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Saintmaking and Saintbreaking
An Empirical Analysis of the Mormon Experience

Jason Singh
Durham University
Department of Theology and Religion
Michaelmas Term 2014



Abstract

Why do fervent following adherents disaffiliate from the religion of their birth? In so doing oftentimes one's culture, heritage, and perhaps all that has provided shape to a person's life may be left behind as well. The extremely complex, controlling, and efficacious system of Latter-day Saint socialization within the Rocky Mountain West has served as the substrate by which a comparatively young and peculiar people have experienced a relative catapult into the global arena of religious philosophy, international politics, and economic commerce. To be sure, studies of departure from mainline churches abound. However, such research has neglected to specifically address the exit process of embedded Mormons. This exploration is unique in that I provide an articulation of elements that clarify what it means to possess an identity aligned with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints within its home parameters of the Mormon culture region. Narrative data acquired from forty ex-LDS members who were born to, and raised by fervent following parents underneath the ideological shelter of the Mormon sacred canopy proffers a treasure trove of feelings, patterns, and expectations that offer insight and explanation into the mechanisms connected to LDS detachment, exit, and apostasy.

Declaration

This work has been submitted to Durham University, Department of Theology and Religion in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is entirely my own work. Portions of the following original research may also be found within my MPhil thesis, which was successfully approved in 2006 by the University of Oxford, Department of Sociology.

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I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of influential and caring people who have proven integral to the completion of my doctoral thesis. Perhaps the most fundamental is my undergraduate mentor Dr. David P. Yells, who during the very early stages of my academic pursuits supplied trust, honesty, and stability at a time in my life when none seemed to exist.

While working on my MPhil at the University Oxford, Dr. Vikki Boliver fostered the occasion to explore the architecture and economics of sociology. In fact when approving the topic for my thesis, Vikki opened the door to what would become a meticulous examination of self, origin, society, and rationality.

Dr. David Knowlton, as both a colleague and an outstanding scholar, had consistently excited within me the desire to investigate and develop a sense of firmness within the slippery domains of epistemology and ontology. Indeed Dave has occupied a central role in my ability to empathize, to tolerate, and to comprehend.

Without concern for brevity I'd like to offer my warmest appreciation and admiration to Dr. Douglas J. Davies for his wit, humor, kind nature, academic eclecticism, and unassuming intellectual ferocity. Above all, I thank him most sincerely for giving me the opportunity to expand upon my master's composition. As a product of his tutelage I have been able to appreciate the phenomena of religious identification, membership, zeal, and disaffiliation from not only a structurally causal – or as the case may be, a utilitarian perspective – but also from an increasingly cognitive, anthropological, phenomenological, and humanist vantage as well. In addition to fostering the development of a penchant for seeing humanity as comprised of various feelings, moods, motivations, sensitivities, and desires flowing variably from an array of deterministic entities; Douglas has further defined the most joyful aspects of my doctoral program within his challenge, largely directed toward both my intellect and methodological predispositions, to think and explore independently. Last, through Douglas' guidance, I have learned to embrace the prospect of moving beyond convention, conception, and tradition.

I will forever be indebted to those individuals who have proven integral to the execution of this research. To my gatekeeper and informants I offer my appreciation in recognition of their hard work and trust. To my respondents who allowed me access to their thoughts, fears, pains, and triumphs, I extend a most gracious acknowledgement – for without them, the work contained herein would not be.

Concerning the charge to refine the less polished aspects of my thoughts and also in recognition of their providing the opportunity to utilize a bit more time and a bit more scholarship in order to present an improved thesis, I offer my fullest appreciation to Dr. Jonathan Miles-Watson and Dr. Matthew Wood. Indeed the insight provided by my examiners has resulted in a clear apprehension that there is always much to be learned from a deeper engagement of literature, theory, and phenomena.

Finally, I am grateful to my family. To my mother for all that she has sacrificed for me, and to my beautiful wife for her constant love and support. Whatever the future holds, I share it with them.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BSA	Boy Scouts of America
BYU	Brigham Young University
D&C	*The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Smith ([1835] 1981).
EM	*Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Ludlow (1992).
FARMS	Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies
FHE	Family Home Evening
LDS	Latter-day Saints
MCR	Mormon Culture Region
MTC	Missionary Training Center
RCT	Rational Choice Theory

Introduction

This thesis attempts to empirically identify the motivations and causes that effectively result in the rejection of a Latter-day Saint religious conviction. First however it is prudent to impart a quick note regarding what I have come to understand religion actually is, as well as to offer a bit of background relating to its functionality for those who ardently believe.[1]

Following from E.B. Tylor's minimalist definition of religion as simply a belief in spiritual beings,[2] Whitehouse has recently proffered another parsimonious characterization stating that the essential concentrate of religion abides when groups of people share any set of both conviction and actions that appeal specifically to supernatural agency.[3] Friedrich Schleiermacher treats religion and the attendant states of consciousness and emotion that it embeds within the psyche and experience of ego as completely alienated from both rational and reason-centered debates. Subordinating the primacy of the group or the collective, Schleiermacher instead asserts that individual religiosity is much more than the simple or stale antecedents or consequences causing or resulting from political, economic, material, or otherwise considered external forces. Thus he embraces the position that belief, faith, and sincerity, when associated with individual religiosity, are ultimately private possessions. By virtue of Schleiermacher's sense of privatization or individual privilege – thereby resulting in the removal of the 'truly religious' from that of the civil or the mundane – pious sentience is further imbued with an inherent resistance, even a type of genuine impenetrability to outsider or instrumental apprehension, reduction, or critique. In the end these variously distinct though personally cherished emotions are defined by an absolute dependence upon the concept of God. That is, in an effort to subjectively claim an allegiance toward a fixed sense of religiosity, Schleiermacher states that believers must submit to, and rely upon, something or someone other than one's self.[4]

In a similar vein Paul Tillich conceptualizes religion as fundamentally, holistically, and unconditionally central when exercised correctly in life. Indeed he

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[1] The conceptions that follow are in large part congruent with the idealized form, function, and place which religion is thought to fulfill within an LDS worldview.
[2] Tylor ([1878] 1958: 424).
[3] Whitehouse (2004: 2). Whitehouse also discusses and develops at magisterial length the analogous religious concepts of ritual, meaning, doctrine, and image.
[4] Schleiermacher ([1799] 1996: 18-54).

rests upon the verity that for believers, religion is and should be their ultimate concern.[5] In fact Davies reviews Tillich by stating that according to such an interpretation, every moment and each aspect of life is ideally to be clad with faith, every day should be a day dedicated to the Lord, every meal ought to invoke the notions of both grace and gratitude, and every temporal joy should find its genesis from the heavens.[6]

Embarking upon an alternate tack, Geertz the founder of interpretive anthropology[7] sees religion as a "system of symbols which act to establish powerful, pervasive and lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that these moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic."[8] It is simple to ascertain that the robust definition utilized here has found considerable influence from the works of Hume,[9] Marx,[10] Durkheim,[11] Weber,[12] and Freud;[13] all of whom essentially treat religion as nothing more than the product of human creation.

I believe it to be quite obvious that religion – perhaps more than any other competing project, method, or institution – always involves the attempt to satisfy an inherent penchant abiding in people toward the questioning of one's place within the matrix of existence. Wilson tells us that in providing answers which somehow satiate the emotional demands of humanity, religion will inevitably foster a sense of temporal reassurance or gratification.[14] Furthermore, the realization of an individual means of functional pleasure or contentment, which subsequently produces a degree of social equilibrium, will consequently come to be embedded within any given collectivity as symbolic of its ethos. Elegantly discussing such an idea, Davies treats religion together with its core values as providing the ritual means by which culture itself may be intensified.[15] Additionally, religion – concomitant with its prescribed beliefs and embedded protocol – has both historically as well as contemporarily managed the

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[5] Tillich (1959: 40-41).
[6] Davies (2002: 12).
[7] Martin (1993).
[8] Geertz (1973: 4).
[9] Wheatley (1986); Hume ([1757] 1957).
[10] Pals (1996: 124-157).
[11] Durkheim ([1912] 2008).
[12] Weber ([1922] 1964; [1930] 2005).
[13] Freud ([1950] 1989; [1961] 1989).
[14] Wilson (1966: xv-xix, 37-38).
[15] Davies (2008).

principles, morals, and ethics of its constituency alongside the myriad emotions, moods, and sentiments that inevitably and ardently spring forth from such dispositions.[16] Given the aforementioned concepts, I am confident in suggesting that religious structure provides the human animal with access to both meaning[17] and order. Furthermore it reduces existential fear in the face of chaos, clutter, and entropy. Religiosity fosters the development of purpose, identity, and intention. Ritual interaction or dromena articulates and confers depth, power, and passion upon the concept of truth. To my mind, the most significant prospect which religion affords humankind is the opportunity to believe, to belong,[18] and to become.[19] For those who subscribe, religion together with its attendant beliefs, actions, hopes, and expectations defines or breathes life into reality.

The above ideas concerning faith, meaning, conviction, and piety as well as the recognition that the work contained herein seeks to produce genuine scholarship associated with religious exit, religious disaffiliation, indeed even the refutation of a spiritual worldview aptly frames the constitution of this effort and illustrates first its indebtedness to social constructionism and the sociology of knowledge.[20] Such a perspective is well known and treats human reality not as an objectively fixed external fact, but rather views action and intention as primarily shaped through the processes of various social, communal, interpersonal, and psychic exchanges – this is to say that knowledge and belief are socially located and communally maintained. However, this study represents somewhat of a departure from the usual concerns of those who have previously dealt with identity issues according to such a perspective because I delineate the manner in which a person's confidences in the Latter-day Saint system come to be doubted, purposively questioned, dismantled, and ultimately rejected from the perspective of ego rather than articulating the methods by which personhood is created or sustained through social interaction. The primary reason for this approach

[16] Properzi (2010); Davies (2011: 1-2).
[17] Davies (2011: 5) suggests that *meaning* often takes the form of explanatory ideas which elicit particular emotive moods, sensations, or moral reactions. Such explanations are typically harmonized to exist within myth, philosophies, science, theologies, or as of late even various forms of technologies and expansionism.
[18] Berlin (1960: 6, 29) refers to Montesquieu's engagement of the human spirit as *belonging* to a particular culture, nation, or historical period; thus bringing attention to different types of character, morals, dress, architecture, domestic habits, and religious symbolisms that coalesce to render an immediate awareness of both context and time.
[19] Allport (1955); Cox (1965).
[20] Mannheim (1936: 264); Maquet (1951: 19-36, 124-162); Berger & Luckmann (1966); Berger (1967a: 1-60); Berger et al. (1973: 18).

is simply due to the fact that I treat only those ex-members who were born into the Mormon religion, not converts; that is, only those who have inherited and who have lived since birth a life which promotes devotion to the LDS structure constitute what I later define as an LDS disaffiliate. This is not to imply that the production of a Mormon identity is of little concern or is left unaddressed; for it is the process of LDS socialization within the geographic constraints of Zion which lends an unmistakable utility to this thesis and provides major content for the comprehension of reasons given by those who choose to seek within other categories of experience and potential for answers to life's dilemmas. First it must be stated that I have come to understand such commerce as that which results in the acquisition of meaning is only provided to ego through the mediating propensities of individual aptitude or proclivity, culturally available cognitive categories, disproportionately allocated resources, as well as the recognition and potency of both socialization and enculturation mechanisms. Second, the project and my own thinking further owe much to a mixture of discourses related to cognitive dissonance theory and social psychology.[21] Third, as the treatment is primarily concerned with the attenuation of religious belief and influence, literature and concepts related to the secularization paradigm will also be addressed.[22] Obliquely, my commitment to the cultural construction of individual comprehension and familiarity – while affirming the potential toward a maximal realization of an identity[23] embedded within parameters of this sort – indeed closely follows concepts linked to the further comprehension of subjective judgment, behaviour, and self-awareness.[24] Finally, while the following is in no manner vital to my dissertation, the intersection with several elements connected to the philosophy of relativism and experience will prove more than effective when considering notions related to

[21] Festinger (1957) has provided the base by which this line of academia has progressed. Additional points and references are contained throughout the following chapters of this work.
[22] Bruce (2002, 2011).
[23] *Identity* is the point at which i) self-understanding intersects with ii) the views that others have of us, and iii) the preferred values and emotional expressions indicative of both the degree of determinism, and the symbolic forms of structure extant within the society and culture to which one belongs: Davies (2011: 2). Davies (2011: 5) states: one's unique identity stands as "a negotiated sense of self, developed over time through the emotions and moods that characterize feelings people have of themselves in relation to core values of their group."
[24] Recall Hallowell's concept of the culturally constituted behavioural environment (1955: 87).

otherness,[25] ethno-psychology,[26] reciprocity, exchange,[27] and emergent forms of personality.[28] Moreover this work contributes to the increased understanding of collective and individual expressions indicating psychological conformity, desire, control, autonomy, transformation, revolution, and liberation.[29]

In order to supply an ethical vantage from which the reader may assess the descriptive reliability and validity inherent within the project of illuminating various aspects indicating Mormon cosmology, world formation, structure, and identity I believe it is of absolute academic necessity to delineate a few concepts as well as to locate myself appropriately in relation to the object of this enquiry. While the verdict will no doubt remain perpetually inaccessible regarding a definitive conclusion concerning whether ethnographic, systematic, sensitizing, or explanatory studies are ideally to be carried out by an outsider or an insider[30] – it is my contention that we may indeed rest easy as purveyors of perception and understanding with the fact that findings and suggestions resulting from different perspectives, techniques, and proclivities will most certainly yield a colorful increase in knowledge regarding any given subject. For reasons that will ultimately bolster an enhanced eclectic *Verstehen*[31] associated with the area under discussion – both in an *internal* and an

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[25] Davies (2011: 3) suggests that *otherness* be understood as the inescapable measure of influence resulting from the philosophical sense that one is not alone.
[26] Hardman (2000: 10-11).
[27] Heath (1976).
[28] Sapir (1927).
[29] Carrette (2007); LeVine (1974).
[30] Within the confines of historical analysis Berlin (1960: 28) refers to the insider/outsider dichotomy as *actor* and *observer*, or *inner* and *outer* perspectives. Additionally, McCutcheon (1999) has edited a reader that is priceless in its multi-disciplinary articulation of current perspectives regarding the methodological and epistemological implications of such positions.
[31] Knowledge regarding the human world, Dilthey claims, is only attained through experience (*erleben*) and understanding (*verstehen*); see Coser (1971: 245). Owing much to Dilthey's views, Weber (1964: 29) sees the sociological endeavour as one that is predominately concerned with "the interpretive understanding (*Verstehen*) of social behaviour in order to gain an explanation of its causes, its course, and its effects." Indeed it can be recognized that Weber's primary notion of *Verstehen* within sociology is ideally to unify the cultural and the social with the personal or psychological in order to foster a sense of comprehension regarding certain phenomena that cannot be gained by holding solely to any singular perspective; see Ringer (1997). The concept no doubt is deep, and has been the focus of several scholars' work. With respect to the above formative ideas and definitions, I will be operating according to Berlin's (1960: 20-21) thoughts which closely appropriates Weber's *Verstehen* with the concepts of both *knowing* and *affinity*. He discusses the object of *knowledge* as inextricable from the truth of *understanding* and suggests that there can be no blush of *knowledge* regarding a different historical period, person, or culture without an attendant degree of *understanding* born from one's realization of the existence of *affinities*. Otherwise stated, there can be no claim of *Verstehen* within a context marked by an absence

external sense – my biography as uniquely insider and outsider oriented should lend strength to my ability to function as a translator[32] of close-range phenomena. Thus making accessible to both distant observers and immediate or native agents that which otherwise might possibly be lost in varying degrees to either the *etic* or *emic* acts of rendition. This is not to imply that an ideal sense of objectivity lies within either my grasp or the parameters of the following analysis. Indeed in order to suspend argumentation regarding particular values concerning specific perspectives, I tend to favor Kenneth Pike's enlightening conceptualization of seeing the world, cultures, systems, organizations, religions, ideologies, economies, personalities, families, as well as other structural, analytical, or diagnostic units from either an *etic* or an *emic* point of view.[33] Though some may easily commit the mistake of assuming that these illustrative components stand in binary opposition to one another,[34] such a conclusion would in fact result in overlooking the mutually supportive notions that lie at the heart of tactfully incorporating the richness and skill of being able to appreciate humanity from both an insiders perspective as well as simultaneously from that of an empathetic observer. When taken together, both *etic* and *emic* lines of enquiry and philosophical positioning provide tremendous value in comprehending, describing, and categorizing a variety of cognitive, phenomenological, and objectively oriented processes concerning ethics, convention, conduct, and the like.[35] The *etic* approach can best be summarized as embodying that which is external, critical, interpretive,

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of structural, temporal, psychological, or any other type of similarities, which in turn give rise to similar types of apprehending the world, agents, or variables X and Y. Berlin continues by excavating the concept of *Verstehen* from logic associated with both induction and deduction in order to treat it within the frame of *recognition*. He rests ultimately upon a definition of *Verstehen* as "the recognition of a given piece of behaviour as being part and parcel of a pattern of activity which we can follow, which we can remember or imagine, and which we describe in terms of the general laws which cannot all, or even for the most part, be rendered explicit (still less organized into a system), but without which the texture of human life – all that we call social or personal reality – is not conceivable."

