shapes the law."

Decline of Democracy

Of the seventy-five nations rated as "full democracies" or "flawed democracies" by the EUI Democracy Index in 2019 (DI 2019), the LDS Church reported at least one hundred local members in all but two (Tunisia and Timor Leste), but in only ten of fifty-four "authoritarian" countries.[3] Nations with representative democracies tend to uphold human rights and freedom of conscience better than authoritarian nations, in which state press and religion (or philosophical indoctrination) often facilitate political control.

Freedom House reported that "countries with net declines in their aggregate "Freedom in the World" score have outnumbered those with gains for the past 14 years," during which "more than half of the world's established democracies deteriorated" and "the US has fallen below traditional democratic peers" (Repucci 2020). The struggle for democracy has been leaderless as traditional guardians in Western governments and the press have been silent or ineffective. Forbes ranked China's Xi Jinping and Russia's Vladimir Putin as the world's first and second most powerful people in 2018, citing "the consolidation of power in the hands of an elite few" worldwide (Ewalt 2018). Constitutional coups in China (Doubek 2018) and Russia (Kara-Murza 2020) in 2018 and 2020, respectively, have positioned autocrats to "rule indefinitely," marking the end of national reform eras (Wong 2020). Suppression of democratic uprisings against authoritarian regimes in Iran (2019), Hong Kong (2019), and Belarus (2020) evoked little outcry in the West. The decline of freedoms and democracy worldwide limits prospects for LDS growth and expansion in unreached nations, and has posed increased restrictions even in nations like Russia where open proselytism had previously been permitted.

[3]Authoritarian nations with over one hundred reported LDS members include two in Latin America (Nicaragua and Venezuela), seven in Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Togo, Zimbabwe) and Cambodia. Nicaragua and Venezuela were more open societies when most LDS growth occurred. Russia has LDS membership, but no statistics were reported by the LDS Church in 2019. China and Pakistan have a small number of LDS members, but these figures were not reported. Kuwait, which has a congregation for expatriates but without native members, is not counted. Figures for nations with hybrid regimes were intermediate.

Decline of Christianity

The Pew Research Center projects that "in the next half century or so, Christianity's long reign as the world's largest religion may come to an end" (Lipka and Hackett 2017). By 2050, its share of the population is expected to decline in all world regions except Asia and the Pacific (Pew 2015a). Although Christianity is gaining adherents in Africa, its growth is outpaced by higher Muslim birth rates.

The 2014–2016 European Social Survey found that more young people identify as nonreligious than as Christians in most nations (Bullivant 2018). Van Beek noted that Christianity declined in much of Europe with erosion of societal "pillars" of faith (1996). Roles traditionally filled by churches, including care for the poor, education, socialization, and others, have been assumed almost entirely by secular institutions. French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut described the loss of his nation's best-known religious monument as a metaphor for European Christianity: "The Notre-Dame fire is neither an attack nor an accident, but a suicide attempt" (2019).

In the United States, Christianity is declining at a "rapid pace" (Pew 2019b), and only about one-third of Millennials report attending church at least monthly. While North American religious institutions are not as "pillarized" as in Europe, ongoing role replacement has occurred. For example, faith-based schools have seen declining enrollment across the US (Harsh 2018), and LDS pastoral leaders are now instructed to encourage the needy to seek assistance from government programs, with financial assistance from the Church often secondary (LDS Handbook 2020).

As Christianity has declined, so has the efficacy of LDS outreach approaches, which have historically assumed that listeners had a Christian background. The faith has experienced only meager pockets of success in proselytizing non-Christians. C. S. Lewis observed in 1948 that "The greatest barrier I have met [to evangelism] is the almost total absence from the minds of my audience of any sense of sin," deflating the perceived need for Christianity's prescribed remedy (Lewis 1947, 243). In 2019, Jana Riess wrote that "'which Church is true' isn't the right question anymore," and noted that traditional Mormon messages are less effective for Millennials (Riess 2019c).

Christianity's decline also reflects a perceived loss of moral authority. Barna Group president David Kinnaman cited research that "84% of young non-Christians say they know a Christian personally, yet only 15% say the lifestyles of those believers are noticeably different in a good way" (Kinnaman

2013). In the void left by the declaration that "God is dead," Nietzsche premonished in 1888 "the advent of nihilism" and noted that European culture was "moving as toward a catastrophe" (Nietzsche 1901, 3). Yale scholar Juan Linz noted that secularization created a void that could be filled by "total ideological dedication" and that "once simplified and reduced to slogans by a political movement, such ideas became the basis for a pseudo-religious political cause that justified totalitarianism and made it possible" (Griffin 2005, 7).

Notwithstanding varying interpretations, Christianity's teachings of God rather than the state as the source of human rights, assertion of transcendent truth and ethics, and teachings of the sanctity of family, among others, made it a target for those seeking to supplant religious faith with political or philosophical indoctrination. The Reign of Terror following the French Revolution included violent anti-clericalism and de-Christianization (Tallett 1991; Latreille 2002) perpetrated by the Jacobins in the name of "equality, brotherhood, and the happiness of future generations" (Solzhenitsyn 1973, 77). Communism sprang up as an ostensibly scientific and rationalist system imposing state atheism. Karl Marx saw conscience as a product of society, and wrote: "the first prerequisite for the happiness of the people is the abolition of religion" (1844). Vladimir Lenin "demanded that communist propaganda must employ militancy and irreconcilability toward all forms of idealism and religion" (Froese 2004). The persecution of religious believers in the Soviet Union has been cited as the largest martyrdom event in world history (Barrett and Johnson 2001). Church attendance in Russia fell from approximately 52% of parents and 40% of children in the 1920s to less than 3% by 1980 (Froese 2004, Table 2; Iannaccone 2002). Anti-Christian ideas of social Darwinism underpinned Hitler's crusade against ethnic minorities.

In contemporary society, Jewish author Bruce Abramson observed that Christians are the "first target" of an "ascendant cultural secularism" (2015). Christianity has increasingly been blamed for social and historical ills, even as its positive contributions have been discounted. The Pew Research Center reported in 2014 that 74% of Democrats and 83% of Republicans agreed that religion is losing influence in American life; 44% of Democrats and 71% of Republicans expressed that religion does "more good than harm in American society" (Lipka 2019). During the coronavirus pandemic, US Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito cautioned that religious freedom in the US is "in danger of becoming a second-class right" (Barnes 2020).

Open Doors USA reported that 2019 was the "worst year yet" for persecution of Christians: "260 million Christians experience[d] high levels of per-

secution" (World Watch List 2020), up from 215 million in 2018. The report noted that "in the most populated countries on earth, Christians live in a surveillance state," and that "violent Islamic extremism" is "the global, dominant driver of persecution, responsible for initiating oppression and conflict in 35 of the 50 countries" where Christians experience severe persecution (Zylstra 2018).

Indigenous Christians in restricted nations often constitute the primary, and sometimes the only, audience for LDS proselytism. Christian populations in the Near East, some of the oldest in the world, have declined markedly due to persecution and are "on the verge of disappearing in Iraq and Syria" (World Watch List 2020). Chaldean Archbishop Bashar Warda noted that Western Christian leaders bear responsibility for their silence in the face of genocide against Middle Eastern Christians (Kiely 2019).

The Unreached World

The opening of new mission fields in the second half of the twentieth century brought the LDS message to wider audiences. Whereas the US origin of most missionaries opened doors in the postwar years due to international goodwill, Van Beek noted that the church's "USA connection … in just a few decades has shifted from an asset to a liability" not only with regard to geopolitical rivals, but even for traditional allies (2005).

In 2019, fifty nations with a combined population of 3.23 billion (42% of the world's population) prohibited or severely restricted proselytizing. Another seven nations with 1.44 billion inhabitants (18.7% of the world's population) allow limited proselytizing but severely restricted foreign missionaries or imposed moderate restrictions on outreach. Reported LDS membership in restricted and limited nations constituted only 0.26% of the world total. When unreported estimated membership (primarily in Russia and China) is included, this figure increases to approximately 0.6%.

Today, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints does not report an official church presence (excluding expatriate communities) in only a few countries in which proselyting is broadly permitted. In mid-2019, these nations had a combined population of 53 million, constituting less than 1% of the world's estimated 7.71 billion people. Excluding microstates, they include in descending order by population Burkina Faso, Chad, South Sudan, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and Equatorial Guinea. Burkina Faso, Chad, and The Gambia are Muslim-majority nations and Guinea-Bissau is a Muslim plurality

nation. South Sudan experienced a civil war that achieved ceasefire only in 2020; Christians in Burkina Faso have faced violent attacks.

Prospects for entry into restricted nations appear considerably dimmer than was the case for the Church's entry into Eastern Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Many unreached countries are authoritarian and appear poised to remain such. Economic reforms in China, in conjunction with state press and surveillance, have deflected impetus for human rights reforms. In India, foreign missionary visas are tightly limited. Faiths with strong member-missionary and media outreach have achieved considerable growth, whereas the LDS Church has struggled to utilize these opportunities.

Most completely unreached nations are Muslim-majority nations. The vast number of Muslims worldwide—1.8 billion in 2015, according to Pew (Lipka 2017)—and expectations of further increase make outreach to Islam a key area for future LDS growth prospects. World population growth rates are expected to decline from 1.1% in 2010 to 2015 to 0.4% in 2045 to 2050 (Lipka 2017), whereas Muslim populations are expected to nearly double (Pew 2015b), due mainly to high fertility rates (Lipka and Hackett 2017). The Pew Research Center projects that "during the next four decades, Islam will grow faster than any other major world religion," and will overtake Christianity by 2055 (Pew 2015a).

Among the fifty-one Muslim-majority nations, forty with a combined population of 1.43 billion prohibit or severely restrict Christian proselytism. Segregation along sectarian and ethnic lines is often enshrined in law and practice. The LDS Church reported combined 2019 membership of 23,667 in seven of these nations (with 78% of those members living in Malaysia and Indonesia), where outreach is conducted almost exclusively among the non-Muslim minority. In the Gulf States, membership consists of foreign expatriates and migrant workers with few if any native members. Another four nations with 61.6 million people impose moderate legal or societal limitations on missionary work. Only seven—three in Europe and four in West Africa—with 31.2 million people allow relatively unfettered proselytism.

Demographic data show few "out-switchers" from Islam. The Pew Research Center reported that "religious switching—which is expected to hinder the growth of Christians by an estimated 72 million between 2015 and 2060—is not expected to have a negative net impact on Muslim population growth" (Lipka and Hackett 2017). From 2010 to 2015, Christianity lost 9 million adherents to religious switching worldwide, whereas Islam gained a half million. Even in Europe (Pew 2017) and the US (Mohamed and Sciupac 2018), few

Muslims leave the faith. The few LDS converts from Islam have primarily been immigrants to Western nations with attenuated Islamic institutions, or have come from marginal groups.

Sharing of non-Islamic faiths in Muslim-majority nations is typically restricted not only by government regulations, but by fundamentalist Islam's capital prohibitions on blasphemy and apostasy. These prohibitions block the public preaching of other religious traditions, suppress critical inquiry, and prevent Muslims from leaving their faith (Pew 2013). Islam thus asserts a privileged position for itself which does not permit competition or critique. Kramer noted that nowhere in the Muslim world is religion separate from politics, thus political Islam is a tautology (2003). Most allow Muslims to proselytize Christians and other religious minorities, whereas Christians are not permitted to proselytize Muslims. Attitudes toward intermarriage vary by country but tend to restrict marriage of Muslim women to non-Muslim men more than of non-Muslim women to Muslim men (Van Niekerk and Verkuyten 2018); children of intermarriage are traditionally raised as Muslims. These and other asymmetric measures have led to ongoing Islamization and declines in non-Muslim populations across the Islamic world (Fargues 2001).

Even if legal barriers to proselytism were swept away, outreach would still be severely limited due to high levels of social hostility, as evaluated by the Pew Research Center's Social Hostility Index on religious restrictions (Pew 2019a). Majorities in Pakistan, Egypt, and some other populous Muslim-majority nations support the death penalty for those who leave Islam (Pew 2013). US military adventurism in Afghanistan and Iraq in the early 2000s to "make the world safe for democracy" unleashed ethnic and sectarian violence instead of facilitating open societies. The Arab Spring in the early 2010s toppled several dictators yet ameliorated human rights only in Tunisia. A large portion of the world's population will likely remain inaccessible to LDS proselytism, with little medium-term prospect for improvement.

Muslims and other minorities should be accorded full rights, protections, and respect in Western societies. Fear and hate against any group are abhorrent, whereas tolerant diversity benefits societies. Yet the challenges faced by religious minorities in many Islamic nations are substantive. Religious and political leaders need the courage to boldly advocate equal rights and protections for members of oppressed minorities—religious, ethnic, and otherwise—as Pope Francis did on a trip to Iraq in March 2021 (Rocca and Adnan 2021).

Conclusion

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, once lauded for rapid growth and high member devotion, has experienced slowing growth and high attrition. These trends have arisen from a combination of institutional and societal factors. Institutional factors have resulted in the LDS Church losing the large majority of its international converts over the past fifty years. Societal conditions in much of the world are decidedly less favorable for LDS growth prospects than in the late twentieth century, and are likely to worsen. In a challenging landscape, only the most efficient and agile faiths will continue to achieve strong growth. Among the Seventh-day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the LDS Church, the latter has fallen to a distant third in active membership.

LDS congregational growth averaged below one percent annually from 1999 to 2019. Between 2009 and 2019, nominal membership growth averaged less than 1.6% annually; active membership growth has almost certainly been under one percent over this period. In 2020, the LDS membership growth rate fell below the world population growth rate. Aggregate trends suggest that the LDS Church is likely to experience meager growth in congregations and active membership over the next forty years. Annual "real growth" in congregations and active membership is likely to continue to average around one percent or less. Contemporary trends offer no major developments that appear likely to reverse these dynamics outside of modest growth prospects in Africa, where the LDS Church remains far behind its peers. Based on the current trajectory, active LDS membership may peak at or below six million, and would require a major shift in dynamics to rise above seven million. The number of LDS congregations worldwide is unlikely to much exceed 45,000 by 2060 without sustained improvements in growth and retention, or a policy of smaller congregations.

In the United States, the influence of the LDS Church is likely approaching its zenith. Gradual plateauing is likely to be followed by some decline. This may already be occurring, accelerated by the Covid-19 pandemic. Core membership will persist across Latin America with varying national trends, but nominal membership increases are likely to remain uncoupled from congregational growth with new converts principally replacing losses. Further congregational contractions across Europe are all but certain. The faith's "second harvest" will not be in Europe, nor likely even in the United States or Latin America.

With a longer horizon, even the assertion of sustained real growth for the international LDS Church is questionable. Meager growth is likely to be precarious. Due to the multiplicative effect of fertility and youth retention, as well as of convert baptisms and convert retention, compounding over time, a decrease in any factor can tip the balance from slight growth or stable maintenance into decline. If the LDS Church is able to stave off eventual declines in congregations and active membership, it will likely be due to gains in Africa offsetting losses elsewhere.

LDS growth is inhibited by deeply-rooted challenges toward which there are limited adaptive responses and no panaceas. The faith's traditional competitive advantages of high fertility, youth retention, and a large full-time missionary force continue to erode. Few active members participate in personal evangelism. Much of an increasingly sparse harvest has been lost to rush-baptize programs that have failed to fortify prospective converts with habits of regular church attendance and other lifestyle changes prior to baptism. The burden of inactivity has discouraged international members and diverted resources and manpower from outreach. These practices have left the LDS Church numerically deprived of the active membership that it could have achieved with a timely focus on convert preparation and retention.

Few positive trends have the potential to reverse portents of future decline. The LDS Church today in many ways offers increased individual attention, spiritual mentoring, and support compared to the church of a generation ago. Recent institutional adaptations, including the shortening of the Sunday meeting schedule, the transition to the ministering program, and reduction in the minimum age of missionary service, have helped promote retention of youth while enhancing the experience for active members. Local standards have improved convert retention in some missions. Yet global convert retention remains low.

Nor is the LDS Church's reported accumulation of over $100 billion in investments (Carlisle 2019) an unabashed positive, as the faith's wealth has subsidized less efficient practices. For decades, the LDS Church has outspent its competitors by at least an order of magnitude per convert, even while achieving far lower convert retention and denying international congregations the opportunity to become self-sustaining (Stewart 2007, 403–406). These finances may help the LDS Church to maintain broad infrastructure even with a potential waning of active membership, yet it is not clear that the faith has the expertise to effectively leverage funding into sustainable organic growth.

Principal-agent incentives continue to be misaligned, and accountability remains elusive. Multiple revisions of the missionary manual provide no indication that the LDS Church will abandon longstanding policies pushing the baptism of prospective converts over short periods with cursory teaching. Nor have new initiatives breathed life into low member participation in personal evangelism. Small changes that appear safe to policymakers may cushion the decline, yet these adjustments lack the power to transform the dynamics. Mixed messages have undermined ostensible standards.

More efficacious remedies may fall beyond the constraints of an organization already demonstrating senescence. Even if more substantive reforms were to be implemented, the LDS Church would still face a difficult path. Practices that have been inculcated into generations of members, missionaries, and their leaders have considerable inertia that does not vanish with the issuance of new guidance. The impact of late and partial reforms is much diminished compared to timely, forward-looking ones.

Additional research on key topics is needed. Many have been represented here only briefly, each of which could fruitfully be explored in dedicated works. The dysfunction of the Mormon member-missionary program and the faith's growth and positioning in Africa are two key areas regarding which little systematic research has been published to date.

Trends point to continued underperformance of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints compared to its competitors. While a range of possibilities exist, the default path is for further decline of growth rates. The LDS Church is unlikely to regain its former growth trajectory. Prospects of becoming a major world faith have faded and are likely beyond reach.

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Apocalypse or Zion? How Eschatology Affects Attitudes toward Social Peace among Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

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Abstract. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) hold differing eschatological views in relation to the role of God and His followers in ushering in the Second Coming of Christ and a thousand years of peace. Some emphasize the human responsibility to create peaceful conditions on earth to usher in Christ's return (Human Action eschatology), others emphasize the role of Christ in creating peaceful conditions on earth upon His return (Divine Action eschatology), and others view peace as the result of both human and divine action with equal emphasis (Co-participation eschatology). In this study, we compare differences in personal attitudes of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social peace across these eschatologies. Four hundred and five LDS participants completed the Eschatological Attitudinal Survey (EAS), the Congruence Scale, the Prosocial Personality Battery, and the Social Justice Scale. Participants with a Divine Action eschatology scored higher on measures of intrapersonal peace and lower on measures of social peace. Conversely, participants with a Human Action eschatology scored lower on intrapersonal peace and higher on issues of social peace. By contrast, participants with a Co-participation eschatology were more likely to give equal weight to all three measures of peace: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social.

In Martin Luther King's seminal work, *Strength to Love*, King addresses the question about how to change an unjust and wicked world.

> How can evil be cast out? There are two ideas that men have usually held about the way evil is to be eliminated and the world saved. One idea is that man must remove evil with his own power. … The other idea concerning the way evil is to be removed from the world says that

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> man must wait on God to do everything. ... It is not either God or man that will bring about the world's salvation. It is both man and God (King and King 2010, 134–143).

For members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), these two dueling notions of how to change the world—Divine Action (the only way to fix the world is through divine intervention) and Human Action (the way to fix the world is through human intervention)—exist within the theology and lived experience of the LDS community.

Mormon Studies scholar Patrick Mason has argued that this tension is rooted in an LDS eschatology, or theological belief about the endtimes, that contains elements of both premillennialism and postmillennialism[1] (Mason 2004). In Mason's theory, the predominant LDS belief in premillennialism leads to social quietism and a Divine Action approach, while postmillennialism belief would lead to social activism and a Human Action approach. This theory is compelling and worth testing.

This article explores the unique attitudes members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) hold in relation to the role God and His followers play in ushering in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ and a millennium of a thousand years of peace and how those eschatological views ultimately define how members engage in intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social peace (peace as it relates to larger structural and political issues in a community). It shows a complicated view between Divine Action and Human Action, and finds that those with a Divine Action eschatology prioritize intrapersonal and interpersonal peace while those with a Human Action eschatology prioritize social peace. The article further shows that the majority of our LDS respondents hold neither a traditional premillennial nor a traditional postmillennial eschatology. Rather, they espouse a Co-participation eschatology that places responsibility on both parties. When our LDS respondents held a Co-participation eschatology, they were more likely to give equal weight to all three aspects of peace: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social.

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[1]Pre- and postmillennialism are long-established terms theologians and scholars have used to describe two main eschatological worldviews (not including a-millennialism) that pertain to literal scriptural interpretations of when the Second Coming of Christ is to occur in relation to the 1,000 years of peace. We are revising Mason's and Pulsipher's versions of Human and Divine intervention to Divine-Action and Human-Action as more descriptive and relevant names for pre- and postmillennial eschatologies respectively, as evidence suggests that scriptural literalism among LDS members regarding eschatology is declining (Yorgason 2013).

Background

In his 2004 article "The Possibilities of Mormon Peacebuilding," Mason explores the opportunities and challenges of developing a specific brand of LDS peacebuilding (Mason 2004). He sheds light on the great potential the LDS community has in realizing a formidable religious peacebuilding program, specifically the theological, historical, cultural, institutional, and organizational resources that have yet to be marshaled. He asserts, "the resources for a distinctive brand of Mormon peacebuilding are already in place and simply have to be creatively and effectively put to use" (Mason 2004, 14). His assessment gives hope to members of the LDS community looking to draw upon their theology in activating the latent potential for peacebuilding within their religious tradition. However, within Mason's diagnosis of these possibilities, he highlights challenges that need to be addressed if an LDS brand of peacebuilding is to be realized.

One key obstacle he identifies is related to how LDS members do and do not perceive different conceptions of peace. Mason asserts that when LDS members talk about peace, they discuss it in one of three ways: inner peace, relational peace, or eschatological, or millennial, peace. He argues this poses a problem toward developing a brand of LDS peacebuilding because of a missing perception of peace: a presentist structural approach, or what Mason refers to as peace as social justice (Mason 2004). He explains, "a substantive approach to social justice is simply a blind spot, lying almost entirely outside the realm of their current mindset" (Mason 2004, 26). In this regard, LDS members may not only be ambivalent toward this form of peace, but not cognizant of it altogether. If members are aware of it, they may have rejectionist attitudes, equating social justice with liberal politics and the residue of a "hippie culture" from the 1960s with its associated moral looseness[2] (Mason 2004, 24). Mason suggests this mindset may be fueled and dominated by "conservative religion and politics, a materialist middle-class ethos, and an often-insular devotion to church and family" (Mason 2004, 26). This exemplifies members' propensity to allow certain socio-political, economic, and cultural worldviews to influence their perceptions of peace. What is left is not a viable or legitimate framework for the possibilities of a substantive peacebuilding approach to structural violence. The word substantive is employed because despite the cultural blind

[2] Indeed, we have changed the term from social justice to social peace in this paper, because of widely held negative attitudes among LDS members to the phrase "social justice."

spot, Mason hints that some members use a rudimentary and reductionist analytical framework and approach to peace. He quotes Elder Richard P. Lindsay's 1992 statement that "war and conflict are the result of wickedness; peace is the product of righteousness" (Mason 2004, 27). This framework does little to address the often-complex factors that contribute to conflict.

A related obstacle, and what Mason maintains as the "primary case" against his argument for developing a distinctive brand of Mormon peacebuilding that accounts for structural approaches, is the prioritization of soul-winning over peacebuilding (Mason 2004, 29). This perception informs that "no great change will happen, either in the world or in individuals' lives, without first adopting the principles of the gospel" (Mason 2004, 29). Mason's concern is that a "keep the commandments" mentality can lead to a potential abdication of moral responsibility, a certain "passivity" or "quiescence" on the part of members of the Church. In effect, the notion is that if individuals keep the commandments, they are not "entangled in the sins of a fallen world and particularly in the seemingly distant problem of violence" (Mason 2004, 29). Although Mason alludes to certain socioeconomic factors that may contribute to this mentality (the luxury members of the Church in developed countries have to ignore structural violence), he ultimately asserts this social quietism stems from a predominance of a premillennialist ideology. If members believe that only Christ at his Second Coming can fix the world and its social ailments, therefore the only real impact we can have is to preach the Gospel. This is the Divine Action model.

The interesting aspect of this issue is the fact that, theologically and theoretically, LDS members should have a healthy postmillennialist belief as well, with a view that building Zion (creating a Christian society) is the complementary commandment to bringing people to Zion (conducting missionary work) (Mason 2004). In this sense, LDS eschatology is unique in that it contains elements of pre- and postmillennialism, the latter being drowned out and the former potentially accentuated by a prevailing conservative political persuasion among members of the Church (Lugo et al. 2008; Yorgason 2013).

The impact of these diagnosed issues is far reaching. Because LDS Church members have no substantive framework for addressing social injustices and structural violence, and demonstrate a certain social quietism accompanying an imbalanced eschatology, they are hampered in their ability to practice a main component of their theology: building Zion. This is the Human Action model, associated with postmillennialism.

We are especially interested in Mason's view that premillennialist attitudes among contemporary LDS members lead to social quietism. Originally, Mormon eschatology emphasized both pre- and postmillennial beliefs. Some teachings reflected that Christ's Second Coming would begin a thousand-year reign of peace on the earth (premillennialism) while others emphasized that human action in spreading the gospel, specifically the gathering of Zion, would create the peaceful conditions on Earth preparatory to his coming (postmillennialism) (Mason 2004). Both Mason and historian Grant Underwood have attributed the faith's prioritization of soul-winning over all else to the predominance of premillennial ideology among early believers. These Mormons didn't necessarily expect to convert the world; their duty was to be a warning voice (Underwood 1999). They were convinced that even the most upright of Christians who did not heed the call of Mormonism would be damned, and that humanity was "differentiated not by race or rank but by its response to the gospel message" (Underwood 1999, 43–44). The hostility and persecution that LDS members experienced as they were driven from place to place also contributed to a sense of alienation from the world.

Doctrinally, this premillennialism was balanced by a postmillennial view. LDS members rejected the prevailing socioeconomic order of the time by establishing communitarian experiments where members gave everything to the Church, which redistributed goods according to the needs of individual families. The emphasis moved to a postmillennial ideal of building Zion, a literal heaven on Earth not unlike the Zion that Enoch helped found, preparatory to the Second Coming of Christ. Said Joseph Smith at the time, "We ought to have the building up of Zion as our greatest object" (Roberts 1930, 3:390–391).

Smith's balanced vision between pre- and postmillennial beliefs was short-lived. Like many Christian faiths over the last century, LDS culture has increasingly emphasized its premillennial beliefs, "spiritualizing" the building of Zion by stripping its social and material purchase and limiting it to perfecting the saints and proclaiming the Gospel (Mason 2004).

In more recent work, Mason and co-author David Pulsipher have changed out the terms premillennial and postmillennial and instead have substituted "Divine intervention" and "Human intervention" as more accurate ways of describing LDS eschatology (Mason and Pulsipher 2021). In a Divine intervention approach, LDS members believe that God plays the leading role in bringing about end-times scenarios and in ushering in a thousand years of

peace. In a Human intervention model, LDS members, by building Zion, create the conditions that lay the groundwork for the Second Coming of Christ.

However, as the LDS community and institution have evolved, it is much harder to classify LDS beliefs as falling into either pre- or postmillennial categories. Further, some scholars have written about the decline of eschatology as an organizing concept in the everyday lives of LDS members through the twentieth and into the twenty-first century as the Church moved from particularism to universalism, Church leaders deemphasized eschatological messaging, and the Cold War ended (Underwood 2000; Millet 2005; Yorgason and Robertson 2006; Yorgason 2013). In 2013, Ethan Yorgason published a paper with similar motivations to ours, putting systematic empirics to theoretical or impressionistic evidence about LDS eschatology. Specifically, Yorgason quantitatively tested whether general Church members subscribed to certain geopolitical elements of popular premillennial LDS eschatology discourse, as manifest in political commentary, apocalyptic literature, and unofficial folklore. He approximated a random sample of 817 students across BYU Provo, BYU-Idaho, and BYU-Hawaii to administer a 117-item Likert scale and calculated weighted means for various questions focused on place and space associated with premillennial beliefs. Ultimately, the study concluded that "respondents did not strongly use the resources offered by their religious tradition to assign eschatological meaning to contemporary places and spaces as they could have" (Yorgason 2013, 69) and that the mapping of geo-eschatologies among student respondents appeared to align more closely with broader political cultures than with theology.

Though Yorgason's study is likely the closest analogue to our current investigation, there are four key theoretical and methodological distinctions between that study and ours. First, Yorgason focuses on "geo-eschatology," or mapping the relative geopolitical significance of the places and spaces associated with end-time events. Our study focuses on measuring sociopolitical views and behavioral intentions associated with views about the end times, specifically as they pertain to peace and conflict. Second, Yorgason's unit of analysis is focused on institutions, like the LDS church, and on nation-states. Our study focuses on the attitudes and intended behaviors of respondents as believers. Third, Yorgason's study takes "popular" premillennialism as the given contemporary eschatology of LDS members and seeks to map manifest adherence to that view. We, by contrast, acknowledge the perceived dominance of that narrative but also search for postmillennial eschatologies. Fourth, while

it's unclear what validation Yorgason's instrument received, his scale was tailored for an LDS population and administered among just students at the three main BYU campuses. Our instrument was designed to eventually be used for a broader Christian population (though it was validated among an LDS audience) and administered to a broader demographic LDS sampling frame than just students.

Two findings from this study are particularly relevant to ours. First, Yorgason found that respondents were ambivalent to many main tenets of premillennial eschatology. Yorgason infers this to mean eschatological belief is less operational than in prior generations, but it may also mean LDS members are not as united in which eschatology is operational for them. Second, one item from Yorgason's scale did pertain explicitly to peace and conflict: "Latter-day Saints should concentrate most strongly on promoting peace among individuals and families because there will be conflict within and among countries that we will be relatively powerless to prevent" (Yorgason 2013, 68). That this question was included in the initial items intended to map the "popular" (premillennial) eschatology, independent of Mason's paper and our study,[3] suggests that the notion that premillennialist or Divine Action eschatology may lead to social quietism has high face validity. Further, that this item had one of the highest weighted means for agreement from the survey (+1.28 among a +3/-3 scale) suggests this claim is to some extent empirically warranted.

Yorgason's study asked important questions about the relationship of eschatology and geopolitics among LDS members and is a valuable contribution for the social scientific study of Mormonism. We believe our study complements and extends unexplored lines of inquiry from Yorgason's. Specifically, we believe it is important to also investigate the degree to which members also subscribe to postmillennial, or Human Action, eschatology as well as how holding to these varied eschatologies may be related to attitudes and behavioral intentions associated with intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social peace.

Research Question

The purpose of this article is to determine what role LDS eschatology plays in determining LDS behavior associated with pursuing three specific types of peace. Our hypothesis was that LDS members with a Divine Action eschatol-

[3]We identified this study only after we constructed, validated, and administered our Eschatological Attitudinal Survey.

ogy would likely pursue intrapersonal and interpersonal peace as the primary ways in which they both feel peace and engage in peacebuilding activities. For those LDS members with a Human Action eschatology, we predicted that they would likely conceive of peace first through the lens of interpersonal and social peace. We feel our findings contribute to the discussion of the possibility of LDS peacebuilding, as well as to larger discussions of religious peacebuilding and religious peace research in general.

Methods

Participants and Procedures

Participants were recruited through snowball sampling beginning with undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory peacebuilding class at an LDS university. Participants were asked to complete an online questionnaire (implemented using Qualtrics software (https://www.qualtrics.com/) consisting of 13 demographic items and 94 Likert-type rating items from four separate questionnaires, each measuring different dimensions of peace (intrapersonal, interpersonal, social, and eschatological).

Of the initial 911 recruits, 498 participants finished all required portions of the study (completion rate=55%). We excluded participants who either identified as non-LDS (n=41) or did not disclose their religious identity (n=46). We also excluded LDS participants who reported disbelief in the literal Second Coming of Jesus Christ (n=6). That left 405 participants (261 female, 144 male) between the ages of 18 and 83 years (Mdn=27, M=34.28, SD=15.24) who completed the study and met our predetermined inclusion criteria. Qualifying participants identified as White/Caucasian (n=284), Asian (n=42), Pacific Islander (n=41), Hispanic/Latino (n=17), Black/African American (n=2) or did not disclose their ethnicity (n=19). In terms of nationality, 343 participants were from the United States (85%) and 62 were from other countries (15%). Of those from the United States, 113 were from Utah/Idaho (33%) and 230 were from other states (67%).

Measurement and Scales

Intrapersonal Peace. To measure feelings of inner or intrapersonal peace, a state of psychological calm despite the potential presence of stressors, participants completed the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale (Lee, 2002).

This dimension consists of 26 items, measuring how much the individual agrees with statements about themselves based on their experiences in the past week. Example questions include "I am loving towards myself" and "I accept that I have limitations."

Interpersonal Peace. To measure the perception of peace with one's neighbors, or the tendency to have other-oriented empathy and helpfulness, participants completed the Prosocial Personality Battery (Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, and Freifeld 1995). This instrument consists of 30 items divided into several factors, including social responsibility (one's sense of personal obligation to benefit others); empathy (the ability to understand and share the feelings of another); moral reasoning (the tendency to focus on the best interests of others when making moral decisions); and self-reported altruism (the belief in or practice of disinterested and selfless concern for the well-being of others). Example questions include "No matter what a person has done to us, there is no excuse for taking advantage of them" (a "social responsibility" item) and "My decisions are usually based on my concern for other people" (a "moral reasoning" item).

Social Peace. To measure attitudes about the balance of equality and justice for all the classes in society on a large scale and intent to engage in social action to create social peace, participants completed the Social Justice Scale (Torres-Harding, Siers, and Olson 2012). This instrument consists of 24 items and measures several factors: attitudes toward social justice (beliefs about the importance of promoting equity and agency for all people); perceived behavioral control (the perception of one's ability to influence others and affect communities); subjective norms (awareness of other people being engaged in activities that promote social justice); and behavioral intentions (reported intent to engage in activities that promote social justice). Example items include: "In the future, I will do my best to ensure that all individuals and groups have a chance to speak and be heard" and "In the future, I intend to work collaboratively with others so that they can define their own problems and build their own capacity to solve problems" (both "behavioral intentions" items).

Eschatological Attitude. To measure attitudes about peace as it relates to the millennium, we created and validated a 14-item Eschatological Attitudinal Survey (Brieden and Timothy 2017) for respondents to complete. This questionnaire is divided into items that emphasize human responsibility to prepare for Jesus

Christ's Second Coming by creating peaceful conditions on Earth, and items that emphasize peaceful conditions created by the Second Coming. Example items include: "Christ will not come until his followers are of one heart and one mind" (a "Human Action" item) and "When Christ comes he will make his followers of one heart and one mind" (a "Divine Action" item).

Results

To examine the effect of eschatological attitudes on ratings of differing types of peace, we first categorized responses to the Eschatological Attitudinal Survey as consistent with an emphasis on Human Action, Divine Action, or Co-participation between human and divine action. We summed the responses to all Human Action items (e.g., "We cannot wait until Christ comes to create God's Kingdom on earth—it will come only as we create it") and separately summed responses to all Divine Action items (e.g., "When Christ comes He will create the conditions for God's Kingdom on Earth to be established"). We then subtracted the summed scores of the Human Action items from the summed scores of the Divine Action items, and divided the resulting distribution into three groups according to the 33rd and 66th percentiles. Thus, the lowest 31% of responses (N=127), categorized as Human Action eschatology, was comprised of general agreement with Human Action items and *disagreement* with Divine Action items. Conversely, the highest 32% of responses (N=130), categorized as Divine Action eschatology, was comprised of general agreement with Divine Action items and *disagreement* with Human Action items. Co-participation eschatology was categorized for the remaining 37% of responses, which was comprised of comparatively similar agreement between both Human Action items and Divine Action items (N= 48).

Using these three categories, we then compared eschatological attitudes across the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale, each subscale of the Prosocial Personality Battery, and each subscale of the Social Justice Scale, using one-way ANOVAs (scores for each inventory were standardized for comparison purposes). There was a mean difference in the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale, $F(2, 402)=3.36$, $p=.04$, $\eta_p^2=.02$, with participants who emphasized Divine Action scoring higher on personal congruence than participants who emphasized Human Action ($p<.05$).

There was also a mean difference in the Social Responsibility subscale of the Prosocial Personality Battery, $F(2, 402)=8.02$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.04$. Participants who emphasized Divine Action scored higher on social responsibility than

participants who emphasized Human Action or Co-participation ($p<.05$). There were no significant differences among the remaining subscales of the Prosocial Personality Battery.

Finally, there were mean differences in the perceived behavioral control, $F(2, 402)=2.96$, $p=.053$, $\eta_p^2=.02$, subjective norms, $F(2, 402)=4.58$, $p=.01$, $\eta_p^2=.02$, and behavioral intentions $F(2, 402)=5.72$, $p=.004$, $\eta_p^2=.03$, of the Social Justice Scale. Participants who emphasized Divine Action scored higher on perceived control than participants who emphasized Co-participation ($p<.05$); participants who emphasized Human Action scored higher on subjective norms than participants who emphasized Co-participation ($p<.05$); and participants who emphasized Human Action scored higher on behavioral intentions than participants who emphasized either Co-participation or Divine Action ($p<.05$). There were no significant differences among scores of the subscale measuring attitudes toward social justice.

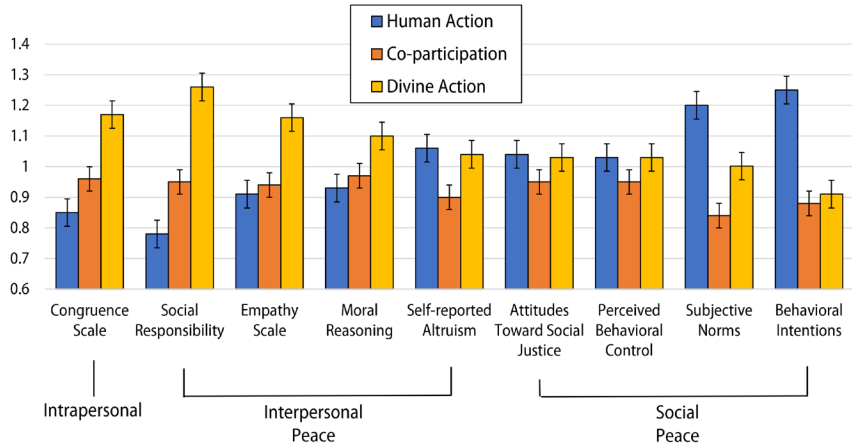
These results indicate that participants with an eschatological emphasis on Human Action were more likely to report intention to engage in activities that promote social peace compared to those with an emphasis on Divine Action. In contrast, participants with an eschatological emphasis on Divine Action were more likely to endorse concepts of intrapersonal peace and norm-

Table 1

	Human Action		Co-participation		Divine Action			
Measure	**M**	**SE**	**M**	**SE**	**M**	**SE**	**F (2,402)**	**p**
Congruence Scale							3.36	.036*
Intrapersonal Dimension	-.15	.09	-.04	.08	.17	.09		
Prosocial Personality Battery							8.02	<.001***
Social Responsibility	-.22	.09	-.05	.08	.26	.09	2.36	.096
Empathic Concern	-.09	.09	-.06	.08	.16	.09	1.12	.326
Mutual Moral Reasoning	-.07	.09	-.03	.08	.10	.09	1.05	.351
Self-reported Altruism	.06	.09	-.10	.08	.04	.09		
Social Justice Scale								
Attitudes Toward Social Justice	.04	.09	-.05	.08	.03	.09	.33	.717
Perceived Behavioral Control	.03	.09	-.15	.08	.14	.09	2.96	.053
Subjective Norms	.20	.09	-.16	.08	.002	.09	4.59	.011*
Behavioral Intentions	.25	.09	-.12	.08	-.09	.09	5.72	.004**

All values represent standardized scores. The Congruence Scale is from Lee (2002); the Prosocial Personality Battery is from Penner, et al. (1995); the Social Justice Scale is from Torres-Harding, et al. (2012). *p < .05. **p < .01 **p < .001.

Figure 1

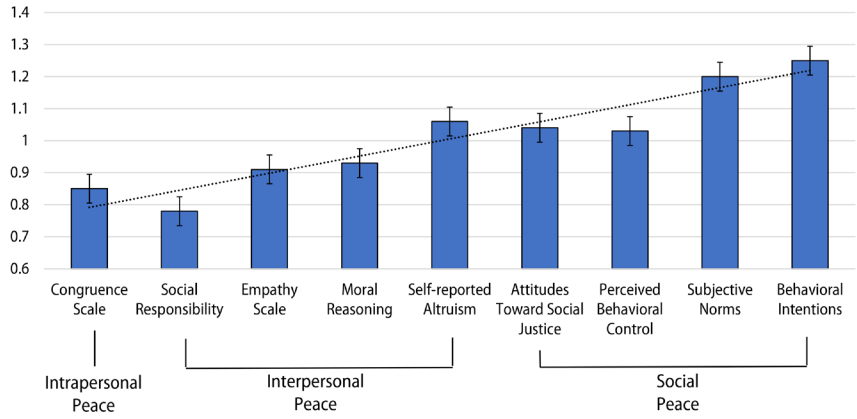


Standardized mean differences between Human Action, Co-participation, and Divine Action eschatologies for the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale (Lee 2002), the social responsibility, empathy, moral reasoning, and self-reported subscales of the Prosocial Personality Battery (Penner et al., 1995), and the attitudes toward social justice, perceived behavioral control, subjective norms, and behavioral intentions subscales of the Social Justice Scale (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Error bars represent standard errors.

based beliefs about how they should act when compared to those with an eschatological emphasis on Human Action.