[32] Ferguson (2009: 187-190).

[33] Pike (1967; 1999). Also of incredible utility is Goodenough's (1970: 98-130) treatment of the *etic* and the *emic* as correlating quite well with the sociological concepts of the 'general' and the 'particular'.

[34] Harris (1976). McCutcheon (1999: 18-19) also reminds us of Harris' (1979) argument espousing the goal of scholarship associated with human behaviour is not to determine what the insider might mean, think, or feel as a product of their beliefs or actions; but instead the conclusions of the scholar should discern explanations for *why it is that they do or think what they do*. As such, Harris faults Pike for privileging the *emic* at the expense of the *etic* and calls for the development of a rational, comparative, and scientific theory capable of increasing extant levels of generalizability.

[35] Geertz (1999: 51).

systematic, preliminary, or schematic. *Etic* is that which tends toward the macro or has to do with opinions, conjectures, and appropriations stated of a culture from someone who resides outside, separate, or apart from it. *Emic* materials on the other hand are indicative of thoughts, feelings, and experiences provided to a researcher in order to describe a culture, situation, or context from those who exist within such a program.[36] Stated plainly, "the *etic* viewpoint studies behaviour as from outside a particular system," and "the *emic* viewpoint results from studying behaviour as from inside the system."[37]

The life I have lived during my formative years appropriately frames the research query represented herein along with its implications in the direction of realizing my own opinions regarding the nature of reality; in addition, the world of my youth and early adulthood also define the *emic* contribution to this investigation. Having been born and raised a Latter-day Saint underneath the sacred canopy of Mormonism has provided more insight into the question at hand than could possibly be ascertained by any outsider. To be brief, many of the same experiences as a young man in Zion which had otherwise or intentionally sought to galvanize an insider's allegiance have also proven – however ironically – to solidify a distinctively *etic* identity in relation to an ideal maximization of Mormon tenets, expectations, and beliefs. These considerations have without doubt played an integral role in the further strengthening of an *etic* posture, which is most transparently embodied within my commitment to acquire academic knowledge regarding the social, cultural, and rational sciences. It is among my greatest hopes that within the following pages the reader will be able to recognize several bits and pieces indicative of an insider's point of view, as well as appreciating a certain degree of thick description[38] which inevitably follows from such a perspective. Moreover, *etic* oriented rhetoric associated with sociological and cultural fluency will ideally blend with the aforementioned *emic* sensitivities in order to produce what I certainly anticipate to be

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[36] Pike (1999).
[37] Pike (1967: 37).
[38] Berlin (1960: 23, 29) suggests that the concept of *thick history* must include a wealth of texture and concrete detail. Accordingly, the project of providing a dense overview of particular situations, grounded in reality, is considered entirely apart from the otherwise *thin* models utilized and propagated within the natural sciences. Also see the definitive article treating such in Geertz (1973a) and Shankman et al. (1984: 261-264).

a worthwhile and enlightening journey into a world of socialization, enculturation, experience, choice, and withdrawal which is still relatively unknown.[39]

Provided the broad and ambitious nature associated with my attempt to intellectually contextualize the *Dasein*[40] drive toward the creation and maintenance of meaning within a clearly defined space, I offer the following research. Chapter one includes a short review which lays a brief historical foundation to the process of secularization; additionally, this section frames certain elements of the secularization paradigm that I see as relevant to the phenomenon of contemporary Latter-day Saint disaffiliation. Providing the central thrust to the chapter, I then present an introduction to the largely sociological treatment of both theoretical and empirical work that concerns religious exit at the individual level. Recognizing many contributions within the literature as well as being made aware of areas that could benefit from further clarification, the final section of the chapter one articulates a few important operationalizations regarding the precision and definitionality of concepts which I have judged to be quite vital to this study.

Chapter two explains the research methodology utilized, while chapter three accomplishes the task of identifying the distinctive processes of both socialization[41] and enculturation[42] as similar enough within the framework of this agenda to be

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[39] Properzi (2010: 10).

[40] I engage the Hedieggerian term throughout my thesis to describe the shared state of *being human*, and to draw attention to the individual drama associated with the maximization of this socially embedded endeavour. See Heidegger ([1953] 2010); Schutz ([1932] 1967: 53); Moran (2000: 100-101).

[41] The lifelong process of *socialization* is very well known, therefore its related literature is voluminous. Here I shall take such to implicate the highly complex manner by which an individual comes to understand, internalize, and perpetuate the multiple rules, norms, and customs associated with both proper and improper intercourse and dialogue as dictated by existence within a given society. Thus the ideal function underlying the project of socialization is to ensure a high probability in the direction of social, ethical, moral, and political continuity. To offer a simple punctuation, society is *where a person lives*.

[42] Literature, articles, and commentary concerned with the processes, methods, or modes of *enculturation* are vast to say the least. Due to the increasingly interpretive, abstract, culturally variable, and artistically dimensional conceptions, aphorisms, and idioms associated, legitimized, and given voice within the wide-reaching field of anthropology, formal treatments associated with enculturation certainly prove a bit more slippery to grasp than the fairly rigid conceptual shape provided by the sociological analysis of its typically considered counterpart or analog, socialization. I see the two as quite distinct when notions of culture and rules associated with social etiquette and engagement are discernible. Thus I think of enculturation as the platform from which people ultimately learn, and by extension come to embody that special type of identity that is based increasingly upon subjective tastes, beliefs, and values, rather than from objective post-industrial commerce. By treating society loosely as *where a person lives* (as stated above in footnote 41), I inevitably must treat culture as

treated as a unified model: that of socio-enculturation. This strategy is better understood later on when I discuss at length the consolidated nature of existence within the sacred canopy of Mormonism and its broader proximal consideration the Mormon culture region. Additionally, chapter three also introduces concepts associated with cognition and dissonance which further set the tone for following thoughts and discussion.

Chapter four covers the theoretical, historical, and geographic rationale that can be seen to support the construction of an LDS *Weltanschauung* as well as providing grounds toward the development of saintmaking as a bona fide concept. In addition, further attention is afforded in the direction of illuminating the various transactions associated with socialization and enculturation as fundamental cognitive processes which are necessary to the formation of a person's identity. It is my position that the course of actions and events that occur as a product of the experience of Mormonization[43] – as it takes place within the context of the Rocky Mountain region of the Western United States, an area which LDS members refer to as 'Zion' – in fact constitutes the most potent method available by which to galvanize a Latter-day Saint sense of self, camaraderie, and solidarity.

Chapter five begins by presenting a variety of respondent characteristics, and establishes my own triunitarian model as a way of organizing factors which participants had cited leading to their disaffiliation. Further, the triunitarian representation is advanced and voice is given to its three components of i) antecedents, ii) steps, and iii) galvanizers. Finally, overarching themes or generalized reasons promoting LDS exit are arranged according to gender. Chapter six offers a pointed discussion of purposes and concepts indicative of my work and references the sociology of genenerative mechanisms in such a manner as to locate a primary contribution of this thesis squarely within the further development of its system. Closing remarks and suggestions concerning future avenues for both research and expansion are provided in the concluding section.

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constituting *who a person is*, in the sense that *enculturation bestows an identity imbued with deep feeling, passionate knowledge, and intense conviction*: see Obeyesekere (1990).

[43] *Mormonization* refers to the process of Latter-day Saint socialization wherein a person learns how to live and communally interact in accordance with LDS character. In this sense the term describes the internalization of the several LDS dispositions which an individual requires to correctly function as an in-group member within such a culture. I use this term in the same vein as *Javanization*, which was coined by Geertz (1974: 250).

In finalizing this brief introduction it should be stated that elements connected to methodology, critique, and commentary are included amidst the whole of the text though are perhaps most productively engaged within chapter one. Additionally my own burgeoning epistemic apprehension that increasingly places society, culture, group, the drive toward *Dasein* belonging, and the unique drama of attaining a socially derived identity as occurring prior to the actuality of the isolated individual – thus exposing the illusion of pure autonomous agency[44] – will in fact run throughout the entirety of this work. As such, the language utilized within – to my estimation and in relation to my own exuberant though admittedly sophomoric capabilities – is quite eclectic to say the least. Professor Davies my doctoral supervisor has at several times implied that the purpose of this dissertation lies within my desire to explore, to know, and to understand. Further adding that if in fact throughout the course of the project I were able to find my own voice, then such would indeed be a good thing. I sincerely hope that what follows will satisfy this criteria.

[44] Berlin (1960: 3) refers to this illusion as *the myth of freedom of the will*.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO RELIGIOUS DISAFFILIATION

1a. SECULARIZATION: BACKGROUND AND DEFINITIONS

A comprehensive review of the concept, theory, or paradigm associated with the diminution of religion's power within the public sphere and thus as an organizing principle by which humankind both individually and collectively constructs and maintains meaning will no doubt lead to the overwhelming recognition that social scientists are nothing less than vehemently divided when it comes to discussing facets associated with context, application, function, definitionality, instrumentality, historicity, political climate, resurgence, and vitality. It seems to me that the debate regarding the role of religion and by extension that of secularization taking place in the present-day is largely fueled by the complexity of the contemporary world itself. By this statement I am attempting to punctuate the sophisticated nature of experience. Indeed argumentation among scholars are motivated by their efforts to legitimize a particularly (possibly intensely) valued position – this penchant abides despite the presence of social, cultural, commercial, and lifestyle differences that otherwise negate the likelihood of establishing subjective truth as objective fact.

Classic social thinkers of the nineteenth century such as Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Weber, Marx, and Freud all proposed that the increasing dynamics and efficiencies associated with industrialization would inevitably eclipse the traditional purpose which religion had erstwhile fulfilled in society.[1] In fact, due to their influence, the death of religion came to be known somewhat as conventional wisdom throughout most of the twentieth century. Secularization – portrayed loosely as the erosion of religious practices, values, and beliefs – stood alongside the accepted revolutions of bureaucratization, rationalization, and urbanization as macro level developments that facilitated the transition from agrarianism to contemporary modernization. Addressing the growing public/private dichotomy or schism of individual beliefs in relation to collectively held values C. Wright Mills suggests: "Once the world was filled with the sacred – in thought, practice, and institutional form. After the Reformation and the Renaissance, the forces of modernization swept

[1] Aldridge (2000: ch 4); Bruce (1992: 170-194).

across the globe and secularization, a corollary historical process, loosened the dominance of the sacred. In due course, the sacred shall disappear altogether except, possibly, in the private realm."[2]

Mills' description of the extinction of the sacred with regard to public evaluation brings to mind Berger's 1961 and 1967 treatment of secularization and modernization (borrowed from Weber)[3] as *Entzauberung* or the disenchantment of the world.[4] Despite an earlier commitment of the author to the thesis, this position has been thoroughly recanted as explained in his 1999 manuscript that: "The world today, with some exceptions… is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever. This means… that "secularization theory" is essentially mistaken."[5] Further criticizing the position that i) the decline of religion is concomitant with modernization and that ii) humankind will eventually "outgrow belief in the supernatural," the American sociologist Rodney Stark argues: "the secularization thesis… was never consistent with empirical reality."[6] Therefore he and his colleagues urge future scholars "to carry the secularization doctrine to the graveyard of failed theories, and there whisper '*requiescat in pace*'."[7] Opponents of the traditional secularization perspective often rally around ideas ranging from market logic and religious change to the privatization of belief, the emergence of new religious movements, art and architecture, and to the sustained influence of religion within the field of secular politics as evidence which are capable of refuting the theory.[8] Despite admirable efforts by various British, American, and European researchers and intellectuals who wish to cast the secularization thesis into doubt or oblivion, I will instead focus upon the work of its contemporary champion Steve Bruce[9] along with his predecessor Bryan Wilson[10] in an attempt to illuminate the

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[2] Mills (1959: 32-33).
[3] Weber ([1922] 1964: 270; [1930] 2005: 178).
[4] Berger (1961: 177; 1967: 105-171). *Entzauberung* or demystification is also treated in Wilson (1966: 23, 132; 1982: 167). For additional anecdotes see Dorrien (2001: 29), Swatos and Christiano (2000: 4), and Dobbelaere (2004: 24-25).
[5] Berger (1999: 2).
[6] Stark (1999: 249).
[7] Stark and Finke (2000: 2).
[8] Casanova (1994), Davie (1994, 2000, 2001, 2006), Yamane (1997), Bruce (2011: ch 4). For a different challenge to the traditional secularization thesis, one that is dependent upon an American context of analysis, see Smith (2003). Also see Bellah (1970: 237), Glasner (1977: 2, 64), and Hadden (1987: 588, 590, 607) for their thoughts that frame the secularization paradigm as a form of anti-religious ideology.
[9] Bruce (2002; 2011).

myriad social and cultural forces that undeniably shape the cognitive dispositions of sapient actors.

To begin, it is clear that definitions of religion are as varied as any concept that resides within the field of the social sciences.[11] Therefore it is prudent to lay somewhat of a foundation regarding central notions which contribute to the comprehension of its attenuation. Dobbelaere provides an ample review of the issue by bringing to light the strengths and weaknesses associated with substantive vs. functional, nominal vs. real, and inclusive vs. exclusive distinctions.[12] He notes Yinger's functional/inclusive example of religion as "a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of human life."[13] Keen to recognize that this conceptualization is amenable to including other ideologies such as communism, nationalism, evolutionism, Marxism, and scientism Dobbelaere then pays attention to Luhmann's functional/nominal/exclusive suggestion that religion should be described positively by the dilemmas it solves for humanity and negatively by the functional differences from alternatives by which it solves them.[14] After further assessment Dobbelaere rests upon a substantive/exclusive/real definition of religion in relation to secularization as "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to a supra-empirical, transcendent reality that unites all those who adhere to it into a single moral community."[15]

Supporting the idea that religion is a social phenomenon of supreme importance and viewing churches as social institutions *par excellence*, Wilson sees religion from a functionalist vantage. Under this consideration "religion offers men the prospect of salvation and provides them with appropriate guidance for its attainment."[16] Thus the institution of religion can be seen as supplying various structures, both primary and supplemental, that ensure – through mechanisms of obligation, or via latent or manifest consequences – access to solidarity, temporal validation, psychological reassurance, social legitimation, individual and group identity, as well as emotional expression, regulation, and satisfaction.[17] Despite

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[10] Wilson (1966; 1982).
[11] Kunin with Miles-Watson (2006: 1-21).
[12] Dobbelaere (2004: 49-52).
[13] Yinger (1970: 11-12).
[14] Luhmann (1977: 9-10).
[15] Dobbelaere (2004: 52).
[16] Wilson (1982: 27).
[17] Ibid ch 2.

Bruce's similarities with Wilson, he defines religion substantively in cooperation with common sense and reality as "beliefs, actions, and institutions based on the existence of supernatural entities with powers of agency (that is, Gods) or impersonal processes possessed of moral purpose (the Hindu and Buddhist notion of karma, for example) that set the conditions of, or intervene in, human affairs."[18]

Armed with a solid comprehension concerning the idea and function of religion, I now consider key conceptualizations associated with the prospect of secularization. The general premise I believe of Wilson is that the process of *societalization*, specifically the threatening dynamics associated with changing forms of solidarity and cohesion, promotes the diminution of community and therefore threatens religious stability and authority.[19] Bruce agrees, though couches his basic proposition in terms of *modernization* and *technologization*. Simply, technological advancement creates and demands both economic growth and new ways of coordinating, understanding, and engaging in and with social life.[20] To be sure, modernization exercises tremendous power over human consciousness as institutions, organizations, experiences, and subjective meanings change in the face of economic and technological transformation and expansion.[21] This historical, commercial, and cognitive connection has led Bruce to examine its implications in relation to the contraction or atrophy of religious power, popularity, prestige, and behaviour.[22] Indeed modernization – here referring to i) the industrialization of work and labour, ii) the displacement of the *Gemeinschaft* by the *Gesellschaft*, or otherwise stated, the shift from towns and villages to cities and societies – essentially the process of societalization or urbanization, iii) the rise of individualism, iv) the rise of egalitarianism, and the v) the rationalization of thought, economy, and structure – produces or generates major difficulties for religion.[23]

Moving forward from the macro abstraction of modernization, I will now provide a brief series of relevant definitions that assist in framing what is meant by the term secularization as I understand and see it within the parameters of this dissertation. It is important to clarify that the term secular is often used within the

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[18] Bruce (2011: 1).
[19] Wilson (1966; 1982: 45, ch 6).
[20] Bruce (2011: 26).
[21] Berger et al. (1973).
[22] Bruce (2011: 24).
[23] Bruce (2002: 2).

literature in opposition to other ideas such as sacred, spiritual, or religious. In fact the expression along with its derivative inferences has been stated to represent "a cultural emancipation from religion and church."[24] Pointing toward "the organization of life as if God does not exist,"[25] secularism implies an ideological commitment to irreligion, agnosticism, or atheism. As can be recalled from above, I have already cast the concept of secularization loosely as the erosion of religious practices, values, and beliefs; though this generalization is entirely accurate, it is not enough. Secularization is a course of alternation that is neither inevitable nor universal, it reveals the "slow process of generational change in which people gradually lose interest in things that mattered to their parents."[26] Secularization is the force "by which the sacred gives way to the secular, whether in matters of personal faith, institutional practice, or societal power. It involves a transition in which things once revered become ordinary, the sanctified becomes mundane, and things other-worldly may lose their prefix."[27] Taken simply as a social fact, secularization means that religion has lost or is losing its primary influence over the thought patterns and behavioural sequences of previously avowed pious agents. This is to say, "men act less and less in response to religious motivation."[28]

To be clear, secularization equates to the radical attenuation of religion in relation to other elements within the functionally differentiated social sphere, it refers to a culturally and historically specific "process by which religious institutions, actions, and consciousness, lose their social significance."[29] Indeed within this research the voices of many respondents confirm that in addition to waning in social consequence, organized religion has lost its primary favour regarding their own subjective apprehensions of psychic importance or emotional health and well-being. Thus secularization can be described as a multidimensional concept consisting of and affecting the realities associated with societal, individual, and organizational levels of knowledge and analysis.[30] It includes the decay of religious institutions and the replacement of religious rules of conduct and performance with new principles of choice and action that proffer increasingly technical, rational, empirical, naturalistic,

[24] Dobbelaere (2004: 23).
[25] Nijk (1968: 25).
[26] Bruce (2011: 19).
[27] Demerath (2007: 65-66).
[28] Wilson (1966: x).
[29] Wilson (1982: 149).
[30] Dobbelaere (2004).

instrumental, and subjective criteria. Further, secularization frames the reduction of a specifically religious *modus operandi* or *raison d'etre* and conveys this phenomenon as it relates with the rise of different or nonreligious ways of perceiving the world. Lastly, it reflects the abatement of time, energy, and resources that individuals devote to the supernatural. This leads to a final point – as simultaneously the source and effect of both structural and psychological change, secularization at its essence is the descriptive term given to the fading power of religion within society, it portrays the attenuation of the divine in relation to the material for the individual agent, and it depicts an increasing empowerment of the self within the several legitimations associated with both personal consciousness and modern life. In this sense, secularization allows credence to be given to the several trends indicative of contemporary society which render a person's disaffiliation from the religion of their birth or upbringing much more likely. For my purposes, secularization is the recognition of "a decline in the extent to which people engage in religious practices, display beliefs of a religious kind, and conduct other aspects of their lives in a manner informed by such beliefs."[31]

Elements of the paradigm

The following content intentionally mirrors to a great degree Steve Bruce's interpretation of "one of the greatest changes in social structure and culture: the displacement of religion from the center of human life."[32] Bruce's twenty-two-item model, which includes the evolution of rationalization, religious organizations, the economy, society, polity, and cognition in relation to secularization, is so incredibly extensive that at times it seems boundless. The connections, manifestations, latencies, and interrelations both explicit and subtle, lead to a preferable utilization of the term paradigm to that of theory in order to bring attention to its conceptual and historical mass as well as to the complexity involved it its comprehension. For reasons associated with clarity and brevity I will not fully treat all twenty-two elements of the paradigm, only those relevant to my thesis of Latter-day Saint disaffiliation will be discussed. Furthermore I explicitly state here, unless otherwise noted, all included subject matter within this section follows from Bruce's 2002 and 2011 works.[33]

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[31] Bruce (2002: 3).
[32] Bruce (2011: 1).
[33] Bruce (2002; 2011). For additional clarification in this specific vein see Wilson (1966; 1882), Tschannen (1991a; 1991b), and Dobbelaere (2004).

Therefore I will not be integrating citations attributing Bruce as the originator of the ideas described hereafter (again, only throughout the remainder of this section) except when directly quoted.

Monotheism, with its clearly defined rules regarding goal-orientation and salvation, provides the platform for the removal of ethical behaviour from the ether of the fickle and often chaotic cosmos to the proximal jurisdiction of societies, groups, and individuals. In this way the ideological singularity and stability of historico-traditional Judaism and Christianity can be discerned as a rationalizing tendency that has carved a pathway which has resulted in different types of thinking and acting in relation to both the natural and the supernatural worlds. Thus the rigidity apparent within the Judeo-Christian worldview has allowed space for the realization of secular or otherwise considered deviant alternatives. Further, the Protestant ethic as classically described by Weber can be seen to have legitimated new notions among the Puritans which may be characterized as oppositional to the pre-Reformation model of devotion and faith.[34] Such 'this-worldly' asceticism, when levied against 'other-worldly' asceticism, created new attitudes toward work and piety through the twin pillars of 'the calling' and 'predestination'. Worldly success in the form of financial stability attained by discipline, self-control, and obedience serves as the foundation for the emergence of modern Western rational capitalism. *A key component of the secularization paradigm recognizes that while increased levels of prosperity can be seen to promote greater financial strength and autonomy, it nonetheless weakens religious commitment.*

As a product of increased industrial and economic capability and status, societies become ever more multifaceted, affluent, specialized, and complex in reaction to, or in accordance with, the morality associated with ideals linked to perpetual capital gain. In this macro-Westernized, or otherwise considered first-world industrialized situation, all the institutions within such an orbit also become progressively more diversified, differentiated, or spatially and ideologically distanced from one another.[35] Endemic to the process of structural and functional differentiation is the observation that elements within the system enjoy greater degrees of autonomy, yet at the same time they are also robbed of their capacity to exercise influence over

[34] Weber ([1930] 2005).
[35] Demerath (2007: 59).

the totality of the social program.[36] This leads to the conclusion that societies exhibiting a multiplex character hang together through a type of interdependence known as internal differentiation, which simply means that no part can survive without the whole. Functional differentiation is a process by which a system deals with increasing levels of variety within a given environment. In coping with the dilemma of rising variation, differentiation itself advances even more variation, a process referred to as "lengthening [the] chains of social interdependence."[37] Such increased diversity, miscellany, or multiplicity is said to heighten functional efficiency in response to a progressively more specialized society as well as providing the means by which faster evolution may occur in regards to quelling problematic circumstances as the result of enhanced selection.[38] However, modernization and industrialization also promote amplified levels of fragmentation within the social world because increased specialization creates multiple roles and institutions to accomplish what was once achieved through a single functionary.[39] *Thus differentiation has directly secularized many communal utilities as social control has largely ebbed from the domain of the churches to the province of the variegated.*

Concomitant with the differentiation of social structure due to economic growth is the fragmentation of the unified personality. This is manifested in what has been called the rationalization of the life-world or of human conduct. The proliferation of social roles and institutions at the macro level has left the individual feeling like a different person not only at work and at home but also within varying contexts.[40] Providing a solution to the ambivalence associated with the rupture of self that occurs as social relations, morality, and order become increasingly overlapped, disparate, and contradictory[41] – people have resourcefully come to behave differently within the spheres of public and private orientation. Overt performances are instrumental, pragmatic, and universal while intimate behaviour is expressive, emotional, and at times indulgent. Indeed it can be argued that the undisclosed secretive world serves as a compensating mechanism for what is missing from the restricted framework of civic agency. *Economic vitality, which promotes a*

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Elias (1994: 448).
[38] Ritzer (2007: 95-96).
[39] Parsons (1960).
[40] Brown & Goodman (2003: 210-211).
[41] Elias (1994: 456).

burgeoning disjunction between public and private behaviour, necessarily introduces secularization to the consciousness of ego as individuals choose among different actions that suit different circumstances.

Religious authority systems diverge in their proposed epistemologies; this is to say some religions claim an exclusive access to truth while others allow or even embrace the notion that there are many roads leading to salvation. The difference between strict churches or organizations and other religious communities or ideologies wherein liberal spiritualities are shared is well documented. Rather than discuss these distinctions or the several reasons why people are drawn to or motivated away from such belief systems, I would prefer at this point in the thesis to bring attention to the inception of religious individualism. The experience of individualization, which proffers the singular person a greater sense of 'uniqueness' in relation to others has given rise to i) the questioning of metanarratives, ii) the relativization of various truth claims, and iii) to the weakening of ascriptive ties.[42] In response to the Catholic stance of the Middle Ages, the Protestant Reformation, far from creating a single Christian Church unified by principles grounded in moral and theological equality, instead spawned a large number of competing perspectives. These viewpoints have coalesced over time to become what may be referred to as Protestant individualism, which stresses that the relationship between God and person is one that cannot be mediated by any church.[43] By removing the institution of Catholicism from humankind's affiliation with the sacred, Martin Luther and John Calvin inadvertently introduced profound changes that would have an unequivocal impact upon the community/individual dialectic, namely the emergence of i) equality in the eyes of God and ii) freedom of religious expression. In this way, *individualism – broadly conceptualized against collectivism as promoting the importance and interests of the distinctive person as well as emphasizing the value attached to self-determination and personal choice – necessarily contributes to secularization by advancing possibilities for schism, fission, and fragmentation in response to individual interpretations of ecclesiology.*

Contemporary existence takes place in relation to numerous socio-cultural themes, values, and schemas that converge variously, intermittently, randomly, or predictably which are capable of producing significant changes in the nature of roles,

[42] Robbins & Lucas (2007: 237).
[43] Marshall (1998: 304).

statuses, and plausibility systems associated with people's lives. Following Durkheim, Wilson argued that religion was sourced within and drew its power from the community. Indeed "As long as social life was basically organized at the level of the local community, religion functioned to sustain the ideational justification, and the emotional and social stability, of the group."[44] Such strength and potential are firmly grounded in notions of total communal relations formed through trust, loyalty, respect for seniority, discernable patterns of authority, and virtue. This is to say, "Persons matter more than role, and goodwill more than performance."[45] Within groups exemplifying this type of cohesion and value system religious plausibility or facticity is constantly emphasized as the local church – in this case the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints – baptizes, confirms, marries, buries, celebrates, reaffirms, and legitimates temporal activities and spiritual endeavours. Again, combined with social differentiation and individualism, the process of societalization[46] – conceptualized as the displacement of traditional values by impersonal, formal, and contractual means of transaction – can be seen as devastating to the stability of small-scale community life. *As the diversified city becomes the locus of individual rationality, so the reality or taken-for-grantedness of a single overarching morality and religious worldview will become seriously threatened.*

The outcome of increased differentiation, individualism, and societalization is in fact the amplification of structural, cultural, and psychological pluralism. Such pluralistic conditions come to shatter the certainties that some believers are able to attribute to their own religious convictions.[47] Within the parameters of the ideal community thoughts and explanations are convincing because they are universally shared and objectivated, they are taken-for-granted and therefore do not constitute beliefs or propositions at all but are rather considered unequivocally as the way things are.[48] With the rise of the aforementioned forces, alternative accounts of reality present themselves to a person's consciousness through uncontrolled social interactions and thereby provide challenges to an erstwhile status quo. It is from the apprehension of these alternatives, which occur as people come into contact with products that diverge from their otherwise expected or world-confirming experiences,

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[44] Wilson (1982: 45).
[45] Ibid p. 155.
[46] Recall the short treatment of societalization above on p. 14.
[47] Berger (1980).
[48] Nee (2003: 21), Zucker (1991), Schöpflin (2001).

that dissonance reduction will come to play an integral role in the ability of any individual to cope with their own changing environment.[49] In this sense, the cognitive management of pluralism will also result in the realization of heightened degrees of tolerance, which in turn is also responsible for the breakdown of religious zeal. This is to say nothing of the decay or strength associated with individual or private allegiances to spirituality or faith, indeed the social and psychological processes of compartmentalization and privatization are but specific mechanisms of religious reconciliation or reintegration that are often exercised in the face of threatening circumstances. To be specific, *the presence of socio-cultural diversity in the form of religious pluralism effectively weakens not only the plausibility of one's own religious purchase, but also reduces the prospects of legitimacy for alternative religious paths*. Bruce has summed it up quite eloquently: "When the oracle speaks with a single voice, it is easy to believe it is the voice of God. When it speaks with twenty different voices, it is tempting to look behind the screen."[50]

Stark and Finke state: "Implicit in all versions [of secularization theories], and explicit in most, is the claim that of all aspects of modernization, it is science that has the most deadly implications for religion."[51] Indeed where prayers once improved the quality of crops now fertilizer, a dependence upon pesticides, scheduled rotation of agricultural plots, and attention to soil consistency promotes the vitality of corn, wheat, spinach, and potatoes. Where fasting once was credited as the primary factor in the healing of the sick, now the administration of antibiotics are not discounted as a necessary step in the alleviation of illnesses. Farmers may continue to believe that blessings as well as moral living will aid in the liberation of their stock from diseases associated with pestilence; however, dairymen and ranchers certainly do not dismiss the effective qualities of chemistry and medicine in ridding sheep of maggots, curing pigs and goats of Q-fever, or eliminating Weil's disease from cows. Mariners of earlier centuries were afraid of falling off the edge of the earth; today the circumference of the globe is thoroughly charted. This is not to say that scientization causes secularization, agnosticism, or atheism in an unmediated fashion. Rather, the forces of both technologization and scientization have allowed for greater insight and mastery over areas that formerly were shrouded in mystery and plagued by

[49] Festinger (1957). Cognitive dissonance theory will be treated in later chapters.
[50] Bruce (2011: 38).
[51] Stark & Finke (2000: 61).

redundancy. *Humankind has enjoyed a greater sense of power, autonomy, and success as the result of increased understanding born from modernization; consequently, the occasions by which people depend upon religion have waned*.[52]

Modern technology has cultivated a distinct manner of thinking about the world. Berger and colleagues have suggested that though the human animal is unaware of it, 'technological consciousness' has little in common with the sacred.[53] Rather than affirming notions of religious, spiritual, or theological primacy, modernity instead reifies the material world as an amoral series of calculable expectation, reproducibility, innovation, and componentiality. Depriving people of experiencing authentic human relationships and promoting the likelihood of encountering anomie, such rational exemplars cause a degree of soullessness within humanity. *Rationalization has thus negated the essence of the sacred from presenting itself as the principle cohesive element to many contemporary bonds*. Weber refers to this process alternately as intellectualization, and further proposes *Entzauberung* to follow in its wake.[54]

When differentiation, individualism, pluralism, and tolerance combine with modern or technological knowledge embedded within a liberal democratic milieu, people will come to find it increasingly difficult to maintain that what is true for themselves must likewise apply to everyone else. Social harmony is dependent upon tolerance for others and general cooperation. Patience, forbearance, lenience, and broadmindedness create the platform for "perhaps the most potent and the most neglected part of the secularization paradigm."[55] *Relativism as a socially operative principle or cognitive style weakens religion and debilitates faith by exposing individuals to the fact that other people do things differently*. "If all faiths (and none) offer a road to God, if there is no hell to which heretics get sent…"[56] then there is no need to maintain ardent commitment to any authoritative religious view or strict orthodoxy. Crucially, the secularization paradigm does not require people to become atheists or to reject religion; it simply posits that the processes of modernization, societalization, individualism, pluralism, and relativism cause a decline in the plausibility of religious beliefs and an erosion of religious values.