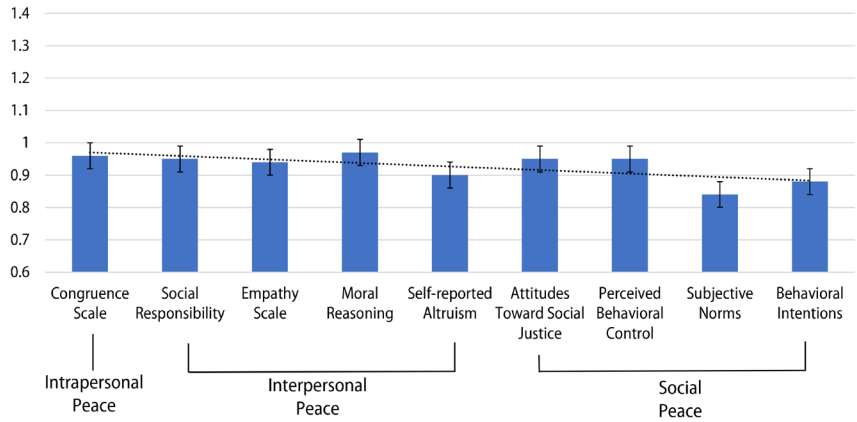
We then examined the differences in rating intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social peace for each of the coded eschatological attitudes (Human Action, Divine Action, or Co-participation) separately, using repeated measures ANOVAs. There were mean differences in ratings for participants categorized with Human Action eschatology, $F(8, 1000)=4.07$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.03$, and Divine Action eschatology, $F(8, 1032)=1.95$, $p=.05$, $\eta_p^2=.02$, but not for Co-participation eschatology, $F(8, 1184)=.49$, $p=.87$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants with Human Action eschatological views rated questions pertaining to behavioral intentions to engage in social peace activities higher than they rated the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale, and three of the four subscales from the Prosocial Personality Battery. In contrast, participants with Divine Action eschatological views rated higher on the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale and two of the four subscales from the Prosocial Personality Battery than they did on the behavioral intentions subscale of the Social Justice Scale. For participants with Co-participation eschatological views, there were no significant differences in ratings across the

Figure 2



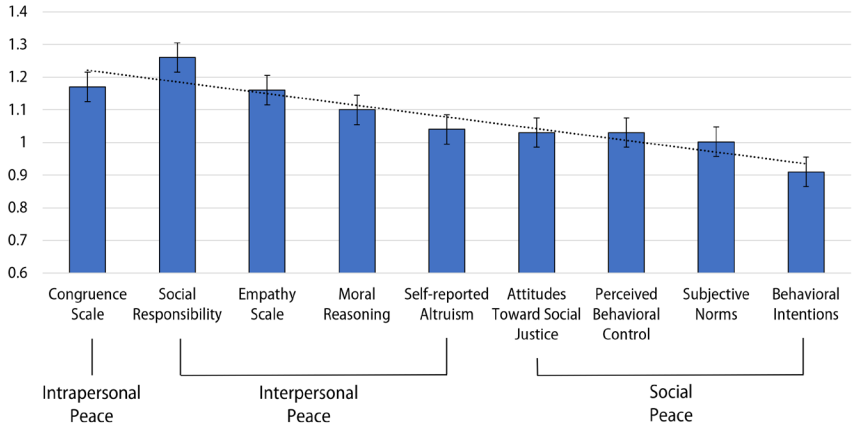
Human Action Eschatology. Standardized mean scores for the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale (Lee 2002), the social responsibility, empathy, moral reasoning, and self-reported subscales of the Prosocial Personality Battery (Penner et al., 1995), and the attitudes toward social justice, perceived behavioral control, subjective norms, and behavioral intentions subscales of the Social Justice Scale (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Error bars represent standard errors.

Figure 3



Co-participation eschatology. Standardized mean scores for the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale (Lee 2002), the social responsibility, empathy, moral reasoning, and self-reported subscales of the Prosocial Personality Battery (Penner et al., 1995), and the attitudes toward social justice, perceived behavioral control, subjective norms, and behavioral intentions subscales of the Social Justice Scale (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Error bars represent standard errors.

Figure 4



Divine Action Eschatology. Standardized mean scores for the intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale (Lee, 2002), the social responsibility, empathy, moral reasoning, and self-reported subscales of the Prosocial Personality Battery (Penner et al., 1995), and the attitudes toward social justice, perceived behavioral control, subjective norms, and behavioral intentions subscales of the Social Justice Scale (Torres-Harding et al., 2012). Error bars represent standard errors.

intrapersonal dimension of the Congruence Scale, each subscale of the Prosocial Personality Battery, and each subscale of the Social Justice Scale.

In sum, these results support the hypothesis that conceptions of peace are dependent upon differences in LDS eschatology. First, LDS members with contrasting eschatological beliefs differed from each other in how they rated measures of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social peace. Participants with a Divine Action eschatology favored intrapersonal and interpersonal peace more than those with a Human Action eschatology. On the other hand, participants with a Human Action eschatology favored social peace more than those with a Divine Action eschatology. Second, such preferences were not only seen in contrast and comparison between different eschatological beliefs, they were also seen within each type of eschatological belief. Participants with a Divine Action eschatology rated measures of intrapersonal peace higher than their intent to engage in activities that promote social justice, whereas the direct opposite was true for participants with a Human Action eschatology. Only for the LDS members with a co-participation eschatological belief was there equal weight for each measure of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social peace.

Discussion

Our research found that when our respondents showed a proclivity toward a Co-participation model (that both they and God were responsible for eschatological peace), there were no real differences between their scores on scales of intrapersonal peace, interpersonal peace, and social justice. However, there were significant differences when people took a more exclusive Human Action or Divine Action approach.

Respondents that favored a Divine Action approach scored higher on issues of intrapersonal peace and lower on issues of social peace than people who followed a Co-participation and Human Action model. Conversely, respondents that favored a Human Action approach scored lower on issues of intrapersonal peace and higher on issues of social peace than those that followed a Co-participation or Divine Action approach. They did so without regard to gender, nationality, age, ethnicity, education, or socio-economic status.[4] The scores, across all these different demographic groups, were predicted solely on their eschatological orientation.

We believe that this result largely confirms both ours and Patrick Mason's hypothesis that people with premillennial or Divine Action views would largely reject social peace measures, instead emphasizing personal righteousness or intrapersonal peace as the best way to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ. By the same token, people with postmillennial or Human Action views would emphasize social peace measures over intrapersonal peace measures as the most effective way to prepare.

These views reflect attitudes about how people feel about personal righteousness, the atonement, and individual versus collective responsibilities to each other. Taken to one extreme or the other, a major element of peace gets sacrificed in the name of promoting a significant religious value. When peace is all about the individual, or all about God, there are significant ramifications toward how we interact with others and the world. The data we collected confirmed Mason's view that an overemphasis on Divine Action would result in social quietism. People with this orientation were less likely to show behavioral intentions toward intervening in a broken world on behalf of those who are suffering the most. The view that one can pray away their problems and expe-

[4] The proportion of subjects who were categorized as Human Action, Diving Action or Co-Participation did not differ by gender, $\chi 2$ (1, N=405)=3.40, p=.18, nationality, $\chi 2$ (1, N=405)=.32, p=.85, generation, $\chi 2$ (1, N=403)=7.56, p=.27, ethnicity, $\chi 2$ (1, N=386)=6.93, p=.54, education, $\chi 2$ (1, N=269) = 4.24, p=.84, or socio-economic status, $\chi 2$ (1, N=351)=5.43, p=.49.

rience intrapersonal peace, regardless of the outer storms, takes hold to such a degree that Divine Action adherents can believe that there is no positive duty to relieve suffering in the world. Taken to the extreme, this view suggests that to say "thoughts and prayers" is all an individual can really do.

For those that believe that Human Action is solely or primarily responsible for fixing the world, there was a decrease in emphasis on intrapersonal peace. The view that individuals can work their way to peace through alleviating poverty and suffering in the world was associated with a diminished belief that finding intrapersonal peace was important. It also could be argued that valuing social peace presupposes a capacity to be acutely aware of social injustices, which would result in a lack of intrapersonal peace.

However, when respondents held a more balanced view between Divine Action and Human Action, we saw a significant and consistent need to emphasize all three values—intrapersonal peace, interpersonal peace, and social peace. This group sees a connection between being at peace personally and interpersonally and reaching out to the larger world to alleviate suffering. Peace to them is both "thoughts and prayers" and rolling up your sleeves to alleviate conflict at a structural and community level.

Holding an eschatology that focuses too much on one type of peace can undermine efforts to realize the others, which can paradoxically affect the ability to realize the type of peace believers prioritize as the most important. For example, many frontline peacebuilding workers or peace activists working on social peace experience fatigue and even burnout if they are not intentional about minding their own wellbeing, or intrapersonal peace, and this self-neglect can result in a diminished capacity to perform their work for social peace. On the other hand, focusing too much on interpersonal peace, even with highly successful conflict resolution techniques, may risk neglecting other factors or structural drivers that led the conflicting parties into interpersonal strife in the first place, leading to a temporary resolution at best. Finally, focusing solely on intrapersonal peace may have a stifling effect on tending to relationships and transforming contextual conditions that may only heighten the intensity of the stimuli that may undermine inner peace.

Limitations

We had 405 participants in this study, responding from more than 20 countries. We recruited these participants using a snowball sampling technique that focused on finding members of the LDS Church exclusively. Despite the diver-

sity of our sample in terms of age, geography, and other factors, the sample's exclusive focus on Latter-day Saints provides limitations in the generalizability of our findings. Whereas we found no relationship between the demographic descriptors of our participants and their eschatological attitudes, such relationships may yet be discovered with other cohorts. Specifically, we found no notable connections between eschatological attitudes and gender, nationality, socioeconomic status, or education level.

Regarding geographic location, we expected a significant number of respondents from all over the world, but the majority of the participants were from the United States, specifically Utah and Idaho. For this reason we decided to compare the Utah and Idaho group with the rest of the world, but to our surprise we didn't find any significant differences between the "Utah Mormon" and "Non-Utah Mormon" groups.

The demographic for which we especially expected to find significant differences was political affiliation. While we found some interesting connections between conceptions of social peace and political affiliation, unfortunately the number of respondents that reported their political affiliation was not significant enough to report. We believe we erred in making the question "What is your political affiliation?" optional. The majority of respondents chose not to respond or disclose their political identity. We also believe we could have provided a more nuanced political affiliation model that took into account more political beliefs beyond the right-left political spectrum scale that is prevalent in the United States. To facilitate future research, we already have created a different political affiliation scale and made the question mandatory in the hope that it will effectively measure the role that political affiliation plays in LDS eschatology. From our initial study this demographic appears to be very promising and we hope to report meaningful results regarding political affiliation in future research.

Future Research

For this study, a huge majority of respondents self-identified as members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. While we expected this to happen, for future research we'd like to expand our sampling to other religious traditions—ideally to all Abrahamic religions. We hope to continue to use this model to see if the same results hold true of both other Christian traditions and of non-Christians. We believe it would be instructive to see how other religious traditions conceptualize and engage in their eschatologies and the divide between Human and Divine Action.

We also believe that it is important to continue to explore, in greater depth, the attitudes held by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In particular, we are interested in the role that political ideologies and affiliations may play in predicting Human versus Divine versus Co-participation eschatologies. Our initial survey did not adequately capture those views, but we suspect, from some of the initial data that we did collect, that political ideology may help predict which way a member of the LDS Church might lean and how political ideology might influence the interpretation of eschatological doctrine.

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An Indian Princess and a Mormon Sacagawea? Decolonizing Memories of Our Grandmothers

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Abstract. In two extended Latter-day Saint families, individuals have employed a well-worn settler colonial trope of an Indian princess, as well as a Mormon variation on the legend of Sacagawea, to shape memories about Indigenous women as ancestors. Following larger national trends in the United States and Canada, these Mormons have employed selective memories of Indigenous ancestry as autochthonous legitimation of settler colonial occupation of Indigenous lands. Yet, these case studies stand out in contrast to current literature on racial shifting among self-identified Métis, Abenaki, and Algonquin peoples in Canada and non-federally recognized Cherokee in the United States because members of these Mormon families use stories of Indigenous grandmothers to solidify a white rather than an Indigenous identity. Like racial shifters, however, these families imagine their heritage as more autochthonous than American Indians or First Nations. This paradoxical identity formation is rooted in the peculiar narrative of a sacred text, the Book of Mormon, which represents Israelites (portrayed as white) as the original inhabitants of the Americas, attributes dark skin to a curse for wickedness, and makes legitimate land sovereignty contingent on righteous Christian belief and practice. The scripture imagines a future in which its Indigenous descendants become "white [or pure] and delightsome." Two centuries of intermarriage of white settler men to Indigenous women have been among the various social means employed by Latter-day Saints to turn American Indians white. These images of an Indian princess and a Mormon Sacagawea are based upon harmful and inaccurate stereotypes that perpetuate settler colonialism.

The authors, raised in Mormon homes in Idaho, Utah, Iowa, and Washington, regularly heard stories from white-identifying family members that we were the great-great-grandchildren of Indian princesses, one of whom was also portrayed as a Mormon Sacagawea. Remembering these ancestors is a political act. The way in which white settler populations in the United States and Canada

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remember Indigenous women who married white men is especially wrought with questions of power. Recent scholarship has examined the deployment of distant Indigenous ancestors (usually women) in the phenomenon of racial shifting among non-federally recognized but self-identified Cherokee in the United States and self-identified Métis, Abenaki, and Algonquin peoples in Canada and the United States (Sturm 2010; Leroux 2019). The stories in our families share much in common with the genealogical discourse of racial shifters analyzed by anthropologists Circe Sturm and Darryl Leroux, with one notable exception. Latter-day Saint relatives in our extended families employ narratives of Indigenous ancestry in support of white rather than Indigenous identities. These case studies are more consistent with the observations of anthropologist Kim Tallbear (2013, 134), whose analysis of distant Native American ancestry in online genealogical discourse found that descendants "had little trouble reconciling the possibility of Native American ancestry with their whiteness." This essay examines more closely how stereotypical tropes of an Indian Princess and a Mormon Sacagawea reinforce whiteness in the discourse about Indigenous ancestors in our own extended families.

Mormon expectations of an Indigenous progression toward whiteness exists in consort with a corresponding settler colonial desire to become autochthonous. Nineteenth-century Mormons advocated intermarriage with Native Americans, along with slavery, indenture, adoption, education, and fostering, as social means for making them into a "white and delightsome" people. Intermarriage brought together the families of the colonized and the colonizers as each sought to navigate a changing world of race, gender, and class. Legends, entangled with sacred narratives and historical facts, explained purported or actual heritage. Indigenous women, in these narratives, become greater-than-life heroines who rescue their descendants from an imagined life of savagery. The stereotypes of an Indian Princess and a Mormon Sacagawea, while neither accurate in general nor in these specific cases, do important cultural work of subjugating Indigenous ancestry to the whiteness of settler colonialists. Lost in these memories are the actual perspectives and experiences of women such as Susannah Ferguson Youngs and Peninah Shropshire Cotton Wood.

White and Delightsome

The Book of Mormon, a sacred narrative set in ancient America and published by the founding prophet of the Latter-day Saint restoration, Joseph Smith, in New York in 1830, set the stage for Mormon expectations that American In-

dians would assimilate both culturally and biologically into whiteness. This scripture portrays the original ancient Americans as white Israelites who eventually split into light-skinned Nephites and dark-skinned Lamanites. These opposing groups had porous boundaries that could be crossed by an ancient curse darkening the skin of the wicked, and a covenantal blessing lightening the skin color of the righteous. The narrative covering a millennium makes Indigenous sovereignty contingent on righteous adherence to Christianity, with wicked white Nephites ultimately suffering destruction at the hands of Lamanites who are presented as the ancestors of American Indians. This sacred text forecast a future in which Christianized Lamanites (an ethnonym Mormons have applied to American Indians and First Nations) would become "a white and delightsome people," or, after changes made to the text in 1981, "a pure and delightsome people" (Smith 1830; Campbell 1996; Murphy 2003; Mueller 2017).

Native peoples, however, have histories and sacred narratives of their own that settler colonial Saints displace with the account in the Book of Mormon (Hafen 2018; Murphy 2019; Murphy and Baca 2020). Dakota and Latter-day Saint historian Elise Boxer (2019, 4) analyzes the Book of Mormon as a settler colonial narrative. "Indigenous identity, history, sovereignty, and belief systems have not only been dismissed but replaced with a limited, racialized identity grounded in Mormon religious discourse." Mormon settler colonialism, Boxer notes, works "by creating very distinct notions of Indigeneity." The application of the ethnonym Lamanite to American Indians "erases the way Indigenous Peoples view their own creation as a people, their connection to the land, and their identity as a people." Settler Mormons who deploy Indigenous ancestors to assert connections to the founding patriarch Lehi and his Nephite descendants from the Book of Mormon also create a distinct notion of a primordial whiteness that likewise replaces and erases Indigenous worldviews, sovereignties, and identities.

Several similarities and differences exist between genealogists' memories of Indigenous ancestors in New France and the Mormon culture region. Both have a history of careful record-keeping and robust genealogical industries. Descendants typically claim an Indigenous ancestor in New France from 300 to 375 years ago. In the two case studies of our extended families, the Indigenous ancestors are from 194 and 235 years ago, respectively, but the genealogical accounts we analyze began as early as a hundred years after the birth of the ancestor. Surprisingly, marriage registries prior to 1680 in New France

only record thirteen Aboriginal women who legally married French men. Leroux (2019) acknowledges additional, extra-legal sexual unions that tended to result in offspring raised in Indigenous communities but who were ostracized from French society. This paucity of sanctioned marriages stands in contrast with Mormon experiences.

Latter-day Saint leaders such as Joseph Smith and Brigham Young actively encouraged intermarriage with Native Americans in the nineteenth century (Murphy 2003). In fact, historians have documented more than 100 interracial marriages between nineteenth-century Mormons and Ute, Paiute, Shoshone, and other Indigenous nations of the Great Basin. The two marriages in the case studies are in addition to those documented in the Great Basin because they occurred in New York and Illinois prior to the Mormon migration west. Most of the interracial marriages are the result of Mormons bringing at least 419 American Indian children into their homes as slaves, servants, and orphans. Documentation records marriages of 80 of these individuals raised in Mormon homes. Eighty-one percent of the marriages joined a Native woman with a white man, 11% wed a Native man with a white woman, 5% occurred between two Natives, and 2.5% united a Native woman with a Hispanic man. Thirteen percent were plural marriages, which would have been extralegal by U.S. law but were nonetheless sanctioned by the LDS Church (Kitchen 2002; Bennion 2012; Murphy 2020b). Also outside the Great Basin, members of the Catawba Nation in South Carolina who converted nearly wholesale to Mormonism in the 1880s were already intermarried in significant numbers before conversion and continued the process afterwards (Hicks 1977; Thayne 2016; Thayne 2019).

In the twentieth century Mormons fostered more than 50,000 Indian children, predominantly from Diné (Navajo) peoples, but also from nations across the western United States and Canada. The LDS women's organization, the Relief Society, formalized this initially illegal and informal operation as the Indian Student Placement Program (ISPP) in 1954 and it would continue until the end of the century. Boxer (2015, 135–136) describes the ISPP as "a colonizing enterprise designed to assimilate Indian students via conversion to Mormonism." In contrast to ecclesiastical authorities in the early Church, ISPP administrators and church leaders discouraged intermarriage in the twentieth century. The practice, though, continued uncounted and unabated, even unintentionally fostered by social and educational programs that brought young American Indians and European settlers together (Harris 1985; Shumway and

Shumway 2002; Shumway and Shumway 2007; Boxer 2015; Garrett 2016; Jacobs 2016; Harris 2018; Metcalf 2019).

Mormon social programs were part of larger settler colonial efforts that used boarding schools, fostering, and adoption to remove Indian children from Indigenous homes and assimilate them into settler society (Simon and Hernandez 2008; Jacobs 2009; DeMeyer 2012; DeMeyer and Cotter-Busbee 2012). Settler colonialism in the United States and Canada is an ongoing process characterized by efforts to permanently settle on colonized land, displacing Indigenous peoples through elimination, absorption, oppressive social structures, re-education, and settler pursuit of their own belonging through false narratives of Indigeneity (Veracini 2010; Hixson 2013; Murphy 2014; Veracini 2015). Latter-day Saint politicians and bureaucrats even harnessed the power of the United States federal government between 1954 and 1962 to terminate, at least in part, more than 100 tribal governments in an effort to turn American Indians "white and delightsome" legally, if not in fact. The immediate effects were devastating to all involved, including tribes in Utah and the predominantly Mormon Catawba targeted by Latter-day Saint politicians. While Congress would later reverse the termination of Southern Paiute bands in 1980 and the Catawba nation in 1993, mixed-blood Utes remain terminated, and some intermarried and displaced Catawba have lost federal recognition and tribal membership (Gottlieb and Wiley 1986; Nielson 1998; Wilkinson 1999; Metcalf 2002; Thayne 2019; Murphy 2020b). The Latter-day Saint restoration has been characterized by an extraordinary multi-century effort of settler colonialists employing various religious, social, and political means, including intermarriage, to turn American Indians white.

The colonial dispossession of American Indians coexists with paradoxical settler desires to become Indigenous. From the founding days of the faith, Mormons have temporarily assumed Indigenous identities in dramatic performances as Indians, Lamanites, and Nephites. Joseph Smith, for example, not only encouraged intermarriage but also displayed his own aspirations to play Indian, assuming the voices of Indigenous dead and using Native artifacts in revelation and translation (Deloria 1998; Murphy 2003; Mackay and Frederick 2016; Murphy and Baca 2016). Brigham Young followed by encouraging settlers to purchase Indian children and even more enthusiastically sanctioning plural marriages between settler men and Indigenous women (Murphy 2003; Bennion 2012). From ecstatic performances during the Church's earliest mission to Kirtland, Ohio through twenty-first-century pioneer treks, Latter-day

Saints have engaged in energetic play imitating Indigenous peoples and enacting the violence and privilege of their own whiteness in a settler colonial setting. Through military disguises, traveling performances, faux abductions and attacks as part of Pioneer Day parades, legends of Indian princesses leaping from Wasatch precipices, a Sun Dance opera, roadshows, firesides, dance troupes, Boy Scout ceremonies, pageants, monuments, and heritage parks, Mormons embody memories of real and fictional Indians in social play that betrays both the anxieties and audacity of settler colonialism (Hafen 2001; Baca 2008; Farmer 2008; Hudson 2015; Reeve 2015; Smith 2015; Boxer 2019; Coviello 2019; Murphy 2003, 2020b, 2021; Patterson 2020).

While family members in the case studies below deploy Indigenous ancestors in support of white identities, Mormonism does have several prominent examples of individuals assuming a public Indian persona. Scholars in American Indian Studies have represented settlers who use distant, dubious, or fabricated ancestries to profit through the sale of "secret" knowledge and access to "sacred" ceremonies as "white shamans" engaged in a settler form of "cultural imperialism" (Macy and Hart 1996; Hobson 2002). Mormon examples of assumed Indigenous identities include Warner McCary and Lucy Stanton, who toured the United States and Canada in the mid-1840s as the Choctaw performer "Okah Tubbee" and the Indian "Laah Ceil" (Hudson 2015). In the 1970s blond-haired Zula Brinkerhoff donned a beaded feather headdress, gathered her collection of kachina dolls and bows and arrows, assumed the adopted Indian name "Paz-Pa-Hutt-Paudee-Cha-Pa," and traveled the Mormon culture region giving, as she claimed on the dustjacket of her second book, "3,000 talks in schools, universities, clubs, TV, radio, civic organizations, and various Christian churches" in which she discussed Indigenous and Mormon prophecies (Brinkerhoff 1971, 1973; Murphy 2020b). William Anderson, who operates Prophecy Keepers Internet Radio under the name "Blue Otter" and hosts "original Ghost Dances," has followed Brinkerhoff's footsteps into the twenty-first century. Will Blue Otter claims Cherokee and Powhatan heritage from the iconic Indian Princess herself, Pocahontas, and seeks charitable donations for his radio station while marketing enrollment in the Cherokee Nation of Mexico (Anderson 2004–2104; Murphy 2020b). These prominent examples of assumptions of Indigenous rather than white identities caution against overgeneralizing the cases of the Mormon families examined below.

The discourse among genealogists in two predominantly Mormon extended families reveals selective, and inaccurate, memories of Susannah Ferguson Youngs and Peninah Shropshire Cotton Wood as Indian princesses.

Ferguson's story, as retold here, disrupts the whitewashed memories it documents through discussions of Tiononderoge, the Mohawk community in which she was born. Images of an Indian princess and those of Nephites and Lamanites from the Book of Mormon have obscured the complexity of these grandmothers' lives while also providing fodder for white identities in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Following the portrait of Ferguson we examine memories of Cotton, portrayed as a Mormon Sacagawea, an image that the *Church News* incorrectly attributes to her polygynous husband Daniel Wood. Our essay places this Mormon variant of the Sacagawea legend into a more accurate historical perspective and then complicates this image by examining the way that stories told by descendants remake her from an Indigenous servant into an enterprising colonizer. This analysis rests upon the industry of genealogists in our families, some of whom are also our mothers and grandmothers. While critical of stereotypes our families have inherited and perpetuated, we hope to enrich the way these Indigenous grandmothers are remembered by acknowledging the complexities in the lives of Susannah Ferguson and Peninah Shropshire Cotton and in the stories told and identities assumed by their descendants.

Susannah Ferguson Youngs

Oral traditions of Indian ancestry in one extended family reached the seventh generation through retellings by a grandmother, Eunice Wayment Harmon (1926–2006). She shared stories she had originally heard from her grandfather, Charles Gransbury (1879–1971). He spoke of an Indian grandmother who was not welcome inside his parents' home. Yet, he remembered fondly his experiences playing outside with her. This grandmother was Rachel Youngs Cole (1818–1896), a daughter of Susannah Ferguson (ca. 1790–Deceased) and John Youngs (1783–1823). Genealogists found Susannah in written records through an inscription on her daughter's death certificate and in census records from 1810 through 1850 indicating residences in Amsterdam and Otego, New York. These census records cannot confirm an American Indian identity because no such category was available in the U.S. Census until 1860. Census takers, who assigned racial identities at that time, classified Susannah as white (the status of her husband) but some of her male relations as colored or black, illustrating the gendered way that nineteenth-century racial identifications occurred (Harmon Bills 2011; Pew 2020). Direct-to-consumer DNA tests in the family of Cheryl Harmon Bills (1946–2019) have found approximately 1% to

2% American Indian ancestry but no similar trace of African ancestry. These results are consistent with what one would expect from Indigenous ancestry about six or seven generations ago (Cowan 2015).

Susannah Ferguson was born about 1790 in the community of Tiononderoge alongside the Mohawk River. She married an eighteen-year-old settler named John Youngs at the tender age of sixteen or thereabouts but would be widowed about twenty years later. Together they had at least three children, one of whom was Rachel Youngs Cole (Harmon Bills 2006). Susannah's granddaughter Lura Cole Gransbury (1850–1935) would move in the 1880s with her husband, John Wesley Gransbury (1848–1915), to homestead in Kansas. There the family encountered Mormon missionaries and several members would join the new faith and relocate in 1897 to Albion, Idaho (Gransbury Olson 1956). The oral traditions passed down in the family have been accented by the diligent documentary investigations of two avid fifth- and sixth-generation genealogists, Eunice Wayment Harmon and Cheryl Harmon Bills, who spent many years investigating the woman they have called "our Indian princess" (Harmon Bills 2011).

For at least a century prior to Susannah's birth, Mohawks called her natal town Tiononderoge while settlers called it the Lower Mohawk Castle or Fort Hunter (after 1712). Identified as a "Praying Castle" in 1694, Tiononderoge was home to an agriculturally based community of Protestant Mohawks politically allied with the British (Sivertsen 2006). In 1793 immigrants applied the name Florida to the township within a renamed Montgomery County (Frothingham 1892). The new names may have contributed to the much debated Cole family narrative identifying Rachel as originating from what is now the state of Florida. In these stories she is called by the name of "Rain on the Face" and identified as a "Seminole princess" who met a "Mohawk Indian" she would follow to New York (Harmon Bills 2012). This interchangeability of Indigenous affiliations in genealogical narratives is quite similar to what Leroux (2019) has found in descendant populations in New France, but unlike the persistent claims of Cherokee heritage found by Sturm (2010).

While these extrapolations of non-Mormon relatives in Florida take Rachel and Susannah far afield from Tiononderoge, other mangled memories may linger in speculations of yet another tribal affiliation in a Latter-day Saint branch of the family. A particularly appealing claim has been the belief that Rachel and her mother Susannah were Onondaga, a speculation that fosters a more direct link to the Book of Mormon. This association may result from the

similarity of the village name Tiononderoge to the nation of Onondaga. The name is spelled as Tionondogue in some sources and it was not uncommon to leave off the prefix, Ti-, in the pronunciation of the name, leading to some confusion with the ethnonym Onondaga. Rachel's birth in Otsego County, an area associated at times with Onondaga, may be another factor in this proposed affiliation (Campbell 1883, 11; Frothingham 1892, 108).

Correspondence between our relatives in October 2001 is informative in the way it frames Indigenous ancestry, violence, gender, and whiteness within a Mormon context. Ruth Olson DiFrancesco (1924–2010, Lura Cole Gransbury's granddaughter), wrote to her nephew, Lewis Olson, who had asked for more details about the family's Indian heritage:

> One of my mother's ancestors [John Cole] married an Onandaga [sic] Indian woman [Rachel Youngs Cole]. … I have been told that the story of the men from her tribe coming to the cabin one day when her husband (who was a Cole) and the oldest son were out on the lake catching fish for the winter, is in a book available at the Genealogical library. Anyway, the story goes that she took the children out the back door into the forest to hide, and the two-year-old kept crying and giving their hiding place away. So, in desperation, she left the baby and took the rest of the children deeper into the forest. When the braves found the baby, they dashed its brains out by swinging it by the heels against a tree (Harmon Bills 2001).

In contrast to these horrific portrayals of violence, Ruth expressed delight at discovering an Onondaga connection in the teachings of Joseph Smith in a letter to her cousin, Eunice Wayment Harmon:

> I'm sure you have read the story or heard it about our Indian ancestor who saw members of her tribe swing their two-year-old's head against a tree to kill it. Well, the originator of that tribe, the Onondaga, was a great warrior/prophet over the Nephites from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rockies. He is our ancestor and our link to Lehi and Nephi. When I learned that, I nearly jumped out of my skin!

Ruth provides more context in her correspondence with her nephew, Lewis:

> I do have a tremendous story to tell you about our Cole ancestor who married the Onandaga woman. Not actually about them, but about that group of Indians: On the Missouri march [Zion's Camp], a group of the men had gone up on top of a mound in Illinois and found a rock

> altar with a complete skeleton laying at the base of it with an arrow still through the ribs. They told Joseph Smith about it and he went up to look at it. He told them it was a Nephite Altar, and that the skeleton was of a Lamanite named Zelph who fought with the Nephites under the direction of the great Warrior Prophet, Onandaga who was the progenitor of the Onondaga tribe in upstate New York. Lewis—I just about came out of my skin. This is so thrilling to me that we have that link to a great Nephite. Joseph also said he was in charge of the troops from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, so he was obviously a very important man in their culture. I wonder if he served under Moroni who is my hero.
>
> The other very interesting thing to me, is that particular group have never surrendered to the government of the US and belong to the five-tribe nation headed by the Iroquois. They print their own money, publish their own passports, which are recognized throughout the world, and have their own government (Harmon Bills 2001).

One can see tensions underlying the recollection of Indian ancestry in predominantly white settler Mormon families. The claimed Onondaga affiliation appears erroneous in the context of Susannah's ties to the Mohawk community of Tiononderoge. There is an uneasy association with purported savagery of male relations through acts of "braves" who kill a helpless child while our female ancestor is remembered as rescuing the rest of the family. This storytelling repeats a widespread trope, most visible in the Pocahontas narrative, in which "the Indian woman saves white men" (Green 1975, 704). In this common motif Indigenous men are portrayed as savages, with subtext questioning their viability as progenitors (Anderson 2004; Finely 2011). Our grandmother's cousin nearly jumps out of her skin when she realizes that Joseph Smith connected the Onondaga nation to the events of the Book of Mormon via a skeleton disturbed in a grave. She feels connected to her favorite characters within the scripture, all of whom happen to be represented as white men. Lehi, Nephi, and Moroni are all prominent white narrators in the Book of Mormon. Even Zelph is represented as a white Lamanite in accounts of the Zion's March (Cannon 1995; Metcalfe 1998; Murphy and Baca 2016). By imagining Susannah as Onondaga rather than Mohawk, Ruth can link herself more closely to white men in the Book of Mormon. Noticeably absent as ancestors in these narratives are Laman and Lemuel, the progenitors of the scripture's dark-skinned Lamanites. The unnoted violence of looting an Indigenous grave is thus juxtaposed against horrific acts of Indian men represented as heartless

and uncivilized (Murphy and Baca 2016; Murphy 2021). These narratives remember Indigenous women who marry white men as liberators, but in the context of a presumed rejection of their own culture and race.

Folklorist Rayna Green (1975, 704) describes "the Indian woman's dilemma. To be 'good,' she must defy her own people, exile herself from them, become white, and perhaps suffer death." This whitening of our ancestors means remembering them through a settler colonial lens, one that still operates in twenty-first-century discourse among Mormon genealogists and is aided by the Book of Mormon's portrayal of ancient America (Murphy 2003). Yet, also buried in that discourse is a countervailing admiration of the resistance to ongoing colonialism by contemporary Iroquois who produce their own passports and govern themselves. Remembering Susannah within an Indigenous cultural context of her own place and time may help decolonize these prejudicial genealogical narratives.

Susannah Ferguson entered a cultural milieu already dramatically transformed by disease, trade, war, and evangelism. The Mohawk nation is the westernmost of the Five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca) and later Six Nations (Tuscarora) of the Haudenosaunee [Iroquois] Confederacy, whose traditional lands stretched across what we know today as upstate New York and parts of Pennsylvania, Ontario, and Quebec. Susannah's ancestors lived in matrilocal longhouses, dominated by matrilineages of closely related women who shared a common household. Clan mothers were central to household and community leadership, guiding the marital relations and domestic affairs of their daughters (Snow 1996, 129; Mann 2011). Susannah and Rachel would likely have expected men in their family, as well as their daughters, to defer to their leadership. It is thus not surprising that familial oral traditions recall tension from Rachel's assertive involvement in the household affairs of her daughter and son-in-law. Household leadership, including land ownership, was a traditional cultural role for Haundenosaunee women.

For several centuries Haudenosaunee councils of clan mothers selected male sachems who acted in legislative and judicial capacities to represent the clans in a confederation of nations. The sachems deliberated in councils and committees on behalf of the clan mothers who exercised the ability to recall these elected representatives (Mann 2011). While eighteenth-century colonists often used the term "king" to describe these sachems, this projection of a patriarchal monarchy onto a matrilineal democratic society distorts more than it informs (Hinderaker 2010). This distortion is perpetuated when gene-

alogists use the term "princess" to describe Indian grandmothers (Green 1975, 1988). Classism and racism intersect as this claim to a royal lineage differentiates one's own ancestry from undesirable "savages." If our ancestors have to be Indian they might as well be royalty, the thinking goes. This is an act of internalized racism, but also, perhaps, a strategy for survival employed by descendants in a sometimes hostile white settler society (Anderson 2004).

No known historical records support the idea that Susannah was the daughter of a sachem or participated in a women's council. The American Revolution and its immediate aftermath devastated the community of Tiononderoge. Most of the young Mohawk warriors left in the summer of 1775 for Canada while remaining Onkwehonwe (original people) tried to protect their lands by remaining neutral. After a bruising battle near the town of Oriske, the Oneida, allied with the rebels, sought revenge on Fort Hunter. Following this attack most remaining Onkwehonwe fled to Canada, forming an alliance with the British whom they perceived as less threatening than land-hungry New Yorkers. The four neutral Mohawk families remaining in the valley were taken prisoner by rebel troops at the end of General John Sullivan's 1779 campaign that scorched earth from the Finger Lakes to the Genessee Valley. General Philip Schuyler's protests to General George Washington led to the release of the imprisoned families. Yet, they returned to Tiononderoge to find their homes seized by envious settlers (Campbell 1831; Graymont 1972; Calloway 1995; Taylor 2006). It is likely that Susannah Ferguson's parents were either among the four imprisoned families rendered homeless or the few (including some Fergusons) who later accepted Schuyler's congressionally endorsed invitation to return to the Mohawk Valley in the winter of 1783–84 after the war had concluded (Huey and Pulis 1997, 77, 86; Sivertsen 2006, 194). After the war the impoverished and often intermarried families remaining in the Mohawk Valley survived as "domestic servants," a role described by a traveler in 1784 as "little Indians" and "urchins," holding candles (Marbois 1996, 304).

After her marriage to John Youngs in ca. 1807, Susannah relocated to the town of Otego in Otsego County, New York. Her relocation(s), sometime between 1810 and 1820, appear(s) to have followed the seasonal movement of other "small groups of Iroquois and Mohicans who would return to Otsego in the warm months to hunt and fish; to sell venison, fish, brooms, medicines, bark or willow baskets, and deerskin moccasins" (Taylor 1995, 39–40). Haudenosaunee use of the Otego area where the town of Wauteghe had been located would continue for "many years after the Revolution" with "straggling friendly

individuals and parties" who would erect homes "on the sites of their former villages, and remain variable time, fishing, making baskets and trinkets, drying apples and looking for mineral landmarks" (Blakely 1907, 14). Haudenosaunee from the Mohawk Valley traveled along well-known trails to access mines in an area known as Dumpling Hill on the south side of the Susquehanna River (Vay 1951, 9). These intermarriage and migration patterns continued long-standing Indigenous traditions in traditional territories even as Susannah and her children employed marital relations as a means of integration into a growing settler community.

Local remembrances in Otego record instances of older, dark-skinned women who were accused of witchcraft and harassed by young white men. The neighbors of an "Ol' Mrs. Tucker," described as "swarthy" and living east of the old Indian trail, "claimed she cast her spells upon their cows and horses and made them kick furiously at night, keeping the people awake." Another story reports a practical joke played on "widow Youngs" who was living west of the same Indian trail at the upper end of the East Branch of Otsdawa Creek (a location matching census records for the widowed Susannah Ferguson Youngs).

> All towns have their "odd characters." There was a stone mason, John de Mott, who was quite a practical joker in the old days. He and a boon companion, each with a demi-john hanging at his saddle, rode up to the widow Youngs' at the upper end of East Branch. They had been sampling the contents of the demi-johns pretty freely and arrived at the widow's house in a very boisterous condition. They knocked, kicked the door, and yelled around for some time, but the widow would not come to the door. Finally de Mott had a brilliant idea. He found a large flat stone, climbed to the roof and placed it on top of the chimney. That made the fireplace smoke so that the widow was forced to come out. And it is said that in her wrath she fairly blistered them with her eloquence (Blakely 1907, 145; Vay 1951, 9–11; Vay 1959, 3–40).

In the village of Otego women of darker complexions experienced suspicion and harsh treatment by their settler neighbors in contrast to the power and influence that their grandmothers had wielded in Haudenosaunee communities. This harassment was part of the tragic price paid by Indigenous women who resisted removal from their traditional territories. The actual historical record provides a bleak contrast to the images of a royal lineage of an Indian princess conjured by genealogists.

Latter-day Saint genealogists often read the past through a refracted lens of a sacred record. The Book of Mormon narrative reverses the trauma of geno-

cidal removal policies experienced by Haudenosaunee and Cherokee nations and alternatively ascribes an ancient American holocaust to the unleashing of bloodthirsty Lamanites upon a pre-Columbian nation of white Nephites. In the scripture the fair Nephite nation, succumbing to wickedness, suffered humiliation, defeat, and death at the hands of aggressive and idolatrous ancestors of American Indians who had been cursed with a dark skin for their wickedness. Scriptural prophecies hold out the hope that Lamanite descendants would once again become "white and delightsome" like the founding Lehite and Mulekite families. This primordial narrative provides the fodder for the seemingly paradoxical use of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Indigenous ancestors to support autochthonous white identities in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Prejudicial portrayals of Lamanites in scripture make it difficult for settler Mormons to affirm the Indigenous cultures of Susannah Ferguson and Peninah Shropshire Cotton as they must have experienced them.

Peninah Shropshire Cotton Wood

A 1997 article in the *Church News*, titled "Indians to Settlers: 'We Must Help One Another,'" sought to acknowledge the contributions that Native Americans had made to the Church while the Latter-day Saints were celebrating the sesquicentennial of the arrival of Euro-American pioneers to the Salt Lake Valley. The article begins by acknowledging the welcome in 1846 that Saints had received at Winter Quarters, Nebraska from the Potawatomi and Omaha who recognized a similarity with their own plight of displacement. The author draws a contrast between nomadic, predatory Indians and helpful, agrarian ones. American Indians who reportedly "benefited the pioneers" included the Ponca, who rescued and fed a stranded wagon train from Winter Quarters, and the Utes, who provided safe passage to Mormon immigrants and would later donate gold for both debt relief and adorning the Salt Lake Temple. The article celebrated the role of "Ute" Zenos Hill (1855–1938), "adopted" by rancher George Hill (1810–1864) in the 1850s, who fought "on the side of the Mormons" in the Blackhawk War (1865–1872). The author concludes by highlighting the Cherokee woman "Peninah S. Cotton" (1827–1879) who had married Daniel Wood (1800–1892) and joined him on the trek west. The reporter attributed this statement to Daniel:

> Peninah was a God-send to these people, as Sacagawea, the Indian maid, had been to Lewis and Clark's expedition. She knew the berries

> and plants that were good for food and medicine. And she made moccasins, glove and clothing from skins; and from cloth she wove herself. She also had to drive one of the wagons (Boren 1997).

While the effort to acknowledge Mormon debt to American Indians is laudable, the reporter left much unsaid. She could have acknowledged that the contrasting image of nomadic and predatory versus helpful and agrarian Indians was rarely, if ever, accurate (Tate 2006). She neglects the perspective of living Indians, such as the Dakota Latter-day Saint Elise Boxer, who found herself estranged by sesquicentennial reenactments of the trek (Boxer 2018). The reporter might have noted that the overwhelming generosity Mormons experienced at the hands of Indians has yet to be reciprocated in anything approaching equal measure. Despite using "help one another" in the title, the article makes no mention of any assistance Mormons provided Indians. There seems to be an unwritten assumption that bringing the gospel was reciprocity enough. The representation of the relationship between Zenos and George Hill as one of adoption disguises the context of the slave trade, kidnapping, theft, depletion of resources, displacement, and warfare that brought Native children into Mormon homes, including three who came to live with Peninah (Bennion 2012, Murphy 2020b). The reporter overlooks the fact that Blackhawk and many others who fought the Saints were baptized Mormons, fighting against their co-religionists (Peterson 1998; Murphy 2003). Peninah's roles as a servant in the household of Daniel Wood, later to become a plural wife, are likewise missing from the news story. This whitewashing of Mormon-Indian interactions concludes with a presentation of Peninah as a Mormon parallel to Sacagawea, an appellation that is attributed to her husband.

Her son, Joseph Cotton Wood (1856–1943), recalled that Peninah Shropshire Cotton was born March 12, 1827 in Johnson County, Illinois to Caleb Cotton (1776–1850) and Nancy Meredith (1784–1846). He describes Peninah's grandmother Nancy Fulkerson as "a full-blooded Indian." Joseph reports that his mother "was very proud of her race … the first of her blood to enter plural marriage in this dispensation." He also believed that she "was the first of the descendants of Lehi to join the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Wood 1934b). The view of Peninah as the "first Lamanite to join the Church [and] … to enter into plural marriage in this dispensation" has been popularized by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP 1998). Daniel Wood Sr. recalled that he had become "acquainted with Peninah Cotton, and married her" while the Saints were preparing to leave Nauvoo, Illinois in 1846. He de-

scribed her as "a motherless girl, her mother and father being dead" (Wood 1868).

The earliest documents offer no explanation for how Peninah came to reside in the household of Daniel Wood. Some family members have speculated that she may have been the victim of a lingering Illinois slave trade in Indian women and children (Gallay 2002, Ekberg 2007). Later documents claim, "Peninah first came into the Wood home as a hired girl to care for Mary and her children" (Wood 1934b). Regardless of how she joined the household, the various recollections make clear that Peninah's role was that of a servant and would remain so throughout her life, even after she married Daniel polygynously. Her son recalls that Peninah "married Daniel Wood" on January 21, 1846 in the "Nauvoo Temple four months prior to the dedication." Mary Snider (1803–1873), Daniel's first wife, "had been a semi-invalid since the death of her son, in 1845." Peninah "continued to nurse and care for Mary for many years, until her death in Oct. 1873" and she reportedly "loved and cared for Mary's children" as though they were her own (Wood 1934b). Other accounts testify that "she tenderly nursed the family and Aunt Mary in very poor health, quiet, and unassuming, but true to her faith." In 1849, Peninah also began providing the primary care and support of two Timpanogos girls (Lucy and Mary) and a boy (Thomas), likely orphaned during the invasion of the Utah Valley. She cared for them until their deaths during an outbreak of diphtheria and pneumonia in 1860–61. Peninah, herself, died on May 28, 1879 and is buried, along with these adopted children, in the Wood Family Cemetery (Murphy 2020b, Naylor n.d.).

If a researcher only investigates the family history of Peninah using the copy of her son Joseph's reminiscence currently held in the LDS Church History Library, then it might appear that the Sacagawea attribution came from her husband Daniel Wood. Punctuation and parenthetical demarcations in additional, slightly differing, copies of the same family history, though, suggest that attributing this phrase to Daniel Wood is anachronistic. Joseph Cotton Wood dictated his recollections to his daughter, Kate W. Anderson (1892–1982), on May 18, 1934. At least two other online copies of the same narrative have the quote with the Sacagawea reference in parentheses, suggesting an addition in someone else's words. These documents claim to have been retyped from earlier versions by Norma Jean M. Wood in 1990 and by Staci Bailey in 2003 (Wood 1934a, 1934c). The copying error eliminating parentheses, though, must have come much earlier in the transfer of documents between family

members because another collection of retyped documents, also available online, suggest that by midcentury Josephine Wood Naylor (1887–1957), daughter of Joseph Wood and granddaughter of Peninah, was writing, "Peninah, the daughter of an Indian, had an excellent knowledge of plants that were useful for food and medicine. Daniel said of her, 'Peninah was a God-send to these people, as Sacagawea, the Indian maid, had been to Lewis and Clark's expedition'" (Wood Naylor 1947). The Wood, Naylor, and Walters line of the family not only appear to repeat this error earliest but are also responsible for the documents contributed to the LDS Church History Library. Copying errors eliminating parentheses suggest that the idea that Peninah might be a Mormon Sacagawea emerged within a historical window between 1934 and 1947. What was happening more generally in the American populace with the legend of Sacagawea at this time?

The Shoshone woman who participated in Lewis and Clark's expedition of 1804 to 1806 was not well-known during Daniel Wood's lifetime (1800–1892). Two small volumes of the expedition's journals, edited by the Philadelphia lawyer Nicholas Biddle, first appeared in print eight years after the event (Allen 1814). So few copies ever sold, though, that even the expedition leader William Clark had trouble getting one for himself (Clark and Edmonds 1979, 88). Sacagawea's name "remained relatively unknown for nearly a century" after the return of the Corps of Discovery (Kessler 1996, 65). Elliot Coues (1893) published the first account of the expedition that would have been accessible to Mormons in Utah a year after Daniel's death. Thus, it is very unlikely that Daniel ever heard of Sacagawea, let alone likened her to his wife. Sacagawea's legend and role in the popular American imagination developed in the twentieth century with the publication of the 1902 novel *The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark* by an Oregon suffragist, Eva Emery Dye (1902), in anticipation of the centennial of the Corps of Discovery. Dye described her creative role in the legend as follows:

> I struggled along as best I could with the information I could get, trying to find a heroine. I traced down every old book and scrap of paper, but was still without a real heroine. Finally, I came upon the name of Sacajawea, and I screamed, "I have found my heroine!"
>
> I then hunted up every fact I could find about Sacajawea. Out of a few dry bones I found in the old tales of the trip, I created Sacajawea and made her a living entity. For months I dug and scraped for accurate information about this wonderful Indian maid (Clark and Edmonds 1979, 93).

In a legend that continued to grow well beyond the meager facts of Sacagawea's life, the Shoshone woman of settler imagination became the guide for the expedition, even its principal pilot. She also became an atypical Indian, light-skinned in some accounts. This legendary heroine Sacagawea received credit for helping white men in the wilderness, even saving their lives and adopting their religion (Kessler 1996).

After the popularization of the legend of Sacagawea during the Progressive Era, fewer texts would be published in the 1920s and 1930s. A significant text, though, did appear in 1933. Grace Raymond Hebard's *Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* perpetuated the emerging popular image of Sacagawea, emphasized her atypical status, and recounted her role in urging Shoshones to adopt agriculture (Hebard 1933). Hebard would influence many authors writing about Sacagawea in the 1940s and would be the main source informing histories shared in schools and college textbooks (Kessler 1996). By 1934 when Joseph C. Wood was recounting his memories of Peninah to Kate Anderson, public familiarity with Sacagawea had increased significantly. By 1947 when Josephine Wood Naylor was compiling and writing family history, the growing legend of Sacagawea would have been well-known in virtually all Mormon households in the Great Basin.

Joseph's recollections of his mother emphasized the ways that Peninah had used her knowledge of plants and animals to help Mormons along the trail west. Whatever traditional knowledge she may have had or shared with others, Peninah did not play the role of a guide nor was she in the first wagon train west. She stayed in Winter Quarters in 1847 and the Wood family left for the Salt Lake Valley the following year (Wood 1868). Her traditional knowledge is juxtaposed with her labor as a significant part of her son's memory:

> She helped milk cows, drove the ox team, was an excellent hand with horse teams, and had a very tender feeling for dumb animals. She knitted the stockings for her family, from wool off her own sheep. She did washing, carding, and spinning the wool into warp, as it was called then, to the loom to make cloth from which their clothes were made. … She knew how to strike a steel on a flint, or rub two boards together to start a fire, as matches were unknown. She could cover a pine knot in the hot ashes and coals so it would keep a fire for days.
>
> She made moccasins for shoes and homemade brooms to sweep the crude floors. She doctored the sick horses and cows and raised moth-

> erless colts many times. She made tallow candles, knew how to braid rope, made heavy thread for men's clothing, and kept house with only a fireplace for heating and cooking. She baked bread in an old iron kettle on the hot coals. She made hominy out of corn and cloth out of hemp, and she cured all kinds of meat. She always took the wild animals that were killed to rend out grease for leather and harness oil.
>
> Her summer times were always busy with planting her own kitchen garden and caring for it, drying all kinds of fruits, making her own molasses, syrups, sour kraut [sic] and pickles, for their supply during the long, hard winters. She knew how to make her own gloves and those for the menfolk as well.

He concludes this litany of Peninah's labor interspersed with accents of traditional knowledge with a definitive statement, "She was a real colonizer." Lest there be any doubt about her status as a colonizer, he notes that she "was never known to quarrel" and "learned her alphabet." She even learned to read and write, writing to "her family in the East" and reading "the Book of Mormon which was her favorite book." Yet, he concedes, "She preferred reading to attending meetings or gatherings" (Wood 1934b).

If only we could find the letters that Peninah wrote to her relatives, we might have her perspective in her own words. One wonders if she was fascinated by the Book of Mormon for its apocalyptic message or because she knew ancestors of the Cherokee were among the Mound Builders. Or, perhaps, she was familiar with the Cherokee tradition of seer stones, called Ulûñsû'tĭ (Timberlake 1765; Mann 2003; Murphy and Baca 2016). It was in the museum founded by her grandson Wilford Wood (1893–1968) in Bountiful, Utah where the authors first saw and handled one of Joseph Smith's seer stones (Murphy 2020b). Smith, we later learned, used seer stones for divination, finding lost objects, revelation, and even translating the Book of Mormon (Quinn 1998; Mackay and Frederick 2016).

Left mostly with memories from the Mormon men in Peninah's life, descendants desiring her point of view can but read between the lines. Peninah's lifelong status as a servant to Daniel Wood's family, his other wives, and their children is abundantly evident. Her delay in learning to read and write was probably precipitated more by the lack of time than of effort or ability. Her discomfort in public settings such as church meetings may have been the result of class and racial prejudice. Her son's portrayal of his mother implicitly draws a sharp contrast with the lazy, uncivilized, wandering, quarrelsome Lamanites

of the Book of Mormon. Settler colonialists, Mormon and otherwise, imagined "Indians as lazy, cruel, warlike, deficient, un-Christian, and ignorant" (Cook-Lynn 2011, 49). When Peninah's descendants contrast her comportment with a common stereotype and then liken her to a legendary Sacagawea, they emphasize her exceptionalism. She is more Nephite than Lamanite, an Indian ancestor that white descendants can be proud of, certainly not one of "those Indians." These contrasts are employed because Mormon settlers have imbibed images of savage Indians, reinforced as they are in Latter-day Saint scripture. What is missing in these depictions of our grandmothers is the lasting impact of intergenerational trauma that continues to manifest itself in their descendants and is perpetuated by the colonization of memory (Brave Heart and LeBruyn 1998; Evans-Campbell 2008). Colonized memories contribute to a broader settler denial (or selective forgetting) of the removals, servitude, and genocide endured by Indigenous peoples.

Narratives of Indian princesses and a Mormon Sacagawea may bolster white settler identities, but they do so by distorting the actual lived experiences of ancestors. Their perpetuation, even when substantiated by DNA tests and a historical trail, harms Indigenous peoples, not just in the past but in the present. These stories do much of the same cultural work that stories of Indigenous ancestors do for race shifters who assume an Indigenous identity within a white settler community (Sturm 2010; Leroux 2019). Even when race shifting (the assumption of an Indigenous identity by descendants several generations later) does not occur, misrepresentative stories of Indigenous ancestors in settler communities can similarly harm Indigenous peoples (Tallbear 2013). The stereotypes disguise aspects of the women's actual lives, perpetuate inaccurate caricatures of lazy and uncivilized peoples, create a sense of settler belonging on stolen land, undermine sovereignty and self-determination of Indigenous nations, and establish a relationship with dead Indians rather than living Indigenous peoples.

Matrimonial ties, even distant ones, could alternatively generate empathy among descendants for their contemporary Indigenous relations. Consensual interracial unions in their first and second generations often served reciprocal relations between communities, facilitated access to key resources, and helped protect ongoing relationships with the land. By the sixth and seventh generations these more distant kinship connections may no longer serve constructive functions without more of an effort, especially on the part of those descendants of predominantly settler heritage. Given the frequency

with which Mormon marriages between settlers and Indigenous women were marred by kidnapping, slavery, servitude, and indenture, we need to recognize that many of these relationships were likely not consensual.

In the twenty-first century Indigenous communities have been raising the profile of murdered and missing Indigenous women and children, while seeking allies in addressing this pervasive problem (Anderson, et al. 2010). Red dresses, often displayed hanging in the wind, have become a symbol of this movement to honor the missing and murdered and to help protect living Indigenous women (Ault 2019). The wearing of orange has marked the Every Child Matters movement to remember and repatriate Indigenous children lingering in marked and unmarked graves at residential and boarding schools across Canada and the United States (Pawson 2021). Mormons played a tragic role in the removal of at least 419 American Indian children from their homes and families in the nineteenth century, the first documented one of which is Peninah Shropshire Cotton Wood who also fostered three more Timpanogos children. The remains of the Timpanogos children are stranded in the Wood Family Cemetery surrounded by a shopping center in Woods Cross (Bennion 2012; Murphy 2020b; Naylor n.d.). Settler descendants might open more dialogue with Indigenous colleagues by recognizing that some of our so-called "Indian princesses" are the missing Indigenous women and children from prior centuries. We can collaborate and partner with our neighbors and relations, even if separated by seven generations, to achieve the goals identified by living Indigenous communities, perhaps even contributing to the rematriation of past and current generations of murdered and missing women and children (Murphy 2018, 2020a, 2020b).

Conclusion

Neither Susannah Ferguson nor Peninah Shropshire Cotton was an Indian princess or a Mormon Sacagawea. The tropes of an Indian princess and the legends of Sacagawea and Pocahontas are not accurate descriptions of actual Indigenous lives. These stereotypical categories themselves misrepresent more than they inform. Rather than "encompassing native issues and concerns," Latter-day Saint genealogists portray female Indigenous ancestors as whitewashed princesses to address "the needs of Euro-American society" (Kessler 1996, 2). These women give settler descendants the perception of a royal lineage while erasing the brutality of the colonial violence actually experienced by Indigenous peoples. Colonization of the Americas by Europeans never was justifiable

on ethical and moral grounds (Cook-Lynn 2011). In order to salve anxieties over the violence perpetrated against Indigenous people, settler colonialists have invented an imaginary past in which ancestors of American Indians are portrayed as savage, wandering, and violent peoples in need of Christianity and "civilization." They have whitewashed Indigenous women who married white men, remembering them primarily for their contributions to the settler colonial project.

White Latter-day Saint descendants of Indigenous women often imagine their ancestors as atypical. Adorned with images of royalty, these Indigenous women protect white men from their savage relatives and seem to endow their descendants with autochthonous roots in a stolen land. The racial intermarriages behind these stories are an important part of a much larger Mormon effort to turn Indigenous people "white and delightsome," absorbing them into a settler colonial body politic. While race shifting does not characterize the experiences of the extended families outlined here, the question remains open about how frequent that practice may be among a broader sample of Mormon genealogists claiming Indigenous ancestors. The significantly greater prevalence of culturally sanctioned intermarriages in early Mormonism versus New France suggests that there is much yet to be learned about this phenomenon among Latter-day Saint descendants.

The presence of prominent individuals such as Warner McCary, Lucy Stanton, Zula Brinkerhoff, and William Anderson who have adopted an American Indian persona indicates that some race shifting is present in Mormon communities too. Thus it is important to note that DNA and genealogical documents do not, by themselves, make descendants American Indians, legally or culturally (Garroutte 2003, Tallbear 2013). They do not authorize descendants to make a living selling Indian secrets, hosting ceremonies, or broadcasting Indigenous prophecies on internet radio (Macy and Hart 1996, Hobson 2002). Pretending that a genetic or historical link to Indigenous ancestors entitles one to speak for American Indians harms living Indigenous people by competing with or drowning out their actual voices.

In order to better understand Susannah Ferguson Youngs and Peninah Shropshire Cotton Wood in the context of their own time and place, descendants should jettison the stereotypes of an Indian princess and a Mormon Sacagawea, which have clouded perceptions of the past. Recovering the Indigenous histories of these ancestors can help undo the erasure inherent in settler colonial uses of the Book of Mormon. A recognition of the painful ways that

women have gone missing and still are disappearing from Indigenous communities might be an alternative way to connect with living relatives. Engaging with and supporting First Nations in Canada and American Indian nations in the United States in their current efforts to investigate and recover murdered and missing women and children would be a much more constructive way to honor Indigenous grandmothers.

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La Familia versus *The Family*: Matriarchal Patriarchies in Peruvian Mormonism

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Abstract. By sacralizing the Western categories of gender and kinship and by exalting the husband-centric, nuclear version of family, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints not only alienated its transgender and feminist members, but also its Peruvian families. This study employs ethnographic encounters, kinterm linguistics, and home décor analysis to situate the existence of Peruvian Mormon matriarchies in the context of a phallocentric religion that spanned two strikingly different, patriarchal societies: one in the Southern Andes of Peru and the other in the US state of Utah. Thus situated, the article then dwells on the transcribed oral history of Ofelia, a Peruvian single mother who utilized the power of the male-only Mormon priesthood to preside over her household as the acting matriarch. Ofelia's fealty to patriarchy during the very enactment of forbidden priestesshood brings to the fore the profound contradictions that some Peruvian Mormons in the late 2010s disentangled as they sought to become legible to their church as participants in eternal families.

> When marriage is undermined by gender confusion and by distortions of its God-given meaning, the rising generation of children and youth will find it increasingly difficult to develop their natural identities as men or women, . . . to engage in wholesome courtships, form stable marriages, and raise another generation imbued with moral strength and purpose (The Church 2016, para. 36).

Gender Confusion

Gender works differently for Peruvian Mormons than it does for Anglo Mormons. This can cause "gender confusion" of a sort to which the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was probably not referring in the above quotation. I am an Anglo Mormon.[1] I married a Peruvian Mormon inside the holy walls of the Salt Lake City temple in 2001. Despite our both being cisgendered

[1]I use the term "Anglo" to refer to the group called "white people" in common US parlance because Anglo is the term that my Peruvian Mormon study participants used. It does not necessarily imply Anglo-Saxon ancestry.

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individuals with lifestyles that matched our societies' gendered expectations, we differed in the phenomena that we placed into the category of "gender." Far from undermining our marriage, such difference was precisely what made ours a "stable marriage" but only in as much as we ignored our religion's drive to value my Anglo, male way of categorizing "gender" above my partner's Peruvian, female way. Amalgamating our gendered ways, we built what we both categorized as "family."

From 2014 to 2020, I conducted a research project involving my partner's large family, hereafter, *La Familia*, many members of which attended a Spanish-speaking Mormon ward (congregation) in a small, upper middle-class suburb in northern Utah that I pseudonymously dubbed "Salsands" in my dissertation (Palmer, 2021a). Our nuclear family officially joined that ward for six months in 2017 before we moved to the mid-Andean city of Arequipa, Peru seeking an ethnographic counterpoint to my partner's family. We found it in a congregation of *arequipeño* Mormons who had stayed in Peru rather than emigrating to Utah. Though my anthropological sensibilities were originally drawn to the migration of families between Peru and Utah in the context of Utah's dominant institution, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter, the church), I quickly realized that the "God-given meaning" of family itself was the more interesting migrant.

Most of my Peruvian Mormon study participants agreed wholeheartedly with the above epigraph and appeared to share, at first glance, the same transphobic sentiment that undergirded the anonymous committee of Anglo Mormons who wrote it and published it on the church's official website. Most Peruvian Mormons with whom I worked, prayed, and partied were not patient with "gender confusion" when they considered that confusion to be a threat to the polarity of "gender" as a load-bearing cultural category in their version of Mormonism. However, if my Peruvian Mormon friends and family would have taken the above epigraph out of its transphobic context and applied it to their own living situations—which I am provocatively deeming "matriarchal"—they would have found in it an instantiation of the myriad ways in which their church pathologized Peruvian family types just as severely as it demonized gender-nonconforming bodies. After all, from an official Mormon standpoint, gender was a simple dichotomous hierarchy, not a complexly complementary polarization as it was for many non-Mormon Peruvians in my study. Furthermore, for the church, only a hierarchy with a patriarch at the apex could imbue the Mormon category of gender "with moral strength and purpose."

In the least Hispanicized portions of the Andes during my study, there was no category remotely similar to what the West called "gender" (Marín Benítez 2015). Yet there was also no real category for "Hispanicized" because that depended on Western conceptions of linear time that textually concretized events (MacCormack 1991). For example, the Spanish colonized the inhabitants of Arequipa in 1540 "after" the Incas colonized them in 1350 but "before" Arequipa was flooded with migrants from Potosi in the late 1600s when the silver mines faltered (Museo Cultural de Arequipa, n.d.). Fundamental cultural categories of spacetime and personhood amalgamated further under "subsequent" migrations, including a large and ongoing migration from the Aymara-speaking, *altiplano* cities of Juliaca and Puno (Durand 2010) where traditional dances often included a carnivalesque form of gender transvestism (Roper 2019). The resulting vortex of conceptual and temporal admixture that was 2018 Arequipa made it difficult for Anglo Mormons, and Anglo Mormon anthropologists, to apply the unquestioned, supposedly universal archetypes of "kinship" and "gender" to understanding the lives of the approximately one million *arequipeños*, let alone the distinct subset of approximately 20,000 *arequipeños* who were devout Mormons, participating in near-daily activities in any one of Arequipa's 25 Utah-built chapels (meeting houses).

As an Anglo Mormon anthropologist of Peruvian Mormonism, I was unable to define the *arequipeño* Mormon version of the category that lay somewhere askance of gender and kinship by what it was. I could only define it by what it was not. It was not *arequipeño*, it was not *cusqueño*, and it was certainly not *limeño*. While *arequipeño* Mormons were proud of their distinction from those societies, they, like all Peruvian Mormons, were concerned about what else their version of family was not: It was not Anglo. It was neither hierarchal nor patriarchal, which made it, in the Anglo Mormon mindset, immoral, weak, purposeless, and, in the words of the first Anglo Mormon to encounter Peruvians, "sick" (Pratt 1888, 447).

The church's pathologizing of the categories foundational to the Peruvian family created an ironic tension when Peruvians became Mormons, and that tension deepened into a contradiction when those Peruvian Mormons formed Peruvian Mormon families with matriarchs at the helm. In this article, I explore that contradiction—the contradiction of matriarchal patriarchies.

Unethical Methodologies

That was not, however, the specific contradiction that I set out to explore in my original IRB-approved project proposal. I designed a study to ethnographical-

ly track how transnational Mormon migrant families navigated holy regimes of state sovereignty, geographic inequality, and Mormon kin concepts between Peru and Utah. During a period of 12 months of full-time anthropological fieldwork, I conducted research at congregational activities, public events, and private homes across two sites for six months each: first in Salsands, Utah and then in Arequipa, Peru. As an already baptized Mormon, I had my membership records officially transferred to the Mormon ward assigned to my places of temporary residence in both Utah and Peru. Joining each ward, run by lay clergy, entailed accepting a "calling" or responsibility, becoming a "home teacher" tasked with visiting a list of Mormon families within each ward's cartographic boundaries, performing rituals, proselyting, and participating in all religious, recreational, educational, and civic activities. In these congregational contexts, I was an "observing participant" (Bernard 2011, 260) in sacred place-making as well as a participant observer. Most of the people in my study were not "recruited"; rather, their participation was a natural outgrowth of our being members of the same congregation or family. As a result of my active participation in these wards, the bulk of my interactions tended to be with Mormons exhibiting extremely high levels of religiosity. Unfortunately, the lives of Peruvian Mormons whose unorthodox conceptions of gender and kinship marginalized them to the extent of precluding their church attendance were usually beyond the scope of my study. However, the lives of Peruvian non-Mormons whom I met during daily living in Arequipa, and the lives of Mormon non-Peruvians whom I met during daily living in Utah, became vital counterpoints that aided my understanding of how distinct Peruvian Mormon society was from both Peruvian society and Utah Mormon society.

For interviewees, I used convenience sampling and received informed consent for all audio, visual, and textual data with the understanding that I would protect participants' identities using pseudonyms and, if necessary, composite characters. The bishops of both wards approved of my project and, since introducing oneself from the pulpit to the membership as a whole was customary for newcomers to Mormon wards, I announced my problematic dual purpose for joining each ward as being both academic and spiritual. My presence as an anthropologist made Sunday school lessons into focus groups even as my presence as an "elder"—a holder of the male-only priesthood—turned semi-formal interviews into ritual healings. Throughout my encounters with in-laws, coreligionists, and strangers, my study participants became my Sisters and Brothers (Mormon kin titles of respect). We became a "ward family" (Black 2016).

Did this give me, an Anglo Mormon patriarch, the right of representation over the people whom I deemed Peruvian Mormon matriarchs? I will deconstruct this question by first examining the term "matriarchy." Matriarchy technically means rule by mothers. In this sense it functions grammatically within a gender binary as if it were the antonym of patriarchy, rule by fathers. In Western anthropology, there has been extensive debate on whether matriarchy in this absolute, binary sense has ever been observed in any human society (Kuznar 2008). Some anthropologists considered matrilineality—the kin system wherein property was passed through the maternal line—to be indicative of female rule (Sanday 2003). Others pointed out that the few societies that white, male, armchair ethnologists counted as scientifically matrilineal often did not, on the ground, give females any greater access to power than the globe's most patrilineal societies (Debevec 2019). In both of those views, matriarchy was made rare.

I was attracted to that which was rare. Therefore, I was happy to categorize what I saw among my Peruvian Mormon study participants as matriarchy. I, along with "self-aware, feminist and indigenous women researchers" (Goettner-Abendroth 2017, 3), define matriarchy as any aspect of a society that is not quite patriarchy, meaning anything that pertains to "women-centered forms of society" (3).

How did my Peruvian Mormon study participants define their own system of familial government? They did not define it at all. The question of how to classify Peruvian Mormon family types was utterly unimportant to them. For one thing, they did not even "identify as" Peruvian Mormons. That was a label that I assigned to them, and it was a highly problematic one given how different *arequipeño* Mormonism was from, say, *cusqueño* Mormonism. Moreover, like most people, "Peruvian Mormons" were not worried about how to taxonomize their own kinship system because they took it for granted. The obsession with taxonomizing was mine. This mismatch between what my study participants considered important and what I considered important, combined with the conundrum of representation, appeared to make my project quite unethical.

I had an ethical end in mind. I was trying to expose what I believed to be a racist and misogynistic regime, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Yet, as a cog in that regime, I could not expose it without replicating it. Vine Deloria (1969) wrote that American "Indians have been cursed above all other people in history," (78) not because they have the generational trauma of

genocidal centuries, but because "Indians have anthropologists" (78). In this vein, Peruvian women had Anglo Mormons, and to make matters worse, they had a male Anglo Mormon anthropologist who called them "Peruvian Mormon matriarchs." Embracing these dubious ethics, I wield "Peruvian Mormon matriarch" as less a subject category than as a counterhegemonic, alternate way of doing anthropology.

Marilyn Strathern (1980), the elite, white Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire for services to Social Anthropology, made vital contributions to the study of kinship and gender. She cracked the universalistic façade of what turned out to be a very situated, British kinship sensibility by wielding her knowledge of a group in Papua New Guinea she essentialized as "The Hagen," named after a German colonial officer. I am not one to judge whether the ends justified the means in her case, but I doubt their justification in mine. Coming from a position of US whiteness, I will get things dramatically wrong. Furthermore, my heteronormative, cisgender maleness limits my perspective. For example, in this article, I focus on single motherhood as I inadvertently reinscribe a Peruvian racial discourse—*neoindianismo*—through my "portrayal of *mestizas* as 'matriarchs by default' allow[ing] these women to enter the pantheon of [*indianismo*] as a 'typical folklore' attraction" (De la Cadena 2000, 239).

Most elite representatives of Arequipa's twentieth-century racial discourses considered themselves radically anti-racist. Still, each did little more than revamp the requirements of ascension on centuries-old hierarchies of difference that stigmatized those who had more recently migrated to the city from villages at higher elevations. This article—by its very nature an elitist document—cannot but do the same. However, rather than hiding my reinscriptions of the very sexism that I am trying to combat, I offer them as a "critical case" (Flyvbjerg 2006). If an Anglo Mormon anthropologist with my level of critical consciousness can still not manage to stop perpetuating sexism, then the LDS Church, led by critically unaware Anglo Mormons, has a problem. Highlighting this problem by depicting the contradictory resistance strategies of the people who bore its brunt will hopefully produce solutions that eventually outweigh the racism and sexism of the highlighting process. That a positive outcome can stem from the unethical power dynamics that arise when those who embody oppression cross boundaries to help those whom they consider oppressed is not without precedent. After outlining the sexism that pervades Paulo Freire's boundary-crossing work, bell hooks (1994) wrote,

> [I]f we really want to create a cultural climate where biases can be challenged and changed, all border crossings must be seen as valid and legitimate. This does not mean that they are not subjected to critique or critical interrogation, or that there will not be many occasions when the crossings of the powerful into the terrains of the powerless will perpetuate existing structures. This risk is ultimately less threatening than a continued attachment to and support of existing systems of domination. (131)

Therefore, while my research question involving matriarchy is unethical in that it was not of concern to my study participants, I do have an overarching research question that was of vital concern to them: How can Peruvian Mormon kinship become legible as fully Mormon?

Almost Family, But Not Quite

One result of the mismatch between Mormonism and *peruanidad* (Peruvianness) during my study was that, from the church's standpoint, Peruvians were never "fully" Mormon. In much the same way that Indians under British colonialism were seen as "the effect of a flawed colonial mimesis, in which to be Anglicized, is emphatically not to be English" (Bhabha 1984, 128), Anglo Mormons saw Peruvian Mormons as perpetually "almost, *but not quite*," (127) Mormon. In a different religion, such as Pentecostalism, it would not have mattered what Anglo parishioners thought of their Peruvian coreligionists' discipleship on the other side of the globe. But in Mormonism—a religion with a core-to-periphery, colonializing framework—Anglo Mormons got to decide what counted as discipleship worldwide (Brooks 2018). Unfortunately for Peruvians, and for most people in the world who wanted to qualify for entry into the highest of Mormon heavens in the afterlife, Anglos decided that what counted was the patriarchal, patrifocal, stay-at-home-mom, US, nuclear family.

In 1995, in a single-page document, *The Family: A Proclamation to the World* (hereafter, *The Family*), the church's First Presidency stipulated that a true family should only consist of six kinterms, two of which overlapped in the same individuals: husband (father), wife (mother), son, and daughter. Nowhere did the document mention any other kinterm. *The Family* proclamation, written as though coming from the voice of God, did not even mention "sister" or "brother" despite the important role those kinterms played in the primordial realm wherein all humans were literal spirit siblings to each other

and spirit children to God and His wife (or wives). *The Family* was part of a wave of homophobia that swept the US at the turn of the twenty-first century. It was widely criticized for its delegitimizing of LGBTQI+ families (meli 2013). What often went unnoticed, however, was its delegitimizing of most Peruvian families and, for that matter, most Earthling families, especially those in the Earth's Global South.

In official Mormon interplanetary cosmology, once a spirit from a planet called "the preexistence" had inhabited a body on Earth, it was forever biologized into the lineage of that body under a Eurocentric kin idiom: "blood." Therefore, after a person died, their spirit, as an individual with a name and dates, would forever fall into a specific, numbered slot on a modern arboreal flowchart of vertical blood descent. That spirit would become an "ancestor" on the "lineage" of a specific living "descendant" who, forever after, would be able to capture that static relationship visually on the church's genealogical website, FamilySearch.org.

In Peru, this Western kinship model was hegemonic in most legal, scientific, and political contexts during my study. However, I got the sense in the Andean highlands, even in the cities, that the substance that connected humans together as families was not so much shared "blood" as it was shared food and drink (Roberts 2012). In Anglo Mormonism, proper kinship was only established at the moment two partners met in temple marriage or at the moment their two gametes met in conception. In Peruvian Mormonism, those two sorts of meetings were important, but added to them was a third and just as legitimate form of kin establishment: living, eating, and dancing together in place and over time. This meant that the model of vertical blood descent, fixated as it was on whose sexual relationship produced which offspring, clashed quite dramatically with Peruvian Mormon notions of kinship that were based on what anthropologist, Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) called "immanent obligation" (28).

In many Peruvian Mormon families, this obligation was based on a situated, cyclical reciprocity and indebtedness that was felt equally among all in the kin group. It was not divided between a "nuclear family" and an "extended family," and these expressions had little meaning in Peru. *The Family*, however, made the division between the nuclear family and the extended family extremely stark. Ninety-nine percent of the document was spent narrowly defining the patriarch-led nuclear family as the ideal family type for "the world." One percent was reserved for the purpose of reminding the world what the

precious nuclear family needed to be defined against: the "extended family." The document summarily delegitimized the immensity of family inherent to immanent obligation by reducing it to single glib sentence, "Extended families should lend support when needed" (The First Presidency 1995, para. 7). In so doing, *The Family* made *La Familia* (my in-laws) officially illegible as "family" in Mormonism.

There is no direct translation for "extended family" in Spanish. It was antithetical to both Hispanic kinways and Andean ones. Therefore, the church's official Spanish translation of the above line in *The Family* used the phrase "*otros familiares*" (other family members), presumably referring to family members assigned kinterms other than the six that mattered to the church, such as the vital Spanish kinterms of *prima*, *tío*, *abuela*, *entenado*, *sobrino*, *ahijada*, *comadre*, or *concuña*. None of those terms had English equivalents that came anywhere close to matching them in valence and power, which was why, during my study, members of *La Familia*'s English-preferring younger generation born and raised in Utah often switched to Spanish for those kinterms even when speaking to monolingual English-speakers. Perhaps more significantly, they did the same with *familia*. "Family" did not do it justice.

Ironically, even though it did not allow their matriarch-led collectivities to count as families, Peruvian Mormon *familias* cherished *The Family*. Part of my study involved home décor photography. I photographed the walls of 20 different Peruvian Mormon homes, 10 in Utah and 10 in Peru, and conducted a content analysis. Inhabitants took me on tours through the decision-making processes behind the decorations that they considered most important. This was meant to be an adaptation on "behavior trace studies" (Bernard 2011, 330), which are archaeological studies of people based on the objects they manipulate. When these objects are religious, the analysis can reveal how religious practice matches proclaimed belief (Mazumdar & Mazumdar 1997).

The only aspect that all 20 homes had in common was their prominent display of *The Family*. Whether it was a water-damaged document tacked up in an unmarried Aymara-speaking mother's leaking tenement in Arequipa or an expensively framed document centrally hung in a young conjugal couple's new townhouse in Salsands, *The Family* functioned as sacred iconography in Peruvian Mormon homes. Given its pathologizing of those homes, T*he Family*'s sacralization inside them seemed to me dizzyingly contradictory.

The juxtaposition of *The Family*'s patriarchal content with its worshipful placement as sacra in female-led Peruvian homes became even more dizzying

when that content was ritualized. *The Family* was a mere document, and a relatively recent, not officially canonized one at that. However, its stipulation that a true family consisted only of a married heterosexual couple and their cohabiting minor offspring would stand for eternity because those relationships were also the only ones that could be ritually bound in Mormon temples during my study. In the next life, families would not be whole (the etymological twin of holy) unless their relationships had been made eternal through a rite called a "sealing" that could only take place inside a temple. In their temples (one of the few earthly locations that my Mormon study participants considered holy) only two sorts of relationships could be sealed—husband-wife and couple-child. This meant that Mormons for whom other relationships took precedence could not be with their loved ones in the afterlife. The mother-daughter relationship, for example, could not be "sealed" in the holy temple unless it could be first connected to a husband (Palmer 2020).

For the many single mothers born and raised in contexts of generational single motherhood whom I met during this study in the *arequipeño* congregation that I will call *Barrio Periféricos*, their need for patriarchy in order to achieve a family legible as fully "Mormon" seemed impossibly incompatible with their very non-patriarchal lifeways. The question that I will now explore is this: How did Peruvian Mormons attempt to make their kinways compatible with Mormon patriarchy so that their "almost" Mormon *familias* could be included as completely Mormon families while still retaining their *peruanidad*?

Mi Mami Ofelia or *Mi Mamá* Marisol?

Ofelia Dominguez was a single mother whom I met in *Barrio Periféricos* on my very first preliminary trip to Arequipa in 2016. Ofelia's faithful Mormon discipleship together with her independence from patriarchy—in a religion that depended on it—made her life an ideal laboratory for the above question involving inclusion into full Mormon status. Ofelia, a proudly Indigenous *arequipeña*, a Mormon, and a single mother, came up geographically short of full inclusion according to a Peruvian racism that privileged those from the "white" coast over those from the "brown" highlands (De la Cadena 2000). She also came up biologically short according to a scientific hegemony that considered matrilineality an earlier stage of human evolution than patrilineality (Peters-Golden 2012). Finally, she came up psychologically short according to the anonymous Anglo Mormon males who wrote this article's epigraph. Those leaders would consider her lifestyle symptomatic of a neurotic "gender

confusion"—not of gender identity, but of gender role. As Ofelia navigated the stigma of her singleness and her matriarchy, her experiences exposed the fundamental misogyny that made Mormonism's obsession with the nuclearization of family far more disruptive than its innocent enthronement in *The Family* let on.

Though I visited Ofelia's home dozens of times, she never invited me beyond the curtained-off front room, and she never explained to me how it was possible that her mother (a "less-active" Mormon), her mother's absentee husband (a non-Mormon), and a constantly variable assortment of her nine siblings and half-siblings with their spouses, kids, and in-laws, managed to fit into what looked from the street to be a one-story building. Inside, it must have been like so many other ostensibly small homes that I had entered before in Peru, homes that opened into a multiplanar labyrinth of finished and unfinished dwellings, courtyards, and annexes. In many such cases of coresident siblingship among Peruvians in Peru and Utah, living arrangements ended up looking a lot like those found in societies that anthropologists deemed more or less "matriarchal." In those societies, such as the Minangkabau of Sumatra (Sanday 2003) or the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea (Weiner 1988), daughters were not "related" to fathers, and society was structured so that sons would live in the households of their mothers-in-law (matrilocality) while maintaining responsibility for their sisters' children. Peru's major cities had no such social structures during my study. Nevertheless, because multigenerational single motherhood in Latin America was quite common, many Peruvians ended up living their whole lives in complex configurations of buildings upon buildings—each with its own matriarch or occasional patriarch—ultimately controlled, and in many cases legally owned, by a high matriarchal figure whom, in the case of Ofelia's household, all kin called "*Mamá* Marisol."

Since those who ate enough meals in the same home were often considered kin in the Andes (Weismantel 1995), the four full-time Mormon missionaries who ate three meals daily in Ofelia's home called her "*Mami*." Yet, to distinguish between the two matriarchs, they called Ofelia's mother "*Mamá* Marisol," as did the ten teenage seminary students who met in her home at 5:45 every morning. *Mamá* and *mami* in Arequipa were almost exclusively used in contexts of established kinship or active kin-building. Unlike other Andean urban centers such as La Paz, in Arequipa, *mamá* and its derivatives were not used as self-deprecating entreaties between strangers on the street.

Arequipeños usually used a different term for that purpose: "*seño*," short for *señora*. In order to use kinterm analysis as evidence that Peruvian Mormon homes like Ofelia's were indeed controlled by matriarchs even when Mormon priesthood power-holding males were present, it is important to elucidate further the hard work that kinterms perform in relatedness.

In Australia, "obligations to family expressed in idioms of kinship carry a great deal of weight in affirming one's cultural identity as properly, authentically Aboriginal" (Fisher 2009, 15). Likewise, being able to use the unique title "*Mamá* Marisol" to refer to the person that other members of *Barrio Periféricos* had to call "*Hermana* Cuadros" set members of Ofelia's home apart as authentic sharers of a special union. My Mormon study participants in general were highly cognizant of the unifying power of kinterms. They delighted in alerting potential converts to the fact that, unlike other religions, Mormonism used the titles "Brother" and "Sister" to recall a primordial nuclear spirit-family that included all humans under one universal siblingship. However, Anglo Mormons fractured that universality during my study. They called each other "Sister" at church, but at home they divided that moniker into sectors: "half-sister," "biological sister," and "like-a sister." Peruvian Mormons made no such distinctions. All three of the above relationships were "*hermana*" in an equally literal sense.