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[52] Martin (1969: 116).
[53] Berger et al. (1974).
[54] Weber (1948: 139). Also recall ft. 4 above on p. 12.
[55] Bruce (2002: 29).
[56] Bruce (2011: 48).

1b. LEAVING RELIGION

The academic procurement of knowledge pertaining to religion and religious activity has experienced a stable history. Sociologists and anthropologists along with a few socially inclined philosophers have examined religion in terms of its function and symbolism[57] as well as engaging more recently in debates concerning secularization (as noted above),[58] atheism and non-religion,[59] and the religious economy.[60] Such contemporary interests indicate that the analysis of commerce, identity, and commitment – in relation to piety, conviction, and spirituality – has been and will likely remain a stimulating arena of scholarship. Substantively the academic mind is very well informed concerning issues such as the demographics of religious adherence, denominational switching, political preference, and of course conversion.[61] However a comparatively neglected issue is the enquiry into the motivations that prime and ultimately result in a person's decision to leave their pious life behind.[62] It is fair to note that a reasonable body of literature indeed does exist regarding an individual's 'fall from the faith'.[63] In addition to relatively colorless secondary data studies which have invaluably served to identify the myriad quaternary or quintal characteristics of religious 'nones'[64] who had made their debut onto the American stage during the 1970s, much more scholarship has arisen as of late which articulates the exit process deriving from NRMs – that is new religious movements such as cults, sects, and splinter groups as well as from mainline liberal organizations – than from mainline conservative denominations.[65] In particular there is an unfortunate dearth of research concerning disengagement or egress from either allegiant or contestant types of totalistic organizations,[66] or more specifically from strict churches.[67] Rather, the overarching majority of examinations whose focus is upon conservative or stringent

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[57] Berger (1967); Durkheim ([1912] 2008).
[58] Bruce (2011; 2002); Warner (2010); Kosmin (2007); Taylor (2007); Martin (2005); Dobbelare (2004); Norris & Inglehart (2004); Asad (2003); Smith (2003); Berger (1999); Casanova (1994; 2006); Warner (1993); Luckmann (1967).
[59] Smith (2010); Sherkat (2008); Kosmin (2008); Keysar (2007); Cimino & Smith (2007); Hunsberger & Altmeyer (2006); Bainbridge (2005); Hout & Fischer (2002).
[60] Finke & Stark (2005); Stark & Finke (2000); Iannacconne (1995; 2006).
[61] Snow & Machalek (1984).
[62] Mauss (1969).
[63] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980); Bromley (1988).
[64] Vernon (1968).
[65] Albrecht & Bahr (1983).
[66] Bromley (1998: 21-22).
[67] Iannacconne (1994).

constituencies has been and continues to remain preoccupied with defection or apostasy from socially extreme, fundamentalist, or subversive organizations.[68]

Setting the scene

First, I must without reservation state that the contemporary condition in which we as scholars of various alternation processes find our academic situation is without doubt the product of a multiplicity of noteworthy endeavours. I have found the edited works and original treatments of David G. Bromley to stand in full relief when contrasted against others as integral to the largely legitimate status that current scholars of religious transition enjoy. It is on the coattails of Bromley's priceless contribution to the field that I offer an abridged evolution of disaffiliation studies. The following literature review has provided a foundation for the manner by which I have come to think about not only religious departure, but also human interaction.

The development of academic interest in the phenomena of religious disengagement is oddly the result of having recognized a remarkably widespread increase in conversions to both conservative Christian and sectarian faiths throughout the 1960s and 1970s. This was an extremely curious macro phenomenon given that most social theorists at the time were inevitably expecting to see overall religious decline in the face of a secularizing society. More congruent with the secularization perspective, and thus quite paradoxical given the growth of the aforementioned, was the relatively simultaneous observation of a significant number of American citizens – beginning in 1972 – who had claimed 'no religious preference'[69] when reporting their religious membership to interviewers from the National Opinion Research Center. Thus demographers and sociologists at the time were made aware of three very interesting concomitant factors: i) the realization of significant conservative church growth; ii) the proliferation of new religious groups known as cults; and iii) the emergence of a new demographic category, that of the religious 'nones' who were also branded as agnostics or atheists.

Notwithstanding the value of a thorough treatment of the rise of conservative church membership or the advancement of deviant forms of religious expression during the Age of Aquarius, I will simply indicate that it was indeed the social research aimed at addressing both these issues; that is, the academic enquiry into the reasons for religious affiliation with such groups, which would inevitably expose the

[68] Bromley (1998: 23-25).
[69] Vernon (1968).

conceptualizations leading to the intellectual formalization of 'religious switching' and 'religious exiting'. As had been observed, most often those converting to deviant religious orientations were in fact disaffiliating from a previously held pious identity.[70] Regarding the burgeoning 'no preference' category, sociologists of past decades have quite fruitfully utilized macro scale data sets such as the Gallup Poll and the General Social Survey in order to better comprehend the demographic location of those abstaining from a religious inclination.[71] Similarly, the recent advent of the ARIS data set[72] and the US Religious Landscape Survey[73] have allowed statisticians and demographers from various academic disciplines to clarify the structural context surrounding those who profess 'no religious belief'. Perhaps more importantly, such newly formulated conclusions have fostered the development and testing of various hypotheses concerning the broader social antecedents resulting in religious exit as well as identifying latent implications concerning an anticipated proliferation of religious 'nones' within the American populace.

In an attempt to establish both a rudimentary introduction to some of the specific theoretical considerations that influence my specific type of academic thinking, and to curb the extant literature review appropriately, I follow the path set by Stuart Wright in his influential (1988) 'Leaving New Religious Movements: Issues, Theory and Research'. Moreover I shall only treat the particulars relevant to either the layout of my cognitive developmental scheme, my methods, or my discussion. Addressing previous models of sociological salience including roles, causal processes, and organizational dynamics Wright's "article has established a basis for [further] evaluating the relative merits of interpreting the process of [religious] disaffiliation."[74]

Status and role theory

Among the fundamental tools initiated in the theoretical interpretations of individual and/or collective preferences, the concept of role is unambiguously

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[70] Haddaway & Roof (1988).
[71] Ibid.
[72] Data resulting from the *American Religious Identification Survey* is now available from the Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. For additional information see [http://commons.trincoll.edu/aris/].
[73] The *US Religious Landscape Survey* is available from The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. For additional information see [http://religions.pewforum.org/].
[74] Bromley (1988: 18).

attached to the broader perspectives marking the social sciences generally.[75] Though nearest to the intersection of sociology and psychology *per se*, role theory has seen its career develop in the many ways by which subjective action or behaviour suggests dependence upon individual expectationism[76] deriving from the social, the institutional, the organizational, or from the other.[77] This is to say that individual behaviour is often best understood to take shape in relation to the normative expectations and auspices connected to collective definitions of statuses associated with social positioning. Simply put, agents conduct themselves in a manner congruent with what they believe is to be expected of them by members who share or comprise their respective socio-cultural realities.

Sociological and anthropological doctrine asserts that conglomerated individuals constitute – in some form or another – a social group. Inherent within any aggregate of this type is the evolution of a functional hierarchy that will reflect disparities based upon culturally subjective valuations.[78] Endemic to such contextually specific stratification is the intra-socio-cultural recognition of certain roles resulting from their observed status. Hence the conceptually important and heuristically useful distinction between the two is made clear by understanding that *status* is the specific social space which any individual occupies at any given time, it is the social title which a person holds, and as such may also be considered to contribute to – if not directly constitute – one's identity. While *role*, as previously implied, captures the socially prescribed performances indicative of any given status.[79] In other words; role constitutes the behaviour, thought processes, and various parameters associated with interpersonal interaction by which an individual who occupies a particular social status engages with their environment. Role is indeed

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[75] Biddle (1986).

[76] Berger and Luckmann (1966: 99-100) suggest that 'knowing what to expect is reassuring'. *Expectationism* is a term or concept that I have constructed because I have not found its simulacrum to exist within the literature as I am attempting to convey it – or at least how I have come to understand it within a Latter-day Saint context. Here, *expectationism* intimates *the propensity of religiously zealous individuals to live their life according to that which they 'expect' rather than living, learning, and loving according to that which they 'experience'*. I am profoundly aware of the intrinsic potential toward the exemplification of a redundant neologism that such an articulation may be charged as containing. Nonetheless I believe *expectationism* to be an incredibly interesting mechanism that has deep implications for knowledge. I do hope it is of some interest to others.

[77] Lewin (1948), Powell and DiMaggio (1991), Zucker (1991).

[78] Hechter & Opp (2001); Horne (2001; 2007); Opp (2001).

[79] Goffman (1959); Burns (1972).

what a person does, while status (as defined in this vein) is who a person is attributed to be from the perspectives of social others and from the vantage of one's self. It is precisely this socio-culturally recognized status, in reciprocation with the routinized behaviour[80] indicative of definite social location, which provides the basis for a formalized conception of expectationism.[81] Cooperative dedication to this type of anticipation no doubt dictates to some degree or another ego's individual allegiance or conformity to a *theatrocratic* identity;[82] or more plainly, to the standardized motivation toward the individual fulfillment of social roles. Following from a formalized set of expectations, both normatively reinforced and cognitively galvanized conduct, obligation, responsibilities, and rights of behaviour and sanctioning are naturally ensuing. Therefore as a product of the aforementioned process,[83] society upon which humankind is dependent, is likewise reliant upon each individual's propensity to institutionalize[84] thus internalize and ideally to embody multiple methods of social control. The cultivation of social identities following from widespread conformity to socio-cultural prescriptions of value and idealism promotes (though cannot guarantee) the expected realization of social and individual order.[85]

One aspect of role theory finds its legitimacy as an embedded conceptualization within the wider fields of symbolic interaction, theatrical metaphor,

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[80] Hodgson (1988) sees 'routinized behaviour' or 'habits' as the basis for examining patterns and regularities of human action in institutional analysis and macroeconomic systems. It is important to state that my use of 'routinized behaviour' is quite aligned with DiMaggio & Powell's (1991: 15) engagement of 'cool' models of cognitive schema, scripts, learning theory, and attribution theory. In addition, the manner in which I think about 'habits' falls in line with Zucker's (1977; 1991) utilization of such to describe mechanisms that reduce overall transaction costs in social monitoring. Subsequent to iterated execution, low-cost habits may be seen to contribute to an overall sense of cultural persistence. That is, if individual habits are socially valuable and do not cost the agent more than they are willing to pay, then such habits are likely to endure; also see Hechter & Opp (2001).

[81] Following from ft. 76 above, I now provide an intellectual consideration that is associated with recognizing *expectationism* as definitively *formal*; that is, *conceptual* in theoretical terms rather than substantive or empirical.

[82] Lyman & Scott (1975: 101-114).

[83] I am referring here to the process of identity formation as a product of the individual and collective fulfillment of social roles as they are derived from an individual's social location or social status.

[84] Jepperson (1991) refers to the phenomenon of institutionalization as connoting a particular set of socially reproductive processes, while Zucker (1977, 1991: 83) proffers that once social knowledge has been institutionalized it thus "exists as a social fact" and is therefore a part of "objective reality." She further asserts that institutionalization should be seen as both a process and a property associated with continuity and degree rather than simply a shallow or binary state of economic or organizational analysis.

[85] Duncan (1962).

and dramaturgy.[86] Role theory understood within an interactionist paradigm allows for the satisfactory adoption and subsequent fulfillment of roles, which are then recognized and examined by scholars as 'works in progress'.[87] Here the social roles of which agents engage – predicated by a variety of social commerce – are largely shaped by idiothetic actions such as *role making*, *role taking*, and ultimately *role playing*.[88] Further refining the procedure are various attributes of subjectively defined *anticipation*, *embrace*, *rejection* or *distance*, and *impression* or *reputation management*.[89] Paramount to this approach is the assertion that roles represent the negotiations which take place between an actor and their social environment. Interactionism fully accepts that a person's exterior milieu contains many expectations regarding suitable behaviour. However, the touchstone of symbolic interpretation and metaphor is the recognition that an individual's exteriority is in fact limited in its absolute power concerning the topic of generating internal motivation. Hence the role/s resulting from a variety of interactional compromises or transactions are more correctly considered as 'emergent outcomes', thus punctuating the potentially dynamic elements inherent in the social process of securing a unique and proprietary identity.[90]

A second contrasting aspect places social structure rather than the sentiments or strength-of-will associated with ego at the helm of role theory. As a result, control of the myriad sources of individually apprehended character – made possible by one's fulfillment of variously applicable social roles – is found to reside outside of the human person. This exterior locus of jurisdiction renders one's conformity to collective roles or norms as arguably unrelated to the application of individual autonomy and therefore can be considered at its most extreme to be purely deterministic.[91] Such construction was originally established as an anthropologically inclined functional conception whereby the stasis of humanity is both maintained and perpetuated via the notion that a viable society fulfills the roles symbolic of the master social architect and supreme enforcer.[92] This is say that the prescriptions

[86] Burke (1972); Evreinoff (1927); Goffman (1959); Harrison (1977); Brissett & Edgely (2009).
[87] Mead (1934); Vernon (1978); Vernon & Cardwell (1981).
[88] Coutu (1951).
[89] Biddle (1986); Goffman (1959).
[90] San Giovanni (1978).
[91] Parsons & Shils (1951).
[92] Linton (1936).

indicating socially acceptable, appropriate, and commendable behaviour – or simply the broad set of expectations associated with social roles generally – are placed squarely upon the individual by none other than society itself. Moreover it is society, through its intricate enforcement or sanctioning of roles, which is ultimately responsible for the adequate intergenerational transmission of collective stability. This structural account considers roles and by extension norms to be an inextricable component of the functional social system whose genesis, key postulates, and subsequent empirical and theoretical validation is evident in the works of many renowned scholars.[93]

Recognizing the distinction between the socio-cultural purposes of status and role, the pioneering ethnographic work and subsequent development of anthropological theory associated with Ralph Linton can be seen as one amid many of the predecessors exercising influence upon the intellectual leviathan Talcott Parsons. Contributing to the sociological framing of norms as emerging from social patterns, and as integral to his theory of social action, Parsons' thoughts concerning the structure and function of social roles are present throughout the entirety of his vast writings that span over the later half of the twentieth century. Beginning with *The Structure of Social Action* (1937) and continuing most notably in both *The Social System* (1951) and *Toward a General Theory of Action* (1951) as well as in his *Social Structure and Personality* (1964) the Parsonian treatment and explanation of society and its stabilizing forces have more than achieved academic repute among international scholars of the social sciences.

Roles reflect a much higher degree of collective and psychological complexity than that of the sophisticated social positioning or statuses from whence they spring. Astute intuition in conjunction with the aforementioned review allows us to comprehend the initial parameters designative of social status. Therefore we may determine that any singular agent can and most definitely does identify with a multiplicity of conditions at any particular time. Otherwise stated, actors engaged in public/contemporary commerce in fact simultaneously hold or occupy manifold identities emanating from a potentially vast range of differentiated social or cultural locations.[94] These variable points of status origin can further be understood in terms

[93] Biddle (1979); Dahrendorf (1968); Homans ([1961] 1974); Mead (1934); Merton (1968); Parsons (1937; 1961).
[94] Linton (1936); Merton (1957).

of whether or not a particular status has been acquired through the processes suggestive of ascription or achievement. Further, roles are cognitively arranged in their order of importance based upon whether they are considered by the particular agent themselves as master or primary, secondary or subordinate, tertiary, oblique, or indeed arguably irrelevant regarding a person's self-defined identity structure. As numerous statuses are idiographically present and functioning at any given point in time, so too is the broad heterogeneity of the social role.

Potentially complicating the perception and personal fulfillment of the requisite decorum indicative of a specific cultural locale is the realization that not merely one, but in fact scores of social constraints binding upon subjective conduct can be attributed to each singular social status. In other words, every distinct status which supplies each individual agent with not only an identity but in fact their identities – thus constituting the totality of who any individual is at any given point in time and experience – involves the anticipated demeanour associated with more than a singular discrete social role. This is to recognize the certainty that several roles can derive from a singular status. Therefore the diversity of behavioural repertoires extant and competing for primacy within everyday functioning according to time and place will impinge upon self-determination to some degree or another. In this way, as the term status set represents the variety of statuses which define an individual actor at or upon any particular occasion; likewise, the term role set identifies the myriad categories of both practiced, estimated, and assumed manners attached to, or resulting from, a particular status.[95] Attributing each status as a composite of multiple social roles we may further conclude that any given role set or rather the plurality of role sets governing the individual psychology of action, choice, or preference is undeniably far more multifaceted and therefore infinitely larger than its preceding status set.

Consider if you will a social actress who holds the very small number of eight statuses, all of which contribute in varying degrees to her overall culturally defined identity. Consequently she characterizes herself and is likewise labeled by others as a *woman*, *wife*, *mother*, a *sister*, *friend*, *schoolteacher*, a *tennis player*, and finally an avid *connoisseur of art*. It is quite likely that the roles associated with each status will in empirical reality exceed the number two. However for illustrative purposes here let

[95] Merton (1968); Merton (1957: 110) defines the *role set* as "that complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status."

us assume such a conservative number does in fact constitute the role set demonstrating the expectational behaviours originating from each of her eight statuses. For the status *woman* her subsequent role set is two-fold. The first element indicates those actions and cognitions that are connected to the notion of the ideal *modern* woman. Propensities toward signaling confidence, assertiveness, extroversion, open-mindedness, self-reliance, and at rare times even aggression typify this category. The second facet comprises those actions attached to the ideal *traditional* woman with consequential behaviours magnifying sensitivity, meekness, contentment, complacency, conservativism, and the exemplification of the internalized sense that marriage, motherhood, and raising a family are the primary goals of a feminine life. Already without extension it is quite simple to ascertain the potential individual difficulties linked with the personally oriented, locally directed, and cognitively appropriate management of this very limited role set. However further compounding her potential psychological dilemma is the profound social and self imposed presumption of managing not only the dichotomous role set stemming from the singular status under consideration, but indeed the role sets indicative of each of the other seven additional statuses. To be sure, all social scenarios of which any particular agent is to be found will without question demand that certain social expectations be met with the established normative and appropriate exhibition of individual etiquette. It is thus admirable that our agent is capable of adherence to the extensive diversity of culture-bound norms, which each in their own way, exert conforming pressure upon her as she unceasingly qualifies to both herself and her collectivity that she is part of the group, indeed that she belongs.

Both structural and personal stasis becomes a product of the successful macro and micro regulation of roles. When each is exercised accordingly in their proper time and place, a resultant harmony of sorts can be experienced within the subjectivities of person and among the objectivities of group. Yet it must be stated that socially constructed balance is far from the domain of naturally occurring phenomena, and therefore is often compromised by one or more of a multitude of individual or bureaucratic interests or capabilities. Thus as the profusion of roles themselves compete for primacy among an array of social situations – dictated of course by the corporate rules or norms which both formally and informally declare an individual's

social location or status – a sense of anxiety or tension can frequently be realized.[96] *Role strain* is understood to occur as a consequence of intra-role set rivalry and refers to the uneasy psychological state of pressure that results from the adversarial relationships among roles belonging to the same status.[97] An example would be a situation in which our actress – reviewed above – might be faced with the possibility of having to choose between three cherished courses of action regarding her ascribed status of *woman*. We have already defined at least two roles that emanate from such a location; one role inclines toward her maximization of an idealized notion concerning *modern*, and the other toward the counterpart *traditional*. To be confronted by a dilemma whereby her husband and parents both anticipate a particular decision of hers to follow their (divergent from each other's) expectations would undeniably cause our agent to experience a tremendous amount of stress. Such internal and external drama is made clear when faced with the honest fact that she neither wants, nor will come to a conclusion that increases congruence with either of their two perspectives. Instead she executes an outcome that expresses her own desires. The third preference finds its origin within ego, and is a choice that ultimately is unsupported and perhaps even potentially disdained by both her husband and her parents. If our actress also had to deal simultaneously with the implications of say career goals, children, or perhaps the repercussions following from an extramarital affair, then it would be simple to see how her mental and situational stability – as well as that of the group under consideration, her family – might careen out of control. Another source leading to the destabilization of ego is the experience of *role conflict*.[98] Here, felt inconsistency is a product of the clash of divergent roles emanating from not one, but multiple statuses.

Several other related conditions can be identified, which under specific circumstances may also cause an upset in the otherwise effective proliferation of extant psycho-structural reciprocity marking the socially operative. *Role ambiguity* arises when structures associated with one's sense of expectation prove insufficient,

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[96] The task of situational management coupled with the sheer diversity of content regarding behaviour as well as plural notions of thought and action in different, sometimes competing jurisdictions can often leave an actor feeling uncertain, conflicted, and even ambivalent; Scott (1991), Powell (1991).
[97] Biddle (1986).
[98] Ibid.

incomplete, or lack the potency to adequately influence social behaviour.[99] In other words, various internalizations that affect the ability to want or desire to behave according to normative standards are found to be lacking. *Role malintegration*, as can be simply grasped by the term itself, occurs when categories of response – resulting from specific expectations linked to respective social roles – do not complement ego's other categories of role responses.[100] Under these circumstances psychic tension exists as a product of incompatibility among responses deriving from roles that otherwise should be experienced as concordant rather than discordant. This type of dysfunction can present itself as a result of either collectively ambiguous or internal role set variance. Often a product of the latter, *malintegration* generally aligns with both role strain and role conflict as mentioned above. Eventually *malintegration* is recognized as practically worthless and is amended by ego in order to foster and sustain a more constructive fit with the general expectations flowing from society to the individual.[101]

Last, *role overload* describes the all too often observed psychological phenomenon whereby the imposing and countless number of both collective and personal expectations indicating that which is beneficial for both society and the individual self within it surpasses or exceeds the capacity of the agent to perform such tasks.[102] Simply, *overload* results not only from the mere presence of far too many behavioural expectations, but it is compounded by the consequences of the self-attributed ability of the cosmopolitan actor to unceasingly adopt an increasing amount of responsibilities than he or she is even remotely capable of managing.[103]

Contemporary sociological analyses of religious exit based upon a role theoretical framework were often motivated by the expansive and groundbreaking

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[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] I am reminded here of Bryan Wilson's secularization theory coupled with his notion concerning the type of identity which results from the plethora of choices made available to persons existing within a state of modernity (1966; 1982: ch 6). Wilson's ideas point toward a circumstance that I would like to call 'existence or life according to grey noise', a phenomenon that Durkheim ([1912] 2008: 319) refers to as *useless manifestations*. Indeed Callum Brown agreed with my assertion regarding such in relation to Wilson's scholarship when he was invited to provide a discussion on secularization at Durham University's department of theology and religious studies during Epiphany Term 2012. Though it must be stated that Professor Brown was not in agreement with my opinions concerning the various mechanisms associated with secularization generally.

writings of both Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton,[104] who were in turn likewise influenced by the previous conceptions and formalizations set forth by G.H. Mead and Ralph Linton.[105] More recently Walter Coutu,[106] Erving Goffman,[107] William Goode,[108] John Yinger,[109] Rose Coser,[110] and Jaap Diedrick Snoek[111] stand among those who have established both role and status theory as either viable or fecund in the formal and systematic analysis of identity dynamics. We now explore examples of such approaches.

Roger Jehenson (1969) chronicles the experiences that take place between a Catholic nun and a priest who find themselves mired within a structurally prohibited romantic association. The relationship results in the couple's falling in love with one another. This liaison represents an interpersonal bond that is strictly forbidden by virtue of the statuses of which they both respectively occupy within their church. Though the work is predominately dismissed by sociological researchers due to its autobiographical nature, I nonetheless consider Jehenson's utilization, continuation, and further operationalization of role theoretical rhetoric following from Levinson (1959) and Yinger (1965) to be more than adequate for its inclusion within the serious consideration of, and contribution to, the academic discourse concerning role and status theory. *Role-demands*, *identity*, *subidentity*, and the *internalized role* are treated in terms of individual character and the relative appeal of the context of the organization whose membership the individual is now considering. Jehenson sensitively engages the sociological when he considers the functional implications of both role theory and the concept of *organizational attractiveness* as they interrelate within the decision-making nexus of individuals who come to face a potentially life altering choice. Moreover, both psychological and socio-psychological processes are given authority by the author's concern with personality, micro-interaction, and the degree to which social actors may realize cognitive harmony or alternately are met with resistance and psychic conflict proceeding from the corresponding congruence

[104] Parsons (1937; 1951); Parsons & Shils (1951); Merton & Lazarsfeld (1950); Merton (1957; 1968).
[105] Mead (1934); Linton (1936).
[106] Coutu (1951).
[107] Goffman (1959).
[108] Goode (1960).
[109] Yinger (1960; 1965).
[110] Coser (1966).
[111] Snoek (1966).

to, or divergence from, the organizationally defined and socially expected demand for behavioural conformity.

Responding to the sharp increases recognized in Catholic priest defection following Vatican II, Schoenherr and Greely (1974) carry out a brilliant macro-analysis of secondary data originating from the National Opinion Research Center whereby the extant commitment of clergymen are examined via an eight-variable path model. According to its authors the model accurately predicts, void of contextual effects, the most salient factors contributing to the diminution of individual pastorate commitment. Stressing their examination as a micro-level enquiry – dictated in large part by the theoretical assumption that specific actors behave according to rational choice tenets – Schoenherr and Greely understand the problem under scrutiny not as assessing whether or not an agent executes a decision to exit a social role; but instead conceptualize ego's crisis as a judgment regarding whether or not to continue, or to prolong dedication to a particular status. They operationalize the role commitment process as an actor's choice to remain engaged with the activities and expectations associated with a particular status and its ensuing role set.[112] Their definition grants credence to the sustained process of commitment and highlights the internal or subjective judgment regarding the maintenance of one's status quo as *valuable* or *rewarding*.[113] Of their eight original variables, five proved central to the discussion at hand. The *desire to marry* in the context of *age* (younger, less mature, rather than older or more mature); along with high degrees of *inner-directedness*; allegiance to *modern values*; and the presence of subjectively reported *loneliness*, constitute the combined factors or costs which propel priests who are already involved in the course of recognizing a sense of dissatisfaction with their current identity, toward the serious consideration of discontinuing their respective status/role commitments.

Acknowledging Schoenherr and Greely's identification of those who would be most inclined toward leaving the priesthood, as well as recognizing factors which potentially complicate the idiographic process of continued commitment to a specific role set, DellaCava (1975) notes that the sample in the 1974 study was comprised of

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[112] I believe it is important to note that such a status – that of possessing the formally recognized location indicating one as a clergyman or steward of God – importantly carries within its behavioural repertoire incredibly limited patterns of both social action and psychological exploration. Despite this constraint upon expression, some individuals may come to judge the status of priest as ultimately providing a net balance of rewards over costs when squared against a competing or alternate identity.

[113] Schoenherr & Greely (1974: 409-410).

individuals who were in fact active members of the clergy. That is, the respondents had not sought alternate purchase from the social location of priest, and therefore may never actually leave the priesthood. As such, the data procured in Schoenherr and Greely's research originate from individuals who are not products of the exit or re-identification process. Though the investigation represents a contribution to scholarship in its predictive form, DellaCava asserts that despite its quantitatively rigorous findings suggestive of "inclinations" and "predispositions" it nonetheless leaves some significant questions unanswered, namely those of: "What proportion of those 'most inclined' to leave, actually leave?" "Under what conditions does celibacy become experienced as a cost?" "How do priests deal with the problem, for example, of their desire to marry and their vows of celibacy?"[114] And last, how do those individuals on their way out of the clergy deal with the new problems resulting from their deviant and quite often dissonant activities and thoughts?

Conceptualizing achievement-based statuses as those which require scant investment, bear little emotional significance to the actor themselves, supply meager if any identity salience, and are more often than not theorized as temporary in nature, DellaCava in zero-sum fashion attributes the central meaning attached to a person's self-identity as deriving from ascriptive bonds. According to this consideration the ascribed status is seen as being imbued with a significant amount of temporal permanence. Demanding both exhaustive and exclusive emotional commitment via the physical, intellectual, emotive, and spiritually isolating processes of canonicate socialization – the Catholic calling to labour in the priesthood is therefore conceived by DellaCava to be as powerfully ascriptive as any other. This is believed to be the case by virtue of the argument that on many psycho-social levels those who adhere to the gospel have no cognizant choice but to ascriptively "obey what is believed to be the will of God."[115]

Conducting in-depth open-ended interviews with thirty-five ex-priests, DellaCava illuminates "the conditions under which such predisposing factors as 'desire to marry' become translated into action leading to resignation from the priesthood."[116] Like the work of Schoenherr and Greely the timing of this research coincides with the aftermath of Vatican II, and therefore captures some of the

[114] DellaCava (1975: 41).
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

dynamics indicative of an individual's response to the destabilization of one's organization of origin. Within such circumstances personal drama is to be expected as that which had previously constituted a taken-for-granted reality is suddenly shifted in a bureaucratic effort to embody, or to represent something different. The attempted compliance by the Catholic membership to amend a way of life that had erstwhile provided significant degrees of traditionally oriented stability toward or in the direction of liberal modification often proved problematic or unsuccessful – despite the fact that extant sources of dynamism emerged as a product of theological and bureaucratic decree. This is not surprising as the process of externally motivated re-internalization of differences can frequently result in conflict of the i) inter-personal, ii) intra-organizational, and iii) intra-personal type.