Not only were Peruvian Mormons more inclusive with their kinterms than Anglo Mormons, but they were more cognizant of kinterms' power to evoke and revoke relatedness. For example, it was a sign of respect to invariably refer to one's Aunt Nilda as "*Tía* Nilda" when speaking to her, or "*Mi Tía* Nilda" when speaking about her, even to people for whom she was equally an aunt. This oneness with the kinterm "aunt" expressed in the word "my" involved an important linguistic awareness in Latin American Spanish that did not exist in English as to what counted as part of oneself. For example, the literal translation of the English phrase, "I broke my leg" in Spanish would be, "I broke *the* leg." Therefore, one's leg was less a part of oneself in Spanish than it was in English.

Relatives, on the other hand, were more a part of oneself in Spanish than they were in English. When speaking of the same mother, two English-speaking siblings might have the following conversation: "When did Mom tell us to be back?" "I don't know, Mom is always changing the curfew." However, a literal translation of a Latin American Spanish conversation would read, "When did *my* mom tell us to be back?" "I don't know, *my* mom is always changing the

curfew." To Anglophone ears, the Spanish conversation sounds as though each interlocutor is talking about a different mother. "My" sounds either confusing or superfluous to people who consider themselves to be highly individuated selves. However, for Peruvians and other speakers of Latin American Spanish, "my" sounds endearing and respectful. Though "my" is not grammatically necessary in the above hypothetical conversation, it is part of the speakers' "immanent obligation" to the mother-child relationship. The two siblings share the same mother, so they are not using "my" to draw a semantic boundary dividing "my mother" from "your mother." Instead, they are using "my" in order to encapsulate themselves, their siblings, and their mutual mother under one bond, one "self"—and, in the case of many adult Peruvian Mormons in both Peru and Utah, one roof.

As mentioned, I married into a large Peruvian Mormon family comprising over 150 individuals who all lived within a five-mile radius of each other in and around Salsands, Utah. This family—*La Familia*, as they called themselves, or "the Costa family," as their coreligionists called them—was led by Jacoba Arriátegui and Arcadio Costa (in that order) who had been married for over 60 years and who had immigrated from Lima to New Jersey in the 1980s. They joined the LDS Church, moved to Utah, and ended up forming the central node on a complex network of chain migration that, to this day, helps an average of four more members of *La Familia* to emigrate from Peru annually.

During my time in Salsands' only Spanish-speaking congregation (of any religion), the Pioneer Trail Ward, Jacoba's 50-year-old son Santiago married Teresa, a Peruvian Mormon woman whom he petitioned with a fiancée visa. My mother-in-law, Nilda, Jacoba's sister (technically half-sister), was at their wedding reception in the Pioneer Trail Ward chapel in July 2017. The groom, my *primo* Santiago, had harbored anger against his aunt Nilda for years and often showed it by calling her "Nilda" to her face, omitting the "*Tía*." Few epithets could have been more harmful. During the wedding reception, to signify his readiness for diplomacy, he simply came up to her and said, "*Tía* Nilda," and she knew that the fight was over. It would not occur to most Peruvians to discard a kin title in order to insult even the most despised relative. That it did occur to Santiago was likely due to his biculturalism. In contrasting Anglo and Peruvian kinways, he knew how to hit a Peruvian where it would hurt the most: linguistically revoking her relatedness to *La Familia*.

In family communications, the resilience of kin titles demonstrated just how solid relatedness could remain despite profound disagreements. If fur-

ther rhetorical solidification was desired, however, third-person pronouns were commandeered. I recorded a Peruvian Mormon saying, "please tell *Mi Comadre* Hilda that I want *Mi Comadre* Hilda to let me borrow *Mi Comadre* Hilda's dress for the baptism next week." Repeatedly naming the relationship increased the chances that the dress-lending obligations connected to it would not be forgotten.

"*Comadre*" labeled a Catholic relationship between a mother and her daughter's godmother. It was not a "blood" kinterm or a "Mormon" kinterm. Yet, as its common usage in my recorded, transcribed, and coded conversations with Peruvian Mormons makes clear, kinterms in Peruvian Mormonism symbolized something beyond blood and religion. In 2017, I saw Lorna and her sister Nilda sitting together at a party in Utah when Jacoba's grandson handed them each an invitation to his temple sealing ceremony or "temple wedding." His name was Jericó. He was born and raised in Utah. Nilda's envelope simply stated "Nilda Lloyd" while Lorna's was addressed to "*Tía* Lorna." Nilda was Jericó's biological great-aunt, yet he had experienced almost no contact with her due to a feud that kept her away from *La Familia* for most of his life. On the other hand, Lorna, Nilda's half-sister from a coupling other than the one that produced Jacoba, was not a "blood relative" of Jericó but lived under the same roof with him when he was young. Lorna noted the difference between the envelopes and gloated to Nilda, "I'm sure it's no big deal, it's just that I have a closer relationship to Jericó. You are only Nilda Lloyd, but I am *Tía*."

This is all to say that Peruvian Mormons noticed kinterms and did not wield them carelessly. They constantly and consciously weighed their meanings and valences. One day in 2018, Ofelia stepped away momentarily during an interview at her home in Arequipa. While she was gone, some *Barrio Periféricos* members knocked on the door. Ofelia's daughter, Shannon, answered and, as my recorder was still on, I captured the following exchange:

> **Visitor:** Just coming to see your *mami*.
> **Shannon:** *Mi Mami* Ofelia or *Mi Mamá* Marisol?
> **Visitor:** Mari—Ofel—eh, well, your *mami*—Ofelia.
> **Shannon:** *Mi Mami* Ofelia?

Shannon had two mothers because, in 2018 Arequipa, the distinguished title "*Mamá*" could refer to people who were not biological mothers to those who invoked it. This usage did not lessen the literal sense of motherhood involved. "*Mamá*" followed by the first name was a combination only neces-

sary in situations where two mother figures, one of whom was a grandmother, raised many of the household's third generation. When the grandmother died, that generation would continue using the *Mamá*/first name combination for their own biological mother out of habit. The fourth generation would grow up hearing that, so the title would stick, especially if that generation was also being raised by two mother figures.

"*Mamá* Marisol," coming from Shannon, Marisol's granddaughter, indicated that she was in at least the fourth cycle of grandmothers raising granddaughters. Conversely, in Jacoba's case, though she clearly presided over the Costa family, I never heard kin refer to her as "*Mamá* Jacoba" because her kids grew up in New Jersey completely isolated from other generations of their family. She was the only mother that they knew. Shannon referred to her grandmother as "*Mamá* Marisol" rather than "*abuela*" (grandmother) because "*Mamá*" had become an honorific used by all coresident kin regardless of their precise relationship to Marisol. Essentially, it meant "Matriarch Marisol." In this way, among many of my study participant families, *Mamá*, followed by the first name, was a hereditary title bequeathed to the most senior female of the household. There was no male equivalent for that title in these families because it was solidified through generations of single motherhood with only sporadic instances of coresident fatherhood. Marisol was married, but nobody called her husband "*Papá* Eliseo," though some kin called him "*papá*" and others "*abuelo*." Through the linguistics of kinterms, Marisol was semiotically solidified as a matriarch as opposed to merely a mother or a grandmother. Eliseo, on the other hand, was merely a father and a grandfather, not a patriarch.

Out-of-wedlock Pride

A matriarch related to Jacoba (though not by "blood") whom all kin, including myself, called "*Mamá* Marina" before her death in 2016, was at least the second in what had become five generations of single motherhood in *La Familia*. The last two of those generations existed happily within Mormonism. Since this single motherhood often meant out-of-wedlock childbirth, its happy existence inside a faithful Mormon family surprised me. Perhaps the Peruvian immigrant context should have lessened the surprise since statistically on US sociological surveys, "Latinos/as are more accepting of non-marital childbearing than Whites" (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012, 30). Still, given my judgmental Mormon upbringing, I was baffled as to how the Costa family, being Mormon, could be so accepting of Jacoba's granddaughter Corina and her out-

of-wedlock baby, Elena. I sat down with Jacoba's sister Nilda to reflect on the deep kinship differences this acceptance appeared to expose between Peruvian Mormonism and Anglo Mormonism. I took notes after our conversation:

> Corina was even the bishop's daughter at the time [a bishop is a Mormon congregation's highest leader]. They put photos of Elena's birth on the Pioneer Trail Ward's Facebook page, and there was Corina's father, Bishop Zeballos, smiling in the maternity ward cradling his new granddaughter even though everybody in Pioneer Trail knew that the baby's father was not married to Corina. The way Corina was treated throughout her pregnancy and the way everybody treats Elena now is the opposite of stigma.
>
> It is pride.
>
> The Costas are proud of Corina for bringing in another member to fortify that still vulnerable generational group of great-grandchildren born as third-generation, Utah Mormons. They are proud of an increase in *La Familia*. …
>
> I told Nilda that the bishop of the Anglo Mormon ward of my youth would have encouraged Corina to put Elena up for adoption. Nilda blanched at the mere mention. However, in a way, the entire Costa village did adopt Elena.
>
> An outsider at a Costa party would never know to whom this little girl "belongs." At Santiago's wedding, Elena ran amok and no one person knew where she was half the time, but people weren't too concerned because everybody knew that she was everybody's baby.
>
> Everybody in *La Familia* has an equal stake in her personhood.
>
> Nilda was incredulous that any bishop would encourage someone to relinquish their own *familia* to adoption just because of unwed youth.
>
> "We would NEVER do that to *La Familia*," she asserted.

Familia trumped Mormonism for the Costas. Costa family identity outweighed Mormon commandments and even temple chastity covenants. However, the Costas did not choose between their Mormonism and their family. They simply changed *The Family* to match *La Familia*.

Taking His Name

Costa-style, matriarchal Mormonism resisted Anglo Mormonism's patriarchal tendency to obsess over surveilling female "chastity." Although this resistance of patriarchy seemed like "feminism," it did not match generic Western con-

ceptions of feminism. For example, in the US during the late 2010s, it was the norm for women to legally change their paternal surname to their husband's paternal surname upon marriage. Conversely, in Peru, the norm was for the bride to maintain her paternal-maternal surname dyad. She might sometimes add a "*de*" after her surnames followed by her husband's paternal surname, but she would not usually legally replace her surnames with her husband's. Many US feminists rebelled against US societal norms by keeping their paternal surname upon marriage instead of replacing it with their husband's. Some Peruvian Mormon matriarchs in Peru did the exact opposite. They rebelled against the aforementioned Peruvian societal norm by adopting the US societal norm because they understood it to be part of Mormonism. That is, they replaced their paternal-maternal surname dyad with their husband's paternal surname.

These surnaming practices represented how Mormonism further complicated Peruvian matriarchies, which were already ill-aligned to both patrilineal, Spanish-influenced Peruvian society and phallocentric, marriage-obsessed US society. These practices also demonstrated how Mormon-style patriarchy shifted the focus of Peruvian love from a present father to a future husband, thus linguistically reinforcing the nuclearization of family (splitting the "extended family" into small, self-reliant units) as the key to full Mormon status even among decidedly non-nuclear families like the Costas.

The following interaction took place in the Pioneer Trail Ward's Sunday school on the Sunday after Santiago and Teresa's wedding.

> **Teacher:** *Hermana* Costa, can you say the closing prayer?
> **Jacoba:** Who? Me? You have to specify now because Teresa is now "*Hermana* Costa" as well.

If this were any Latin American context other than Mormonism, "Costa" would not be used, as that is Jacoba's husband's paternal surname. However, because that Sunday school conversation happened in a context of Mormonism, a US-based religion, it did not strike anyone as unusual that Jacoba would be known as *Hermana* Costa at church. She was known as Mrs. Costa outside of church in all public aspects of her US life. She even legally changed her paternal-maternal surname dyad, Arriátegui-Mora, to the singular, Costa, when she became a US citizen.

What did strike people as unusual was that, when Peruvians in Peru became Mormons, they often made that same change—albeit discursively, not legally. More accurately, it was not that Maria Condori-Loaiza, the wife of Justo

Quispe-Quispe "took on" her husband's surname when she became Mormon, but that at church—in step with the "proper" US Mormonism that Utah-born missionaries tacitly taught—fellow members began to refer to her as "*Hermana* Quispe," her husband's paternal surname. Meanwhile, in the workplace she was still known as *Profesora* Condori, her father's surname.

Since using a husband's surname was not normal in other aspects of their lives, Peruvian Mormon women in Peru remarked on its uniqueness even after decades in the church. Here is an example that an *arequipeña* Mormon pioneer named Leticia imparted in May 2018.

> For example, I am Leticia López-Valcárcel, but nobody at church knows me as López or Valcárcel but instead as *Hermana* Escobar [laughs] because my husband is Ronal Escobar, so it all changes when you become a member. I am going to tell you an anecdote. So, my father passed away, his viewing was in Barrio Umacollo, and this member of my ward who knows me well asks me, "*Hermana*, did you know *Hermano* López?"
>
> And my father, "*Hermano* López," was right there in his coffin.
>
> "Yes," I tell her, "he's my father."
>
> "[sharp inhale] your FATHER!?"
>
> "Yes."
>
> "But you are Escobar!"
>
> "Yes, but I am Leticia López" [laughs].
>
> And for me, it is an example of the names by which members know us, "*Hermana* Escobar or *Hermana* So-And-So," but no longer by the true paternal surname. That doesn't work in our church [laughs]. But, when I pay my tithing, I write on the envelope, "Leticia López-Valcárcel de Escobar."

Uniting a Peruvian Mormon woman in Peru so tightly to her husband's surname usually only happened after he had achieved a high position in the church, as Leticia's husband had done on multiple occasions. Though the adoption of a husband's surname may have been a mark of full Mormon status for some, other Peruvian Mormon women recognized the practice as a harmful vestige of husband-centric, familial nuclearization and an unfortunate cultural trapping of Utah that came encrusted upon the essential divine core of Mormonism. They openly resisted it and promptly corrected it: "I am not *Hermana* Quispe, I am *Hermana* Condori." Surnaming, therefore, became a sensitive issue, similar to kinterm use. For example, in *Barrio Periféricos* there was a particularly large matriarchal and matrilocal family, *Familia* Abedul. As if to point

out the mismatch that such a family represented to Mormonism, parishioners often jokingly—and emasculatingly—referred to any one of that household's coresident males as *Hermano* Abedul, his wife's surname. Usually, members in Spanish-speaking congregations in both Utah and Peru avoided the complexities of surnaming altogether by using the Brother and Sister kin titles followed by first names, something that rarely happened in English-speaking congregations. In Pioneer Trail, I heard "*Hermana* Jacoba" just as often as I heard "*Hermana* Costa," but I never heard "*Hermana* Arriátegui."

In sum, replacing a father's surname with a husband's was an important issue because it made the Peruvian Mormon family more husband-centric and nuclear—and thus, from the perspective of some Peruvian Mormon women, less Peruvian. That it remained a contested practice in Peruvian Mormonism indicated that there was Peruvian resistance to the increased husband-centrism that Mormonism attempted to enforce with *The Family*. Peruvian Mormon women who corrected the practice did not do so because it offended their feminist sensibilities, but because they felt that it was a threat to their family's *peruanidad*.

Permission to Use My Hands

There were instantiations of Mormonism's attempted nuclearization of the Peruvian family and concomitant pathologizing of single motherhood that were more difficult to navigate than kinterm and surname linguistics. Those involved temple priesthood power. Up until a 2019 change in the temple rite, an unmarried woman had to vow to obey her future husband as a middleman between her and God (Fletcher Stack and Noyce 2019), and to this day single mothers cannot be sealed to their own children for eternity. Sealing was not simply an administrative technicality one had to fulfill in order to reunite with a loved one in the afterlife. Male temple officiators in my study spoke of it as a "sealing power" that also helped solidify family ties *during* life, causing the wayward to eventually return to the family and to the church. Unsealed Mormon matriarchs of large, unwieldy families torn asunder by emigration and church inactivity could have used the extra help that such a sealing power would have provided. Yet, they were denied it.

Undaunted, *Mamá* Marisol (Ofelia's mother), and many other "unsealed" Mormon matriarchs like her, presided over their homes in ways that the temple marriage sealing ceremony explicitly reserved for men. In many Peruvian Mormon families, a few males helped to partially fund the household, but the

matriarch ran it, slowly handing off power to one of her daughters, in this case Ofelia, as she aged. Breadwinning and administrating, however, were not the only aspects of the doctrinally male domain whereupon these women encroached. Mormon males were to be the spiritual providers for their families, not merely the material providers. Males were supposed to be the spiritual leaders of their homes, congregations, and temples because they were the only ones allowed to "hold" the priesthood: The power and authority to act in the name of God in establishing his kingdom on earth. Supposedly, males and females benefited equally from that power, but only males wielded it.

In its October 2019 general conference, the church announced that its next conference, in April 2020, would be like no other in the history of the church. Though it ended up being historic because it was the first conference without a live audience due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not historic for many of the reasons that members of the Mormon feminist Facebook group, Exponent II, would have hoped. Members of Exponent II harbored the secret hope that the church would lift the female priesthood ban in its 2020 conference. However, not only did the church dash this hope, but one of its apostles explicitly listed the things that females could and could not do in their "families," further specifying, "By families, I mean a priesthood-holding man and a woman who are married and their children" (Oaks 2020, 70). This male, Anglo apostle doubled down on the doctrine that only priesthood-holding men could preside over their homes. However, he added a caveat that many Exponent II members, particularly those who were unmarried mothers, considered even more insulting: Women were permitted to preside over their homes, but only when their lawfully wedded, temple-sealed husbands were temporarily away from home—or dead.

During my study, Mormon males used the priesthood to heal "by the laying on of hands," to bless the eucharist, to conduct the baby-naming rite, to baptize, to "seal" for eternity, and even (as we read below) to exorcise demons. However, there was also a real sense in many Mormon contexts that once a male was ordained to the priesthood at age 11 (a rite of passage for every "worthy" male), every action he performed from then on—from weeding the garden to running for office—was done through "the power of the priesthood." Needless to say, Mormon families without this power were considered "almost, *but not quite*" (Bhabha 1984, 127) Mormon. Ofelia respected this divine gender inequality. However, contingency demanded creativity. Not only was there no sealing power in Ofelia's home, but there was also—usually—no official priesthood power, so Ofelia took matters into her own hands—literally.

Ofelia: I have never had the priesthood, but I remember one time Shannon was very sick and it was late at night. I didn't have a telephone to call the bishop, and the mission had closed our area, so there were no missionaries. So, I didn't have the priesthood, and she had a high fever and was crying. So, I asked His permission.

I said, "Father, please, I will use the—I know that I don't have the priesthood, but I want you to please use my hands as the medium through which You help her."

And my daughter got better. I promise you, *Hermano* [Jason], her fever broke immediately. I gave her the blessing even while asking forgiveness from the Lord for maybe doing wrong by giving it.

I told Him, "don't look at me while I do this, just use my hands. Heavenly Father, I know that I don't have the priesthood. In my house, I don't have it."

And I put my hands on her head like you guys do, and I said, "please, Father, help her, if it is Your will, help her."

Jason: And did you use consecrated oil?

Ofelia: No, I just used my hands, nothing more.

Ofelia said "I do not have the priesthood" in so many different ways that it was impossible to decipher when she was referring to the lack of priesthood power inside herself and when she was referring to the lack of a priesthood-holding male inside her home. I had heard Ofelia use the word "priesthood" as a synonym for "men" on other occasions, as in: "the priesthood rode in a separate taxi." In a religious tradition wherein maleness, rather than spirituality, healing ability, maturity, or theological training, was one of the few requirements for priesthood ordination, it was easy to see how the words "priesthood" and "men" could become synonymous. The contributors to *Exponent II* and their foremothers had worked since Mormonism's inception to change such misogynistic, linguistic conflations among their coreligionists. "Priesthood" was supposed to be a universally beneficial power, not a gender (Young Bennett 2013).

As her radically creative story of female priesthood continued, Ofelia ironically distanced herself even further from *Exponent II*-style feminism by continuing to use language that downplayed anything that I might have misconstrued as a counterhegemonic sensibility on her part. Though it did not come through in the English translation, she did this by avoiding the use of the exclusively female "we" (*nosotras*) in order to make her statements sound more inclusive of men and less anti-patriarchy. She often used "*nosotras*" in other

contexts, which was how I knew that her use of the masculine plural, "*nosotros*," below to refer to a group of all females was deliberately antifeminist. It was almost as if she were trying to provoke the ire of Chicana feminists who considered themselves "robbed of our female being by the masculine plural" (Anzaldúa 2012, 76). Still, Ofelia managed to inadvertently tap what Mormon feminism had been deliberately working for over a century to recover—the healing power used by Mormonism's first female converts (Stapley and Wright 2011), the history of which Ofelia was completely unaware at this point in the interview.

To witness a modern Mormon disapprove of feminism, even as she contested patriarchy in ways so extreme as to be sacrilegious, was strange enough to call into question the usefulness of modernity as an entity. As Saba Mahmood (2005) discovered among veiled Muslim women in Egypt "whose practices [she] had found objectionable, to put it mildly, at the outset of [her] fieldwork," the bundle of ideals supposedly belonging to the domain of modernity such as "freedom, equality, and autonomy, that [she herself had] held so dear," came unhinged from that domain as she realized that the "sentiments, commitments, and sensibilities that ground these women's existence could not be contained within the stringent molds of these ideals" (198). The illusion of modernity was that entities would fall into clearly segregated, universally understood molds such as "gender" and "kinship," or "oppression" and "liberation." In US, white, feminist modernity, patriarchy often became a mold that encapsulated all oppressive things. In a cultural context wherein gender was binary, it became tempting, therefore, to construct matriarchy as the mold that held all liberating things as if females, after patriarchy's overthrow, would lack the full range of humanity necessary to be oppressors (O'Reilly 2016). Ofelia, in her Peruvian Mormon matriarchy, broke both molds, took the pieces that she liked from each, and mixed them into a new amalgam that received no label. She was not contesting patriarchy by giving her daughter a priesthood blessing. She was, however, blurring boundaries between domains that she sensed were to be kept separate, which was why she did not want Heavenly Father—the ultimate patriarch and the master of all domains—to see her doing it.

Another domain that modernity liked to keep discrete was "religion." Ofelia saw Mormonism as linked to true religion, and Catholicism as its antithesis. However, she had to grapple with the fact that an idea that she associated with Catholicism had infiltrated her Mormon life: When death was at

the door, Ofelia was always notified. Either an animate portion of the soon-to-be dying person's spirit notified her unbeknownst to the person's conscious "mind" (an option she associated with Andean Catholicism), or some other more malignant force notified her (an option from part of the modern Mormon origin myth known as The First Vision)—she was not always sure which. In March 2018, *Mamá* Marisol got appendicitis and was near death. The events presaging this helped Ofelia and her daughter discover the precise limits of their rung's power on Mormonism's hierarchy as members of a non-nuclear, unsealed, non-priesthood-holding home.

> **Ofelia:** Two weeks before my mom went to the hospital, during my sleep I felt someone sit up, so I opened one of my little eyes, and there was nobody. Just as I was going to shut my eyes again, *Hermano*, they grabbed me. I felt that they got really close to me, so I tried to scream, but I couldn't. I couldn't see anybody grabbing me, I could only feel the force of it.
>
> So, in that moment I said, "My God, please help me!"
>
> But when I said that, the grip got tighter. Then I remembered that the veil between worlds can be torn, and people can come through. When that happens, we are supposed to say, "in the name of Jesus Christ, I order you to leave me alone."
>
> I said to myself, "but I don't have the priesthood."
>
> But I did it anyway, *Hermano*. I mean, it was a fight against those things that were grabbing me. When I said the words, suddenly I could move again.
>
> Then I got the news of my mom's sickness. These things always occur when something bad is going to happen in my house.
>
> So, I told the missionaries, "Elders, I want you to give my home a blessing."
>
> All four elders came, and they said that everyone in the home should be present for the blessing, so all my brothers and sisters came down. Elder Horsthauser said the prayer, and it was such a potent prayer that my sister, Isabel, who is inactive [no longer participates in her congregation's activities], even she said, "I feel peace."
>
> So, everything is once again peaceful because the elder was very emphatic in saying, "you get out of here, I command you in the name of Jesus Christ."
>
> Truthfully, there have been few times, *Hermano*, in which I have felt that kind of power. In very few elders have I felt it.
>
> But there is something that I didn't tell you. Before Elder Horsthauser's blessing, Shannon and I were alone.

It was really late, and Shannon says, "*Mamá*, let's say the prayer so that we can sleep," and we knelt down.

Shannon always says the prayer.

She said, "please bless so-and-so, my family, bla, bla, bla," the normal stuff, right?

But then she said, "bless my home and expel those bad persons and the bad things that are here. By the authority of the priesthood which the prophet holds, and through him, expel all the evil that is harassing this home and get it out."

But when she started saying those things, a horrible feeling came over the room, really, I felt something ugly.

Shannon asked me, "what's wrong?"

Jason: So, Shannon didn't feel it?

Ofelia: She didn't. She only pronounced the words. She said them very clearly and emphatically. She said it firmly, not doubting. And that is when I felt the evil.

Jason: So, Shannon's prayer didn't work? It was necessary to bring in someone who held the priesthood?

Ofelia: Yes, it was necessary. Yes, and it's because the four priesthoods were here. Not just one was here, all FOUR of them were here. Four elders. …

Jason: One of my great-great-grandmothers had a similar experience to the one you had. Her son fell down the cellar and broke his neck. Her husband had the priesthood, but he was far away. She used consecrated oil to give him a blessing by the laying on of hands, and he was healed.

Ofelia: But that doesn't mean that we have it, it just means---on occasion, we are the medium. In one Relief Society lesson [organization for adult females] I shared a similar idea and they said, "no, we can't do anything because we don't have the priesthood."

I said, "hey, wait a minute! *Hermanas*, just because we don't have the priesthood doesn't mean that the Lord can't use us [*nosotros*] as his instruments or that we can't become the medium through which he causes blessings to arrive. What happens if, for example, I don't have priesthood in my home, but I need an urgent blessing? Well, I can put my hands on the person's head and ask the Lord permission to use my hands as the means by which He will act to pour out the blessing."

Right? But a lot of people don't understand it simply because they lack a little something with five letters: F-A-I-T-H [laughs]. The Lord can work through us [nosotros] in exceptional cases, just like your great-great-grandmother, just like me.

But, at the same time, we can't say, "the Lord worked through me, so now I too have the priesthood, now I too have the power."

Ofelia made sure that I understood that female priesthood was a contingency. It was not the way things were supposed to be. Men were batteries who could generate their own power, and some men—in this case, a young man of German descent from Utah—had more power than all the household's human and antihuman inhabitants combined. Women were merely wires through which an external source of power could flow, and while those wires were sufficient to heal, they could not abide the amperage necessary to exorcise. In her clarification of female priesthood limits, Ofelia was also clarifying how fully powered a disciple she was in her religion. Furthermore, she was clarifying the limits of the matriarchal Mormon family. It too was a contingency, not the way that things were supposed to be.

When I asked other Peruvian Mormon women about the phenomenon of matriarch-led families, they agreed that it was the norm, but they portrayed it as "unfortunately the norm." They denied that it stemmed from an ancestral Andean cultural preference and instead found it pathological, blaming it on corrupt governmental economic policies (especially those of former president Alan García) and on male infidelity. According to them, if they had the financial luxury of starting a nuclear family home wherein a faithful marriage was the center and all other relations were mere appendages, they would start one. My prediction, however, was that even if they were given said luxury, the mother-child relationship would remain paramount. It was where the strongest kind of love was felt. Conjugal love, where it existed at all, paled in comparison even in the case of an "active" Peruvian Mormon family with fathers married to mothers, such as the Costas. In the Costa family, single motherhood was not common and priesthood power was in full force, but so was matriarchy. Jacoba's husband was the pioneering patriarchal figure in the Spanish-speaking Mormon church in northern Utah. While he was presiding over his flock, however, Jacoba was presiding over him and *La Familia* through matriarchy and mother-child relatedness.

Contradictory Review

Husband-wife relatedness (in that order) was morality's core in Mormonism's global, collective imagination during my study no matter how unusual it was in practice among the world's diverse, peripheralized, local Mormonisms. Matriarchy, especially when founded through single motherhood, was an embarrassment to *The Family* and a barrier to full Mormon status. In the imaginary of *The Family*, matriarchal situations bred gender role confusion and priesthood power circumlocution, crossing lines of divine authority and disturbing

the holy order. Matriarchy was a harbinger of eventual emergency that, if left unchecked, would get so far beyond the control of the disorganized ganglion of "out-of-wedlock births, sexual promiscuity" (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012, 14), and helpless women. that four youthful male "elders" would have to close the chasm in the interdimensional veil—a chasm that one priesthood-generating Mormon husband might have kept from opening in the first place.

But would a patriarch dedicated to working outside the home have had the spiritual sensibility and mastery of his home's human and non-human needs sufficient to detect, diagnose, and solve such an otherworldly problem? No. Ofelia did not demand the right to be the battery in this situation, but she also did not let herself passively become the wire. Neither her daughter nor the most powerful of the missionaries were capable of even recognizing that there was something wrong with the home. It fell to Ofelia and Ofelia alone, as the acting matriarch, to organize and carry out a strategy of attack against the forces of anti-kinship. She, not the priesthood-holders, was the sole human agentive force. Furthermore, the missionaries would not have been in a state of readiness worthy to withstand Ofelia's battle plan were it not for her methodical kin-building skills that made them already integral parts of her home to the extent that she became, in a sense as literal as anything can be in *arequipeña* Mormonism, their mother. During the exorcism, Ofelia was the carpenter. Horsthauser was simply the hammer.

And yet, which of the two did the church treat as almost a Mormon, but not quite? Horsthauser became my Facebook friend. He went on to follow the church's script for his life: he found a female mate and formed the nucleus of a *sui generis* patriarchal, Mormon family upon his return to Utah. Ofelia, on the other hand, became *Mamá* Ofelia for a preexisting, non-patriarchal family that somehow continued faithfully adhering to a patriarchal religion. His family became an exemplar of *The Family*. Her family did not. Such were the kinship contradictions that arose when *peruanidad* mixed with Mormonism. Rather than trying to make sense of those contradictions, I sat uncomfortably with them and thought of their implications for making my own category-building, kin-building, and research project-building endeavors somewhat less racist, less sexist, and more inclusive. I close now by listing some of those contradictions as a review:

- Mormonism espoused a globally relevant, universal siblingship yet claimed that the 1950s US nuclear family was the only human grouping legible to God as "family."

- Mormonism sought to ceremonially bind all humans encompassing thousands of distinct kinship systems, past and present, into a great chain of interconnectedness through ritual temple sealings, yet only two relationships and six kinterms—understood through the modern European kin logic of vertical blood descent—qualified for those sealings during my study.
- Mormonism promoted patriarchal, individualistic families, yet some of its most ardent followers promoted matriarchal, collectivist families.
- Ofelia, as an unmarried, Lamanite[2], Peruvian co-matriarch, represented one of the most stigmatized alignments of identity in contemporary Mormonism, yet she was also the most faithful, active, temple-going, and tithe-paying Mormon that I met during my study.
- Ofelia was the most faithful Mormon that I met, yet she broke three of Mormonism's most fundamental, implicit commandments: she used the priesthood, she presided over her home, and she swirled together two domains, the strict separation of which was foundational to Mormonism: gender and kinship.

[2] Lamanite was a contested Mormon identity (Newcomb 2019) with complex connections to indigeneity that Arequipa's cultural context rendered multiplex (Palmer 2021b).

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Living Blue in a Red Church: Experiences of Liberal Mormons in the United States

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Abstract. This study examines the experiences of politically liberal members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a church with a strong conservative lean in its membership in the United States. In interviews, participants were asked about the intersection of their religious and political identities in both internal and external contexts—an individual's own thoughts and feelings, and interpersonal or social experiences. The findings reflect a general feeling that even if individuals have not experienced stigmatization themselves, they are still aware of the presence of a stigma attached to being a liberal Mormon. Also of note is the way these individuals reconcile the two conflicting identities, as well as the varying levels of conflict—both internal and external—that they experience. Finally, participants expressed ways they believe this issue can be addressed by making the social culture of the Church more accepting of diverse political beliefs. Implications for the theories of Role Conflict, Spiral of Silence, and stigmatization are discussed.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, more commonly referred to as the LDS Church, does not officially endorse any political candidate, party, or platform as an institution. It does, however, encourage its members to be involved in their communities and nations, and advises that individuals vote according to their conscience for candidates that hold the same values as the Church (see "Political Neutrality"). In the United States, a large majority of Latter-day Saints—around 70%—identify as or lean Republican (Lipka, 2016). As a result, within the culture of the Church there has grown a sense among the conservative majority that the Gospel (the term used for Latter-day Saint doctrine) can only ever be aligned with traditional conservative or Republican political stances, and that anyone who believes differently either must not understand the doctrine, or not fully believe in or live it. A great many Church members view the strong Cold War-era anti-communist teachings of Ezra Taft Benson before he became President of the Church as doctrine. These elements

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have combined to create a strong cultural precedent in the Church to vote Republican. It is important to note, however, that this is a cultural belief only, and not one publicly held or currently propagated by the leaders of the Church itself. Nevertheless, the problem remains of a possible cultural stigma attached to those who identify as liberals or Democrats by politically conservative members of the Church in social settings. This is especially worthy of attention given that there is a distinct culture common among Latter-day Saint congregations across the entire country, complete with unique jargon, social norms, and even stereotypes. Much of the distinctive and complex social culture of the LDS Church stems from the practice of having geographically based congregations called "wards" that meet at a specific time every Sunday for worship services. This, along with the emphasis on knowing and caring for everyone in that geographic area, contributes to what is called a "ward family." In short, members of the same ward are expected to act somewhat like an extended family if the need arises. As such, there exists the potential for social conflict and stigmas. These phenomena will be more fully explored and explained in the section below discussing theories of deviance and stigmatization.

The main purpose of this research is to better understand the extent of conflict that Democratic or liberal-leaning Latter-day Saints experience in their social interactions with Republican or conservative-leaning members of the Church. Attention will specifically be paid to any stigmatization that occurs by fellow Mormons in response to liberal church members making their liberal political beliefs known. This research is not meant to focus on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as an institution or political body, or to explain why Latter-day Saints vote the way they do, or to demonize or demean the Church or its members. It is meant only to explore the social interactions of individuals related to their political identity or leanings among co-members of the Church. Similarly, this research does not aim to influence or promote specific policy views. Instead, it seeks to understand the conflict and stigmatization that self-identified liberal or liberal-leaning Mormons experience in their social relations with other members of the Church.

This purpose can be summarized in the main research questions: To what extent does conflict and stigmatization of Democratic or Democratic-leaning Latter-day Saints occur in their social interactions with Republican and Republican-leaning church members? If so, what does it consist of and how does this conflict and stigmatization work? The answers to these questions are analyzed in both internal and external contexts—the individual liberal church member's own thoughts and feelings about their religious and political beliefs

and identities, as well as any external social stigmatization they have received from conservative church members for holding those beliefs. This analysis is performed by investigating three areas: minority church members' religious and political beliefs, the consequences of holding those views in their social interactions with members of the conservative/Republican majority within the Church, and the ways in which the political minority believe their stigmatization by the conservative majority can be addressed. The interview questions were constructed with these three areas in mind (see Appendix).

With the details and nuances afforded by the nature of qualitative research, this study gives a greater understanding of the predominance of conservative culture in the LDS Church by examining the mechanisms of conflict and stigmatization that help it to prevail (see Creswell 2013). This includes documenting the degree, extent, and characteristics of the stigmatization minority members undergo as a result of their differing beliefs, as well as the extent that such stigmatization affects both the religious and political identities of minority members.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Symbolic Interaction Theory

As this research design deals with social interactions between politically and religiously liberal and conservative Mormons and the consequences of these interactions, it is natural to view this study through the lens of Symbolic Interaction Theory. This theory scrutinizes the symbolic meanings of social exchanges, particularly how individuals present themselves to, receive, or understand each other in their communication and behaviors (see Mead, 1934). In other words, human beings often engage with others with the unconscious intent to influence the other person, or to be seen and received by that individual in a certain way. According to Turner (2011), who builds off the work of George Herbert Mead and Erving Goffman, the concept of self is presented and reinforced through interaction with others. Within social interactions, individuals seek to both present their identity and have it affirmed within the larger group, which can involve taking on or reciprocating roles, statuses, or identities. As this study's interviewees illustrate, Latter-day Saints deeply value how they are viewed by other Church members. Further, they also intuitively understand that there is a symbolic meaning attached to both religious and political identities within the Church.

Role Conflict Theory

Role Conflict Theory, a subsection of Symbolic Interaction Theory, occurs when someone concurrently inhabits two social roles that place contradictory demands upon the individual (see Biddle, 1986 and Mead, 1934). Most often in the literature, research incorporating Role Conflict Theory examines the conflicts that are created by societal gender roles, such as for working women (Beutell and Greenhaus, 1983; Chassin et al., 1985; Coverman, 1989) or for gay men (Blashill and Vander Wal, 2010). Van de Vliert (1981) lays out a three-step theory of conflict reduction for individuals who experience or anticipate experiencing conflict between two or more roles that they inhabit. First, the individual may choose to fully embrace one identity while discarding the other. If such a choice cannot be made, the person might compromise—conforming to some, but not all, of the expectations of each role. Finally, an individual may also decide to avoid conforming to either role at all, if neither is palatable. This study focuses on the second option, compromise, through the experiences of people who choose to retain both liberal and Latter-day Saint identities and who attempt to conform to both to at least some degree.

Rhodes (2011) analyzed the behaviors of those who identified both as Democrats and as Evangelical Christians through the lens of Role Conflict Theory. He predicted that Evangelical Democrats would compromise between the two identities by maintaining lower levels of both religious behavior and Democratic-leaning political beliefs than a typical Evangelical or a typical Democrat, respectively. Rhodes found that Evangelical Democrats seemed to selectively withdraw from higher levels of religious activity, possibly to help resolve the social pressures that they experienced between their two conflicting identities. Given that the LDS Church also has a strong association with conservative political views, it is likely that liberal-leaning Mormons will also experience some form of cognitive dissonance, consistent with Role Conflict Theory, and will also engage in some degree of compromise between their two conflicting roles, consistent with van de Vliert's model and Rhodes's findings.

Theories of Social Stigmatization and Deviance

The study of stigma and deviance dates back to the beginnings of social science. Today, these topics are studied in multiple social scientific fields, such as social psychology, sociology, and criminology. Research discussions regarding both stigma and deviance deal with societal reactions toward individuals

who violate social norms. Hirschi (1969) theorized that strong social bonds make deviating from social norms more costly for individuals, while weak bonds make deviation easier. Hirschi also identified four elements that make up social bonds—attachment to the community, commitment to conforming goals, involvement in conforming activities, and belief in the accepted norms of the group. In theory, an individual who is strong in these four elements is much more likely to conform to social norms. Empirical analysis of these elements found particularly strong correlations among both attachment and commitment and conforming behavior, and a moderate correlation for belief (Krohn and Massey, 1980). While the current research does not attempt to measure these elements, they are important to keep in mind, especially given the involved nature of socialization in the LDS Church and the greater costs of deviation for those more involved in a group.

Social stigmatization, or the labeling of individuals as having some unwanted characteristic in relation to the group, also carries the potential for social consequences. Erving Goffman also hypothesized on the nature of social stigma. Of particular relevance here are his theories regarding stigmatization of characteristics that are not immediately apparent. Goffman differentiated between an individual who is *discreditable* and one who is *discredited* (Goffman, 1963, see also Jones, 1984). A discreditable individual is one who possesses an attribute subject to stigmatization but has not yet been revealed to the group as possessing it. This characteristic might be revealed to the rest of the group in the future, either intentionally or unintentionally, but currently the individual modifies their behavior in order to pass as a conforming member. A discredited individual, on the other hand, is one whose attribute has been made known, thus affecting the person's treatment by others. Both circumstances involve the changing of behaviors on the part of the stigmatized individual, including the management of one's public identity, but only the latter condition subjects the individual to the potentially negative behavior of others. This is potentially relevant to how liberal-leaning Latter-day Saints may modulate their expressions of political views around other members in order to pass as conforming members of the group, and thus avoid the effects of stigmatization. Stigmatization, and the threat of it, may also affect how individuals view their own social identities (Major and O'Brien, 2005, Link and Phelan, 2001).

Both deviance and stigma are relevant to the conversation of the lived experiences of politically liberal Mormons. Among Latter-day Saints in the

United States, it has become a social norm that most members lean conservative in their political views. One 2016 Pew Research Center study found a 51-point margin between those who identify themselves as Republicans and those who identify as Democrats (Lipka, 2016). Given that partisan antipathy has been rising to record highs, with members of each party holding increasingly unfavorable views of each other (Pew, 2019), it can be inferred that violations of this social norm would bring some sort of social conflict among Church members. This is especially cogent given that social identities have become increasingly aligned with partisan identities, especially among Republicans (Mason and Wronski, 2018). If conservative Latter-day Saints view their political views as tied to their religious views, even subconsciously, then they may be more likely to defensively place a stigma on those who hold liberal political beliefs within the faith, possibly even more than against those holding liberal views outside of the Church.

This same type of intra-sect social conflict can also be seen in other Christian denominations in the United States. Indeed, Wuthnow (1988) described the "symbolic warfare" that takes place between religious conservatives and religious liberals. More recently, Starks (2013) utilized qualitative interviews to document how, among Catholics, the self-identification of an individual as a traditional, moderate, or liberal Catholic served to represent self-understood divisions among American Catholics. Goldstein (2011) also asserted that much of contemporary religious conflict occurs socially between conservatives and progressives within denominations. Thus, it can reasonably be expected that there will be a similar social conflict between political liberals and conservatives among Latter-day Saints.

Spiral of Silence Theory

The Spiral of Silence Theory holds that those who perceive that they hold a minority opinion will refrain from expressing it in order to maintain their social position, either in a specific group or in society as a whole (Noelle-Neumann, 1974 and 1993). Consequently, those minority opinions will become less and less prevalent as those who hold them become less and less willing to share them, until minority beliefs are espoused only by hard-liners who do not care about the social ramifications. While the literature shows that this theory does not hold up in every circumstance, there are certain factors in the case of liberal-leaning Latter-day Saints that make it likely to generally apply. For example, it has been shown that fear of social isolation will make someone less likely to

share their minority opinion (Petric and Pinter, 2002; Scheufele et al, 2001), as will a perceived gulf between one's personal views and a group's generally accepted views (Hayes, Glynn, and Shanahan, 2005).

When it comes to sharing political opinions, Carlson and Settle (2016) have shown that individuals will hide or deflect away from their true political beliefs when they feel they are a political minority in that group. These so-called "political chameleons" do not actually change their beliefs in such situations; instead, "motivated by a desire to avoid the social consequences of political disagreement, … individuals will temporarily conform to a group's political opinion" in a phenomenon called political conformity (ibid., para. 4). The study found that people both expect a hypothetical person to conform in such a scenario, and that they will perform this conformity themselves in a laboratory setting. A similar study by Hayes (2007) found that most individuals will modify their responses toward people they know will disagree with them. When asked how they would respond to someone who they knew held a contrary position who asked for their opinion, participants cited several ways that they "censor their own opinion expression, such as expressing indifference or ambivalence, trying to change the subject, or reflecting the question back without answering it" (ibid., p. 785). Hayes cites these strategies as ways that people avoid social isolation in accordance with the Spiral of Silence Theory.

Given the fact that Latter-day Saints who espouse conservative political stances make up a supermajority of Church members in the US (Campbell et al, 2014), it is likely that a great many liberal-leaning members will engage in this sort of political conformity in order to escape negative social consequences, including stigmatization. This may include refraining from weighing in on political conversations with other Church members, either in person or online, or minimizing their views in an attempt to maintain social harmony.

Method, Sample, and Limitations

To qualitatively study the political minority of liberal LDS Church members in the United States, a phenomenological approach was chosen to better understand the "essence" of interviewees' lived experiences (see Creswell 2013; Moustakas 1994). Specifically, these lived experiences include the conflict and stigmatization that occurs over in their relationships with politically conservative Mormons, and the choice liberal members face to either make their political views known and face being stigmatized as a result, or to practice political conformity and keep their views hidden. To this end, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with twelve participants from four US states.

At the time of their interviews, all twelve were participating members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Demographically, seven were men, five were women (including two trans women); eight were Caucasian, three were African American, and one was Hispanic; ten were between the ages of 21 and 30, and the other two were in their 40s. This limited sample is a potential weakness in the method, although it is large enough to discover similarities and differences across the study's participants as well as common experiences shared between them. In other words, the size of the sample is large enough to achieve an appropriate level of saturation.[1] For this research, saturation was determined when new interviews, while still lending supporting details and evidence to the themes and patterns already identified, did not add any new or unique angles to the experiences of liberal-leaning Latter-day Saints (see Dworkin, 2012). While twelve individuals is indeed a small sample, there is precedent for this size of sample being sufficient when utilizing in-depth qualitative interviews, especially in a narrowly focused topic that utilizes cross-case analysis, as is the case here (see Malterud et al, 2015, and Mason, 2010).

Further, the participants who were interviewed for this research possessed other diverse characteristics that helped give a wider perspective. Two were openly gay, another two were transgender, one at the time of the interview was running for public office in Utah, several were members of the LDS Democrats Caucuses in Utah and Idaho, three were college students, one was an author, several had lived in multiple states, and one was disabled. Each participant was formally interviewed once, although other informal contacts and follow-up interactions were also included in the analysis. Each interview lasted between 30 minutes and two hours, depending on the participant, and was conducted either in person or through an online video chat service.

The participants in the study were found through a variety of sampling methods. The initial participants were previously known to the researcher through personal relationships to fit the criterion of the study—members of the Church who held liberal-leaning political beliefs—or convenience sampling (Bailey 2008). Many of these individuals were able to recommend others who they felt could contribute their experiences to the study, thus increasing the reach of the research through snowball sampling (ibid.). Additionally, mes-

[1]Saturation is the standard that qualitative researchers use to guide their data collection—the point at which they conclude that "further data collection would yield similar results and serve to confirm emerging themes and conclusions" (Faulkner and Trotter, 2017). It is worth noting, though, that the concept of saturation is subject to ongoing debate and can be inconsistently applied.

sages were sent to groups such as the LDS Democratic Caucus and prominent LDS blogs over social media to recruit more participants through criterion sampling (ibid.). The individuals recruited also were targeted for their specific and diverse demographic characteristics in order to maximize the variation of the sample, which in turn increases the trustworthiness of the conclusions drawn from their experiences through variation sampling (ibid.). Thus, although the traditionally weaker convenience and snowball sampling methods were employed to recruit the initial participants, criterion and variation sampling were concurrently employed to reinforce the strength of the sample. The sampling methods employed here, particularly convenience and snowball sampling methods, introduce the possibility of error through sampling bias, though it is impossible to tell to what degree.

Another limitation is the inherent problem of finding Mormons who hold liberal political beliefs, a challenge acknowledged by phenomenological researchers (see Creswell 2013). It is easier to find those who are not afraid to be vocal about their views, which influences their experiences and perspectives. In order to understand the experience of the typical liberal Mormon, greater effort must be put forth to find those who are more subdued, or even closeted about their political beliefs—those who, in accordance with the Spiral of Silence Theory, keep their views private. This can be addressed by conducting more interviews with a larger range of individuals in order to frame better the experiences of liberal Mormons regarding how their political and religious lives intersect.

While representativeness of the population and generalizability of findings beyond the sample are not possible using interviews with relatively few individuals—statistical analysis alone can accomplish that—interviews do provide nuanced details that help to answer the research questions through interviewees' elaborated responses and their answers to follow-up probe questions (Bailey 2008; Creswell 2013). Although statistical analysis can establish broad trends and patterns, detailed interviews provide deeper insight into the phenomenon being studied, including correlations between and among variables.

The interview questions were developed by breaking down the key variables in the research question: the religious and political views of participants, and their intersection in their lives; the conflict and stigmatization they undergo in their social interactions with conservative members of the LDS Church as a consequence of holding liberal religious and political views; and the re-

sponses of liberal church members to stigmatization by conservative members (Bailey, 2008; Creswell, 2013). Participants' answers to the interview questions were transcribed from audio recordings made during interview sessions. The transcripts then were analyzed for both similar and contrasting responses that emerged across interviews concerning the aforementioned variables in the research question. Quotes with similar themes were grouped together and analyzed further to glean insights from both the similarities and differences that arose between and among participants' experiences.

Findings

As is to be expected, the experiences of politically liberal Latter-day Saints vary widely from individual to individual. As one participant noted, "mileage varies greatly in this church." There was not a single question that got a uniform answer across the board, and this range of perspectives must be kept in mind when discussing any specific individual's responses and experiences. Those differences notwithstanding, two broad categories of experiences emerged from the interviews, both of which will be discussed in detail. The first is social experiences and interactions with other Mormons, or external experiences; the second is an individual's own thoughts and feelings, or internal experiences.

External Experiences

Emerging as themes in interviewees' social experiences and interactions with other Mormons are: the initial reactions of others to their political views, the long-term consequences of making those views known, the way that every participant knew of someone else who had suffered worse treatment, the choosing of location and audience for political discussions, and the differences of experiences based on geographic location.

Initial Reactions. Of particular interest to the researcher was the initial reaction of another Church member upon finding out that a participant leans to the left. The most disparaging reactions included "pejoratives, and questions about my sanity, and whether or not I actually believed in LDS Doctrine" and making a mother-in-law burst into tears. Several interviewees indicated that in their experience, the revealing of a liberal political identity made for an awkward, tension-filled situation. For example, one participant, a new member at the

time, was told that, "if you vote for a Democratic candidate, then you can't be a temple recommend-holding member of the Church." While untrue, this illustrates the extent of the stigma that exists in the culture. On the less extreme side of the spectrum were raised eyebrows, awkward silences, and quick changes of subject, although one individual shared how, by sharing their own leftist views, they had met other liberal members who were closeted about their political beliefs. These responses are expected under the Spiral of Silence Theory, which predicts that conservative members of the Church would underestimate the prevalence of liberal-leaning members. That underestimation would then lead to an increase in the likelihood of a negative reaction by a typical conservative Latter-day Saint.

The age of the person in question also made a difference in the reaction. As one individual observed, "It depends very much on the age cohort of who it is. For fellow millennials, they're just like okay, whatever. Not too big of a deal. For older people it's a bit of a shock." Another factor that plays in the mix is race: two African American individuals both shared how they felt that people were less surprised about their more liberal-leaning views because of their race. One summed it up by saying, "I feel like people would expect it from me because I'm Black." The typical reaction, however, seemed to be somewhere in the middle—not immediately condemning or outrightly supportive, but a silent reception without voicing an opinion one way or another. What exactly goes on in the thoughts of these individuals is impossible to say, but it is apparent that even though average Mormons in the US are not vehemently opposed to Democrats in general, they do regard it as something of an oddity when they meet one in the Church—supporting the notion that holding liberal political views is seen as deviant behavior in the social culture of the Church.

Long-term Social Consequences. Making their liberal political identity known placed a strain on individuals' social relationships with conservative Latter-day Saints to one degree or another. A few participants shared experiences of shunning and "complete dissociation" by both family members and acquaintances, although this was far from the typical response. More common was the feeling that perhaps disclosing their political affiliation prevented them from forming friendships with other ward members, or inhibited the growth or depth of those relationships. They rightly pointed out that it was impossible to know if sharing their political identity had diminished their social position, but the nagging feeling remained that they may have pushed away people who otherwise would have been friendlier had they not revealed their political identity.

It was not rare to hear of participants being muted on social media for posting pro-Democratic material or receiving condescending or offhand remarks that were critical of their political views, both online and in person. One participant was reticent to discuss political views around conservative friends and family members, commenting, "Whenever I'm vocal about my political opinions, there's a lot of pushback. I don't feel comfortable talking about [politics] because I feel that walls go up." Of note, however, is the theme that among those interviewed, none identified their experiences with the term "discrimination," with some explicitly stating that they did not feel that they had been discriminated against in the traditional sense. Still, the generally negative response to these members making their political views known affirms the application of the Spiral of Silence Theory, where liberal leaning members will often not reveal their true views or beliefs in order to minimize the social consequences that can come from holding a minority view.

"Know Someone." One of the more unexpected and interesting themes that emerged in the context of interpersonal interactions was the observation made by nearly every one of the participants that although they themselves had not been treated too terribly, they had heard stories about or personally known people who had been on the receiving end of particularly poor treatment. As one individual put it, "I have seen worse things happen, though, mostly to other people. I remember Gary [the name has been changed], who is a member in Texas. He felt totally ostracized by members of the ward for his political views." This perception seems to be shared universally among liberal Latter-day Saints, meaning that even if a certain individual has not faced negative social consequences, they are aware that there is still a stigma attached to being a Democrat and/or liberal in the church. This also is in accordance with the Spiral of Silence Theory, as knowledge that others have been mistreated due to their minority political views serves as a disincentive for them making their own beliefs known. The fact that none of the participants had personal experiences in this area might indicate that full saturation may not have been reached. However, finding respondents to address this particular dynamic is difficult, as those who have been treated poorly by other Church members because of their political beliefs may be less willing to continue to publicly espouse those beliefs or may have stopped associating with the Church entirely as a result.

Location and Audience. Another external theme that was observed revolved around location and audience while talking about political issues: inside of church

versus outside, and with Mormons versus with a non-Mormon audience. For the most part, interviewees agreed that they tried not to bring up political issues during church services, "because that's not the focus of those three hours on Sunday," although more than one felt compelled to speak up during church to correct any perceived wrongs that they observed. One such self-described "troublemaker" said, "I don't care where I am, if I'm in sacrament meeting, or an activity, or Relief Society, I'll say exactly what I feel and I'll let people know that they are absolutely wrong." This theme included several who felt that speakers or teachers at church had inappropriately infused conservative or Republican rhetoric into sermons or lessons at least once in their experience, although it is not an overwhelmingly recurring incident. Another participant noted, "I don't go to Sunday school anymore because I'm tired, when I share my opinion, [of] getting the verbal equivalent of a pat on the head and a chuckle about how naive I am." Furthermore, almost all of the participants felt that the difference in location was much more of a factor in their willingness to talk about politics than whether they were speaking to Mormons. They noted that their non-Mormon friend groups also were much more likely to be Democrats than not, which means on the one hand that they were more likely to be comfortable talking about political issues with their friends outside of church, but, on the other hand, they were more likely to disagree with fellow Mormons, meaning that they were more likely to voice a contrary opinion and discuss politics in that context. One participant summed it up this way: "More often than not, that's why I avoid [talking about politics at church], not because I feel like I can't talk about it, but because I don't think it would bring a good atmosphere or spirit into the room."

Geographic Differences. Also of note were geographic differences in the experiences of participants who had lived in more than one state. One individual found that Utah, the state with the highest concentration of Latter-day Saints in the country, also had the highest incidence of negative backlash toward their political views. The interviewee said they felt that there were "orders of magnitude" of difference between Utah, Texas, and Massachusetts in descending order in terms of how much opposition they had experienced. However, even in New England, a traditionally liberal region of the country, they still faced a stigma from other members, although it was less severe than in the more consistently red states.

Internal Experiences

Just as interesting as the external, interpersonal experiences of liberal Latter-day Saints are their internal experiences in regard to the intersection of their religious and political identities, with an even wider range of variation found in the interviews. Internal experiences are the thoughts and feelings that liberal Church members possess about their own identities, exclusive of any interactions with others. Themes emerging in interviewees' own thoughts and feelings are: the way that participants matched doctrine, policies, and political parties; the foundation of their political beliefs in relation to their religious beliefs; the reasons they offer to account for the Republican supermajority within Church membership; the contrasting levels of internal conflict different participants feel; and the solutions they proffer to make the social culture of the Church more inclusive to diverse political opinions.

Matching Doctrine, Policies, and Parties. Interviewees' internal experiences are readily apparent in the way that their religious and political beliefs inform, shape, and interact with one another. For those interviewed, the majority felt that the Democratic Party best reflected the doctrine and values of the Church in its policy platform, although all were sure to note that it was not a perfect match. One individual thought that third parties were closest to the mark, but that of the two major parties, the Democrats were the better option. Participants shared that in their mind, LDS doctrine would translate into policies that emphasize compassion, empathy, the intrinsic value of human beings, the importance of families, helping the poor, personal agency and accountability, serving others, and honesty. Some even explored specific policy stances, such as protections for Dreamers and other immigrants, ensuring that all individuals have healthcare, strengthening social safety nets, providing more support for those in poverty, and promoting education for women and children globally. More than a few participants noted that in the rare instances that the Church itself has issued a statement on political events, its positions seem to be more in line with Democratic talking points, such as an August 2017 statement denouncing white supremacist rallies, a January 2018 announcement backing opportunities for DACA recipients, or Dreamers, and a June 2018 condemnation of the forcible separation of families at the border ("Church Issues Statements on Situation in Charlottesville, Virginia," 2017, "Church Statement on Separation of Families at the US-Mexico Border," 2018, "Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Statement," 2018).

Several pointed out that the ultimate translation of doctrine into policy is, in their minds, what is known inside the Church as the Law of Consecration, which one participant described as "theocratic communism." They said that this law, which reflects the all-things-in- common society practiced by New Testament Christians and is believed by Latter-day Saints to be the system that Christ will enact during his millennial reign, is much closer to current liberal ideals than the conservative platform, in that it redistributes wealth, property, and other resources according to every person's needs. The participants indicated that LDS doctrine favored a good balance between self-reliance and communal action, which again they found more of in the Democratic Party platform. These interpretations of Latter-day Saint doctrine may serve as a strategy to reduce potential cognitive dissonance, consistent with Role Conflict Theory, as it may quell the internal mental conflict that exists between their religious and political identities.

Foundation of Political Beliefs. It is unclear and undoubtedly different for each individual to what extent either of these identities—the religious and the political—comes first, and to what extent the two identities directly interact. One participant summed it up thusly: "Ultimately, when it comes to politics, we have to look at them through the lens of the Gospel, and not look at the Gospel through the lens of our politics." This statement reflects the conventional wisdom in social science literature, which asserts that the relationship between religious identities and political identities is largely unidirectional, with religious beliefs informing political stances. However, Margolis (2018) challenges that assumption in *From Politics to the Pews: How Partisanship Affects Religious Behaviors and Identifications in America*. She argues that instead of individuals adopting political stances based on their religious views, both identities inform each other, with partisanship having a large effect on the type and frequency of religious behaviors practiced. This discussion of the primacy of both religious and political identities and how they interact within individuals is essential to understanding the experiences of Democratic Latter-day Saints, as it underscores how deeply held these two identities are, and how threats to either identity can cause a great deal of both internal and external social conflict.

It is impossible to tell to what extent this interviewee's ideal of regarding politics "through the lens of the Gospel" holds true across the population as a whole, as the internal psychological interaction between these identities can only be studied in their outward manifestations. These identities are often so deep-rooted in an individual's mind as to be beneath active scrutiny, even with

profound self-reflection and introspection. The level of belief and trust held in these institutions—the Church and the political process—is unique to each individual and thus creates a similarly unique interplay in each person's internal experiences as they grapple with and seek to find a comfortable balance between the two identities (Turner, 2011, Margolis, 2018).

Explaining the Republican Supermajority Within the Church. Participants offered a wide range of answers as to why a supermajority of American Latter-day Saints identify as or lean Republican versus any other party affiliation. All thought that it was a result of a combination of factors, although each individual gave a unique amalgamation of reasons. Overall, they attributed the supermajority mainly to factors in the early history of the church, alongside other, more contemporary, reasons involving the American political landscape and LDS culture. One participant explained the historical component: "Mormons have a particular history in that we have been treated very badly by the government in our history. … [This] distills in those Pioneers' minds that the government cannot be trusted, which is the conservative basis for all of their policies: Make the government smaller because they can't be trusted. ... The Mormons actually lived that, and when you live something that traumatic over and over again you will teach it to your children, and they have." Since its admission to the Union in 1896, Utah has gone for the Republican candidate in 24 out of 32 presidential elections, and in every election since Richard Nixon won the presidency in 1968. This creates a unique cultural heritage of voting Republican among Latter-day Saints—a heritage that, similarly to Evangelical Protestants, has become embedded in the social identities of Republican Mormons (Mason and Wronski, 2018).

In addition to politically conservative Church members voting the same way their predecessors have, the participants thought that ending abortion and same-sex marriage was important enough to the conservative majority of Mormons to prevent them from even considering voting for a Democrat when they would otherwise likely support many of that party's policies and goals. In addition, one said, the modern-day Republican Party has been successful in portraying itself as the party that is more patriotic and champions both religious and individual freedoms, values that are cherished in contemporary Latter-day Saint culture. The Republican Party also has successfully framed Democrats, as that same individual above put it, as godless heathens who promote "moral turpitude."

This creates a unique sense of conflict in those inside the Church who do not identify as Republican, as they go against a very large majority of mem-

bers, some of whom question liberal members' strength or sincerity of belief. The degree to which the participants experience this internal conflict between their religious and political identities is possibly the most fascinating of the themes that emerged during the research, as the responses were clustered at the far ends of the spectrum: either the participants experience high levels of internal conflict or little-to-no cognitive dissonance at all.

Contrasting Levels of Dissonance. Those who professed to have experienced this inner struggle between their religious and political identities pointed to a variety of factors. Some indicated that the official policies of the Church give them pause, such as the Church's stances toward LGBTQ individuals or the history of the Church's policies toward men of African descent receiving the priesthood or all members of African descent having access to temple rites. Others pointed to contemporary cultural issues that they perceive within the social fabric of the Church, such as undervaluing the voices of women and people of color, the quickness of Mormons to pass judgment, and, of course, the conflation of LDS doctrine with Republican rhetoric by members. One interviewee even went so far as to say that they must make a conscious choice every day to stay in the Church, although they made clear this ambivalence is not for lack of faith in the doctrine. A common theme was the distance between the perfection of God and the fallibility of the people who run the Church, similar to the religious sequestration noted by Edwards (2016). Sequestration allows them to believe that although God and His doctrine are perfect, the implementation and administration of the Church is left to imperfect humans, which results in mistakes. As one participant asserted, "[I believe] that this is the Church of Jesus Christ, this is where His full doctrine lies. It is also run by man, and men make mistakes." This sort of mental compartmentalization is compatible with Role Conflict Theory as one strategy liberal Mormons may use to reduce internal conflict.

At the other end of the spectrum, several participants felt no conflict between their two identities or could only think of one or two times they had experienced such dissonance. More than one of these had used their religious identity as a foundation and sought a political identity that built upon that foundation. This ordering of identities seems to lead to less cognitive dissonance, possibly as a result of reframing or reinterpreting scripture or other Church teachings to explain how progressive political policies are compatible with traditional LDS doctrine. As one interviewee stated, "I feel like there is not a huge disconnect [to me], because a lot of my political views center

around helping the oppressed, and giving people the ability to make choices … to me that's very in line with the gospel." Or, as another stated pointedly, "I'm a Democrat because of my religion." On both sides of the divide, however, participants employed compartmentalization techniques to help reduce their dissonance. By keeping their political views and religious beliefs in relatively separate mental boxes, they were able to avoid some of the potential internal conflict that can arise when the two identities collide—which is also to be expected under Role Conflict Theory.

One individual related feeling stuck in an exposed state of limbo between the two identities, an experience that is no doubt shared by a great many liberal-leaning Latter-day Saints:

> I don't fit what you might consider the typical Mormon mold. … The thing is, I don't fit the typical liberal mold either, and lately, I've seen the breadth and consequence of that contrast. I've had many days where I've simultaneously had Mormon friends telling me that I'm doing Mormonism wrong because of my politics and liberal friends telling me I'm doing politicking wrong because of my love for my religion. I'm too liberal to be a good Mormon, too feminist for my ward, too concerned for the oppressed and not enough for the law; I'm too Molly[2] to contribute anything worthwhile to liberalism, not angry or extreme enough to be a "good feminist," too content with my religion, et cetera. It's exhausting to live every day with people telling you that because you don't fit the mold/standard of liberalism or feminism or Mormonism or Christianity, [because it feels like] you have very little to contribute to either side. You aren't "us" enough.

Role Conflict Theory, as discussed earlier, predicts that individuals with two competing identities will attempt to find a middle ground between the two. Attempting this type of mental reconciliation, however, can lead to the exact predicament this individual experienced of feeling somewhere in between, simultaneously in both cultures yet not fully accepted by either. This clash between roles presents a unique challenge when it comes to religious and political identities, two of the most deeply held and intensely personal identities in modern society. When individuals in one or both of those cultures accuses an individual of being less than fully committed to the group, it can be extremely discouraging to that person.

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[2] "Molly Mormon" is a slang term for a female teenager or young woman who is perceived to be a goody two-shoes. The corresponding male term is "Peter Priesthood."

More research is needed to understand more fully how liberal Mormons resolve their inner conflict between their religious and political identities. One potential strategy is that they may internally reinterpret their political beliefs to align with core theological values, such as justice and tolerance. Other coping strategies might also be employed to reduce dissonance and mentally align liberal political views with commonly accepted doctrine.

Perceived Ways to Foster a More Inclusive Culture. The final theme of note is that every one of the individuals interviewed sees potential ways to make the social culture of the Church more inclusive of diverse political opinions. This was perhaps the theme with the widest variation of responses, with no two interviewees giving quite the same ideas. Some would like to see more statements from top Church leaders, encouraging members to engage in civil discourse about political issues, and reminding members that compromise is an important facet of government. Others favor more bottom-up approaches. One individual called on liberal members to "lift up their voices," borrowing a phrase from Latter-day Saint scripture, meaning to be more vocal about their beliefs. Publicly communicating their liberal political views around other Church members, they claim, would help dispel the stigma around those views by making more members realize just how many progressive Mormons there are.

In a similar vein, another participant pleaded with fellow Mormons simply to listen to those whose opinions and experiences might differ from the norm. In this way, Church members could overcome the natural human tendency to place labels on others, which in turn would lead to increased compassion and empathy for those who hold diverse opinions. Another individual suggested that members of the Church refrain from using phrases such as "the gays" or "the leftists," saying, "We need to get rid of the idea that we are talking about people who couldn't possibly be in the room listening to us." By simply using more inclusive language and not assuming that all people think the same way, this interviewee said, Church members could help those who feel isolated begin to feel they are welcomed and valued in Church social settings. This, in turn, will lead them to feel comfortable enough to add their voices to the discussion and make their perspectives known, further helping the cause of inclusivity.

Conclusion

This research makes several important contributions to the literature. The first and perhaps largest is the qualitative exploration of the experiences of

politically liberal members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Qualitative interviews, an oft-underutilized methodology, present an approach that is uniquely suited for deepening the understanding of a political minority group that has been routinely overlooked in previous research into Mormonism, as Cornwall (2014) points out. Although the study's sample size is limited, the interview responses make clear that there is indeed a social stigma associated with being a politically liberal Mormon, and that social conflict stems from that identity. This conflict includes the possibility of strained relationships, feelings of ostracization or isolation socially, and the experience of cognitive dissonance as a result of holding both identities.

This study also provides evidence that liberal members' social conflict plays out in ways that are consistent with the theories presented in the literature review. For example, in keeping with Symbolic Interaction Theory, liberal Church members view their political and religious identities as having important symbolic meanings in their interactions with others. Moreover, their differing political views are regarded as deviant within the social context of the Church and are consequently stigmatized, consistent with the theories of deviance and social stigmatization. Indeed, it appears true that greater levels of socialization increase the social cost of deviating from group norms. Further, the actions that some liberal-leaning Latter-day Saints take to avoid revealing their political views are consistent with Goffman's (1963, see also Jones, 1984) ideas about discreditable individuals, in addition to the negative effects that those same members often experience when their political views are made known—in other words, when they are *discredited*.

The current study also advances Role Conflict Theory by applying it to Mormon Democrats. It examines conflict both anticipated and experienced, and both avoided and dealt with, depending on the individual. It also complements Margolis's (2018) work by illuminating the ways these individuals work through any perceived conflict they may have between their political and religious identities. Those who stay in the faith and remain Democrats, thus declining to choose between the two identities, make compromises to some extent by not meeting all of the expectations of each role, in keeping with van de Vliert's (1981) model. While the level of compromise will obviously vary between individuals, at the very least the expectation of being a Republican Latter-day Saint is subverted. Further study may refine our understanding of how the mechanism of creating a compromised or middle identity works, both externally and internally.

The research findings also extend the theory of the Spiral of Silence by showing in greater and more nuanced detail how silence works strategically as

the mechanism by which individuals navigate role conflict. Many participants admitted to engaging in political conformity in order to maintain social harmony, as expected by Carlson and Settle (2016). However, some participants did not keep silent about their political identity, choosing instead to make their views known. Although the timing of these occurrences varied between individuals, this inconsistency in behavior supports the wider literature regarding the Spiral of Silence Theory—that while it applies in certain social conditions, a great many other factors also affect an individual's choice to reveal or not reveal a minority opinion.

Further research could expand upon this subject in numerous additional ways. For example, a quantitative analysis could be undertaken to measure the levels of many of the feelings expressed in interviews, such as cognitive dissonance and social isolation. Additionally, it could help reveal how the social stigma attached to being a liberal Latter-day Saint is felt between genders, races, socioeconomic classes, and geographic regions. Further, a qualitative or mixed-methods study could look into the extent that liberal members' beliefs and religious practices differ from conservative members, if at all, and whether the experiences of those who were raised in the Church differ from those who converted later in life.

Appendix

Interview Questions:

1. What kind of political stances do you believe the Gospel of Jesus Christ lends itself to?
    a. What party do you feel is the closest to promoting these ideals? In what ways do they achieve that?
2. Is there a difference in how vocal you are about your political views when you are around Mormons versus non-Mormons?
3. What do you think makes more Mormons identify as Republican than Democrat/other?
4. What experiences have you had when a fellow Mormon initially finds out that you are a liberal/left-leaning/Democrat Mormon?
5. Have you ever faced later social consequences (conflict, tension, etc.) from Church members in any setting for making your political leanings known?
    a. Would you be comfortable sharing some of those experiences with me?
6. Have you ever felt a sense of internal conflict between your religious and political identities and/or beliefs?
7. What form does that take in your life?
8. What do you think can be done to change the culture within the Church to be more open to different political beliefs?

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The Anthropology of Mormonism: An Emerging Field

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Abstract. Recent decades have seen the emergence of a nascent anthropology of Mormonism.[1] We demonstrate how anthropological work on Mormonism has crystallized around a set of themes with significant potential for both anthropology and Mormon social sciences: (1) religious authority, (2) ritual and the body, (3) physical engagement with Church history, (4) globalization, (5) gender and kinship, and (6) disbelief and heterodoxy. We argue that further progress can be achieved by focusing on the diverse individual experiences within Latter Day Saint groups.

Introduction: Why an Anthropology of Mormonism?

What could a more robust engagement with Mormonism bring to cultural anthropology? This question has always intrigued me (Dunstan) as both an anthropologist and a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The question gained a new forcefulness, however, after a conversation I had in 2019 at an anthropology conference with Jon Bialecki, who researches LDS transhumanists.

Jon and I were discussing why there were not more cultural anthropologists doing work on the Latter Day Saint movement. By this we were referring

[1] Recently, Russell M. Nelson, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, has emphasized using the full name of the church, or substituting phrases such as "the Church" or "the restored Church" (2018). This is also the preference of the authors, in support of using groups' preferred terminology. Generally, we have used the full name, or shortened iterations such as "the Church" for the institution and "Church members" or "Latter-day Saints" when referencing its members. However, we do also use the term "Mormon" several times in this essay, including the title, for two reasons. First, we acknowledge that at present it is more common in the academic literature to use the term Mormon/Mormonism (as reflected in this journal's title). Secondly, we needed a more general term for the entire movement, denominations, and theology inspired by Joseph Smith's teachings; we have used "Mormon"/"Mormonism" or "Latter Day Saint movement" (no hyphen, all capitals) for that purpose. Specific terms for other branches of this movement have also been utilized when relevant.

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to anthropologists who conduct ethnographic fieldwork, rather than those in other fields of anthropology doing work related to Mormonism, of which there are several examples, such as historical archaeology and preservation (Olsen 2004; Pykles 2010) and Mesoamerican archaeology (Sorenson 1985). Jon contrasted the situation in cultural anthropology with the extensive anthropology of Christianity, remarking that part of the problem could be that the subfield had not yet clarified how the study of Mormonism specifically could contribute to cultural anthropology as a whole.

"What's the warrant?" Jon asked me rhetorically.

This is a critical question. The anthropology of Christianity has examined Christianity not only in its own right, but as a lens to broader questions about human experiences of time (Robbins 2004), language (Handman 2014), and moralities (Keane 2002; Klaits 2010). There have also been generative discussions around specific Christian branches, such as Pentecostalism (Coleman, Hackett, and Robbins 2015; De Witte 2018). These scholarly communities have produced numerous books, volumes, courses, and conference panels explicitly devoted to engaging with these faiths through anthropology. This is generally lacking for Latter Day Saint Christian groups.

Thus, Bialecki's question about the "warrant" for an anthropology of Mormonism resonated with both of our authors, and we have discussed it many times since. We have perhaps a unique background in relation to this question. Both of us are cultural anthropologists who have done research with Latter-day Saints—Hawvermale on gender experiences and Dunstan on sacred sites. Furthermore, while Dunstan is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Hawvermale is not—a fact that has enriched our conversations on what the anthropology of Mormonism is, and what it could be.

The inaugural issue of the *Journal of the Mormon Social Science Association* seems like an appropriate forum in which to grapple with this question and offer some of our own thoughts. In our view, there is already an anthropology of Mormonism, albeit a nascent one in comparison to some of the other social sciences of the Latter Day Saint movement. Anthropologists in the past two decades have been writing ethnographies about Latter Day Saint groups and engaging important questions within anthropology about several topics: religious authority, ritual and the body, physicality and Church history, the global spread of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, gender and kinship ideologies, and disbelief and heterodoxy. These "centers of gravity" have promise to both anthropology and Mormon studies. At the same time,

we suggest that the field has sometimes focused much more heavily on the effects of institutional authority and hierarchy within the Church than the experience of individual Church members—meaning-receiving rather than meaning-making. This trend has started to reverse in recent ethnography, and we see this as an important move forward for cultural anthropology to fully showcase its contributions to the social sciences of Mormonism.

A Nascent yet Necessary Field

The anthropology of Mormonism is still nascent in two senses.

First, few cultural anthropologists have focused specifically on the Latter Day Saint movement, despite its relatively large and transnational presence. In fact, we are aware of fewer than 15 who have published within the past two decades (although of course there are others for whom Mormonism has come up as part of other research projects). Additionally, the past five annual meetings of the American Anthropology Association have included by our count approximately 14 papers on Mormonism, compared to many hundreds on Christianity more generally. Meanwhile, Anthrosource (a database of many of the prominent journals in our field) yields only four research articles with "Mormon" in the title, and none with "Latter-day Saint."

The anthropology of Mormonism is also nascent in the sense that the term "anthropology of Mormonism" is not yet a well-recognized descriptor either within anthropology or among other social scientists. For example, within anthropology there are not readers, special journal issues, or (with one exception to our knowledge) conference sessions devoted to Mormonism as one sees with regard to some other faith groups. To our knowledge, there are no consistently offered courses in the anthropology of Mormonism other than at Brigham Young University and a handful of other institutions in the region.

One might say that the lack of a clearly labeled "anthropology of Mormonism" is not problematic. One might whimsically wonder if it is simply resistance to yet *another* sub-sub-field of anthropology (one need only look at course offerings in anthropology departments across the US to recoil against the subfield industrial complex). More seriously, given that the Latter Day Saint movement is a relatively small (if highly unique) subset of larger Christianity, perhaps it does not merit its own identification since there is already a general anthropology of Christianity (Bialecki, Haynes, and Robbins 2008; Engelke and Tomlinson 2006). However, we do have robust subfields of anthropology focusing on specific branches of Christianity such as Catholicism

(Norget, Napolitano, and Mayblin 2017), Eastern Orthodoxy (Hann and Goltz 2010), and Pentecostalism (Coleman, Robbins, and Hackett 2015). Anthropologies *of* phenomena generate spaces in which to discuss common findings and articulate these to the broader discipline—something which, at present, does not exist for the Latter Day Saint movement.

Other anthropologists have remarked on these trends. Fenella Cannell, one of the most prolific anthropologists of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, noted in 2005 "what an uncanny object Mormonism is … for the academic social sciences. It is represented as at once unworthy of serious interest and as a scandalous threat," at least within anthropology (Cannell 2005, 339). Over a decade later, Cannell remarked that there still existed a need to "*begin* to imagine the kinds of conversation that could take place between people involved in these two practices," of Mormonism and anthropology (Cannell 2017, 3, emphasis added). Similarly, prominent religious studies scholar Ann Taves notes that in Mormon Studies "history does dominate. But I think there is a growing presence of scholars from literature and sociology.… I've seen very little, though, from anthropologists" (Taves and Fluhman 2014, 15). Despite notable entries, then, the anthropological study of Mormonism seems to still be laying down its roots.

This relative paucity in cultural anthropology stands in contrast with the extensive work in other fields, such as folklore studies (Eliason and Mould 2013; Mould 2011), history (Bowman 2012; McDannell 2018; Park 2020; Shipps 1987), political science (Knoll 2015; Campbell et al. 2014), psychology (Koltko 1990; Merrill and Salazar 2010), sociology (Mauss 1994; Shepherd and Shepherd 1998; O'Brien 2020; Phillips 2020; Stark 1984), and religious studies (Givens 2015; Holbrook and Bowman 2016). In many of these fields there is of course an extensive set of scholarship discussing Latter-day Saint "culture" and related concepts both historically and at present (e.g., Head 2009; Quinn 2001), but little of it comes from cultural anthropologists, who would in theory have much to contribute to conversations about culture.

Anthropologists have theoretical and methodological traditions within their field that can enrich the excellent work being done on Mormonism and culture across the globe, in part because of anthropology's strong local focus through ethnography, coupled with a humanity-wide comparative approach. One of the hallmarks of cultural anthropology is the use of sustained ethnographic fieldwork—spending extensive time immersed in a community while conducting interviews and observations. This type of ethnographic fieldwork is well-poised to examine Latter Day Saint religious meaning and power as

these are lived out in the daily lives of specific communities—which may both complicate and complement work focused more heavily on scriptural texts or global organizations, by attending to the complexity of the local (similarly to what has been done for groups such as charismatic Christians in New Guinea, Robbins 2004). Other scholars have recognized this potential contribution. Taves calls for anthropologists to document "how Mormonism is translated across cultures … in actual practice" as well as "subtle differences in what it means to be LDS in various cultural contexts or for different ethnic subcultures within the United States" (Taves and Fluhman 2014, 15). Anthropologists' insights into local, lived Mormonism(s) can enrich the Mormon social sciences.

Contemporary events unfolding in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints could benefit from such an anthropological approach. As we will see, the study of both those who remain in the Church and those who depart can be enriched by ethnography. We could also benefit from ethnographic work on how national politics are being rethought and discussed in wards both in the US and elsewhere, especially given the complex politics of faith generated in the midst of the Romney candidacy and the anti-Trump positioning of Mitt Romney, Jeff Flake, and Evan McMullin—this could be a sort of present-day complement to the historical work of Kathleen Flake (2004). Additionally, as the Church becomes comparatively stronger internationally, changes in Church policy and discourse could be an area in which anthropologists would be uniquely situated to comment, as I have in a recent paper on the Hill Cumorah Pageant and understandings of the "promised land" (Dunstan 2020).

The potential here is not only to Mormon social sciences, but also to cultural anthropology itself, as the faith raises compelling issues for the broader discipline. Cannell (2005), for example, argued that Church doctrine unsettles assumptions about Christian asceticism going back to Max Weber. Meanwhile, Lars Rodseth and Jennifer Olsen (2010) considered how certain beliefs of Mormonism (such as a lessened division between the Divine and humanity) run counter to how anthropologists tend to essentialize "Western" cosmology.

Early Beginnings and "Repugnant Others"

Given all this potential, the fact that the anthropology of Mormonism is not better developed is somewhat surprising. It is certainly not that anthropologists have not been writing about Mormonism for a long time. Indeed, the

inaugural volume of the flagship journal *American Anthropologist* contained an article "The Origin of the 'Book of Mormon'" (Pierce 1899), which argued that the Book of Mormon was a forgery that had led to the "menace to the world from Mormonism." (We might consider this to be a somewhat ill omen for the start of the anthropology of Mormonism.) Five decades later (1949–1955), culture theorist Clyde Kluckhohn led the Harvard Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures in Ramah, New Mexico (Powers 1997). "Mormons" were one of the five cultures chosen for the study, which influenced sociologist Thomas O'Dea's *The Mormons* (1956) as well as anthropologist Evon Vogt's (1955) concept of Latter-day Saints as a "historically derived subcultural continuum." Such work tended to characterize Latter-day Saints as a subgroup of American society (Sorenson 1973)—a paradigm that now appears limiting as it does not recognize the intersectional identities of Latter-day Saints, especially in areas other than the US.

There were only a small handful of other studies in the later twentieth century in anthropology journals. For example, Topper (1979) drew on a psychological anthropology approach to study why Diné/Navajo families became involved in the Indian Placement Program, as well as the shock children experienced when moving between their Latter-day Saint foster families and Diné communities. Sociologist Armand Mauss also discussed the Placement Program—as well as shifts in Latter-day Saint ideas about indigenous peoples in the twentieth century—at length (2002). Baer (1996), in a somewhat idiosyncratic approach, applied the Marxist Asiatic modes of production concept to draw similarities between the Church and the German Democratic Republic. David Knowlton, in turn, has written several articles about the spread of the Church in Latin America, as well as how national politics have influenced local wards' discourses about authority in Bolivia (Knowlton 1992; 2007).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, then, anthropological works on Mormonism were rather scattered. Why this is the case lies beyond the scope of this essay, although it is our hope that future scholars will turn their attention to this important question. We would note, briefly, that Cannell (2005) has suggested there may be an implicit bias among some anthropologists seeing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a "repugnant other" due either to its perceived conservatism or its universal cosmology (in contrast to the local focus of anthropology). This might contrast with a social science that has often focused its attentions on groups that are marginalized in relation to power or globalizing forces. We sense Cannell may be right on this point, but would add another potential problem: that for anthropologists

situated in the US, this "American church" is not other *enough*. It is too domestic for a field that has historically prioritized research with far-off and "exotic" groups—a legacy that was still strong in the twentieth century.

Thus, although Mormonism has been written about by anthropologists almost from the start, it has not received much attention until the twenty-first century, where we are beginning to see the rise of a cultural anthropology of Mormonism, nascent though it may be. This growing, if disparate, field seems to have coalesced around certain key themes—the first of which is the influence of religious authority and Church hierarchy, to which we now turn.