Inductively identifying factors that produce such conflict for the sample of ex-priests: i) celibacy, ii) problems with authority, and iii) general dissatisfaction with pastoral responsibilities resonate with the findings suggested by Schoenherr and Greely in their 1974 study. Importantly however DellaCava brings to light one nuanced qualification as a critical factor in the determination of the decision to leave the priesthood. Celibacy, which connotes sexual abstinence and symbolizes the repression of feelings to both marry and engage in paternity and fatherhood, fulfills much more of an expansive role than otherwise acknowledged. For the ex-clergymen in the sample the transition from traditionally held internalizations stipulating behavioural interaction between genders to that of the new unconventional (though organizationally sanctioned) social relationships with women served as an initial cause for the experience of all three types of conflicts. In fact it is such relationships – spawned from conflict – that persist, redefine, and promote additional associations that ultimately serve as the psycho-structural foundation for the inception of a fledgling new identity.

If not directly producing grounds for the subjective experience of feeling an enormously genuine threat to an individual's notion of stasis, exposure to new types of information may at the very least cause a small degree of mental and/or spiritual discomfort. Subsequent to the wholesale changes instituted as a product of the second Vatican Council, the priest's introduction to progressive types of information necessarily precedes his acquisition of broader conceptions of awareness. This fresh consciousness is often experienced in the lives of DellaCava's respondents as an acute inconsistency between the traditional and the modern. It is not surprising that this

dogmatic contradiction had contributed greatly to subjective feelings and experiences of worry, ache, and unease regarding the particular status and role commitments which had long been established. Even less surprising is the observation that the second council had also fostered a significant degree of individual trepidation concerning the Vatican's declaration on a new morality. Despite the fact that the contradiction of customary etiquette had been displaced by that which the institution was now representing as innovative, discrepant and potentially dichotomizing feelings persisted for some members of the constituency. In reaction to the variety of cognitive issues that had been bureaucratically amended, the ex-priests included in the sample who had successfully supplanted the old with the new in terms of fraternization with women successfully gained an increased peace of mind concerning the varied degrees of mental, spiritual, and social anguish resulting from an exposure to, and an embracing awareness of differences.

According to DellaCava the phenomenon of departing from a status is a common occurrence. She stresses however that the cessation or rejection of obligations deriving from all social locations are not the same. Shedding certain statuses, especially those indicative of ascription, concomitant with a decision to progress forward in an attempt to become something else, is in fact a very heavily considered prospect. Hence we may simply assert that all statuses are not equally painless to discard.

Following a successful campaign during the 1960s and early 1970s that had resulted in the formalization and integration of grounded theory[117] into the contemporary sociological and psychological milieu; prolific sociologists Glaser and Strauss continued to maximize their burgeoning methodology. With consideration given to a series of respectable publications taking place both prior and subsequent to their finest and very well received collaborative work, the academic community nonetheless found their later articulation of *Status Passage* (1971) to be quite perplexing, if not plainly distasteful.[118] Regarding the sociological coterie, such a rhetorically creative, highly redundant, operationally vague, and frustratingly open-ended treatise had been judged overall to be somewhat less than efficacious at designating both the metaphorical and life-span developmental processes indicative of

[117] Glaser & Strauss (1967).
[118] Plummer (1972).

van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage*[119] as fertile material for the furthering of sociological principles. Rather, the opposite had manifested itself regarding estimations waged by their peers. Concerning the academic impulses at the time which celebrated abstraction, quantification, and statistical validity, *Status Passage* was viewed largely as antithetical at worst and empty at best.

Despite this unenthusiastic response, I however thoroughly enjoyed the manuscript. The absence of clearly defined statements and propositions together with copious amounts of ambiguity are rather congruent with an anthropological, psychologically creative, and systematically sensitive demonstration. Moreover, the inherent discussion-based prose that is constantly embedded within nonrepresentational comparisons seems to support an entirely different sense of density, which some sociologists are not necessarily accustomed to. That said, the dimensions of *temporality*, *shape*, *desirability*, and to a lesser degree *circumstantiality*, have been treated quite admirably within the construct of their efforts. Of course a propositional scientist can always mobilize an ardent opinion regarding the manner in which Glaser and Strauss conclude their musings. Epistemologically I happen to agree with the authors: "Our strategy of comparative analysis for generating theory puts a high emphasis on *theory as process*; that is, [we see] theory as an ever-developing entity, to be extended and modified, not as a perfected product merely to be negated."[120] Further stating: "*Theory as process*, we believe, renders quite well the reality of social interaction and its structural context. The discussional form of formulating theory gives a feeling of 'ever-developing' and 'modifiability' to the theory, allows it to become quite rich in complexity, integration and density and makes its fit and relevance to reality easy to comprehend."[121]

In an outstanding analysis whereby the ego based migration of nun to ex-nun is examined with attention paid to the inductively grounded model of Glaser and Strauss (1971) and also following van Gennep's (1908) treatment of symbolic transition, Lucinda SanGiovanni illustrates the processes of emergent role passage.[122] Her qualitatively based investigation describes the experiences and feelings of those particular actors who find themselves engaged in life-changing self-initiated

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[119] van Gennep ([1908] 1960).
[120] Glaser & Strauss (1971: 188).
[121] Ibid p. 189.
[122] SanGiovanni (1978).

deliberation. SanGiovanni's effort represents a strong contribution toward the development of the concept of role passage as a viable tool for the further analytical comprehension of status dynamics. Additionally and perhaps more important, she has accomplished much in defining certain aspects indicative of the type of evolution taking place as conservative or strictly religious individuals embark upon the journey marking their rejection of a traditional status in an attempt to procure an alternative, increasingly secular distinction.

Originating from the social position of nun, SanGiovanni identifies three categories through which an individual must pass when involved in the process of modifying one's character. First, the phase of role *relinquishment* is asserted to be the explicit product of ego's ability to make the initial decision to leave. Beyond the mere mental conviction symbolizing a desire to abscond from an erstwhile distinction, a further source of aggravation is stated to stem from the varied and repeated mental rehearsals which indicate a heavy consideration toward the action or strategy of actual or realistic exit.[123] Here the behaviour, habits, and life-style indicative of an exacting and hyper-conventional personal religiosity are placed under subjective scrutiny whereby the result is the need to create distance between a blossoming self and an earlier valued though critically endangered pious identity.

The second stage indicating *transition* is marked by copious amounts of learning, myriad forms of experimentation, and multiple personal adjustments that take place in relation to an individual's recently acquired though unfamiliar and therefore unusual type of personhood. This transitional period is often identified as a source of both compounded and foreign anxiety. Facing a world that most nuns do not understand, many had reported experiencing profound changes in their emotive situations which occurred in relation to living the multiplicity of role sets deriving from their new social statuses. Normative behaviours which signal to others information regarding age, gender and sexuality, occupational status, marital circumstances, as well as both family and friendship ties were stated to have contributed toward feelings of apprehension and confusion.[124]

Last, the successful *acquisition*[125] of an erstwhile considered unconventional, secular, or rebellious identity is validated to ego both personally and socially as

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[123] SanGiovanni (1971: 27-68; 149-151).
[124] Ibid pp. 69-106; 151-155.
[125] Ibid pp. 155-157.

subjective experiences of idiographic and nomothetic integration – resulting in self defined satisfaction – progressively become recognized as a product of one's newly formed independence and character. Such a freshly acquired identity emanates no doubt from the exercise, practice, and mastery of autonomy; thus the aspects of both individual determination and personal creativity can be seen as central to the process of changing the circumstances of one's life.[126]

The strengths of SanGiovanni's *Ex-Nuns: A Study of Emergent Role Passage* (1978) lie most significantly with the recognition that her study is the first of its kind on many levels of academic assessment. Theoretically she illuminates the Glaser-Straussian framework of status passage in exceedingly more successful terms and conceptions than they do themselves. She introduces the treatment of the movement inherent in the processes inevitably confronted as a product of the active engagement of life-span development as *individually-initiated* thus *processual*, rather than focusing solely on the dogmatized, culturally static, and socially established *structural* elements impinging upon behaviour. Her expression of deliberate or self-initiated choice and strategy formation on the part of each actor constitutes – even if without intent by the author herself – a contribution to the paradigmatic implications arising from the rationality of both choice or preference and action. Finally, the perceptive insight into the emotionality deriving from such an exodus of identity as that which followed the second Vatican Council enables SanGiovanni's work to be taken quite seriously when squared against the current literature associated with the individuality of deviance. As well, her treatment is fundamentally relevant to the broadening of the functional comprehension of stigma and its relationship to social and individual control.

Following SanGiovanni's interpretation of convent exit as an individually initiated emergent process, Helen Ebaugh[127] continues the theoretically grounded analysis of status passage among egressing nuns "a la Glaser and Strauss"[128] both during and subsequent to the Second Vatican Council. After the deliberations associated with Vatican II the Catholic bureaucracy and its ensuing social institution came to view individual nun involvement as discretional, rather than holding fast to the traditional affirmation that once a woman had committed herself to the service of

[126] Baum (1977).
[127] Ebaugh (1988a; 1988b).
[128] Wacquant (1990: 397).

God and church that she had invariably sworn her very essence to a non-negotiable lifetime contract.

In addition to open-ended interviews conducted with ex-nuns who had left their respective religious communities between the years of 1965 and 1971, Ebaugh also draws from her own extensive biographical experience.[129] Her *N*=60 qualitative sample originated equally from the spectrum of conservative, moderate, and liberal Catholic orders. Supplying further rigour to her report are two separate waves of original survey data conducted in June and November of 1971.[130] Constituting the final element in Ebaugh's methodological triangulation, case studies of three different abbeys were selected on the basis of the following four criteria: i) *Degree of change* realized in the respective order directly subsequent to the time of the Second Council declaration. ii) *Geographic location*, all three were within 100 miles of Chicago thus ensuring proximal accessibility to the researcher. iii) *Gravissimum Educationis*[131] or *teaching* was identified as the primary organizational purpose rather than service or charity. And finally, iv) each abbey must have had a *membership of no less than 500 nuns*.

Order A initiated structural change early in the process of the Second Vatican renewal, during the years 1964, 1965, and 1966. Their eagerness for ecumenism and internal change was decided by Ebaugh to reveal a distinctly *liberal* or *change-oriented* expression of the Catholic convent when compared to other orders that had commenced the adoption of the new dynamism at a later point in time. Order B, which had integrated change into its priory during the late 1960s, was judged by Ebaugh to symbolize a *moderate* or *middle-of-the-road* convent. Order C, exercising patience or perhaps dedication to tradition, had waited until the early to mid 1970s (for reasons possibly related to organizational tension or fear) to incorporate the modification process into its unique style of pious pedagogy. Therefore, order C manifested characteristics indicative of a much more *conservative* or *change-restrictive* cloister in the face of the Second Council when squared against the previous two examples.

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[129] Ebaugh (1977: xi) states that she was an active nun for ten years; however elsewhere (1988a: 101) she confusingly reports her tenure as an active nun lasting from 1961 to 1973, a period of twelve years.
[130] Morris (1978).
[131] Briel (2008).

1977 marks the original date by which the above information was first put to published interpretation. *Out of the Cloister: A Study of Organizational Dilemmas* emerged as the product of Ebaugh's Columbia University PhD dissertation that had been supervised by Robert Merton. Within the text she addresses the exodus of nuns from Catholic convents: a phenomenon beginning in the mid 1950s, peaking through the 1960s, and tapering off during the early 1970s. Ebaugh generally attributes the loss of such overwhelming numbers[132] to the latencies arising from the organizational shift of convent culture FROM that of cloistered absolutism – stated by the author to be quite similar to the concept of Liftonian totalism[133] – TO one of choice, exposure, cooperation, open communication, and freedom.[134]

Out of The Cloister presents seven hypotheses from which varying degrees of empirical support or refute are qualified, though it can be stated that a few findings are of much more relevance and general application in relation to the content of this thesis than others. Regarding hypothesis III, Ebaugh finds that the more an order experiences change in terms of either organizational or individual access to higher education – that is, a master's degree or above – the more departures such a convent would inevitably have. While not always primarily causal to the egress of the particular individual who has procured such a qualification, Ebaugh instead frames

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[132] By 1970 6,337 nuns had defected in the United States; see Neal (1984); Ebaugh (1988a: 100).

[133] Robert Lifton's thought reform is heavily present throughout Ebaugh's description of convent socialization and utopia; see Ebaugh (1977: ch 1). For additional clarification I would suggest a quick consult of Lifton's original (1963) manuscript. For yet another treatment regarding the potential frailty or malleability of the human mind see Winn (1983).

[134] Four distinct points or innovations can be stated to have served as the watershed proclamations which ultimately gave brilliant contrast to Catholic convent and pastoral life as observed from both pre- and post Vatican II perspectives. First was the sequence of changes stemming from the 1952 address of Pope Pius XII whereby he emphasized the growing organizational need within the church to clad its sisters with both educational and professional credentials rivaling those of their secular counterparts; see Staab (2009). Second was the 1965 *Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life*; see Allen & O'Brien (2008). Third, the 1966 *Motu Proprio* exhortation by which Pope Paul VI issued instructions formulated in an attempt to realize the actualization of the principles of upholding "a continuous return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original inspiration behind a given community;" see Pope Paul VI (1966); Staab (2009: 89-93). Fourth (also included within the *Motu Proprio*) was the levying of a general charge prompting the adjustment of each and every religious district to try and establish a better fit within their communities as a product of "the changed conditions of the time." In sum, following from the above stated innovations, along with the convocation of the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, Pope John XXIII – though not living long enough to see first hand its consequences – inaugurated theological and structural reform that permeated every aspect of Catholic society and identity; thereby altering the American Catholic expression once and for all from its original countenance.

'education' as an explanatory variable which apparently manifests latent or intervening implications through the form of *affecting others*. Such is made clear through the observation of secondary and tertiary effects. When a sister returns home to her convent after studying elsewhere – most notably within a progressive or secular context – she will bring back both premeditated and inadvertent elements indicative of her new and uncontrolled exposure to the world. This material or information undoubtedly emanates through the conceptual process of diffusion of innovation[135] to others within her abbey who have not had the opportunity to partake of such a vantage point, thus resulting in heightened numbers of discontents that will come to harbour a certain type of awareness (albeit formed in large part from association rather than from direct engagement), which may potentially foster the formal consideration of exit from their order. Hence, the more education given or allowed to members of convents, the more occurrences of withdrawal within its constituency will be observed. Stated differently, abbeys associated with higher levels of education manifested higher rates of membership losses.[136] Furthermore and very important, not only are women with M.A. degrees more likely to leave than those less educated or non-educated, but proportionally do so in increased numbers within orders reflecting a lower overall percentage of educated women. Within Ebaugh's data this indicates that smaller religious communities are indeed more disposed to losing adherents than their larger Catholic counterparts.[137] However and almost paradoxical; smaller neighborhoods as more conservative and significantly less change oriented – in contrast to the liberal and often larger orders that had embraced the opportunity to quickly welcome the new amendments instituted by the second council – offered a much stronger mooring upon which their believers could rely. As such, the least change-oriented convents sustained significantly lower rates of defection during the years under scrutiny.[138] Given the above, it can be accurately stated that "education level in an order is the best predictor of the degree of structural change effected [therein]," and by extension "is also a predictor of rates of leaving from [such an] order."[139]

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[135] Bandura (1986); Granovetter (1973).
[136] Hintz (1978).
[137] Morris (1978).
[138] Gellard (1979).
[139] Ebaugh (1977: 122).