Hierarchy, Religious Authority, and Control as Themes

Many anthropologists have emphasized the role of hierarchy in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Scholars have often assumed (implicitly or explicitly) that Church leadership directly shapes—even dictates—the experiences and decisions of wards and their members. This approach hearkens to the earliest work on the Church, which Perry Pierce (1899, 694) characterized as "a hierarchy of subtle brains equipped with the wealth of the entire community, reinforced with a million dupes, willing to accept with unquestioning obedience any dispensation formulated in terms of 'Thus saith the Lord.'"

Obviously, such phrasing would be unacceptable in the ethnographies of today, and it is probably a bit disingenuous of us to quote a scholar over a century past. However, well into the early 2000s, a strong emphasis on the influence of Church leadership continued to figure very prominently as a backdrop, and sometimes a central concern, against which anthropologists ask questions about the faith. The Church has been characterized by various anthropologists as a "corporate culture" (Van Beek 2005, 22), "unified by a comprehensive power structure" (Van Beek 2005, 9) which "require[s] acquiescence to Church hierarchy" (Knowlton 2007, 64). In other words, scholars have tended to view the Church through the lens of power and authority—primarily the power of men in formal leadership positions (Vega 2019). The Church has even been compared to a State government (Bialecki 2020a). Much of this work tends to emphasize a commonality of members' experience, due to the leadership structure.

That lens also structures other themes in the anthropology of Mormonism. Anthropologists have stressed how activities as diverse as, for example, historical re-enactments (Hartley-Moore 2020) and garments (Marshall and Marshall 2008) reinforce belief in the teachings of Church leaders. A piece

on Pioneer Day celebrations characterizes the Church's theology as "pass[ing] through strict hierarchical channels that maintain doctrinal uniformity even as Mormonism has spread across the globe" (Eliason 2002, 167). Such a characterization is not unusual when speaking of the Church. In fact, the Church structure is said by Hildi and Thomas Marshall to have significant power to produce "homogenous spiritual experience" through how it teaches Church members in temples and historic sites to attend to their feelings (Marshall and Marshall 2008).

The ubiquity of this theme, at least until recently, in the anthropology of Mormonism is perhaps not surprising, for several reasons. First, modern anthropology has been heavily influenced by poststructuralist and critical theory (especially of a Foucauldian vein), which tend to focus on power relationships within discourse, including religious discourse. Anthropology has a predisposition to think of religion either in terms of belief/worldview or "institutional and embodied discipline" (Bialecki 2020b, 612). Second, the discourse of the Church itself does certainly emphasize priesthood authority, sustaining those in leadership, and following the prophet. Organizational hierarchy then has been a somewhat natural place for ethnographers to focus their attention.

Yet, we would like to raise the concern that primarily focusing on the role of Church leaders may have become a "seductive analytic," to use Todd Sanders's phrase (2008). It may seem only natural to focus on this theme; perhaps too natural, inasmuch as it reflects stereotypes in broader society. The idea of "controlled Mormons" is a familiar theme in both popular and academic circles in the US. For example, 2012 and 2007 Pew Center studies found "cult" to be one of the most frequently mentioned words for Americans surveyed about Mormonism (Pew Center 2012, 2007). As Bianca Winward notes, "Often Mormons … are seen by society as cookie-cutter members of faith, as people who never question the commandments and policies of the Church" (Winward 2017, 41). We would suggest that such a discourse is not solely confined to popular culture but has perhaps played a role in a lack of ethnographic interest in the faith. Colleagues reacting to Cannell's decision to research American Latter-day Saints, for example, implied that "Surely … the Mormons were an utterly robotic and homogeneous bunch controlled by a central church system?" and thus found it odd to study them (Cannell 2005, 338).

While viewing the Church through a lens of hierarchy can be analytically productive in emphasizing certain social facts, it can occlude other voices and experiences, including the diverse, local ways in which meaning is forged and

negotiated alongside and within broader Church structures. Much like work in the anthropology of Islam on agency (e.g., Abu-Lughod 2002; Henkel 2005; Mahmood 2011), shifting attention to the plurality of Latter-day Saint experiences can highlight the ways in which the religion is defined and lived by real people at the ground level.

In the other themes we discuss, we will see some work that embodies this hierarchical focus, but also several recent ethnographies highlighting (to varying degrees) the role of individual Mormons as active participants in their own religiosity.

Ritual Bodies, Symbolic Bodies

Anthropologists have drawn attention to the body as a site of both religious discipline and symbolic meaning among Latter-day Saints. This work reflects the "embodiment paradigm" in anthropology, which attends to the culturally situated ways in which bodies are inhabited and experienced as both subjects and objects (Csordas 1998; Mascia-Lees 2011). It also shows heavy influences from post-structuralist work on the societal influence of bodies, such as that of Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler, and Michel Foucault. This embodied approach has been highly productive for understanding the Church. Indeed, part of the warrant for our subfield may be the potential that the faith's thoroughly physical and embodied theology has for enriching studies of religious bodies generally (Mitchell 2001; Cannell 2005).

Several anthropologists have focused attention on the embodied habitus of Latter-day Saints as a cultural project (Davies 2000). Most of this work has argued that religious ritual (especially temple ordinances) and historic reenactments shape and confirm belief in central Church teachings—the body as a site of discipline, in the Foucauldian sense. Drawing on fieldwork with British Catholics and Latter-day Saints, Hildi Mitchell and Jon Mitchell (2008) state that belief is produced *through* embodied, ritual practices. In the case of Latter-day Saints, they theorize, "coming to know" the truth of the Church is a process patterned on the bodily experience of temple ceremonies. They make note of how bodies are compared to temples and how entrance to temples is partially conditioned on worthiness standards related to bodies (i.e., abstention from alcohol and extramarital sex). They also note the impact of garments—including former members of the Church feeling naked without garments, since "such is the enduring hold of these embodied religious processes upon their subjectivity" (Mitchell and Mitchell 2008, 91).

Brooks, in turn, focuses less on how ritual instills belief and more on what happens when belief has been rejected—the ways in which "despite rejecting beliefs on a cognitive basis the effects of those beliefs can still linger in people's sense of embodied self" (2015, ii–iii). He quotes, for example, ex-Mormon women in Utah who feel that they "gave their bodies to the church" through pregnancies as young adults.

While most of this work focuses on how ritual affects bodies so as to produce belief, others have engaged with ritual in differing ways. Cannell (2007) argues that rather than producing unified belief, the lack of overt discussion about certain specifics of temple worship, and an emphasis on experiencing the Spirit in temples, has generated a space of "intellectual, spiritual, and emotional creativity" wherein diverse personal theological interpretations can grow (Cannell 2007, 129). In her consideration of garments, Colleen McDannell (1995) provides an exposition of the ways in which garment-wearing Church members "set boundaries between the sacred and the profane" and "imagine for themselves what garments are all about," experiencing "feelings which are varied and intense" (1995, 198–199). We welcome scholarship that, like Cannell's and McDannell's, emphasizes how sacred ceremonies and spaces can generate unique experiences that are not reducible solely to confirmation of claims regarding Church history.

Scholarship on Latter-day Saint bodily practices and symbolism is a hub of the emerging anthropology of Mormonism and contributes to broader questions of religious bodies. As noted by Cannell (2005), the tendency in Latter-day Saint theology to think of the spiritual in physical terms makes it productive for anthropologists' consideration of how the material world is regarded in Christianity. She argues that the Church challenges embedded assumptions many anthropologists tend to reproduce about world religions, and especially Christianity, as dualistic, transcendental, and anti-materialist (i.e., holding a view of the world as profane, thus requiring separation and transcendence). Cannell notes that the Latter-day Saints she interviewed in New York and Utah emphasized the earth eventually becoming reclaimed as part of the Celestial Kingdom and human activities—such as extended families—continuing in that Kingdom.

Despite a flowering of ethnographic work on Mormon bodies, several pathways of physicality remain underexplored. For example, within analytic terrain in which bodily dispositions are treated as isomorphic with belief, how are we to regard the diversity of ways in which individual Latter-day Saints

may experience their bodies due to age, race, neuroatypicality, disability, or other factors? A more general question, though, is about how we might broaden our understandings of the faith experience beyond how an institution instills belief via embodied rituals. For all its significance, the temple is a relatively infrequent part of most Latter-day Saints' lives given time and distance (even assuming they are all endowed temple-goers, which is not the case). As well, many Latter-day Saints, especially in locations beyond the United States, never visit one of the Church's historic sites but still experience faith in historic truth claims. We might examine more frequent embodied experiences, such as seemingly minor decisions about whether to wear colored clothes (for men) or pants (for women) to Church meetings in relation to gender ideologies. Or we could explore local understandings of the Word of Wisdom in relation to industrial foodways and shifting drug policies in various polities (Ferguson, Knoll, and Riess 2018). Other areas for exploration could include the partially embodied emotional labor of avoiding contention and expressing reverence, or the connections of ideas of "countenance" to spiritual status.

We could also, as ethnographers, more fully engage with the ways in which members of the various Latter Day Saint churches describe experiences with the Holy Spirit and how these do include, but are not exhausted by, the bodily aspects explored by many ethnographers thus far. Latter Day Saint theology generally holds that the Spirit is present in both the mind and in the heart (and manifests differently for different individuals). This is profitable ground from which to speak to broader conversations in anthropology about ontology and affect. Such work could profitably take inspiration from the close ethnographic attention psychological anthropologist Deborah Tannen (2012) paid to the psychological processes of "hearing God" among evangelical Christians, or Erin Stiles and Katryn Davis's (2019) work on encounters with disembodied spirits. Others have touched on these topics also; for example, Bennion's commentary on visions and personal revelation among polygamous women (Bennion 1998) or Howlett's discussion of interpretation of temple symbolism among the Community of Christ (Howlett 2010). We wonder if there is a way to bridge how scholars such as the Marshalls think of belief being generated by embodied discipline, with the complex and varied ways Latter-day Saints experience faith and testimony aside from sacred sites and ceremonies.

Gaining a more holistic ontology for understanding ritual and the body will inform other themes within the anthropology of Mormonism, such as how Latter-day Saints experience history.

Material Engagement with History

Related to the theme of ritual bodies are the material practices by which Latter-day Saints physically engage with Church history—a theme anthropologists have attended to primarily by examining re-enactments and historic/sacred sites, intersecting with work by other social scientists of Mormonism (Bell 2006; Laga 2010; Bennet 2007; Jackson and Henrie 2009; Hudman and Jackson 1992; Brown 2018). Hildi Mitchell, for example, looks at the way in which Latter-day Saints "participate actively in their theology and cosmology" by visiting historic sites (Mitchell 2004, 26). Her fieldwork with British Latter-day Saints visiting US historic sites such as Nauvoo frames the feelings indexed in LDS testimonies as "embodied and collective phenomena" (2004, 32). Like the Mitchells' collaborative work on temples, this work frames historic sites as producing belief through embodied experience. Elsewhere (2002), she argues that Latter-day Saints visit historic sites with a culturally shared model of what sacred experiences of the Holy Spirit are like, leading them to understand events on-site through this framework, generating "homogenous" interpretations. Somewhat in contrast, the authors of this article have been involved in research to explore the diversity of on-site experiences at historic sites in New York such as the Sacred Grove and Hill Cumorah.

Others have focused on historic reenactments, such as Trek, in which Church members wear period attire, pull handcarts, and recreate hardships experienced by early pioneers (Bielo 2017; Hartley-Moore 2020; Olsen and Hill 2018). James Bielo suggests that by helping to connect participants to ancestors, these activities help build testimonies. As Julie Hartley-Moore notes, "trek not only reenacts the tragedies, but also transforms them into an archetype of Mormon heritage and a model of faith, sacrifice, triumph, and religious identity" (2020, 119). The identity of the "Mormon pioneer" and the understanding of faith-as-preservation are cultivated through these embodied experiences—as is a shared cultural framework of sacrifice, perseverance, and hard work. Thus, much like the ritual bodies theme discussed above, this scholarship has tended to argue that bodily engagements with Church history can lead to a testimony of that history.

A potential drawback to this body of work is that it runs the risk of unintentionally oversimplifying the complex ways in which Church members experience sacred places as well as their own testimonies of history. Readers unfamiliar with the faith may come away thinking that faith in Church history

is primarily built at historic sites and temples, which would be an overly narrow understanding of Latter-day Saint doctrines about how faith is generated. Readers may not realize that even for those members who have access to such sites and experiences (which is by no means all), historical pilgrimages are typically relatively brief and intermittent portions of their lives. Much of Latter-day Saint meaning-making occurs in the more everyday lived experiences of members, such as scripture study and discussions at church where members report feeling the Spirit—another topic that could receive additional ethnographic study.

There could also be more sustained attention to the differences, as well as similarities, in Church members' understandings of temples, chapels, and historic sites—a question to which our authors are attending in recent research. Recently Dunstan has been engaging in research, for example, on how Church members experience and come to understand the Sacred Grove and Hill Cumorah, two of the earliest historic sites in the Latter Day Saint movement, in relation to holy places such as temples.

The other approach taken by anthropologists when studying historic sites is situated within literature that explores tourism as a sociocultural phenomenon. This approach focuses on the representation and management of historic sites (Hudman and Jackson 1992; Olsen and Timothy 2002; Olsen and Hill 2018; Olsen 2009). For example, Daniel Olsen and Brian Hill (2018) view the Mormon Trail historic site as "a memorial tool to promote Latter-day Saint religious identity" (242). Olsen takes a similar approach to his analysis of Temple Square as the "ideal for religious site management, where religious site managers have access to thousands of volunteers … experience no real monetary concerns, and are therefore free to manage their site in a manner consistent to their religious and ecclesiastical goals" (2009, 135). He notes that this is different from the challenges that many religious sites have, which often must balance an ecclesiastical mission and the preferences of secular visitors.

One approach that anthropological scholars have not yet taken with Latter Day Saint historical sites is an integration of the two approaches outlined here: exploring how site management (a fairly etic, or outsider, approach) affects individuals' experiences of sites (inherently emic). Anthropologists are uniquely positioned to enrich the growing literature around historical religious sites in this way. Drawing upon the tensions that Olsen (2009) commented on, anthropologists could also seek to understand the differences in experiences between Mormon and non-Mormon visitors, or for that matter

between members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and visitors and pilgrims from other groups within the Latter Day Saint movement, as in Howlett's work on the "dual pilgrimage" of Latter-day Saints and Community of Christ members at Kirtland (2014). As an increasingly globalized religion, it will also be important to understand both embodied and non-embodied experiences of non-American visitors to historical religious sites located in the US, and the shared cultural experiences/history they seek to reinforce.

Global Mormonism(s)

The internationalization of Mormonism—how the Latter Day Saint movement comes to manifest in specific places beyond its birthplace of the United States—is a field of study that has received some deal of attention from anthropologists, although it could benefit from further ethnographic fieldwork. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has always conceived itself as a globally proselytizing faith, and membership in the Church is now larger outside the United States than within (Petersen 2013). There has of course been extensive social science scholarship on global Mormonism, such as Hokulani Aikau's (2012) history of Hawai'ian/Latter-day Saint identity, among many others (e.g., Hanicles 2015; Hoyt 2019; Shepherd, Shepherd, and Cragun 2020). However, as noted by Taves (2014, 15), "I think there is much more that ethnographers could contribute. With the global spread of the LDS Church, I would love to see ethnographers looking at how Mormonism is translating across cultures, not just in terms of formal procedures but in actual practice."

Despite this potential, the majority of cultural anthropology on Latter-day Saints is still in the US. This may reflect, at least in part, the conceptualization of the faith as uniquely American, especially given its founding texts and eschatology of an American New Jerusalem. Yet this "American religion" is increasingly global in membership, resources, and leadership—with many Seventies, and two apostles, now from locations other than the United States, and the Church increasingly making moves seemingly aimed at greater international cohesion and less of an overt American focus (Dunstan 2020).

Some anthropologists, as such, have engaged the topic of internationalization, though typically in the form of cultural analysis rather than long-term ethnographic fieldwork in non-US locations. Sorenson (2000), for example, suggested that amid significant "boundaries of worldview and tongue," ritual had come to be a unifying language in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, although his conclusion is based largely on general analysis of Church doctrines and observations in a Utah ward.

Other anthropologists have looked at these issues specifically with European Latter-day Saints, and tensions with broader social milieus in their nations. Dutch Anthropologist Walter Van Beek (1996, 2005) considers the dynamics of defining a faith identity among Dutch Church members, although some of his work is less based on formal fieldwork than his own experience as a former bishop. Continuing the hierarchy/control analytic of other anthropologists, Van Beek adopts the framework of colonizer/colonized to describe the relationship between the Utah-based institution and its units in other nations. He remarks that "the fact that lesson materials are made in the Domestic Church, to be translated afterwards, indicates that information flows only one way: from the center to the satellite Church, and not vice versa" (2005, 20). Van Beek also characterizes the missionary wing of the global church as "replete with corporate Americanisms" (22).

Van Beek has also argued that despite the "official ideology [that] the Church is ... an institution that should direct the lives of its members," its comparative lack of infrastructure in European contexts, and deviance from salient norms, tends to make this an impossible task for members. These findings to some degree echo sociologist Ellen Decoo's earlier consideration of the cultural context of low activity rates among European Church members (1996). These studies tend to portray the Church's structure as centralized, stratified, and not well attuned to local conditions in Europe. However, both Decoo's and Van Beek's analyses are blends of history and personal experiences rather than ethnographic research *per se*. They are contributing to Mormon Studies audiences, but we find ourselves needing more ethnographic data for this type of work to speak to broader cultural anthropology—including what this looks like beyond Europe. A broader approach may shed light on other situations in which local context enriches, engages, or negotiates with, rather than solely resisting, centralized Church doctrines and policies.

Anthropologist David Knowlton, in this vein, has produced several works related to the Church in Latin America. For example, he provides cultural commentary related to statistical analysis of Church growth in Latin America (1996) and has enriched the subfield through ethnographic writing on Bolivian Mormonism (2007). He examines how Bolivian national unrest and anti-corruption in the early 2000s, as well as local factionalism and ethnic and labor politics, led to members of a ward he spent time in refusing to sustain local leadership (and in turn being rebuked). This is a fairly unexpected turn of events within the Church where (Knowlton notes) *en masse* refusals to sustain in ward conferences are uncommon (2007, 49). Yet it is made sensible

in light of Bolivian politics in that time period and how these had played out and were interpreted in this specific ward by these specific families. Knowlton's work evinces what anthropology might bring to the table in studies of global Mormonism—a fine-grained analysis attuned to local struggles of power and meaning. As he notes,

> Even though the Church hopes to give form and content to its authority structure, neither form nor content is very meaningful without local context to interpret it. In this sense Mormonism is deeply syncretic; its attempted global universalism of the gospel depends inevitably on local understandings and practices to function. But to fully understand this syncretism, we need many more studies from places around the globe where local Mormonisms are being born (2007, 66).

We strongly agree with Knowlton on this last point: there has simply not been enough done by cultural anthropologists on local Mormonisms. While anthropologists have raised the issue, they have often left these questions to scholars from other disciplinary heritages in the (now quite large) field of global Mormonism. While acknowledging (and very grateful for) the robustness of global Mormonism studies in history and sociology, we hope to see additional attention in cultural anthropology.

There has also been nuanced ethnography in recent years taking on transnational, migrant members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—such as Elizabeth Bingham Thomas and Carolyn Smith-Morris's recent (2020) ethnography, which found that the family-like relationships in wards and other religious communities both structured and created value orientations in the lives of Latinx immigrants in Utah. Sujey Vega's (2019) work on Latina immigrants to the United States, in turn, suggests pressures to assimilate to "American" culture for full acceptance by other Latter-day Saints in ward communities, especially in contexts where leadership is typically white. In such an environment, distinct Latinx wards/branches fostered greater comfort with cultural self-expression. Brittany Romanello (2020) has also documented Latina Latter-day Saint immigrants who are creating networks of *hermandad* (sisterhood) to help them resist racialized and sexualized discrimination, as well as cultural pressures to assimilate into predominantly white culture in the US. These works, in different ways, deploy Mormonism to understand the intersections of kinship, kinship-like communities, and migration. The intersections of the Church with migrations into the US has also been considered by Aihwa Ong, who writes about how some Cambodian migrants participated

in the Church in part to negotiate a path within US socio-economic dynamics and opportunities (2003).

Some of this work has also considered how the distinctively American idea of plains-crossing pioneers has come to be reconfigured for both global and migrant audiences: for example, in July 24th Pioneer Day celebrations. Eric Eliason (2002, 167) contends that "unlike Mormon theology … Pioneer Day celebrations, as an aspect of Mormon folk culture, are free to adapt and respond to local conditions." As with Pioneer Day, the ideal of the "pioneer" itself has spread beyond solely a focus on Anglo-American history. Vega (2019) shares an experience during her fieldwork, where a Young Women's teacher in a Latinx ward remarked: "Irma, do you know the names of your *abuelos*? … That is your lineage, your history. Be proud of who you are and where you came from for you are the pioneers whose stories must be kept" (27). Vega captures a process of re-shaping immigration narratives into that of pioneers, taking a lived reality for some groups and representing it within the shared cultural historical model of the larger faith. In this, the Young Women embody pioneers through their immigrant families.

The field could benefit from more ethnography on internationalization of the faith. The still relatively small number of cultural anthropologists engaging it is a rather glaring omission. The disproportionate number of ethnographies done in North America may place undue emphasis on those areas close to Salt Lake City as the Church's center of gravity—precisely when anthropology may be most useful in exploring those communities far from it.

Gender and Kinship

Perhaps it is unsurprising, given the tendency of anthropology to study and explain cultural difference, that some of the earliest anthropological research on gender in the Latter Day Saint movement focused on fundamentalist, polygamous groups distinct from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, such as the Latter-day Church of Christ and the Apostolic United Brethren. Janet Bennion, through her work with fundamentalist groups, pioneered the study of gender within the anthropology of Mormonism. Her work characterized female networking in these communities as a way to promote female solidarity and create power through group-based support. Reminiscent of the hierarchy theme mentioned above, Bennion contextualizes these networks within a male-dominated society where patriarchy controls production, reproduction, finances, and spiritual salvation (Bennion 2004). The female net-

works that arise within this context provide women a means of negotiating these power dynamics to improve their situation and their community (Bennion 1998, 2004, 2008, 2011).

More recently we have seen the growth of anthropology looking at gender within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This work often expands upon, but also complicates, the understanding of gender negotiation within the Church outlined by sociologists such as John Mihelich and Debbie Storrs. They argued (2003) based on survey data with female college students in Utah that LDS women conceptualized their decisions to pursue higher education as supporting rather than contradicting the roles of women within LDS gender ideology. This, the authors said, represented an "embedded resistance" against dominant gender norms in Utah. Stiles (2014) illustrates the pressures on both Latter-day Saint women and other women living in northern Utah to marry young. As Stiles explains: "Many seemed to use a frame of pressure to draw a boundary between their own values and dominant norms and values that they viewed as problematic" (2014, 11). These pressures seemed to primarily come from the participants' families, but the women expressed concerns that the "Utah Mormon Culture" would similarly influence their daughters' decisions regarding marriage. Through this work Stiles demonstrates both pressure and control from the dominant cultural framework, but also an "us versus them" (Latter-day Saint and non-LDS) feeling of oppositional values that has been demonstrated through other anthropological research in the same geographic area (Hawvermale and George 2015; Hawvermale and Tauber 2016; Glass-Coffin 2016).

This friction between Latter-day Saints' culture and "non-LDS culture" in northern Utah, particularly in regard to gender roles, has been well documented (Temple et al. 2015; Dengah et al. 2016, 2019). Comparing and contrasting Latter-day Saints' salient understandings of gender roles (and their performance) to those of more general "American" gender roles, Henri Dengah and his team conclude, Latter-day Saint women living in northern Utah experience conflicting gender models—much like those reported by both Stiles (2014) and Mihelich and Storrs (2003). Because of the prevalence of both models, we (Hawvermale and co-authors) argued that Latter-day Saint women must navigate what it means to be "female" between these two sets of norms. Rejection or non-conformity to parts of either gender role, but particularly the dominant Latter-day Saint role, can lead to social correction resulting in stress and discomfort (Dengah et al. 2019). Although the core of this initial research

is cultural consensus theory, their later work situates gender within a broader dialogue of control and hierarchy within Latter-day Saint cultural expressions in that region.

Although much of this gender research is situated within the discussion of institutional control we mention earlier in this essay, this research also begins to consider the negotiation of "everyday life" for Latter-day Saints—a focus that has been profitable in regard to gender. It is not surprising that gender would be a bridging point within the anthropology of Mormonism between the themes of institutional control and lived experiences. Not only does gender involve performance on a daily level, it is theologically important to the plan of salvation as understood in the Church (Dengah, Hawvermale, and Temple 2015; Dengah et al. 2016, 2019; Winward 2017). Critical to this model of gender and identity is the role of parenting—of motherhood in particular, which is arguably central to Latter-day Saint female gender role conceptualizations. Within Latter-day Saint discourses, women are often presented as predisposed toward motherhood and nurturing. The performance of motherhood as an aspect of female gender plays a critical role in the extensive theology of families/kinship.

Latter-day Saint understandings of family have been studied extensively by social scientists and theologians (Bentley 2019; Heaton, Goodman, and Holman 1994; Black 2014, 2016; Davies 2000). This in part reflects the importance of family theologically (as well as socially) for Latter-day Saints. However, anthropologists have generally not been present in such discussions to the degree one might expect given their historic interest in kinship. A major exception to this, however, is the aforementioned Fenella Cannell, who (in addition to Bennion) has been most formative in developing this theme within the anthropology of Mormonism.

Cannell (2005) points out that because extended and embodied kinship ties are fundamental to the teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints about the afterlife, their kinship system sets them apart from the way anthropologists have traditionally assumed other Christian groups to be. (Many anthropologists have explained Christian salvation as having an individualist tendency—although there are exceptions [Robbins 2003].) A more overt focus on eternal families in Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints cosmology makes the theological significance of families harder to ignore—with exaltation being a collective and kinship-oriented affair (Cannell 2017c, 2019). Furthermore, Cannell notes, kinship within Latter-day Saint commu-

nities extends beyond blood and law symbolism, encompassing also (as an example) temple sealings to adopted children who are considered to have been foreordained to be kin. Cannell has also highlighted the complex and salvific significance of genealogy (2013b) and the vivid emotions and spiritual experiences attached to it (2005, 2019). Latter-day Saint kinship emerges in Cannell's work as a sacred, lived practice (2013b). This ethnographic work on kinship complements the work of other scholars on Latter-day Saint kinship, such as Terryl Givens's theological writings on divine kinship and kinship-oriented salvation (2017) or Mauss's work on the broadening of ideas of race and (covenant) lineages in the twentieth century (2003).

Given the importance of gender and kinship to Mormon theology, the work anthropologists have done thus far is both foundational and critical. However, most of that work is generally confined to heteronormative expressions of gender. One reason for this could be the Church's stance(s) on gender, gender expression, and sexuality. However, we have exceptions. Bennion (2011) explores queerness within fundamentalist communities—and specifically how being surrounded with women but also in a community with rigid gender norms both facilitates lesbian relationships while also precluding their open expression. Winward's recent thesis (2017) in turn explores how young (18- to 26-year-old) Latter-day Saints craft unique interpretations of Church policies regarding same-sex marriage, coming to accept these policies while offering divergent interpretations of their reasons or even whether these are core doctrines. Winward argues that ultimately, and contrary to some expectations, young adults' explanations show individuals engaging in both "reasoning and rationality" rather than solely deference to religious authority figures. Both examples suggest that there could be more anthropological exploration of LGBTQ+ issues within the Latter Day Saint movement. Individuals whose personal beliefs, values, or lived experiences differ significantly from the cultural model, so to speak, must negotiate meaning-making and interpretation of doctrine (Winward 2017). Greater attention could also be afforded to those who do *not* feel a need to resist or balance gender norms and who feel comfortable in present teachings about gender, exploring how and why this may vary for individuals in different spaces, times, and cultural contexts.

Disbelief and Heterodoxy

The individualized experience of meaning vis-à-vis the broader faith tradition has also begun to emerge in work specifically on Latter-day Saints who have

left their religion, sometimes identifying as "ex-Mormon." It has also been a theme in research with Latter-day Saints who remain in the faith, but in heterodox ways, such as Mormon transhumanism.

E. Marshall Brooks has written (2015, 2018) about a very specific group—ex-Mormons in Utah who do not join another church but instead become religiously unaffiliated. Brooks shares a variety of personal narratives from these formerly Latter-day Saint individuals about their diverse feelings since departing from the religion. Brooks highlights, for example, the complexity of married sexuality in the wake of having left the Church, or unintentionally feeling the sensations they once associated with the Spirit years later, among those individuals he interviewed. He characterizes the process as an ontological void, "disenchanted lives." As Brooks notes, many see their faith crisis as having been precipitated not by spiritual laxness but sincere studies of church history which went in unexpected directions—products of historical "excesses" left over from the centuries-long process of Church assimilation. Given the complexity of Brooks's portrayal of largely non-religious ex-Mormons in Utah, we find ourselves hoping for ethnographers who can present similarly vivid portrayals of those who are active and believing members of the Church, as well as of other Mormon traditions. Where is the E. Marshall Brooks for active Latter-day Saints who strongly identify with their faith—who can document the complexities of belief with the nuance Brooks does for disbelief? We are grateful then for work by the likes of Cannell, Stiles, McDannell, and Dengah et al., who engage with the experiences and negotiations of "active"—but certainly not homogenous—individuals. There is room for work that grapples with the individual in context of a structure, and specifically that recognizes that Church structure is neither monolithic nor pre-existent, but an assemblage in which diverse adherents contribute, interpret, and make meaning in rich and complicated ways. We are starting to see some of this work emerge in the past decade.

Bialecki (2020b, 2020c), for example, gives complex accounts of the ways in which some Latter-day Saint transhumanists continue to be able to stay actively identified with the faith by casting their faith in transhumanist terms. Doctrines about divine beings are reinterpreted through the transhumanist lens of futuristic predictions of human technological progress. For example, these transhumanists have often shifted from understanding God as an eternally existing divine Being toward an understanding of the divine, as well as theosis, as future-tense technological projects of a collective humanity.

This interpretation may be seen as quite heterodox from the perspective of the Church's doctrines, yet many maintain their Latter-day Saint identity—a far cry from the homogenous belief or experience some scholars have suggested for Latter-day Saints.

Several previously cited works also emphasize this heterogeneity of views, perhaps in less dramatic fashion. Winward (2017) highlights diverse interpretations of LGBTQ-related policies. Cannell (2017), meanwhile, suggests that the temple ceremonies that other scholars see as inducing collective, homogenous experience, in fact generate creative space for unique interpretations. Stiles (2014), in turn, discusses the complexity of individual experiences in Cache Valley, Utah, paying attention to nuances of degree of activity, something not all ethnographers have attended to. The categories of "fully active Church member" and "ex-Mormon" are not the only two forms of Latter-day Saint religiosity.

In short, we are starting to see an emergence of scholars who recognize that there is not one Mormonism, but many, experienced by different people in different ways. In part this diversity is based on positionality, but it also arises from the individuality of experience in a faith tradition that prioritizes and emphasizes individual spiritual experiences. We see this as a promising and necessary move forward if the anthropology of Mormonism is to fully engage with what the Latter Day Saint movement is—and how it might contribute to anthropology. If scholars can engage such heterogeneity, it may help carve a space for grappling with complex questions of how individuals experience epistemologies, commitment, and lived faith within centralized, allegedly domineering religions, and not solely the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Conclusions: Press Forward, (Anthropologists of Latter Day) Saints

The anthropology of Mormonism, as we have seen, not only is already emerging, but has developed several centers of gravity. These include hierarchy, authority, and control, the discipline and symbolism of bodies, and re-enactments of history in a faith where it is often said that "history is theology." Other areas of focus include the complexities of internationalization for a centralized "American church"; experiences of gender and kinship as a spiritual concept and practice; and the complexities of heterodoxy and disaffiliation. Each of these demonstrates a warrant for the cultural anthropology of Mormonism—a set of key themes in relation to broader issues in anthropology, as well as Mormon social sciences.

At the same time, there is room for further growth, including in the consideration of the lived experiences of individual Mormons in their diverse spaces. This is a focus that ethnographers seem poised to answer. However, a large portion of the work done thus far in the cultural anthropology of Mormonism has instead heavily emphasized centralized hierarchy through a lens of control: sometimes resisted, but usually incorporated. The Latter-day Saint body is often presented as how the Church institution inscribes itself onto bodies through ritual and symbolism. Historic sites and reenactments are depicted as places used to confirm the Church's official narratives. And Church leadership is portrayed as attempting to maintain local hierarchical control amid diversity across the globe. Meanwhile, some gender scholarship characterizes womanhood ideas as monolithically controlled.

This focus on hierarchy has highlighted certain aspects of lived Mormonism. However, at times one wonders in such work: as anthropologists, could we better see the individual Mormons involved in Mormonism? While of course anthropology looks at broader sociocultural trends and discourses, we are also very much concerned with individual agency—and especially our early anthropology of Mormonism did not always offer the compelling ethnographies of individual complexity that anthropology can in theory provide.

Some of the ethnography of the past decade, however, has begun to engage such complexity, and very profitably so. We see this, for example, with work on gender and the lived experience of "finding a balance" within gender roles and dealing with the "pressure" of culture in a variety of ways. We see this in recent work on transhumanists and ex-Mormons. We need to see this more elsewhere. We hope this journal presents a space for cultural anthropologists of Mormonism to envision themselves as a subfield, with all the thoughtful questioning and theorizing that requires.

We believe that shifting focus to include more of the individuals' meaning-making—while not losing sight of hierarchy and authority—will yield important insights. For example, while much of the present work on historic sites has focused on how they structure understanding of historic narratives, what else are we missing about Latter-day Saint experiences of holy and historic places? In what ways might attending to individual experiences of visitors complicate how we think about historic places, and especially Christian holy places? The somewhat unique emphasis of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on sacred natural sites (such as the Hill Cumorah) and ritualized temples presents rich ground for complicating understandings of Christian (sacred) place-making.

We are suggesting, in other words, along with some other recent ethnographers, that there is a great deal more going on here, anthropologically speaking, than discipline, control, and (maybe) resistance. In writing a story of a people (literally what ethnography is), we have more to say about how meaning is made in a faith predicated so much on individual spiritual witnesses and voluntary, lay labor. This then becomes an additional warrant for us as a field pressing forward: to fully consider the Mormon in Mormonism.

We also think there are other areas rich with possibility for anthropology, topics that have only scarcely been touched upon, if at all. One of these is sacred ecology. The authors have recently been engaged in a review of research on Latter-day Saint conceptualizations of ecology. Much of the social science literature on Latter-day Saint environmental thought works on this through a theological/scriptural lens, or through broad-scale surveying in Utah. Attending to Mormonism's natural sacred sites such as the Sacred Grove or Adam-ondi-Ahman offers a lens to consider the spiritual ecology (Sponsel 2007) of a Christian tradition that believes in theophanic places, animals with spirits, and that the world will ultimately be re-Celestialized—departures from some other Christian groups. There is also work to be done on lived experiences of the Holy Spirit in daily contexts such as testimony meetings, church services, and home study—as opposed to work on temples and historic sites where most Latter-day Saints only spend a small portion of their religious lives. Anthropologists might consider the various ways in which believers attend to the thoughts and feelings within their individual minds—and how this may yield insight for ontological conversations within anthropology.

There is clearly work to be done in considering what the Latter Day Saint movement looks like in other places and other times, diverse and culturally situated. This is a challenge that the cultural anthropology of Mormonism, thus far nascent, seems poised to answer, and clearly show (at last) its own warrant as a field.

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Pulling toward Zion: Mormonism in Its Global Dimensions

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This keynote address was delivered on October 25, 2019 at the annual conference of the Mormon Social Science Association, held in St. Louis in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. The Vernon Lecture is the MSSA's biennial keynote in memory of Glenn M. Vernon, a sociologist at the University of Utah and founder of the MSSA.

How global is the Mormon tradition? And, as a corollary question, we might ask, "How American is Mormonism? Clearly, one way to answer these questions is historical: from what ideas and communities did the tradition first emerge? But there are other possible ways to characterize it. We might discuss whether a religion has an unchanging essence, and if so, to what is it attached? Is it theology? Is it demography? Is it architecture, sacraments, or literature? And ultimately, does it matter what we call it? This morning I will invite us to discuss the multiple ways that we can discuss its global dimensions by focusing on the notion of Zion—first, as it was developed in relationship to a developing American nation, and second, as it has been figured in other parts of the world. I'll be drawing on an extended example from New Zealand, a site in which the ideal of Zion has taken significantly different turns.

Let's start with Mormonism's relationship to American national identity. Born in the religious ferment of the early national period, Mormons have never aligned themselves with the U.S. state-building project or the federal government in quite the same way that other religious groups have. We've seen this in recent years played out in polling data and media spectacle: Mormons, for example, are staunchly Republican in many respects but also pro-immigration and occasionally environmentalists; Mitt Romney, in his earlier life as the

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governor of Massachusetts, advocated comprehensive healthcare. The fierce anti-federalism of Ammon Bundy and his fellow protesters also has origins in a distinctive set of memories, experiences, and valuations of personhood and land rooted in Mormon worldviews.

In its early decades, the Church was accused by detractors of being anti-democratic, heretical, and un-American. Throughout the nineteenth century, as the church waged its battle against the U.S. government over the practice of plural marriage, Mormons were likened to Muslims, despots, slaveholders, or Roman Catholics—in other words, they were figured as manifesting the antithesis of "American" values. For their part, church members castigated other Americans for their sinfulness and celebrated their own "peculiarity" as a virtuous mark of Christian resistance.

Yet they were also loyal to America—in a distinctive way. In August 1877 Wilford Woodruff (later to be named church president) was visited by the spirits of the dead. He wrote in his journal that over the course of two nights, the signers of the Declaration of Independence and fifty other "eminent men" questioned him about why he had not yet performed baptisms for them in the new St. George temple, where Woodruff presided. Months earlier Brigham Young, prophet and leader of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, assigned Woodruff to administer a new series of ordinances on behalf of the dead, including baptisms, sealings, plural marriages, and adoptions—all with the intention of allowing deceased persons who had not experienced the blessings of the Mormon restoration in this lifetime to be united with loved ones and choose salvation in the life to come. So, Woodruff got busy. Over the following week, he and his colleagues performed the necessary rites for the founding fathers, John Wesley, Christopher Columbus, and a number of U.S. presidents. Woodruff recalled this sacred series of events at an LDS General Conference meeting in 1898: "Those men who laid the foundation of this American government and signed the Declaration of Independence were the best spirits the God of heaven could find on the face of the earth. They were choice spirits, not wicked men. General Washington and all the men that labored for the purpose were inspired of the Lord."

An outsider might well have wondered at the timing of this set of events, coming as they did in the midst of escalating battles between the U.S. government and the Mormons over the practice of plural marriage. Yet it suggests the complicated relationship that this religious movement held to the nation that the Mormons had once fled but which had pursued and incorporated

them. Framed by an understanding of history, scripture, and geography that embraced American chosenness but rejected dominant Protestant iterations, the Mormon assent to national identity rubbed up against emerging political and social patterns at many junctures. Nineteenth-century Mormons were nationalists in defiance of the federal government, and patriots whose religious beliefs placed them at odds with other conceptions of national unity and purpose. They represented, in this sense, an alternative nationalism, one that was eventually forced into practical compliance but that has never completely released its hold on Mormon communal sensibilities.

From the beginnings of the movement, Mormon ideas about the sacrality of the American landscape, the chosen role of Native Americans in divine history, and the future promise for the building up of the holy city of Zion on the American continent figured largely in Latter-day Saint consciousness. Although the Book of Mormon itself contained no direct reference to "America," the early Saints commonly interpreted the narrative as referring to the arrival of Israelites in the New World. Joseph Smith later received a revelation placing the Garden of Eden in western Missouri, and another that located the rebuilt temple in nearby Jackson County. Moreover, despite the persecution encountered by Mormons in these regions, Smith and other church leaders continued to pledge loyalty to the legitimacy of the U.S. government and tied an understanding of providence to its founding. In an 1833 revelation, Smith addressed the violence taking place in Clay County, Missouri, with a call for his followers to petition for redress. Speaking for God, he declared that "for this purpose have I established the Constitution of this land, by the hands of wise men whom I raised up unto this very purpose, and redeemed the land by the shedding of blood" (D&C 101:80). Sarah Gordon observes that Smith was intimately involved with the U.S. legal system, becoming enmeshed in over 200 lawsuits in his lifetime, presiding over courts and local government in Nauvoo, Illinois, and even running for the presidency of the United States himself when he determined that it might be the only way to obtain a hearing for Mormon grievances (Gordon, 2002).

That reverence for the nation, and the Mormon willingness to make full use of governmental processes, was never divorced from a keen awareness of America's national inadequacies and acknowledgment of the federal failure to protect a minority religious community. Theological critiques peppered the missionary rhetoric of the Saints for decades, as they traveled to far-flung places excoriating the moral failings of "Babylon," their term for other Christian groups that often slid into condemnation of all other Americans.

Mormon loyalty to the nation was also further complicated by a communal ideal of Zion, a term deployed consistently by church leaders and lay members alike. Zion had and has many meanings within the LDS community. In April 1829, Joseph Smith, Jr., and his colleague Oliver Cowdery received a revelation that was later codified as Section 6 of the Doctrine and Covenants, one of four canonical LDS scriptures: "behold, I say unto you, keep my commandments, and seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion." In subsequent decades, the notion of "bringing forth and establishing" Zion preoccupied the Saints as they were forced westward. That elastic concept bore many meanings over time and in different ways: Zion sometimes referred to a collective, utopian ideal; sometimes to a unified people. It also denoted a geographic site, first in Missouri, then in Utah. And the Saints took the idea of "building Zion" as more than metaphor: it was also, as we shall see, a fully material construction zone. But Zion was—and is—also a metaphor, signifying a large tent with many dispersed stakes. Most recently, perhaps, it has denoted an internalized orientation to individual and communal striving. All of these images were and still are used to characterize the concept at the heart of Mormon fidelity.

These dreams of Zion alongside an oblique loyalty to the U.S. government have issued in a complex and sometimes contradictory set of political entanglements. Smith's successor Brigham Young vigorously pursued the possibility of establishing a separate nation, the state of Deseret, throughout his lifetime, because of his belief that the United States had corrupted the intentions of its founders and would be overthrown. Parley Pratt, perhaps the first systematizer of Mormon thought, articulated the distinctive set of loyalties and values that characterized Mormon nationalism in a Fourth of July address in 1853. After valorizing the founding fathers and the Constitution, he parsed the difference between governmental principles and their (imperfect) execution: "If that Constitution be carried out by a just and wise administration, it is calculated to benefit not only all the people that are born under its particular jurisdiction, but all the people of the earth" (Pratt, 1853).

As one of the first Mormons to break the news publicly about the doctrine of plural marriage, Pratt felt with full force the power of the state to act "unwisely." He had been imprisoned in 1838, along with other church leaders, after Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs issued an extermination order on the Mormons, a move that clearly contradicted LDS understandings of the First Amendment. Yet his Fourth of July speech also advocated territorial expansion in the name of the nation. He spoke admirably of the mineral and agricultural

resources of Spanish America, noting that neighboring countries were "comparatively unoccupied" and, further, that they were in thrall to "priestcraft." Like his Protestant compatriots, Pratt boasted of American railroads, industries, schools, steam, and liberty of the press. He even predicted that eventually the rest of the world would be overwhelmed and would "bow to the superior greatness" of this country.

This stance of defiant and proud American disloyalty changed quickly after 1890, when the LDS Church publicly declared that it had renounced polygamy (a promise that was not fulfilled until after 1907). Almost immediately thereafter, Mormons began an aggressive effort to assimilate, and to claim the status of American patriots. Many writers—both inside and outside the Church—have characterized this transition as a relatively straightforward movement from isolation to accommodation, from a Mormon community able to set its own religious, political, and economic course to a group that had to learn to negotiate in American society as just one more religious denomination. And its most visible by-product, the eventual cessation of polygamy by members of the LDS Church, certainly reinforces the idea that Mormons were becoming one among many American churches. In exchange, leaders thereafter emphasized individual moral practices: tithing, and the keeping of health codes (no tobacco, no alcohol) became the new markers of "Mormonness." In other words, Mormons exchanged a communal code for a personal ascetic code.

This story is true only in a very narrow sense, and only if one focuses exclusively on the primacy of personal choice and individual agency that have become hallmarks of Mormon teachings. It conveys the impression that ordinary Mormons, encouraged by their leadership, simply decided to start observing new behaviors to mark themselves as distinctive. In this way, they could still be different from other Americans, but different in a way that was similar to the ways that other religious groups expressed their difference: through food, dress, and individual giving of resources.

This focus on individual piety and practice obscures the politics and institutional dimensions of this transition. It shortchanges the extent to which Mormon citizenship came with particular promises and perils for those outside the church as well as those inside. It also obscures the enduring significance of Zion as ideal and lived reality. Instead, it is more clarifying to see the Mormon entry into American public life in the twentieth century as a carefully orchestrated dance, a performance figured as an intricate set of actions

and reactions, with each side constantly shifting its movements to consider the other's latest gesture. Even this metaphor doesn't precisely capture the negotiations taking place, since Mormons were dancing with multiple partners simultaneously, appealing in varying degrees to liberal religious reformers, the media, educators, and even evangelicals. Mormonism as a collective religious expression may have resolved one major issue by obeying the laws of the land. But individual church members, and the LDS Church as an institution, still had to figure out how to become part of the body politic, how to function simultaneously as Mormons and as American citizens.

The ideal of Zion has emerged even more forcefully, and also more problematically, in international contexts in the twentieth century, as the LDS Church has spread its influence and its message abroad. It is not simply an American church; it is also a universal religious movement with ambitions to disseminate the gospel throughout the world. After 1945, the Church increasingly reached out internationally to evangelize among non-European "others," including Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and, in the late twentieth century, Africans and African Americans. In doing so the LDS Church has moved away from the principle of "gathering Zion" in a geographic site, and toward the notion of planting stakes of the "tent of Zion." This metaphor, taken from Isaiah 54:2, focuses on enlarging and strengthening the entire tent (understood to be the whole earth), rather than concentrating sacred power in one place. The recent small temple building project of the church has prompted (as of 2019) the construction of over 160 temples worldwide, so that members not living close to Utah can participate more easily in the blessings of temple ordinances. The Church now sends out 65,000 missionaries a year who are trained in fifteen missionary training centers, serve in 407 mission stations, and distribute church materials in 188 languages (including the recently released LDS edition of the Spanish Bible). LDS leaders currently claim over sixteen million members, of which 9.3 million live in North America; 4 million in South America; 494,000 in Europe; 620,000 in Africa; 1.2 million in Asia; and 562,000 in Oceania (Newsroom, 2019).

Incorporating an increasingly international membership into what has come to be seen by many as the quintessential American religious tradition is not an easy feat, especially when the leadership of the church is overwhelmingly Euro-American. In my remaining time I want to focus attention on one case study that illustrates the particular issues of affiliation that have arisen outside the U.S., but which are also intimately related to American Mormon conceptions of purpose and loyalty.

Ra Puriri is a fifth-generation member of the LDS Church in New Zealand. Like many other Maori in that country, his family joined the church after the arrival of Mormon missionaries in the 1880s. The Saints, of course, were not the first pakeha (the term often used for non-Maori or "white" New Zealanders) to set their sights on the island: British imperial agents, merchants, and Christian missionaries of all sorts had established a substantial presence by 1840, when the islands were officially incorporated into the British Empire under the Treaty of Waitangi. But wars between settlers and indigenous inhabitants in the 1860s and 1870s had soured the Maori toward the promises of their colonizers. Maori Anglican converts, in particular, felt abandoned by missionaries and swindled by land confiscations, a sentiment summed up in a frequently repeated refrain: "You taught us to look up to heaven and stole the land from under our feet" (Lineham, 2006). The arrival of Mormon missionaries who were independent of the British state apparatus and, in some respects, quite critical of their own oppression under the United States government, was greeted by many Maori as a renewal of a purer Christian piety. It is estimated that, in the face of these political upheavals, perhaps 80% to 90% of the Maori (including some native Anglican clergy) joined the LDS Church (Lineham, 2006). The movement offered, through conversion, both a spiritual and a cultural salvation in the face of certain cultural extinction.

For Ra Puriri and his kin, their identity as Saints became inextricably connected to their endurance as an *iwi* (the Maori word most often translated as nation or tribe). The Mormon focus on membership of Pacific peoples in the House of Israel, a concept introduced by the Anglicans, was further elaborated in LDS cosmology. Early church prophets and interpreters figured contemporary human beings as descendants of these biblical (and Book of Mormon) peoples and reasoned that different groups would have different roles to play in the unfolding of sacred history. That logic—of mapping scripturally based differences onto contemporary cultural and racial variation—endured through the 1960s and was especially salient for indigenous new world inhabitants or "Lamanites." By the mid-twentieth century, the term Lamanites was used frequently to refer not just to indigenous North Americans, but also to Pacific Islanders and South Americans. All were presumed to be (potential) members of the chosen class of people to whom the Book of Mormon was directed. As one Maori church member recalls, "The fact that Mormonism saw my ancestry and weaved it into its theology offered me a sense of place and even confidence that no one else could."

The notion of Zion also entered the *iwi* as a construction site. In the late 1940s, the Church decided to build a school, the Church College of New Zealand or CCNZ, for Maori Mormons because they were still, by and large, excluded from the British public educational system. Puriri's family, along with hundreds of other church members (and some non-affiliated Maori), volunteered as "labour missionaries" to undertake construction of the college and the temple that soon rose outside of Hamilton, in an area that subsequently came to be known as Temple View. One of his grandfathers worked in the factory that made the cinderblocks used to build the college. Puriri's father worked on the plumbing crew, and his mother in the construction office. Uncles and cousins worked as electricians, carpenters, and block layers. Church-owned housing around the temple further added to the sustenance of the Mormon Maori community, linking the Zion of the *iwi* to the sacred site of the temple grounds. Meshweyla Macdonald, a graduate of CCNZ, also recounted her grandfather's work as a labour missionary: "He was not a member of the church but believed in the vision of building something significant that was specifically targeted toward growing and developing Maori youth and he wanted to contribute. He went on to join the church and send all but two of his children to Church College. My father met my mother at Church College" (Dark, 2017). Temple View currently is home to approximately 1200 residents, including a large number of multi-generational inhabitants.

Even as this new stake of Zion was taking shape, political events back in the U.S. were shifting religious priorities within the LDS hierarchy. By the mid-twentieth century, Mormons had been accepted in the corridors of power as consummate insiders. The Mormon Tabernacle Choir was dubbed by American presidents as "America's Choir," and the patriotic narrative of westering migrants had been cemented in the popular imagination as a consummate American tale. Communal history was measured in handcarts, prairie skirts, and a determined self-sufficiency. Even today, visitors to the Church History Museum in Salt Lake City are treated to an abundance of artifacts of those nineteenth-century pioneering beginnings. Moreover, believers understand the American West, originally designated as the theocratic state of Deseret, as a sacred space, the place in which Zion would be built. For decades after the founding of the church, leaders encouraged members scattered abroad to gather with the Saints in Zion in order to build the kingdom of God. That early church body was predominantly Anglo-American in origin, sharing commonalities of language, dress, and religious practice nurtured through

the 1870s by a steady migration of Europeans to the Wasatch Range. Perhaps nothing cemented the new "all-American" image of the church as did the appointment of the resolutely anti-Communist church leader Ezra Taft Benson as President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture in 1948.

As affiliations in the U.S. shifted, so, too, did efforts by church leaders to standardize the Mormon image abroad and upgrade areas surrounding temple grounds, including those in New Zealand. Similar struggles to "gentrify" areas around temples have also affected Laie, Hawaii; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and even Ogden, Utah, in recent years. The rationale from the church hierarchy is that the approach to these sites is also sacred ground and should be cleared of undesirable sights—and people. The modest Maori settlement surrounding the New Zealand temple did not fit their image of an appropriately worshipful space—and the college was, by the 1970s, bleeding money. Thus, when church officials in Salt Lake City, faced with a changing economic and political climate, began to speak of shutting down the CCNZ and razing the buildings, they were met with the wrath of the Mormon *iwi*, including that of Ra Puriri. Puriri and other alumni and local residents in Temple View were distressed by the rationale offered by American church leaders that the workmanship of the original buildings was "shoddy" and could not be rehabilitated. Deeply offended by what they took as an insult to their family members, Puriri and others have been on a mission to save the church college buildings and block the planned eviction of families from church-owned structures. Although the CCNZ closed down in 2009, the past decade has witnessed ongoing debate over the future of the site.

More than simply a real estate battle—or, more accurately, in addition to its significance as a real estate battle, since the materiality of the Zion ideal cannot be discounted[1]—the conflict over CCNZ is a lesson in the meaning of loyalty to Zion in a church no longer defined exclusively by U.S. national ideals. On his website devoted to criticism of the planned redevelopment, Ra Puriri declares an alternative set of affiliations. He is still a church member, and considers himself a sympathetic, insider critic, but his condemnation juxtaposes church bureaucracy and its associated American mores to another set of ideals. In fall 2015, Puriri traveled from New Zealand to Utah to voice

[1] There is much more to be said here about the economics of the church. Ra Puriri is quite critical of church finances and the uses of tithing. As Gina Colvin has also pointed out, the fact that the prophet and president of the church is both an ecclesiastical leader and the president of a corporation means that spiritual and financial roles are easily conflated. What kind of authority is being invoked in any given situation? A corporate or a prophetic role? (Colvin, 2014).

his dissent in the LDS General Conference to the transformation of Temple View. In Meshweyla Macdonald's words, the proposed development looked like nothing more than "a modern suburb in Utah" (Dark 2017). Puriri notes that the volunteer labor of his family members was mobilized by a school motto that enjoined workers to "Build for Eternity," and the sad irony is not lost on him. He now connects his battle not just to a purer, less corporate and de-Americanized Mormonism, but to his own nationalist ideals. "The request to demolish these historic structures is far more than simply granting permission to remove brick walls, windows, roofs and other materials from the site. These materials are a metaphor for ideals and principles that underpin the very democracy that is New Zealand," he explains on his website. He concludes his exposition with the first stanza of one of the two national anthems of New Zealand: "God of nations at thy feet in the bonds of love we meet, here our voices we entreat God defend our free land." In short order, the cause of Zion has thereby been linked to New Zealand national ideals.

The anthropologist Ann Stoler has noted that "colonialism" is a term that is often used quite carelessly; it tends to frame all cultural interactions in terms of their relation to state power (Stoler 1997). But it obscures the fact that religious enterprises sometimes distinguished themselves quite consciously from national power. The Mormon case is even more entangled: early Mormons did both. They valorized America but held fast to their own notion of a theocratic Zion, one that existed in multiple registers. As the movement spread abroad, and as the relationship of the LDS Church to the U.S. government shifted dramatically, ideals of Zion multiplied, creating new political and spiritual possibilities. For Mormon leaders, the sanctification of the area around Temple View is seen as a way to preserve sacred space, to provide the blessings of Zion to Mormons in New Zealand. The corporate developers of Temple View describe their goal to "protect the sanctity and environment of the Hamilton New Zealand temple and to re-purpose the previous school property in a way that complements and enhances the long-term family life and the economic vitality of the Temple View community." (Newsroom Blog, 2013). Maori Mormon dissenters might agree with this statement, but would frame their loyalties in terms of memory, identity, and *iwi*. One Maori member articulates it this way:

> What is the most important thing in
> this world?
> I say to you,

it is People.
it is People.
it is People (Parker, 2010).

At the same time, one encounters the loyalties of Maori Mormons such as Rangi Parker, a woman now in her seventies who has worked with the Church to build the Pacifika collections in the newly established Pacific Church History Museum—a building that occupies some of the real estate once taken up by the CCNZ. She too, grew up in Temple View and values what it has provided to the Maori community. But for Parker, the LDS Church saved her Maori traditions from certain extinction in the face of British control. Mormon missionaries were the only ones who valued and helped preserve her heritage, she notes. Parker has spent much of the last three decades traveling to the U.S. to retrieve Maori items given to earlier missionaries: beads, a Maori feather cloak, everyday tools and carved weapons all returned with her as *taonga*, or "treasures" that sacralize indigenous ways of life. She also collected dozens of photographs taken by missionaries, including pictures of her own family from the 1930s that she had never seen before, and she retained excerpts of writings from early missionaries who described the building of the CCNZ and temple by Maori laborers. Unlike Ra Puriri, Rangi Parker's loyalties associate the preservation of the *iwi* with the institutional Church, and she is grateful to see the ongoing efforts of the leadership to valorize her efforts.

This story has yet to be fully resolved. The building projects continue at Temple View, although the Church has backpedaled since 2013 and is working to win over the confidence of Maori members. Still, members have been evicted, many houses have been razed, and more are going up to be sold on the open market. Members of the Mormon *iwi* are in sharp disagreement over what the future should hold. The museum, which opened in 2017, provides state-of-the-art archival space and exhibits relating the history of Mormonism around the South Pacific, with special emphasis placed on the historic importance of the CCNZ. As the museum website explains:

> Museum guests are greeted by an exuberant celebration of the Church College of New Zealand (CCNZ). For over 50 years, CCNZ was one of New Zealand's premier coeducational boarding schools, educating thousands of youth from New Zealand and the South Pacific. Our exhibit invites former students to stroll down memory lane while giving others a glimpse into what campus life was like. From the school's iconic basketball jump circle to the pulpit from which Church leaders spoke, the essence of CCNZ is now on display ("Our Exhibits," n.d.).

For Ra Puriri, Meshweyla Macdonald, and others, the "essence" of the CCNZ lies elsewhere. It is unclear what kind of Mormons they will be. Like the early Utah pioneers, these Maori Mormons set the terms of their affiliations in ways that both honor and confound competing collective understandings. Zion, that early global vision enunciated by U.S.-based Mormons, also draws from a belief in Zion linked to a distinctive Maori history. Implemented first as a gathering concept, the ideal of Zion provides both a focal point, and, as we have seen, a source of tension, of accommodation, and of the enunciation of related but distinctive collective understandings. The term "gospel culture," so frequently invoked by Utah leaders to indicate the unity of Mormon strivings, seems a flat and inadequate term to describe this variegated reality. One of the challenges of a global church is to reconcile the longings for peoplehood and for physical space that have captured the hearts, minds, and bodies of a worldwide Zion.

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Symposium on the Lives and Work of Armand L. Mauss and O. Kendall White

On October 24, 2020, the Mormon Social Science Association convened to pay tribute to Armand L. Mauss and O. Kendall White, both of whom passed away in 2020. Mauss and White were influential members of the MSSA and leaders in the social scientific study of Mormonism. This tribute is a symposium comprised of three essays on the life and work of these scholars. In the first essay, **Daryl White** (emeritus, Spelman College) pays tribute to his late brother, noting how O. Kendall White's biography and scholarship were intertwined, and chronicling Ken's influence on the nascent sociological study of Mormonism. In the second essay, **Gary Shepherd** (Oakland University) and **Gordon Shepherd** (University of Central Arkansas) recount their four-decade association with Armand L. Mauss and describe the profound impact Armand has had on Mormon studies generally, and the social scientific study of Mormonism in particular. Finally, **David Knowlton** (Utah Valley University) considers the lives and influence of Mauss and White collectively, reflecting on how their work served as a foundation for the maturing field of Mormon social science.

Ken's Education

Daryl White, Spelman College

Upon receiving the 2007 Scholar Award from the Virginia Social Science Association, Kendall White began his remarks with this brief narrative:

> My wife has suggested that instead of beginning with where I am and how I got here that I start my story with my earlier failure as a student who had no interest in academic things from junior high through high school. Having been told by my high school counselor that my tests revealed a strong aptitude for plumbing and no real promise for college, I fortunately did graduate, though admittedly by grace rather than works.

After high school, Ken joined the Coast Guard. Upon returning from a six-month stint in the Bay Area, Ken was called to the New England mission serv-

ing the bulk of his time in New Brunswick, Canada and western Massachusetts. He returned primed for higher education. Again in Ken's words:

> I enrolled at the University of Utah where I was thrilled with the intellectual challenges confronting me. I especially found the social sciences, philosophy, and religion intriguing, and I discovered that a broadly defined sociology of religion, which combined historical and philosophical considerations … became my pursuit. Like so many academics who could conceive of no better life than that of a professional student, I concluded that the closest those of us who are not financially privileged can come to the realization of this dream is an academic career. A decision I have never regretted (2008, 111).

As Kendall's youngest brother, still in high school, I well remember his Introduction to Sociology course and those that followed. I typed and proofread Ken's papers, drew diagrams, and designed graphs—all the while learning more and more about social issues, sociological theory, and methods. He introduced me to empirical data collection when in 1964 Ray Canning, sociology chair at the time, employed him to collect data from counties in southern Utah. I joined him. We searched through civic records in county seats where, given access, we counted and dated divorces and marriages. Beyond rooms full of ledgers, my visual memory of the trip remains silent—with one exception: the exquisite grandeur of Bryce Canyon dusted by a late winter snow.

Ken's Scholarship

In his master's thesis Ken brought together his religious and sociological studies creating a critique of contemporary Mormon writers whom Ken labelled neo-orthodox by analogy with a well-known group of conservative European neo-orthodox theologians. Writing in the first decades of the twentieth century's social upheaval, revolution, and devastating world war, neo-orthodox thinkers rejected optimistic theologies such as the social gospel and asserted earlier "orthodox" Protestantism epitomized by Luther and Calvin's focus on fundamental human depravity. The Mormon writers identified by Ken critiqued the optimistic theologies of early Mormonism by producing theologies that stepped back from much of what Ken regarded as positive aspects of early Mormonism. Ken's project was twofold: (1) identifying the social conditions underlying these contemporary Mormon writers' theologies; and (2) revealing ways they rejected early Mormon theological innovations. In short, the work

identifies a changing Mormon ideology that moves Mormon thought closer to mainstream Protestantism and explores social conditions underlying these developments. Fully combining his studies in both sociology and philosophy, Ken's analysis was guided by Thomas F. O'Dea's systematic sociology of religion and Max Rogers's assessments of European neo-orthodoxy. What began as a master's thesis matured into a 1987 book, *Mormon Neo-Orthodoxy: A Crisis Theology*, that has influenced contemporary Mormon scholarship. Ken's understanding would be expanded and further refined in his doctoral studies at Vanderbilt University with similar attention to both sociology and religious studies.

Studying principally under organizational sociologist Mayer Zald, Ken used his PhD dissertation to examine the Nashville Housing Authority's multifaceted adjustments to internal and surrounding pressures. Ken's only publication that came out of his doctoral work was published in *Sociological Analysis* and is by far his most theoretical work, "Constituting Norms and the Formal Organization of American Churches." The article (1) identifies ways ambient environmental and institutional norms form an array of influences that illuminate how complex organizations evolve; (2) applies these to a set of American-born religious organizations; (3) derives hypotheses which he tests in brief exemplary sketches of a handful of diverse American religious organizations; and (4) concludes with seven propositions that could guide further analyses (White 1972). In many ways this framework shaped all of Ken's subsequent research.

Like so many Mormons, I recall vividly where and when in 1978 my car radio reported the Mormon announcement lifting the ban on Black priesthood ordination and temple access. I soon sent Ken several pages musing on the central question: Why now? Subsequent correspondence led to our first published collaboration. The essay's project was to identify the array of factors leading up to the decision and to assess their relative impacts. We regarded the decision

> as an adaptation to environmental pressures, the logical outcome of organizational practices, and the resolution of internal contradictions. Adverse publicity from the media, pressures from the black community, and threats of successful litigation reflected in environmental hostility; an organization imperative of growth, the quest for respectability, and the internationalization of Mormonism … challenges from Mormon intellectuals and activists, pressures from Black Mormons,

> and the leadership of the president. … Revelation, as a technique of internal control, ensured the consensus of officials and strengthened Mormon hegemony (O. White and D. White 1980, 231).

Ken persistently pursued open-ended understandings that avoid regarding one feature of an issue as central or determinant—neither institutional nor ideological issues alone, and neither sociologically discerned structures nor individual actors alone—always striving to construct bigpictures of the subject at hand. Armand Mauss critiqued our essay in *Sociological Analysis*—the journal that would become *Sociology of Religion*—and our subsequent reply clearly highlights central differences between these two well-regarded sociological scholars of Mormonism. At serious risk of simplifying their divergent approaches, I suggest that Mauss arrives at conclusions by assembling empirical data and building his analysis from the ground up, while Ken begins with a loosely constructed general picture nuanced with available evidence. Ken's work was fundamentally interpretive. Of course both approaches are inescapably fraught with assumptions that skew conclusions.

Although writing about the priesthood decision began our collaboration, it was not Ken's first publication on the issue. In 1972 Ken presented a paper at Howard University's School of Religion titled "The Position of Black People in Contemporary Mormon Theology and Prospects for Change" which was published in *The Journal of Religious Thought*. It was in this essay that Ken first articulated a model for understanding Mormonism's fraught racism. A few years later in the same journal he employed boundary maintenance to further explore the racial ban's evolution and institutional functions. A decade later he returned to Mormon neo-orthodox writings focusing on racial ideology to illustrate theological irrationality and authoritarianism—a theme in most of Ken's work.

Following several articles about lifting the priesthood/temple ban, our interests turned to oral histories of African American Mormons. In the late 1980s and early 1990s for several summers Ken and I drove from our parents' home in Salt Lake City down to the Brigham Young University library where Special Collections staff kindly allowed us to read and sometimes copy portions of their archived oral histories of Black Mormons. Together we completed 205 in a few summers. On our rides back to Salt Lake we shared the narratives each had read, discussed aspects sparking our curiosities, and formulated research questions. A series of conference presentations and publications followed addressing conversion narratives, interracial relations, dating

challenges, reactions to the priesthood/temple ban, and regional differences. It was in analyzing narratives that I was able to bring my anthropological practices to bear on our collaborations.

Ken investigated the LDS Church's political involvements in state ratifications of the Equal Rights Amendment. The election of eight women to the Utah legislature—the largest number in Utah history—created the possibility that Utah could ratify the amendment, bolstered by the church's initial position that ERA was a political and not a moral issue. Then, switching positions, the church engaged in nationwide efforts to influence other legislatures, creating what appeared to be grassroots opposition by women who hid their Mormon affiliation. Ken focused on the Mormons for the ERA movement led by Sonia Johnson. Ken's access was facilitated by his wife Arlene who was Johnson's press secretary, a role for which Arlene was excommunicated. Ken concludes the article underscoring

> a disturbing simplicity and sense of deception. The simplicity derives from the ideological distinction between moral and political issues that enables Mormon leaders to mobilize institutional resources for political objectives of their own. By declaring an issue political, they avoid responsibility. By declaring it moral, they enter the political arena. Since no criteria beyond their judgment obtain for differentiating moral and political issues, church members are presented with an authoritarianism calling only for obedience (1984, 15).

Over a decade later Ken and I turned attention to queer issues in several conference presentations in which we explored the evolution of General Authorities' comments on homosexuality. Our papers were never published, with one exception: an article comparing the respective stances of the LDS Church with that of the Community of Christ (a.k.a. the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, or RLDS).

Propelled by our earlier work on oral histories, we searched libraries, bookstores, and gay centers for book-length autobiographies by diverse Christian gay activists. At the time we found only a handful, including one by former Mormon bishop Antonio Felix. Our article, focusing on their struggles within (and, for some, expulsion from) their respective denominations, was published as "Queer Christian Confessions" (D. White and O. White 2004).

In the early 1990s my participation in a midtown Atlanta neighborhood church serendipitously presented a window into conflicts resulting in the expulsion of the Virginia Avenue Baptist Church from its city and state Southern

Baptist associations. My partner (now my spouse) and I had started attending worship services at the church since it was attracting gay participants and actively presented as "gay friendly." We found ourselves in a very small congregation with a faithful remnant of older women delighted by the influx of newcomers, most of whom were gay. We witnessed its growth and participated in the congregation's exodus from Baptist affiliation and entry into the United Church of Christ. I found myself in a situation I felt uniquely able to observe—having written my dissertation on the ways conflicts in Southern Protestant congregations and denominations often resulted in splits—splits that typically occurred along class and other social fault lines. This led to several co-publications.

Ken's publications often focused on slippery concepts such as the institutional construction of authenticity, charisma, and maintenance of institutional boundaries. In my assessment all of Ken's work exhibits his fascination with the ever-present and ephemeral spaces between religious organizations and their environments—a space Ken explored endlessly and that I believe he fancied himself occupying. Although one of Ken's final essays was not included in an homage to his career-long mentor and friend Thomas F. O'Dea and was never published, he was invited to contribute a comprehensive opening essay to the book Revisiting Thomas F. O'Dea's *The Mormons* (2008).

While publications were important to Ken, they certainly were not the end-all. He fully enjoyed the research itself along with sharing in presentations at meetings, usually the Southern Sociological and the Southern Anthropology societies and the MSSA. But most important were informal conversations where he could fully express his gregarious impulse with university colleagues, students, and their parents. In these situations it seemed Ken never had enough time to complete his thoughts. Not simply expressing himself, he was always gathering other points of view and rethinking his own. Yet unfortunately he often shied away from participating in voluntary administrative roles in the very organizations that made academic meetings possible. The MSSA is a notable exception.

Ken's Mormon Identity

It seems both appropriate and necessary to cap this essay by considering Ken's Mormon identity. After Ken (the oldest of four brothers) was ordained a deacon, our family's piety notched upward. Dad no longer had his occasional beer. Out-of-town trips now required Ken and later the rest of us to attend local

LDS services in order to maintain our 100% attendance records. What never changed was the family's passion for Coca-Cola.

Ken returned from his mission convinced he wanted to teach in the LDS Institute system. A popular speaker on the stake's speaking circuit, he imparted wisdom at missionary farewells and at funerals. A grieving aunt once said, "he knew what to say." Around the house we would kid Ken about his "holy voice."

Only a few years later two incidents in our ward completely changed his sense of membership in the church. During an elders quorum class studying the New Testament, Ken asked if we were to take literally Jesus's admonition to the rich man to sell all he had and give it to the poor. A lively discussion exploring the parable's possible meanings ensued and continued the next Sunday. In the midst of this discussion a visiting high councilman interrupted, affirming that President Henry D. Moyle had achieved his ecclesiastical status without giving his millions to the church—and then declared the class over. Weeks later Ken was escorted to the stake president's office and lectured about sustaining the authorities. Not long after that, six stake high councilmen attended the quorum meeting. One stated, "When the authorities make a decision the thinking has been done." The quorum teacher was led away and asked whether he affirmed the leaders or was in agreement with Ken that the LDS general authorities were in a state of apostasy. The teacher was removed, prompting intense discussion of the meanings and uses of sustaining authorities. A subsequent letter from the stake president to the class cautioned against delving into mysteries. A year later, Ken was teaching a Sunday School class when he asked if anyone knew what higher and lower criticism of the Bible entailed. Not knowing, the curious class agreed to discuss the topic for the next three Sundays, after which a second co-teacher was appointed. Ken was later replaced. This was when Ken decided he no longer had a place in the Mormon church. Mormon culture, on the other hand, was a different matter. In his own words,

> with the exception of occasional correspondence with Mormon officials, a lingering intellectual and political interest in Mormon affairs, and some nostalgic musings, the church and I parted company, each going separate ways, with neither, I suspect, having any regrets (no date, 8).

I find Ken's professed "lingering interest" a curious understatement, if not simply unbelievable. What Ken calls an interest, I call devotion. After all, less than

10% of Ken's career-long scholarly output does not address Mormonism. He definitely saw himself as a cultural Mormon, a distinction vividly illustrated in the following Levi Peterson passage that Ken never tired of quoting:

> Excommunication is no reason for withdrawing from Mormonism. I fancy that if I were excommunicated on a weekday, I'd be back sleeping in sacrament meeting on the following Sunday (Peterson 1994, 39).

More than a personal identity, Ken understood cultural Mormonism sociologically, as both a colloquial self-designation and also a group identity formally and informally supported by others and bolstered by certain institutions such as study groups, Dialogue, Sunstone, Signature Books, and of course our Mormon Social Science Association.

It wasn't until 2015 when LDS general authorities announced restrictions on participation by queer Mormons and their families that Ken decided he must sever his last formal relationship with the church. In a two-page letter to church headquarters on December 15, 2015, he explained his decision in characteristic detail. Ken concludes:

> If to believe in same-sex marriage and work to help it become a reality the United States and elsewhere is sufficient to define one an apostate, as you claim, then please place me on that list. As a professional scholar of religion, I have never liked the looseness of the Mormon conception of apostasy nor the cruelness of its practice, especially as I observed it in Utah. However, the rigid black and white choice that you offer makes it easy for me to choose apostasy as you conceive of it. So please excommunicate me.

Concluding Confession

I will briefly pull back from focusing on Ken as an individual to discuss how his ideas were created and transformed through conversation with others, including books. Ken's educational ambitions were never his alone. They began in our home, surrounded by relatives, most of whom lived next door or down the lane. In many ways our ward was an extension of our family—one uncle was our bishop, another our stake president. Growing up, our ward, neighborhood, and family appeared virtually the same.

Neither of our parents graduated from high school. None of our aunts and uncles went to college. Yet all of our extended family valued and encouraged us to go to college. When one of my first cousins graduated from college

I well remember all my cousins, aunts, and uncles in the University of Utah stadium attending the ceremony.

I emphasize this only to highlight the immediate milieu that shaped our academic accomplishments both in research and in teaching. This included every course I have taught, paper presented, and essay, article, or chapter I've published. In all of these Ken was in and with me. And I'm not merely referring to our eventual co-authorship. While advising my first-generation college students at Spelman College I realized that while they are often breaking completely new ground, I was never in that situation. Even though my generation of our extended family was the first to attend college, I and my brother Brent entered each new phase of our educational pursuits—from sophomore at the U to grad school, teaching in small colleges, going up for tenure, chairing departments, and retiring with emeritus status—in our brothers' wake. I was always in familiar family territory, preceded by brothers and cousins.

Yet how could I overestimate the unacknowledged background to this entire scenario? That background was our particular Mormon upbringing where religious beliefs were discussed and often debated, statements by general authorities were considered and critiqued, and no clear difference obtained between the sacred and the secular. Throughout his entire career Ken continued to carry within him this peculiar milieu. Years earlier, as he was finishing his work as a student at the University of Utah, Ken—along with a cousin, another brother, and myself—joined other like-minded, curious Mormons to frequently discuss topics of concern relating to the church. Often a well-known speaker—such as Lowell Bennion, Max Rogers, Tom O'Dea, or Sterling McMurrin—would join us to discuss a relevant topic. We often met in our living room, occasionally at other sites, and even drove to Provo several times. We fancied ourselves in the worthy Mormon tradition of the Swearing Elders of the 1950s (Blakely 1995). In the midst of this I went on a mission to Northern California. I was later told by a few former companions that I seemed to be on a mission to the missionaries.

This opportunity to summarize and discuss Ken's academic achievements and contributions has provided me a space and time to meaningfully grieve Ken's passing, and to review our relationship as developing scholars. In our conversations as students, we were making sense of our own studies, informing each other, arguing (which for me was likely a means of establishing myself as a scholar in my own right), and collectively trying to understand the world around us, including the Mormon world, the emerging civil

rights movement, and international politics. I'm sure my choice to major in anthropology was a way of differentiating my studies from Ken's, yet I was quite aware of the ways Ken's sociology was shaping even my anthropological studies. The only sociology course I took at the U was Race Relations (taught by David Knowlton's father). When I began teaching at Spelman College, hired as the lone anthropologist in a sociology department, I discovered how well Ken had prepared me to teach courses in sociology. Of course, it was never just me teaching those classes; it was Ken teaching with me. I've never been alone or without a compass in my scholarship.

When I was writing my dissertation about Southern Protestant denominationalism, Ken sent comments on chapters, as did my University of Connecticut advisor Jim Faris. Both encouraged me. Both helped me out of intermittent, sometimes protracted spells of procrastination. Thankfully—blessedly—I now fully embrace Ken's and other scholars' ever-presence in my scholarship and life. Which is why not many months ago when Ken passed on, a huge part of me did as well. After 75 years together my future self as writer and scholar appears unfathomable. Yet, whatever my future becomes I know "beyond a shadow of a doubt" that Ken will continue to face it fully with me.

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Armand Mauss and the Social Scientific Study of Mormonism

Gary Shepherd, Oakland University
Gordon Shepherd, University of Central Arkansas

We knew Armand Mauss for over forty years as a respected colleague, a perceptive critic and strong supporter of our scholarly work, and a close friend. Armand's formidable mind remained clear and incisive up until the day he died at age 92.

Most Mormon studies scholars today are familiar with Armand Mauss's significant contributions to Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought for over 40 years as a contributing author of important essays, an influential editorial and advisory board member, and chair of the board of directors during a critical transformational time in Dialogue's operational structure in the early 2000s. Most Dialogue readers will also be aware of Armand's similar organizational and scholarly contributions to the Mormon History Association since its inception in 1965 up to more recent times (including serving a term as MHA President in 1997–98), and his contributions to the establishment of the Howard W. Hunter Chair of Mormon Studies at Claremont Graduate University. But fewer of Dialogue's readers or historian colleagues may be familiar with Armand's foundational contributions to implementing a social science approach in the emerging field of Mormon studies. Armand's contributions in this regard have overlapped fortuitously with our own careers as academic sociologists with research interests in Mormon studies. In what follows, we appreciatively link and personalize our modest contributions to the sociology of Mormonism in connection with Armand's highly influential friendship and collegial support.

We first met Armand Mauss during a conference of the American Sociological Association in San Francisco in September 1978. For members of the contemporary Mormon Social Science Association (MSSA), this conference was noteworthy as the time and place when plans were first laid to formally institute a scholarly organization for the social scientific study of Mormonism. Along with Glenn M. Vernon, Armand was instrumental in formulating and implementing those plans. At the time, Glenn Vernon was the chair of the department of sociology at the University of Utah, and Armand was a professor of sociology and religious studies at Washington State University. We were already well acquainted with Professor Vernon, from whom we had taken graduate-level courses at the University of Utah (Vernon, in fact, chaired Gary's M. A. thesis). Neither one of us, however, was then acquainted with Armand.

Our initial impression of Armand at the planning session in San Francisco proved enduring: He was both knowledgeable and authoritative in his views and articulate in expressing them. He inspired confidence that he was someone with scholarly ability who knew how to manage an organization of scholars. Armand was, in fact, supremely qualified to become the founding vice president and then president of the MSSA (known originally as the Society for the Sociological Study of Mormon Life). His early leadership efforts toward building the MSSA into a scholarly society—especially after Glen Vernon's untimely death in 1985—that subsequently has flourished for over 40 years must be recognized as an essential part of Armand's professional legacy. It is, in fact, no exaggeration to say that MSSA owes its survival and eventual organizational success primarily to Armand's guidance, prodding, recruiting, and persistent networking with scholars and other professional scholarly bodies with interests in Mormonism, along with his generous personal financial contributions at needed moments.

Over the years, we sustained regular professional and personal contact with Armand. Among other things, he invited us to contribute articles to special issues of journals which he was guest-editing, including the *Review of Religious Research* in 1984, featuring Rodney Stark's famously controversial article, "The Rise of a New World Faith," and *Dialogue*'s 1996 Spring Issue, with Armand, as special edition editor, presciently asking contributors to address the prospects of "Mormons and Mormonism in the Twenty-first Century." With regard to this latter theme, the two of us, along with fellow sociologist and MSSA member, Ryan Cragun, were invited by a Palgrave MacMillan editor at the 2018 annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion to solicit authors (many of them current members of the MSSA) for chapters in a proposed handbook on global Mormonism in the twenty-first century. Needless to say, the first person we consulted about this proposal was Armand. As always, Armand provided wise advice and author recommendations, along with subsequent commentaries and suggestions regarding draft chapters we sent him, all of which shaped our preparation of the book, which was published in 2020. Appropriately, the dedication page of *Global Mormonism* is written to "Armand L. Mauss, respected colleague and distinguished scholar of Mormon Studies."

Meanwhile, and most important for the two of us professionally, Armand was an astute reader or reviewer of virtually all the scholarly articles and books we have co-authored on Mormon topics over the past three decades. Whether

in perfect agreement or not with all of Armand's thoughtful and thorough critiques of our work, we have never failed to take advantage of his critical insights, and our writing always has been substantially improved as a result. No contemporary scholar has had greater influence on our own scholarship than Armand Mauss.

In particular, Armand was a very supportive reader of our first book, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism*, ultimately published by the University of Utah Press in 1984. In correspondence with us about Kingdom, Armand told us that he also had been formulating ideas about a book dealing with the conservative transformation of the modern LDS Church. A decade later, Armand—a meticulous scholar—finally published his long-awaited book: *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (University of Illinois Press, 1994). Subsequently this book has become a contemporary classic, which is cited by virtually everybody doing serious scholarship today on modern Mormonism.

By the time *The Angel and the Beehive* was published, Armand had already served from 1989–1992 as the first Mormon-affiliated editor-in-chief of the internationally renowned *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (*JSSR*). Receiving this prestigious appointment meant that Armand had achieved a well-regarded standing among social science scholars of religion. The standing of the Mormon Social Science Association as a professional organization also benefited substantially from Armand's status in the field, as articles on Mormon topics increasingly were submitted and accepted for publication by *JSSR* and other reputable social science journals. Not coincidentally, when Armand assumed editorship of the flagship journal in 1989, the MSSA commenced its affiliation as a partner organization with the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Among other things, Gordon was recruited by Armand as *JSSR*'s co-book review editor; BYU scholar and former MSSA president Marie Cornwall subsequently served on the SSSR's executive council and eventually, like Armand, became editor-in-chief of the organization's journal; and, today, MSSA treasurer Ryan Cragun also serves as SSSR executive secretary.

Retrospectively, it's safe to say that no one deserves more credit for helping to legitimize the social science of Mormonism as a recognized field of study than Armand Mauss. Indeed, it is this last point that is perhaps most reflective of Armand's cumulative value to Mormon studies, namely the overlapping scope and influence of his organizational, intellectual, and personal involvements in key positions, relationships, and scholarly issues related to

the study of Mormonism. Who has cultivated a wider, more significant network of contacts with both Mormon insiders and outsiders, social scientists and non-social scientists, believers and non-believers? Who has stimulated and facilitated a more fruitful cross-fertilization of perspectives, ideas, and understanding of Mormon institutions and their dynamic intersection with the larger world than Armand Mauss?

Thirty years after the publication of *A Kingdom Transformed*, we decided to attempt an updated, second edition. Again, Armand played a key role. First, it was Armand who stimulated the idea for a second edition by informing us of the development by BYU linguist Mark Davies of an online site called Corpus of LDS General Conference Talks, which would allow us to update our statistical analysis of conference talks if we cared to do so. Secondly, Armand was again asked by the University of Utah Press to review our second edition manuscript. In his critique he argued persuasively that we should frame our analysis of the new conference data from 1980–2010 by taking into account his own updated reflections on The Angel and the Beehive, published in a 2011 *Dialogue* article titled, "Rethinking Retrenchment: Course Corrections in the Ongoing Campaign for Respectability." That's exactly what we did and, consequently, produced what we consider to be a meaningful and worthwhile extension of the first edition of our book.