Concerning hypotheses V, VI, and VII – regarding the relative change or lack thereof within the aforementioned orders A, B, and C[140] – Ebaugh finds that reasons forwarded by ex-nuns explaining their individual exit are quite similar within orders yet are strikingly different when compared to others. Women leaving liberal order A report their dissatisfaction or unhappiness as originating from conflict regarding differences of opinion concerning 'the real meaning of the religious life'. In fact many exes state that after Vatican II there was no longer a significant divide between the existences of the religiously cloistered from those of the religiously committed. Therefore many respondents believed that sincere dedication to Catholicism could essentially be fulfilled within the secular world. Those who exited from moderate order B share opinions linked not to any degree of change adopted by the convent specifically, but instead to personal issues such as desire to marry, general unhappiness within the order, and the need for self-fulfillment. Those departing from conservative order C did so embittered and angry, attributing their ultimate frustration to the slow pace of structural change. "In other words, it is possible that the phenomenon of increasing numbers of women leaving religious orders is an inevitable part of the change process going on within these groups and cannot be resolved by policy decisions on the part of the organization."[141]

Eleven years later, *Becoming an Ex: The Process of Role Exit* (1988b) presented Ebaugh's interpretation of role transition. Here she situates and defines role exit as a generalizable process akin to, and inevitable as, socialization itself. Ebaugh argues that the process of role exit takes place regularly in modern society and it occurs most often when individuals shed prior roles and responsibilities of various types in order to adopt an alternate life-defining outlook.[142] Despite the value of the text, I will be focusing instead upon Ebaugh's much more relevant (1988a) article 'Leaving Catholic Convents: Toward a Theory of Disengagement'. Essentially constituting a different manner of statement resulting from her original data, methodology, and constructed context, 'Leaving Catholic Convents' conceives the role exit process as a product of social-interactional variables, thus it is within this treatment that Ebaugh ultimately unifies the experiences of all the ex-nuns who had

[140] Discussed above on p. 42.
[141] Ebaugh (1977: 103).
[142] This opinion is shared by DellaCava (1975) when she asserts that departing from a status is a common occurrence; see p. 38 above.

provided narratives during her earlier 1977 analysis – a method of presentation which bears some similarities to the manner in which I report my own stage data. Denying the certainty, necessity, and duration of individually experienced categorical issues leading to exit, Ebaugh in grounded theory fashion builds four stages that point to a string of successive events marking the evidentiary reality associated with role exit when experienced by Catholic nuns.

"Questioning the viability of religious life, and reevaluating one's individual commitment to that way of life"[143] marks the first stage. *First doubts* or *initial questioning* on the part of the individual are often the result – as stated earlier – of an order's relationship with non-traditional forms of education. For some, contact with liberal education promoted a modification of their reference group. Thus total commitment to the convent began, for a few, to crumble. Notions concerning the possibility of an alternative way of life were reported to have been subjectively assessed through a series of: i) *unconscious cueing*, most often taking form in minor occurrences of oblivious deviance; ii) *reality testing*, that is, by sharing doubts with others; and iii) by *assessing the reaction of significant others* when confronted with deviant or unconventional information. Importantly, responses or reactions from others typically occurred as: a) reinforcement, that is, a positive reaction to the initial doubts voiced by the questioning nun – therefore producing within ego a strengthened motivation toward convent exit. b) Dissuasion, whereby attempts were made to quell potential withdrawal or doubt by stressing or enhancing the rewards associated with remaining loyal to the cloister. Or last, c) sympathetic others occasionally suggested alternatives by which the curious sisters could further extend commitment to their current identity; in effect, prolonging or perhaps possibly avoiding further considerations regarding convent exit. Experiencing and sharing doubts with others under conditions associated with positive social support, conceived here as occurring under the rubric of reinforcement, promoted a sense of conviction and self-assurance within the psyche of the questioning nuns thereby resulting in their further consideration of ultimately adopting an alternative social role.

The second stage *seeking alternatives* solidified the sentiment of unhappiness within the occupation of the status quo. Atypical cueing became a conscious occurrence symbolizing subjective justification of grief, while also signaling

[143] Ebaugh (1988a: 106).

discontent to peers. Additionally, envisioning oneself not as a devoted reclusive sister but as a single laywoman in secular society fostered a sense of anticipatory socialization. Once role rehearsal – first imaginative then actual – transpires, a firm decision regarding whether or not to emigrate from the convent was imminent.

The turning point, taking place subsequent to some degree of both anticipated role rehearsal and rational calculation regarding the commitment to a traditional state of affairs, is often considered a monumentally significant event in the life of the individual actor. Particularly important circumstances or issues – though in many cases such events were organizationally or bureaucratically insignificant – typically had solidified the decision to exit the cloister once and for all. Fulfilling three important functions in the narratives of Ebaugh's egressing nuns, this third stage is stated to: i) *reduce experienced dissonance* associated with the final verdict to abscond, thereby ii) allowing the nuns to openly *declare to both others and to herself* that indeed she is unhappy. A convicted mindset along with public displays of discontent further iii) enables the subjective *organization of resources* in terms of utilizing social others, mobilizing the mental and emotional energies, and summoning the personal endurance required to both affect and sustain one's newly acquired will. Upon the actual termination of convent membership, ex-sisters find themselves not only dealing with the emotional extremes of both the euphoria and loneliness proceeding from liberation, but also according to Ebaugh the issue most grappled with is that of reconciling an ex identity with that of their current place in society. That is, ego's adaptation to the role of ex-nun is somehow of primacy when compared to the otherwise enjoyable state of the anticipated procurement of a new secular distinctiveness.

"A person in the process of establishing herself in a new role struggles to become emotionally disentangled from self-perceptions and normative expectations of the previous role."[144] Thus the fourth and final stage of the exit process, that of *creating the ex-role*, is distinguished by subjectively unfamiliar staging, cueing, and signaling. Initial attempts at affirming to mainstream others one's rightful place within the general public can in fact prove significantly stressful. Clothing, make-up, gesticulation, social interaction, friendships, and sexual scripts indicate areas contributing to noteworthy amounts of transitional anxiety. After evolving from the

[144] Ibid p. 114.

necessity of disclosing a prior identity to others, to that of treating one's historical biography as privileged information, many ex-nuns reported feeling quite angry toward their orders. From ego's point of view many years were surrendered to their convents which otherwise could have been utilized in a very different fashion. Interestingly only 3% of Ebaugh's sample disaffiliated entirely from the Catholic Church. The vast majority continued to serve their faith as lay leaders, agents of pious change, and also as fervent parishioners.

Providing an excellent discussion of the social-psychological implications of the authoritative structure on the self, Janet Jacobs interprets the reasoning for deconversion from cult groups by women as the result of a perceived unequal exchange of desired commodities produced from an anachronistically oriented economy of love. Within her model the strictest notions and stereotypes concerning both gender and sex operate as the basis for committed religiosity.[145] Though Jacobs' organizational and hence purely sociological engagement of involvement and exit is clearly found to be wanting,[146] I believe her work to be moderately rich, offering a serious yet rare view into the lives, practices, and expectations indicative of patriarchic, male-dominated religious sects. Despite the recognition that both her 1987 and 1990 analyses concerning charismatic bonding and divine disenchantment are quite relevant and commendable, it is Jacobs' preliminary work 'The Economy of Love in Religious Commitment: The Deconversion of Women From Nontraditional Religious Movements' (1984) which is of most concern for my purposes here.

Her original data, procured while a doctoral student at The University of Colorado, consisted of seventeen females who had exited their respective religious affiliations void of external coercion. Subjects reported associations with groups ranging from charismatic Christianity to Eastern mysticism, with durations of involvement spanning between a short six weeks to ten prolonged years, though averaging four. The median age at disaffiliation was reported as twenty-seven years old thus making the average age at the time of conversion twenty-three. It is within the boundaries of her intensive interview schedule whereby Jacobs identifies the rewards of *affection*, *approval*, *intimacy*, and most importantly *love* to be among the most vigorously sought after social possessions by respondents in her sample. Such an eager drive toward the procurement of said benefits thus promotes complete

[145] Jacobs (1984: 166).
[146] Beerline (1990).

obedience on the part of the subordinate or disciple to the will, appetites, and propensities of the religiously superior father-figure, guru, or prophet.

Crucial to understanding the psychodrama and motivation of the individual believer mired within a cultic environment is the acknowledgment that devotees are often removed from the rest of the world; if not entirely in a physical capacity, then most assuredly in a psycho-emotional sense. Following from this type of proximal, corporeal, and ideological segregation – which in effect creates an almost perfectly controlled microcosm – it is revealed that the primary responsibility or function of female adherents is in fact to do nothing but to fulfill without question the needs and desires of the male religious leaders. In exchange for dedicated servitude the powerful patriarchic order will then allocate to the worthy such desired and highly valued compensation as *emotional gratification*.[147] Quite simple to see is the incredibly high probability for the development, maintenance, and subsequent conventionalization of traditional, domestic, and perhaps even oppressed female gender and sex roles within a culture of this type. Indeed Jacobs asserts that *romantic ideals* – collectively designated by: i) female incompetence and ii) male supremacy – combined with iii) the desire for male adoration and security, which inevitably come to epitomize the interaction between these respective actors, often leads to control issues such as *sexual exploitation*, *abuse*, and *discrimination*.[148]

Within the context of *unrequited love* Jacobs suggests that previously held quixotic notions deteriorate as relatively simple feminine acquiescence to male spiritual authority evolves both dismally and darkly, often resulting in various forms of submission to chauvinism, bearing the constant threat of expulsion or damnation, and receiving physical beatings. Thus *the breaking point*, the first step in ego's movement away from the faction, most often ensues as a latent externality following from a specific though highly crucial event. Typically the occurrence and emotional impact are punctuated when the member encounters significant rejection, or likewise when coercion leading to compliance takes the form of physical, emotional, or sexual mistreatment or violence. Such hurtful or abusive experiences will often lead the devotee to realizations that ultimately cause her to lose trust in the faith, the movement, and in the religious leaders.

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[147] Jacobs (1984: 156).
[148] Ibid.

Second, *a heightened feminist consciousness* combined with a newfound self-appreciation is suggested to precede a retrospective appraisal of her subjective religious history. Notions of emptiness and being unloved by God come to frame the sentiments allied with the awareness of a flawed state of circumstances. This agonizing comprehension no doubt serves as an integral mechanism in the potential severing of ties between the self and the organization.

The third and final step of Jacobs' deconversion is often the most traumatic. As the female partisan struggles to extricate herself from the established bonds of the organization, sacred socio-psycho-emotive obligations to the male hierarchy unite to direct her allegiance back toward that which she seeks to flee. This is to say that personal feelings associated with guilt, loneliness, and devotion in fact function to bring her again to the abusive religious movement itself. As such, Jacobs notes that "total deconversion therefore becomes very difficult to achieve and the completion of this phase seems to be contingent on the development of outside ties."[149] Other relationships and activities such as engagement with family members, seeking out new lovers, receiving therapeutic counseling, or affiliation with a new religious group prove necessary in order to facilitate the fulfillment of psychological space which has been left vacant by the decision to exit an erstwhile totalistically inclined environment. In this way new ties and associations serve to functionally replace the impending void of prior religious commitment with otherwise common, ordinary, or prudent material.

Clearly the most important theoretical contribution of Jacobs' work is that of bringing to light the imperative effect that sex role socialization patterns are able to exercise upon individual action.[150] Even more astonishing is the recognition that the gender role re-socialization or amendment procedures contained within a cultic milieu can command such incredible power upon an otherwise normal psyche when isolated from the everyday normativity associated with regular life.

Causal processes and stage development

As can be concluded from the inherent variety constitutive of the above discussion, religious disaffiliation in addition to other *etic* labels indicative of categorizations and experiences theoretically articulates – in some form or another – what we may refer to as role transition or status exit. Sources preceding such an event

[149] Ibid p. 170.
[150] Ibid.

as well as individual action associated with its deliberation are generally explored through issues such as: i) the responses of social others, ii) the level of commitment to and extent of investment in one's identity, and iii) the various types of social or organizational factors which incite and subsequently effect role or status abandonment. Causal process models on the other hand, while not entirely distinct from the aforementioned theoretical posture, seek instead to sequentially classify instances of significance – either psychologically or structurally, idiographically or nomothetically[151] – that culminate in the rejection of a prior religious purchase. Academic representations adhering to causal process logic generally depict the episode of religious exit as objectively encompassing the experiences of: i) crisis, ii) disillusionment, iii) personal reflection and assessment, iv) idiosyncratic judgment of external situation, v) justification of internal sentiment, and vi) organizational departure.[152] After which, agents typically enjoy some sense of integration into a new social network.[153] Causal Models, although descriptively rich and pregnant with the scientific opportunity of specificity taking the form of broad yet poignant operationalizations[154] are however built upon ad-hoc interpretations, which despite their systematic and analytical utility may often err in both theoretical clarity and generalization.[155] By contrast, the proposition could easily be forwarded that those scholars utilizing an instrument such as processual modeling are more appropriately engaged in understanding micro or middling issues such as hearing silent voices, seeking detailed comprehension of phenomena, or searching for a stronger conviction regarding the real interaction amongst trends, associations, and relationships rather than being preoccupied with the formulation of grand theory.

At base the articulation and logical connection of antecedents indicating probable consequences derive their scientific legitimacy and methodological validation from the elegant yet potentially deep philosophical consideration of cause and effect.[156] This conception is of course fundamental to ideas associated with the

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[151] Babbie (1989: 62-63).
[152] Ebaugh (1988).
[153] Ibid.
[154] Simon (1969: 433-443).
[155] Beckford (1985); Wright, (1988).
[156] Simon (1969: 433-461); Krikorian (1934); Sellars (1909); Thilly (1907). Also relevant to the contemporary conception of antecedents and consequences as I see them are Victor Nee's (2003: 25, 41) thoughts on macro or distal and proximal or micro causation; as well, I think

more formal observation that *A somehow produces B*.[157] Sociologist and pioneering statistician Paul Lazarsfeld intimates three simple criteria by which factors related to phenomena may be classified as causal.[158] First, that which is attributed causal status must precede the observed effect in real time. This is to say that *G does in fact occur before M*.

Next it is essential that the two or more variables under scrutiny be empirically correlated with one another, such that the related variables possess *face validity*.[159] Otherwise stated, if attempting to derive the reasons for childhood obesity in a midwestern town located in the United States a researcher would not look for the answer in the current predicament of bio-diversity native to Sri Lanka. More likely the originators propagating pediatric corpulence would be found to reside closer to both home and circumstance.

Third, the relationship constituting the empirical correlation between variables must not be able to be adequately explained by the existence of a third or otherwise confounding element. To make this criterion clear I shall resurrect the somewhat hilarious and barely appropriate example given to me by my undergraduate research methods professor. *Ice cream cones cause sunburns and by extension skin cancer*. To be certain this observation is empirically related and highly reliable; however, it is also utterly devoid of validity. When it is acknowledged that people consume more ice cream cones during the summer months when days are hot and the sun is shining brightly, it can simply be concluded that it is the sun itself which not only plays a causal role in the increased consumption of these chilly treats, but is also integral to the observation of heightened rates of both dermal irritation and neoplasms. To

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his description of upstream and downstream markets may have rich potential in thinking about manifest and latent intentions or effects.

[157] Simon (1969: 70). Rather than starting from the position that *A somehow produces B*, I believe a more appropriate formula to illustrate this logic would be that *G somehow produces M*. On the face of this rudimentary equation, implications are present within the unstated antecedent structure which in fact has given rise to, and thereby informs or causes *G*. Additionally this reformed formula points to the relevant dynamics indicative of the processes lying between and linking *G* and *M*. Last, it is important to realize that a continuation of life indeed exists subsequent to the development of *M*. Despite the fact that this consideration is obviously not within the empirical focus of the model (or equation), the acknowledgement of continuation subsequent to the establishment of *M* is however an important element inherent within the pursuit of intellectual knowledge.

[158] Lazarsfeld (1959: 46, 64).