Both of us have been privileged to offer reviews of Armand's own work to scholarly audiences. In 2002, Gary was invited to present a paper at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion titled, "The Contributions of Armand Mauss to Mormon Studies." In his paper Gary concentrated particular attention on Armand's major book contributions to Mormon studies, *The Angel and the Beehive*, and *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (University of Illinois Press, 2003). As a reviewer of this latter book for the University of Illinois Press, Gary had access to Armand's draft manuscript and was able to provide his audience with a preview of the book, arguing that it might well be considered as Armand's magnum opus.

Similarly, in 2012, Gordon (along with former MSSA president Rick Phillips and historian Jan Shipps) was invited to present a paper at the annual meeting of the SSSR to review Armand's memoir, *Shifting Borders and a Tattered Passport: Intellectual Journeys of a Mormon Academic*, that had just been published by the University of Utah Press. In his review, Gordon concluded that Armand's memoir demonstrates how people may acquire and manage

two central identities in frequent tension while maintaining an essential integrity to both. We see in Armand's memoir an earnest, maturational struggle to reconcile the timeless tension between religious faith and secular learning in such a way that he honors both the LDS tradition and academic social science—two often contending communities in which his religious and professional identities remained steadfastly rooted. Neither one of these identities can, in Armand's case, be fully understood apart from the other.

While the two of us felt personally close to Armand, we assume our long, professional relationship with him over the years is not particularly unique. The work of uncounted other scholars in Mormon studies has been significantly influenced, either directly or indirectly, by Armand's support, writing, organizational leadership, and unflagging commitment to the field and its intellectual standards. This is particularly true for comprehending the emergence of the social scientific study of Mormonism as a reputable field of study during the last two decades of the twentieth century. Today, Armand Mauss justly deserves recognition as one of the pioneer founders of this ongoing, scholarly enterprise and, to date, its most influential practitioner. Thank you, Armand.

The Masters and the Beehive: Reflections on Kendall White and Armand Mauss

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The sociology of Mormonism was fortunate in the latest *fin de siècle* to have its 1960s generation, scholars who created an intriguing body of writing. In particular, the lives and work of two of them are sociologically instructive.

I call them a sixties generation because they were students in universities during the sixties and because the questions that drove them were on the horizon of their experience and becoming conscious and vital within Mormonism at the time (Langer 1996). These scholars made those concerns explicit and part of the sociology of Mormonism as ideas grounded in LDS social experience. We have the task of exploring the Mormonism and the sociology of their times—through them as scholars and as Mormon sociologists living, engaging, and reflecting.

Mauss and White

For this paper, I shall discuss Armand L. Mauss and O. Kendall White though the generation includes many other interesting sociologists.

While having a family life and a series of LDS Church callings, Mauss lived two sequential careers. He was first known as a student of social problems and social movements. Late in his academic life, even though he had worked in the area for his PhD, Mauss turned to the sociology of religion and specifically to the sociology of his native Mormonism where he made major contributions. Mauss joined a central cohort within the sociology of religion. He had an organic relationship with these scholars as a former graduate student of Charles Y. Glock at Berkeley.

O. Kendall White also had a notable career. Besides the sociology of Mormonism, he worked on social and political movements, inequality and race, and on religion in the US South. As a scholar of Mormonism, White developed outside what later became the mainstream of the sociology of religion. His thought emphasized sociopolitical relationships between an expanding state and its society.

Formative Experience

Both of these sociologists were born in Salt Lake City, though Mauss was raised as an active, diaspora Mormon in the San Francisco East Bay Area. A distinction between California Mormons and Utah Mormons—as people with different senses of religiosity and of the Church—became grounded in Mauss when his family would visit their Utah relatives. It later played a role in his methodology and carried weight in his analyses.

Both Mauss and White served LDS missions in New England at different times. After his mission, Mauss lived in US-occupied postwar Japan where his father was the LDS mission president. While there, Mauss studied history at the Jesuit Sophia University and obtained his bachelor's degree. He married Ruth Hathaway who also lived in Japan, joined the military, was in intelligence, and later returned to California with a young family. In the Golden State, Mauss entered Berkeley part-time as a graduate student in history and received an MA with a focus on East Asia. This degree qualified him to work as a high school teacher and later as a community college instructor. An older-than-average graduate student at Berkeley, Mauss switched fields to sociology and completed a PhD.

While still ABD he worked for two years at Utah State University and from there obtained a tenure-track position at Washington State University. In Pullman, he finished writing his dissertation entitled "Mormons and Minorities" and obtained his Berkeley doctorate in 1970. After thirty years as a professor at WSU, Mauss retired in 1999. He then returned to California, though now to the greater Los Angeles area, and joined the Mormon Studies program at Claremont Graduate University.

Mauss's early experiences and training were molded by his family's Mormonism including, as he writes piquantly, testing boundaries. His Mormonism was familial and congregational rather than societal. It emphasized the importance of LDS hierarchy, belief, and internal piety, rather than Mormon society and culture. Mauss's professional formation was informed by the Jesuits, the military, and by national intellectuals at Berkeley, not by Mormon scholars or their questions and thought per se.

Mauss's Mormonism grew in his family, in his church service as an Institute instructor and in a bishopric, as well as in conversations with fellow LDS graduate students and Mormon officials. In these social spaces, Mauss developed his Mormon intellectuality alongside his professional training even while as a PhD student he began focusing his sociological eye on Latter-day Saint survey responses. While some devout Mormons, including some of his Church leaders, saw him as "suspect" (Lynn England, personal communication, 2020), he remained a devout Mormon throughout his life and gained respect within Mormon scholarly circles for that and for his intellectual independence.

In contrast, White was raised a Latter-day Saint in suburban Salt Lake City. He experienced the complex Mormonism found in that capital of the LDS Church and of the state of Utah. While congregations and the institutional Church were important in his Utah, they were only a part of the Mormon life White knew. Mormonism and society were mostly the same.

White entered the University of Utah and obtained his bachelor's and master's degrees there. At the U he came to know and was trained by a key generation of LDS scholars including ones described as "the first generation of modern Mormon Intellectuals" (Blakeley 1986). A key theme there was what distinguished Mormons from other Americans as a society, a church, and a people—not specifically individuals. As a result, concern about the loss of cosmological distinctiveness deeply informs White's work.

White begins his book, *Mormon Neo-Orthodoxy: A Crisis Theology*, with a quote from an even earlier University of Utah intellectual and men-

tor of White's teachers, Ephraim E. Ericksen, about the transformation of the Mormon "Kingdom of God" from a physical place with a social order into a metaphysical construct tied to a Church (White 1987). This change was due to decades of Mormon tension with the federal government and American society. Following the incorporation of Utah into the US as a state, Mormons lived a persistent, modernist conflict between "new ideas and old institutions." From this foundation, after World War II, White continues, Mormon leaders became preoccupied with challenges to beliefs that gave "meaning and purpose to a social order" and not just a Mormon order. During the first half of the twentieth century a dominant Mormon theology came together that corresponded to the economic and social liberalism of American society: a positive and progressive theology of humans and a limited view of God.

White was also influenced by the U of Utah sociologist Lowell Bennion, who was the first to bring Max Weber's work into English (DiPadova and Brower 1992). Bennion's Weber, according to DiPadova, is not the same as the Parsonian one dominant in American sociology, and hence, we might add, of Mauss and his professors.

Unlike White, Mauss grew up in a situation where Mormonism was one denomination among others. The bounds of congregational life within the broader society of Oakland and Walnut Grove, California distinguished it sociologically, perhaps more than its theology or internal organization and practices. The LDS Church in northern California was only a small fragment of society. These bounds—as sites of tension—became the first brick in Mauss's academic edifice.

In addition, for Mauss, institutions and organizations were composed of individual persons and had no substantial reality beyond that, unlike in Utah where the Church as the successor of the Kingdom of God had, and still has, a reality greater than the sum of the individuals who participate in it. In Utah, Mormon society and the institutional Church form the twin pillars of life. They are neither strongly nor clearly separated from each other; nor are there always clear distinctions between religious life and a secular society, despite the challenges of modernity and the diversification of Utah's social and institutional life.

During his stints as a graduate student at Berkeley, Mauss dedicated himself to his studies and to serving in positions within his ward and the broader, multi-ward community, one that included various stakes. This community is an intermittent and limited Mormon society built on congregational and stake

bases as well as personal contacts. It mostly does not have official LDS sanction or organization.

Through Church service, Mauss also experienced the diasporic interface between local congregations and the official Church system of authorities and bureaucracy. As a result, these are foundational in Mauss's vision of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, rather than the Mormon society and varied intellectuals that configured White's analysis.

Mauss also came to know a generation of LDS intellectuals in the Bay Area who went on to forge seminal organizations and institutions such as *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. Later, he became involved with the Mormon History Association and, even later, the Sunstone Foundation. These convoke a national and international group of Mormon thinkers beyond formal LDS Church boundaries and form an important set of extra-Church LDS organizations. Along with the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the Mormon Social Science Association, these organizations were where Mauss built himself as a Mormon intellectual and later a scholar of Mormonism.

White left Utah after obtaining a master's degree in 1967 with a thesis on the social psychology of Mormon theology that became the basis for his 1987 book on Mormon neo-orthodoxy. This new theology, he argued, was a reaction by various prominent Mormon thinkers (especially at Brigham Young University) to midcentury and later modernization. Unlike Mauss, White never returned to live in his home state. He did, however, engage in Mormon intellectual life, especially in groups such as the Society for the Sociological Study of Mormon Life—now the Mormon Social Science Association—as well as with Dialogue and Sunstone.

White obtained his PhD in sociology from Vanderbilt University, located in Nashville, Tennessee, a heart of southern identity and religiosity. There, White came under the influence of national and international sociologists. Mormonism continued to concern him personally and intellectually though his activity in Mormon congregational life had withered. While finishing his PhD with a 1975 dissertation, "A Study in the Social Control of Institutions: Transformation of a Local Housing Authority," White began teaching at Washington and Lee University (Daryl White, personal communication). White's day-to-day life took place in Virginia, a very different social space from Utah, though it had issues similar to those he outlined in his discussion on Protestant neo-orthodoxy. Like Mauss, White had other emphases besides Mormonism; however, his career was more integrated, while Mauss's professional life was bimodal.

White married the noted Mormon feminist Arlene Burraston-White from Ogden, Utah and maintained close personal and intellectual relationships with his brothers: anthropologist Daryl White of Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia; psychologist Brent White, Matton Professor at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky; and Bill Humphrey, who was in management at Xerox and an AIDS activist (Daryl White, personal communication). Three of the brothers lived their adult lives in the American South relatively close to each other. Kendall and Daryl frequently co-authored texts and formed a significant team within the study of Mormonism. They also visited Utah while their mother, Thelma Clark White, still lived.

The Sixties

Not only were White and Mauss in the university during the sixties, the time and the period afterward contributed to their emphases and approaches. The sixties were a significant personal challenge to Mauss given his his self-declared conservatism, his military background, his institutional dedication, and his older age—he turned 40 in 1968. Besides his irritation at the societal shaking, the period lay the second brick of the tension between society and the Church that Mauss describes in his 1994 work, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation*.

His approach appears grounded in his own experience as well as in his academic work, especially on the LDS Church's exclusion of Black men from the LDS priesthood. Mauss discussed the dangers of assimilation to the society in which the LDS Church was enclaved, something that he had seen in the places he had lived. Giving up distinctiveness and becoming like their neighbors, joining another church, or merely ceasing to participate in the congregation were the constant risks facing diaspora Mormons.

However, there is more. At UC-Berkeley and then later in his first professorial job at Utah State University, Mauss ran squarely into the sixties' roiling of campuses. In response, Mauss grew frustrated and even angered by what he saw as lack of discipline and forethought in the movement and in its questioning of authority. This became daunting for Mauss when students questioned his authority as a professor. It also became vivid when Mauss felt the need to publicly defend Church policies on race since for him the civil rights movement, the student movement, the New Left, and the anti-Vietnam movements were of a piece. Though becoming privately disillusioned, Mauss fought back. He followed a Jesuit model (instead of the available LDS models with the same

label). He become a "defender of the faith" while also an analyst of it. Mauss wrote:

> Utah has largely been spared the civil turmoil over public policy that has from time to time engulfed campus, community, and conscience itself in the other areas of the United States. … Not so the Utah emigres who settled outside the Great Basin in increasing numbers from 1930 on. For them and their children, being Mormon has always meant having to answer for [Mormonism] regularly in the neighborhood, at school, at work, in politics, on the university campus, and ultimately to oneself … [R]arely … were such encounters with the non-Mormon world actually acrimonious or hostile—rarely, that is, until the rise of the civil rights movement (Mauss 1984).

Mauss distinguished the experience of Latter-day Saints in California from that of Beehive State residents. California Saints lived an existential separation from neighbors and peers and had to answer for Mormonism. He wrote: "Such a predicament … was a blessing in disguise, as [members] were often reminded from the pulpit, for it presented many opportunities to share the faith." Both the challenge and the sharing made Mormonism a burning boundary marker front and center in these diaspora Mormons' existence.

This relationship with Mormonism, seared in pluralism and self-defense, was not the experience of most Utahns. There, Mormonism so infused society and social ties that Utah Saints did not experience the challenges of the sixties in the same way, though many still became concerned about the ban on priesthood for those of African descent, as White discusses. In Utah this issue was intertwined with other concerns of modernization (White 1987, 118–123).

The tense and "acrimonious" relations that arose in the sixties for Mauss motivated his thinking on retrenchment, a digging in against the opposition. It would crystalize for him the binary relationship between the LDS Church, a sect, and the outside world as one of dynamic tension with the Church making cyclical responses of accommodation, retrenchment, and accommodation.

White was a decade younger than Mauss and experienced the sixties as a university student in Utah. White was not raised a diaspora Mormon nor did he have a separate life between his undergraduate education and his PhD work. The University of Utah, where White studied, had emerged early in the century as a place of independent thinking about Mormonism and for educating generations of young Mormons. For White, the sixties emphasized a crisis for many Mormons, but he analyzed it as one of growing modernity in

Mormon society and increasing American secularity. White appreciated the value of the Mormon ideals with which he was raised, believing they could fit the hope and progressiveness of the sixties. Yet a new generation of LDS intellectuals, mostly at Brigham Young University, was changing them, he felt. They were assimilating Mormon ideas of divinity and humanity to those of fundamentalist Protestantism. White captured the birth of a theology that fit a growing authoritarianism and an increasing turn to the social and political right. During this period and the next decade, many Mormon leaders and members were drawn, along with people of other faiths, into what became known as the Religious Right, to anti-government politics and anti-communism, to a growing national conservatism. White locates twentieth-century Mormonism in the broader social processes of American society rather than in its sectarian status.

Conclusion

Armand L. Mauss and O. Kendall White have left us an important body of sociological work on Mormonism. The structure of their lives helps us to understand their work, while at the same time revealing important portions of Mormon society and religion. We owe them a great debt and best honor them by continuing our scholarship while being cognizant of how approaches stem from situated lives.

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Richard Bushman's Biography, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, Assessed from a Sociological Point of View

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Abstract. This review of Richard Bushman's biography of Joseph Smith is framed by three questions: What are the characteristics of a sociological biography? To what extent does Bushman's book succeed as a sociological biography? And, what more could be done in an effort to write a sociological biography of Joseph Smith? While attempting to reconstruct the subjective meanings and motives of Smith's thought and actions within the framework of his society and its history, a sociological biography should involve a strictly naturalistic narrative and analysis, focusing attention on the full range of human factors and events that shaped Smith's religious career, and on the social consequences of his legacy. In addition, a sociological biography of Smith should be guided by a theoretical framework that would allow for meaningful comparisons with the biographies of other religious founders in order to confirm or make theoretical generalizations about the origins of new religions. Several theoretical approaches are suggested in this regard, including a religious rhetoric typology, social construction and contingency theories, and a "sideway history" approach to the study of biography.

In November 2005, the religious studies scholar and historian, Jan Shipps, organized a session for the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion in Rochester, New York. Shipps had obtained advance copies of Richard L. Bushman's (2005) cultural biography of LDS Church founder, Joseph Smith, to be reviewed by a group of sociologically trained panelists. Shipps correctly anticipated that Bushman's book would be extensively reviewed by historians with expertise in American religion generally and Mormon Studies in particular, but she was also interested in how sociologists would think about the book from a social science perspective.

*Email: gordons@uca.edu. The authors would like to acknowledge the helpful suggestions given to us by John Bartkowski for strengthening our review of *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*.

The four panelists whom Shipps selected for this purpose were Mormon Social Science Association members Gary Shepherd, Gordon Shepherd, Rick Phillips, and Ryan Cragun. Each panelist was asked to organize his review around three related questions formulated by Shipps and with Bushman's prior consent: What are the characteristics of a sociological biography? To what extent has Professor Bushman written a sociological biography of Joseph Smith? And what more might Professor Bushman (or other scholars) do to produce a biography of Joseph Smith that could benefit from including a sociological approach?

These are questions which are seldom addressed with respect to standard biographies of Joseph Smith (or, for that matter, other historically notable figures). They are questions that remain highly pertinent for the consideration of contributors and readers of a new social science journal that is committed to publishing articles on topics relevant to the Latter Day Saint movement from a social science perspective. To amplify this point, we have substantially revised and combined our two reviews of Bushman's biography that were given at the 2005 SSSR session.

1. What are the characteristics of a sociological biography?

Before addressing this question directly, let us make a prefatory statement regarding our understanding of the objectives and limitations of sociology as a social science. Social science teaches that the institutions of any society, including religious institutions, are formed and changed through meaningful human interaction. Alternatively, we may simply say that all human institutions are socially constructed. The province of social science is the naturalistic analysis of how the organization and patterns of human life are socially negotiated and agreed upon, the problems that human communities confront in this process (including the modification and fracturing of agreements), and the consequences that ensue for both individuals and group culture. If extra-human agency or supernatural powers are ultimately involved in the human construction of history and society, it is not the province of social science to judge their authenticity. More specifically, it is not the province of social science to validate or invalidate the ultimate truth claims of religious faith. For this we must turn to metaphysics or theology and to a consideration of the various religious epistemologies employed by seekers of transcendent meaning. While

methodologically agnostic with respect to transcendent causes and ultimate meanings, social science analysis can nonetheless contribute significantly to our understanding of the human aspects of religious institutions and religious ways of life, including those based on belief in revelatory guidance through living prophets.

That said, with its intensive focus on a particular individual, any competent biography may be defined as an exercise in ideographic science. Through a thorough, factual description and analysis of the life experiences of a particular person, ideography leads to an appreciation of what is distinctive and unique in the person's history, character, and contributions to others. In this respect, biography is perhaps more closely aligned with psychology than it is with sociology. No person's life, however, can be adequately comprehended apart from the cultural and social context in which it is lived. To make adequate sense of an individual's personal history, biographers must include in their analysis the shaping influence of the contemporary problems, common beliefs, and modes of thinking and social action that were characteristic of people living together in a particular time and place. In fashioning such an amalgam, biographers especially need to identify, describe, and explain what networks of other individuals were engaged in significant role relationships with their subject and how they mutually influenced one another.

All of this involves elements of sociological analysis. It invites consideration of what Talcott Parsons (1968) called the structure of social action and what interaction theorists refer to as the social construction of human meaning. If done well, a sociologically informed biography should lead to verstehen—Max Weber's term for the subjective understanding by outsiders of the constellation of shared meanings and motives that guide other people's actions within the framework of their society and its history.

Subjective understanding of people's meaning and motives, however, is not tantamount to accepting or rejecting their beliefs, or approving or disapproving their actions. If biography is to be an ideographic science, it requires objectivity as well as skill in assembling, organizing, and analyzing documentary evidence. To the extent possible, the selection and critical examination of all relevant data should be governed by the methodological standards of a scholarly discipline and not by a researcher's personal beliefs and values. Thus, in a sociologically informed biography, the goal of verstehen is accomplished by objectively examining an individual's life as the product of social interac-

tion within a network of significant others in the cultural and social context of a particular time and place. Most historians specializing in biography and trained in the methods of historiography would, we think, agree with this characterization of their discipline.

There is, however, something else that must be said about efforts to produce a distinctively sociological biography. In its attempt to be a nomothetic science, sociology parts company with the particularizing, ideographic emphasis of conventional historiography. Sociological analysis typically is guided by theoretical models and is oriented toward confirming and/or generating theoretical generalizations. To be truly sociological, biographers would need to systematically employ a theoretical framework or typology for analyzing the documentary data pertinent to their subject and, subsequently, draw theoretical inferences from their case study analysis that might be generalized for testing in other case studies. While making theoretical comparisons, a sociological biography should not—as already emphasized—constitute an argument for or against religious truth claims. Limiting itself to the naturalistic parameters of social science investigation, sociological biographies of seminal religious figures should bracket the question of supernatural empowerment while focusing attention on the full range of human factors and events that shaped their religious careers and the positive or negative consequences of their social legacy.

2. To what extent has Professor Bushman written a sociological biography of Joseph Smith?

Bushman's rendering of Smith's life is by far the most ambitious and professional effort on the part of a believing LDS scholar in rebuttal of Fawn Brodie's (1945) debunking account of the Mormon prophet as a pious fraud. Numerous other Smith biographies over the past 75 years have been either debunking or hagiographic in their analyses and conclusions. A believing Latter-day saint, Bushman aimed to write an intellectually credible account of Mormonism's founder that merits the respect of trained historians without ultimately compromising the integrity of his own religious faith.

In the preface of his biography, Professor Bushman (2005, xix–xxiv) identifies the key questions that motivated and guided his study of the Mormon prophet. To paraphrase Bushman: In the context of nineteenth-century American society, how did a man with such an inauspicious background

and dearth of formal education succeed, at such a young age, in articulating the core doctrines and organizing the institutional foundations of a new religion? What was the logic of his visionary life and the character of his religious thought? What was the nature of the religious world he created for his followers, and why did that world appeal to them so strongly?

These are good questions. To answer them, Bushman (2007, xxii) says we must strive "to think as Smith thought and to reconstruct the beliefs of his followers as they understood them." This is the methodology of verstehen. To a considerable extent Bushman achieves the objective of reconstructing the worldview that Joseph Smith and his friends and family shared with other Christian primitivists and religious seekers in the highly sectarian religious economy of nineteenth-century America. He is especially good at dissecting the peculiar character of Smith's religious thought as it is expressed in his official revelations and ostensible translations of ancient religious records. Bushman's command of the intellectual and religious history of the early nineteenth century allows him to make pointed comparisons with the teachings and practices of other religious groups of that era. What Bushman's skillful contextual analysis produces is an ideographic appreciation for what is most distinctive and even remarkable about the origins of the Mormon religion.

This said, within a religious context, key terms like revelation and prophecy are often assumed and taken for granted by religious actors and their chroniclers. A sociological biography of Joseph Smith should offer definitions of religious claims that capture their distinctive social qualities without rendering a judgment as to their ontological validity or ethical status. Sociologically, religious revelation and prophecy may be defined as statements of instructions or commands that are attributed to God or a transcendent source by a religious leader or leaders and their followers. Similarly, we may say that religious revelators or prophets are individuals who claim to have received instruction from God or a transcendent source and are believed by their followers to have done so. These kinds of detached definitions simply identify and describe the basic elements of a particular type of human social action: attributions, claims, and beliefs are shared by leaders and followers about transcendent instructions or commands.

Bushman, however, demurs from using this kind of qualifying prose on the grounds that it becomes annoyingly redundant. He also believes, most importantly, that by mimicking Smith's and his followers' language of faith, he is better able to enter into and convey their religious worldview. Perhaps so, but

a scholarly description and analysis of events written in this form also runs the serious risk of reading like the unexamined, faith-promoting narratives of religious advocates. Surely skilled writers can strive to achieve verstehen of their subjects' religious world without sacrificing an appropriate level of detachment when describing and analyzing that world.

For their own reasons, scholars may be motivated in particular cases to unmask perceived fraudulent activities or demonstrable harm caused by various religious beliefs and practices. But these sorts of studies are largely in the tradition of exposés and investigative journalism rather than academic sociology. It is on these grounds, it should be pointed out, that Brodie's controversial biography of Smith is often criticized for pursuing a derogatory agenda rather than a purely detached, scholarly analysis.

Strictly speaking, sociological analysis of religion should not stipulate that the actors involved are either rational or delusional, sincere or deceptive, or that their claims and beliefs are either true or false, good or malevolent. A sociological biography of Joseph Smith should certainly review the religious controversies surrounding his claims of divine empowerment and guidance but not focus on refuting or supporting them. Instead, a sociological biography should concern itself with systematically investigating the cultural and familial factors that shaped Smith's personality and stimulated his religious thinking. Just as importantly, it should study the historical conduciveness of America and Europe's nineteenth-century religious economies for their receptivity to visionary religion and the interpersonal dynamics of Smith's interaction with converts, peers, and critics. By specifying a relationship between leaders and followers, sociological definitions do not merely reduce the question of revelation and prophecy to the mental states of isolated individuals. Many of these latter themes are, in fact, seriously addressed in Bushman's treatment. But the ultimate veracity of Smith's claim to be God's latter-day prophet, translator of ancient records, and founder of the restored church of Jesus Christ remains central to the subtext of Bushman's book.

Bushman (2005, xix) frankly acknowledges his own Mormon faith and the central difficulty of achieving strict objectivity in the scholarly interpretation of religious histories. In the case of Joseph Smith, scholar-believers accept the intervention of supernatural power as the ultimate explanation for his remarkable religious biography and accomplishments; they accept a priori Smith's claims of divine guidance as true, which inclines them to not merely describe their subject but to tacitly—if not overtly—vindicate the ultimate

plausibility of his claims. To the extent that this occurs, objective social science investigation and analysis are at risk of being replaced by religious apologetics. Bushman is not overtly apologetic in his exposition, but he also contends (2005, xxi) that strictly naturalistic approaches to religious biography fail to appreciate what is most important to understanding the actions of religious followers. While this contention is debatable (theorists like William James, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and Rudolph Otto have made mysticism, charisma, the sacred, and the holy central to their study of human experience), an authentic sociological biography should, in fact, maintain a stringently agnostic attitude toward supernatural truth claims and limit itself to naturalistic cause-and-effect explanations of a person's life.

Nonetheless, and much to his credit, Bushman succeeds in humanizing Joseph Smith by disclaiming the saintliness or perfection of his character. The biography includes discussion of his personal flaws, defects in judgment, doubts and mistakes, as well as his virtues and extraordinary accomplishments. Implied by the title of his book, Bushman's thesis is that Smith grew into the role of prophet and religious innovator, gaining in self-confidence and authority as he matured. But there are significant occasions, especially in the early chapters on Smith's religious claims concerning his youthful visionary experiences and consignment of the gold plates, where Bushman's narrative often depends uncritically on reporting Smith's (or his mother's or other early converts') accounts of supernatural empowerment at face value without proposing any objective, social science analysis. It is precisely these turning-point occasions in the history of Joseph Smith that require the most detached and critical examination of historical evidence. From a strictly social science perspective, the question is not whether Smith's claims were objectively true, but why would people besides members of his own family believe them to be true and subsequently follow his guidance and instructions that radically changed their lives? Consequently, we are not provided with a systematic, cause-and-effect explanation of the interactive process in which a young prodigy, possessing certain native abilities, evolves into the founder and prophet of a new religion.

In light of the methodological stipulations of social science, perhaps it should be asked: Can a believing Latter-day Saint write a detached sociological biography of Joseph Smith? Conversely, must the author of such a biography be a doubter or nonbeliever? These questions themselves continue to be susceptible to much debate.

3. What more might Professor Bushman or other scholars do to produce a biography of Joseph Smith (and by extension, other important historical figures) that could benefit from inclusion of a sociological approach?

Throughout his superbly detailed study of Joseph Smith, Professor Bushman offers numerous and insightful ad hoc observations regarding Smith's cultural milieu, the complex facets of his character (especially as an adult), and the implications of his religious thought. What is lacking in his analysis from a sociological perspective, however, is a general theoretical framework for organizing and interpreting the available documentary data concerning Smith's life. One useful tool that a sociological approach to Smith's biography might offer is a theoretical typology for identifying the key characteristics of his prophetic career that need to be systematically examined and explained in comparison to other prophetic figures or religious innovators. For example, in describing Smith's most important doctrinal and organizational revelations as oracular and epigrammatic in comparison to the expository rhetoric of other nineteenth-century divines, Bushman (2005, xxi) himself implicitly suggests a contrasting set of typological categories: What are the social and personal characteristics of oracular prophets compared to expository prophets? What is the structure of social action in a particular time and place that is most likely to produce oracular rather than expository prophecy? To what kinds of people are these different types of prophecy most likely to appeal and with what variations in their social consequences? This is the kind of sociological analysis that might be fruitfully applied in making partial sense of Joseph Smith and the religion he founded, as well as contributing to the development of conceptual categories for the comparative study of other religious movements.

Bushman also makes passing references to other features of Smith's mode of prophecy that could be more systematically developed through a theoretical analysis of prophecy as an interactive social process. Though often oracular in their ideas and rhetoric, almost all of Smith's revelations were in response to specific inquiries and problems generated and shared by his followers. As Bushman (2005, 172) puts it, "No other visionary sect of the nineteenth century was so dependent on immediate revelation to carry on business." Some of Smith's important revelations were produced in priesthood councils, and many were formulated in discussion and communion with various leading elders of the church; some appear even to have been jointly authored.

Though ordinary members' supernatural experiences were not considered authorized revelations for dictating church doctrine or policy, they were

encouraged to have visions and to prophesy in their meetings and councils. Furthermore, Joseph Smith was a prophet who was open to editing and changing the wording of his prophecies through reflection and, presumably, in response to a certain amount of democratic input from others. To an unknown extent, ordinary sociological models of group discussion and decision-making could be applied to better understand the way in which Smith's guiding revelations for the church he founded were stimulated and shaped through the process of social interaction with like-minded disciples. A systematic analysis of the social construction of prophecy in a well-documented Mormon case study has significant potential for making theoretical contributions to the comparative study of prophecy in other visionary religions.

In addition to a particular focus on the type of prophecy employed by Joseph Smith, one could take a step back and draw upon a number of broader sociological concerns and theoretically related concepts that would be highly relevant in analyzing Smith's prophetic career. Thus, for example, in his critique of 1950s-era social science, C. Wright Mills (1959, 5, 7) called for a robust integration of factual research and theoretical analysis, wherein discrete studies of individuals could be made meaningful in the larger context of history and contemporary institutions. Mills urged cultivation of what he called the "sociological imagination"—a quality of mind necessary "to grasp history and biography and the relations of the two within society … the capacity to shift from one perspective to another … to range from the impersonal and remote transformations to the most intimate features of the human self—and to see the relations between the two."

Amplifying and refining Mill's approach to questions of biography and history, Norman Denzin (1989) has written from a social constructionist perspective on the topic of "interpretive biography," in which he too emphasizes the dynamic interplay between the course of a person's life and the larger structure of shaping events within the institutional and cultural order of a particular society. In particular, Denzin deploys the concept of "epiphanies" or turning points in the arc of a person's life. Such epiphanies can be produced both by high points (such as Joseph Smith's completion and publication of the Book of Mormon) and low points (such as his imprisonment in Liberty Jail on charges of treason) or other momentous moments that are deemed subjectively significant—especially for ambitiously creative individuals like Joseph Smith who are constantly engaged in constructing and reconstructing their own identities.

In a similar vein, based on contingency theory in interactionist social psychology, we recently employed a social process approach to assess both the internal and external contingency factors at play in the intellectual history of Jan Shipps's development as a renowned non-Mormon historian of Mormon history. Compatible with Denzin's social constructionist approach, we (Shepherd and Shepherd 2019, 114) argued that "the unfolding of an individual's career is always a social process that allows for a substantial degree of human agency in responding to turning point events and contingency factors in its evolutionary development." This statement frames a potentially useful set of questions for constructing a sociological biography of Joseph Smith: What were the most important turning point events in Smith's life? What were the most significant internal and external "contingencies" that shaped his distinctive responses to these events?

Internal contingencies are factors connected to the capabilities of individuals: their talents, native intelligence, and moral character, especially including individual differences in cognitive complexity, motivation, and achievement orientation. External contingencies are factors connected to the relative influence of other persons or social circumstances that impinge on the lives of individuals: their social networks, primary and secondary group relationships, and the opportunity structures and mobility channels afforded by institutions and historical events. It should be understood that in many ways, internal and external contingencies are themselves mutually contingent: Individuals' talents, intelligence, and moral character are shaped by their social networks and primary and secondary group relations, as well as by the opportunity structure and mobility channels of their society. Conversely, group norms, cultural values, and the structure of existing institutions can be influenced and significantly modified by the thinking and actions of highly creative individuals like Joseph Smith—precisely the kinds of individuals who, in fact, become the most prominent candidates for biographical consideration. A systematic exposition and analysis of the entire constellation of key turning point events and the major internal and external contingencies of a person's life are central to the task of producing a sociological biography.

One other closely related approach for composing a sociological biography of Joseph Smith might take a cue from Arland Thornton's (2005) critical assessment of straight-line developmental theories of social change, especially with regard to Western models of historical development of the family as a basic social institution in human societies. In contrast to conventional approach-

es to the study of social change in particular societies, Thornton recommends "reading history sideways," which is to say, comparing societies at the same point in time to examine their points of convergence and divergence, as opposed to the traditional historical approach in which one particular society's history is followed over time. Shifting from a macro to a micro perspective, we might consider composing a sociological biography of Joseph Smith in the same "sideways" manner; that is, by comparing and contrasting Smith's prophetic career with contemporaries whose lives intimately intersected with his (such as Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and Sidney Rigdon), but whose career paths also differed from his in significant ways.

Other obvious elements of a sociological biography of Smith's prophetic career would include the long-established notions of charismatic authority and its organizational consequences, prophetic leadership in the founding and early development of new religious movements, and the transformation and accommodation of new religious movements over time. Additional conceptual themes—such as reference groups, plausibility structures, identity formation, utopian social movements, deviance labeling, and inter-group conflict—have clear and significant application to Joseph Smith and the religious movement he founded. These are issues and ideas that have been theoretically and empirically pursued by sociologists of religion for close to a hundred years, from Max Weber (1978) to Rodney Stark (1999, 2005), Armand Mauss (1984), Kendall White (1987), the two of us (2015), and a multitude of other scholars as well.

In conclusion it should be said that whatever methodological or theoretical shortcomings can be adduced from a sociological standpoint, Richard Bushman's biography of Joseph Smith is a landmark study of the Mormon prophet, one that substantially expands our understanding and human appreciation—whether believers, skeptics, or nonbelievers—of the founder of a contemporary, international faith. If and when a sociological study of Smith's life and prophetic career as Mormonism's founder is ever attempted, it should exploit the vast collection of historical material already aggregated and rendered by Professor Bushman (and other skilled Mormon historians). But such a study should be guided by a theoretical framework that aims to produce an entirely neutral, naturalistic explanation of his history and accomplishments—an analysis that systematically assesses rather than simply narrates the relative influence of Smith's social networks over time, including his family, peers, antagonists, and the accumulation of critical turning point events in nineteenth-century frontier America that led him to take certain directions in life rather than others.

Theoretical elements of a genuinely sociological biography of Joseph Smith (such as a typology of prophecy and revelation as outlined above, or pursuing leads suggested by C. Wright Mills, Norman Denzin, and Arland Thornton) should lead to additional hypotheses whose value could be tested comparatively for a better understanding of the similarities and differences between Mormonism's founder and the founders of other visionary religions. A rigorous sociological biography would not, however, presume to stand as the definitive word on the life of Joseph Smith that somehow satisfies both believers and non-believer critics who are preoccupied with the question of the religious authenticity of his prophetic claims. Such a book lies outside the boundaries of social science analysis and, indeed, would appear to be a contradiction in terms.

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Book Review

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The Palgrave Handbook of Global Mormonism. Edited by R. Gordon Shepherd, A. Gary Shepherd, and Ryan T. Cragun. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. 892 pages. $219.99 hardcover, $169 ebook.

Over the past half century, the growth of Christianity in the Global South—in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—has been a dramatic new fact in the history of the faith, and this has been reflected by an outpouring of scholarly books and articles. To date, little of that scholarship has paid much (or any) attention to the experience of the Latter-day Saints. *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Mormonism* more than compensates for this neglect, offering as it does a sweeping and ambitious range of essays concerning many crucial aspects of globalization as it affects one particular church.

Today, the LDS Church officially counts some 16.6 million believers worldwide, of whom just 6.7 million, or 40%, live in the US. Nearly seven million live in other nations of the Americas, and growth is marked both in Africa and Asia. As the present book suggests, all those figures need to be read with care, but they offer a good general guide. The same distribution emerges if we look at the temples that are essential for the church's ritual life. In 2019, the number of temples outside the US actually surpassed the figure for the US proper, and the location of buildings planned or under construction means that the disparity will grow steadily over the next decade. In 2020, the Church announced the construction of six new temples. One was in Utah, but all the others were outside the US, respectively in Guatemala, Brazil, Bolivia, and in the Pacific island states of Kiribati and Vanuatu. A church once seen as quintessentially American has gone global, and will be ever more so. Any scholarly

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attempt to discuss "Mormonism" in general, or the Mormon world, that focuses solely on North America would be failing in its duty.

The Handbook comprises 31 essays, divided into five major sections, namely Foundations of a New Religious Tradition; Contemporary Concerns and Issues Facing an International Church; Living Global Mormonism; Mormon Ethnic and Racial Diversity in North America; and Final Concerns and Reflections. The range of coverage is deeply impressive, and the quality of scholarship is excellent throughout. The authors differ widely in their approaches and assumptions, giving the reader a good sense of the conversations that go on in the field of Mormon Studies.

In terms of the subjects addressed, I confess to a personal prejudice, namely that my own background concerns the "Global" and particularly Global South aspects of the issues involved, and a good number of essays here very properly address issues and developments in North America. They explore such significant themes as sexual identity, generational tensions, and ethnic interactions. Not for a second do I mean to disparage those studies if I devote more attention to aspects of global expansion, and especially the section on Living Global Mormonism, which represents over 40% of the text, and over half the contributions. The *Handbook* contains notable studies addressing conditions in Peru, Mexico, Brazil, the Pacific Islands, the Philippines, and West and South Africa, as well in various European societies. Within the bounds of feasibility, this really does live up admirably to the "Global" ambitions of the title.

Although it is invidious to single out themes in such a broad collection, I do stress the issues of adaptation and inculturation that so often arise. All churches have to varying degrees had to cope with global expansion and what we might call a re-balancing of numbers, but the LDS experience is distinctive because the church's theology and traditions are so firmly bound up with the territory of the United States itself. Also, the highest levels of church leadership, based in Salt Lake City, remain white, male, and American (and commonly elderly).

Around the world, ordinary Mormons are often imagined (and stereotyped) as actual or would-be Americans, with all the advantages and drawbacks such an image brings. Depending on circumstances, that image might encourage affiliation with the church or actual conversion, for people attracted by the appeal of modernity, the West, and of the English language. But the foreign stamp that marks the church might also provoke opposition and resentment. How do these rival forces of push and pull work out in various

societies? When someone converts to the LDS Church, to what exactly do they think they are converting? What are the cultural associations that go with the spiritual message? Those questions surface in several essays here, and the discussions are perceptive. At every turn, we encounter the intersections of culture and faith.

Mormons also stand apart from most denominations in their insistence that congregations worldwide follow norms and worship styles derived from the US—the same musical instruments, the same hymns, the same attitudes to bodily movement during worship. The "one-size-fits-all" approach applies to architecture, and the building of temples as much as individual churches. For many reasons, then, issues of inculturation are acute in the LDS context. As it develops, "Global Mormonism" faces the challenges of other churches, but even more so.

Those questions of culture and Americanization recur throughout the essays. Mormons are desperately sensitive to any hints of syncretism, and reject anything that might be seen as borrowed from older pagan ways. That is a particular issue in Africa, where the lack of inculturation has limited potential LDS growth, but it also affects other societies like the Māoris of New Zealand where cultural pride remains very strong. In other traditions, we would expect such local churches to evolve according to their own particular needs and conditions, but that is not as easy as it might be given the larger LDS framework.

I do not wish to give the impression that these distinctive qualities of Mormonism represent grievous burdens or obstacles, and some aspects have given the church a real advantage. For decades, their missionaries have built effectively on the idea that the Book of Mormon represented a distinctive revelation to the New World, and visual materials show the resurrected Christ preaching to audiences in appropriate settings, using Mesoamerican pyramids as a backdrop. That has a special impact in modern-day Central and South America. In practical terms, the church benefits from the astonishing qualities of its social ministries, and the support offered to members in distress. Also, Mormonism is associated with a rich body of stories and customs that easily lend themselves to local adaptation, and we often read here about Global South congregations trying to evolve their own particular forms of religious life.

Reminiscent of many (or most) other churches is the substantial impact that global growth has on the US, in the form of immigration. What happens in Brazil or the Philippines does not stay in those countries; it travels back to

North America with migrants, who make North American Mormonism ever more diverse. In fact, that figure I gave of North American LDS membership must of course take account of the growing diversity of that community, even or especially in Utah itself. That 40% of Mormons who are based in the US are assuredly not all white or North European in their antecedents, and the white component will shrink further as a relative share as the decades progress. Several chapters in the *Global Handbook* address such themes, as well as exploring the special circumstances of African American and Latinx believers in the US.

The *Palgrave Handbook* thoroughly deserves an audience among academics interested in Mormonism, or Mormon Studies, but I would be sorry if it was limited to that community. The book has a great deal to say to scholars of Global Christianity more broadly defined, and they could profit mightily from reading it.

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