[159] Bernard (1994: 40-41) defines face validity as "simply looking at the operational indicators of a concept and deciding whether or not, on the face of it, the indicators make sense."

attribute causal status of a person's painfully crimsoned skin to the ingestion of ice cream cones rather than to their prolonged exposure to the intensity of the sun would not only be an absurd proposition, but would also be an illustration of a completely incorrect and therefore *spurious* conclusion.[160] Regarding the legitimacy of Lazarsfeld's logic, Babbie states: "any relationship satisfying all [three of] these criteria are causal, and these are the only criteria."[161]

Any conversation concerning causal or processual modeling should include a small treatment of the unfortunately and often sociologically neglected formalization of *stage theory*, if only to bring attention to two important factors. i) Stage theory itself lies incredibly close to that of the seemingly more espoused causal processes. Due to this proximity a clear expression of both is necessary in order to ascertain (or at least become aware of) the relative strengths, weaknesses, and potential points of convergence concerning each procedural device. Additionally ii) there exists a very real integration of stage theoretical logic (at least by conceptualization, if not by stated method) as a heuristic component which not only accompanies, but also quite honestly proves integral to the articulation of many contemporary enquiries into the sources promoting religious disaffiliation. Among the most evident – as thoroughly discussed in the preceding section – is the 1978 work of SanGiovanni. Here the application of Glaser and Strauss' *Status Passage* (1971) resulted in the advancement of her three stages of emergent role passage. In addition, the stages hinted at by Ebaugh in *Out of the Cloister* (1977) and thereafter soundly detailed in 'Leaving Catholic Convents' (1988a), as well as those stages discussed by Jacobs (1984) in her examination of traditional sex roles within cultic milieus all serve as seminal yet concrete examples of the sociological use of stage theory to assist in the explanation of religious exit. Notwithstanding its utilization within these examples, the employment of stage theory associated with identity dynamics and the articulation of its implications remain to be exhausted. Therefore I believe the following is of value.

Contemporary theories of stage development have most classically and productively been utilized in the field of psychology. Typically models of this type

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[160] An incorrect explanation of observed phenomena is also known as committing an *error of reasoning*; Babbie (1989: 65-68).
[161] Ibid p. 64.

operate under the general assumption that development[162] is a discontinuous process, thereby implying that elements indicative of certain types of systems experience discrete movement or progress in specific directions.[163] These distinct instances of transit are further assumed: i) to take shape over time, ii) exhibit a discernable structure of patternization, iii) are amenable to nomothetic description based upon shared or common experiences, and perhaps most significant, iv) are thought to occur in successive order. The notion of discontinuity inherent in such logic is made intelligible by understanding that most stage theorists (at least those involved in psychological research) would agree that each episode – once successfully negotiated by person, client, or organization – constitutes a closure of sorts with regard to the elements and constraints emblematic to a particular phase which is located in the past. Moreover, each and every subsequent stage encountered by any actor is strictly made possible by an effective transition from a prior stage. Thus each respective stage into which any individual progresses, symbolizes and integrates the achievements indicative of a former now obsolete stage. Notable exemplars of stage theorists and their work include Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive and affective development,[164] Erik Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development,[165] James Fowler's six stages of faith,[166] Lawrence Kohlberg's six stages of morality,[167] Freud's five psychosexual stages,[168] and Maslow's hierarchy of needs.[169]

Important and quite distinct from that of discontinuity is the principle of continuity. Within a stage theoretical framework, continuity postulates that the substance indicative of each chapter or period once overcome by ego does not conveniently ebb into analytical oblivion.[170] Rather, continuity posits that life is interconnected via incremental means; that is, experience is linked through a

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[162] It would seem that the term *development* punctuates the importance of the interaction taking place spatially between that of the antecedent and the consequence, thereby implying that causal factors are to be discovered and generalized somewhere amidst the two; that is, *between* the antecedent or cause and the consequence or result. While some scholars may assume this approach, I am of the opinion that antecedents themselves in fact constitute elements which lie firmly within the causal chain.
[163] White et al. (2005).
[164] Wadsworth (2003; 1989); Ginsburg & Opper (1987).
[165] Erikson (1959; 1994); Erikson & Erikson (1998).
[166] Fowler (1981).
[167] Kohlberg (1981; 1984).
[168] Kahn (2002: 35-54); Gleitman (1995: 676-680); Hyde & DeLamater (2000: 30-31).
[169] Malsow (1943; [1962] 1998).
[170] White et al. (2005).

progression of successively approximated series. This is to say that the academic recognition of social, psychological, material, and all other manner of existence and expressions of self are made available to humankind and thereby shaped through the effects stemming from cumulative causation.[171] In this way continuity is suggestive of the idea that – within the context of this dissertation and to be discussed further in various chapters – *human identity is ever-connected to a person's historical biography; and with respect to impending events to be confronted, integrated, overcome, or discarded, human identity is also ever-changing*.[172]

Legitimized by formal training in both theology and sociology, L. Norman Skonovd is credited by Wright (1988) as being the first to thoroughly develop an inductively generated process model concerning religious exit. Primarily constructed as a consequence of his qualitative enquiry into cultic apostasy, Skonovd (1981) attributes sectarian defection to be the product of emergent cognitive dissonance. Mental and emotional fracture experienced by the devotee, according to the author, largely results from a preceding surrender to an existentially totalistic worldview. Complete subservience, absolute devotion, and the subordination of self are all general hallmarks which punctuate conversion, commitment, and allegiance to an exclusivist NRM (new religious movement).

In-depth open-ended interviews procured via snowball sampling were conducted with sixty respondents, exactly half of which reported previous affiliations with the Unification Church. Thirteen were prior members of Eastern religious groups such as the Ananda Yoga Marga Society, various Buddhist sects, Hare Krishna, and Siddha Yoga (also known as Muktananda). Ten had derived from miscellaneous Christian Fundamentalist ideologies, while five were ex-Scientologists. Finally, two respondents had disaffiliated from the Peoples Temple prior to the tragedy that ensued in Jonestown on November 18, 1978.[173] Twenty-eight females and thirty-two males consisting of two African Americans, four Asians, and fifty-four whites, aged twenty-three to fifty years old, with duration of involvement spanning from three months to twenty-six years – ultimately comprised the sample from which Skonovd's analysis developed.

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[171] For an excellent treatment of Veblen's ideas concerning cumulative causation as well as his own contribution to the concept see Hodgson (2004).
[172] I must thank Dr. Matthew Guest for a wonderful conversation that resulted in my full grasp of the dynamics indicative of this concept.
[173] Hall & Schuyler (1998: 145-151).

True to stage theoretical form, Skonovd employs several operationalizations which are rooted and contrasted within the research literature. He is able to uniquely place his own efforts treating the subject of apostasy from religious totalism as quite novel, indeed contributing much to the prevailing comprehension relating to disaffection generally and apostasy specifically. Among the principle concepts addressed were i) totalistic maintenance; ii) various situations which result in disillusionment; iii) whether or not individual departure is an abrupt or an extended course of action; iv) whether final exit occurs during a private moment or under the collective gaze; v) what types of strategies for egress are considered on the part of the actor; as well as vi) the various issues surrounding the material, social, psychological, and religious destination of respondents subsequent to their leaving. The examination of these variables or questions undeniably provide numerous insights that culminate in Skonovd's *stagelike* process of sectarian disaffection. Though his subject matter and analysis are both commendable, it remains unfortunate that a clear parsimoniously enumerated progressional model is sorely lacking. However, the presentation of his *seven accumulating stages*[174] is useful in the direction of such a prospect. Despite the fact that the following summary results primarily from Skonovd's model, I have also utilized Wright's incredibly more condensed yet in fact similarly incomplete 1988 interpretation of Skonovd's sequence, which reduces his seven-point account to a six-stage representation.

Stage one, represented as *the initial crisis*, is stated to evolve from a breakdown of communally necessary social support networks that ultimately cause the adherent to experience feelings of disorientation, alienation, and anomie. Throughout ego's encounter with these feelings, emotionally charged and vital taken-for-granted relationships affecting the wellness of the individual within the totalist collective are weakened and thereby quickly destroyed as sensations of cognitive and epistemological vertigo following from the crisis milieu come to punctuate one's religious endeavours.[175] It is in fact such a psychologically perceived insecure or unstable milieu which spawns and further solidifies emotive discord between person and group. Skonovd postulates a sense of uncertainty deriving from one of two sources. i) *Internal conflicts* are those factors arising from within the spiritual community itself. Characterized as either socially disruptive or individually isolating,

[174] Skonovd (1981: 179-180).
[175] Ibid p. 52.

these events are triggered by occurrences such as a transfer to a new geographic location or the dissolution of a sexual alliance whereby normally recognized ties are suddenly absent. Or just as likely, upon organizational changes whereby that which is deemed favorable to the group by the divine bureaucracy are somehow interpreted to be unfavorable regarding ego's personal needs or desires, thus precipitating the occasion for various conflicts of the interpersonal type. Other factors promoting subjective discord include physical and emotional depletion largely taking place as harsh living conditions, insufficient rest, and ego suppression take their toll upon the bodies and minds of those engaged in pious activities.[176] Contrastingly ii) *external conflicts* such as strong interests in furthering a formal education; resuming or starting a valued career; unplanned social contact with estranged loved ones, friends, or family members; exposure to seemingly superior prophetic systems of belief; and forceful physical extrication initiated either by parents or similarly concerned others constitute factors creating unique pressures and demands lying outside the parameters of established control.

Unquestionably central to Skonovd's first stage and incidental to his model generally is the individually perceived decay of precious social bonds. Subsequent to such decomposition, mechanisms ensuring social control within the psyche of the actor are then left tenuous at best, thus allowing a second crisis to ensue, *the crisis of religious review and reflection*. This personal drama is distinguished by the rising levels of multiple dissonances associated with both subjective and objective definitions of the self. Following from such introspection the committed disciple comes to rest upon a somewhat renewed though painfully realized sense of dedication to their current identity. However, throughout the second stage there now exists a modicum of awareness regarding the all-consuming nature indicative of the chosen path.

At the third stage, flirtation with disaffection is ostensibly brought back into check by the feeble yet still functioning powers of collective compliance. Sanctions and feelings remind the actor of both existential fears and important emotional attachments that have formed between ego and group. In spite of these mechanisms, systematic rational reflection (on the part of the actor) is attributed as ultimately freeing the individual from the self-crippling dominance of the faction. Thus

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[176] Ibid p. 56.

providing ample motivation to facilitate transition into the incredibly stressful fourth stage, that of actually *leaving the NRM*. Despite the issue that some exit decisions are made suddenly in the face of a critical or perhaps public event, most are executed covertly or under an illusory guise such as a personal or familial illness or emergency. Urgencies are often subjectively or falsely constructed in order to require some sort of travel that takes the adherent away from the religious compound. Regarding the less likely clandestine escape, such is made possible only after substantial consideration and elaborate planning is executed in order to avoid potentially harmful or quelling altercations with zealous members or leaders.[177]

Subsequent to a successful physical separation from the influence of the cult, the fifth stage indicating *cognitive transition* is discussed primarily as an inactive phase. This time typically involves the ex being essentially baffled in their attempt to construct a new identity. Loneliness and depression come to frame a specific period that is more often than not spent at home with a person's alienated family of origin, for it is typically within the family's ability to provide essential psycho-emotional support and material provisions which would otherwise prove impossible to attain if the defector were left to his or her own devices.

Individual reorganization, the sixth and final stage, is manifested by the cognitive and social disconnection from the prior cultic attachment and is recognized as the ex becomes re-integrated into mainstream society. Here Skonovd reports that ego's exposure to conventional social functioning will occur in either a passive or active manner. This is dependent upon whether or not the apostate is able to confront problems arising from their religious past directly; that is, with the active help of a professional counselor or therapist. Otherwise, ex-members will attend to their own psycho-social issues in a passive or indirect manner; this has been shown by and large only to occur when integrative or personal drama is consciously or publicly acknowledged.

The utility of the present work is apparent in at least two ways. First, the sample and method of analysis are indeed worth noting if for no other reason than to point out the sheer diversity of NRMs represented therein. Such a broad mixture of sects contributes certain elements of generality to the basic theoretical positioning of totalist religious disaffiliation within the social scientific literature at large.

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[177] Ibid pp. 121-127.

Furthermore I cannot but appreciate the style by which Skonovd illuminates some of the causal linkages, as well as his keen representation of both physical and mental conditions present during the individual process of apostasy. Second, and much more relevant to the aims of this dissertation, Skonovd has managed an entire manuscript whereby the end result is a fairly well constructed analysis of the basic tenets indicative of Leon Festinger's 1957 classic: *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, a text essential to the manner by which I comprehend human action to take place.

Further investigating disaffiliation among cult members, Stuart Wright utilizes various empirics originating from his work throughout the 1980s and proposes a four stage exit model deriving from the accounts of voluntary leavers from the Unification Church, Hare Krishna, and the Children of God. Stage one of his process indicates the significance of individual disillusionment and is identified as proceeding from the breakdown in a member's insulation from the external world.[178] This decomposition of barriers, which had earlier blocked access to a broader reality, in turn yields the potential for initially intimate yet ultimately destabilizing dyadic relationships to form between cult constituent and those who exist and function outside the parameters of their controlled universe. Additionally, an incredibly attractive element inherent within the NRM, indeed one that is quite efficacious when accounting for one's conversion to a deviant ideology, is the promise not only of the realization of accomplishing life-altering personal change but also the hope that each and every devotee might be viewed as contributing to the overarching improvement of humanity. However, upon the sad acknowledgement that such a process is either absent or has been occurring at a slow pace, many adherents partially question the validity and purpose of the organization to which they have become so entrenched. This questioning reflects perceived inconsistencies between the actions of leaders and the ideals they symbolically represent.[179]

Subjective justification regarding unhappiness is often reported to incorporate elements or explanations associated with an imagined or actual family crisis, the desire to resurrect a previously abandoned academic goal, or the yearning to follow an alternate religious path. Hence these ancillary factors[180] constitute the second stage of Wright's model. The ability of the individual to rationally catalog and thereby assess

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[178] Wright (1988: 151).
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid p. 152.

differing levels of incentive associated with discrete considerations in an attempt to further their decision-making process regarding an inclination toward a possible exit verdict begins during this period. Arguably these factors are rarely valid reasons to fully account for defection. However when combined or levied concomitantly in the scope or aftermath of a triggering episode, such ancillaries fulfill a requisite legitimating component within ego's cognitive process.[181]

The particular blueprint by which exiting members plan an ultimate passage, thus marking the third stage of disengagement, is in part correlated to the length of time spent within a respective organization. Surreptitious getaways or covert departures are reported as the method of choice for novitiates that have been involved with their NRM for less than one year. More common is the overt type of exit; well-versed members often conduct their disengagements in this style, unconcealed and openhearted, respect and mutuality is often maintained between member and group. Less frequently observed, though also associated with veterans, are declarative exits. These episodes are largely characterized by the social expression of personal drama and are reported to be motivated in response to subjective feelings of anger, frustration, and acrimony.[182]

Wright asserts that disaffiliates indicative of his sample had often felt burdened with the unfortunate though necessary task of working through the uncomfortable individual phenomena linked with their recent socio-ideological dislocation. This drama is often recognized as a process which occurs simultaneously with the choice to discard a previously internalized identity. Pain and confusion following from a disruption of this type are assuaged to some degree by immersion into the fourth stage of religious disengagement. Social relocation and re-integration is made complete as readjustment to mainstream life is stabilized by the effects of repeated interactions with an individual's family of origin, enrollment in college or university, or other new engagements with normative statuses and roles. Middling sources prescribing conventional behaviour represent avenues by which old notions of self may successfully be left behind. The engagement with such roles and statuses also provide to ego the view of a possible identity to be embraced. Glimpses of normal personalities as well as the traditional fulfillment of responsibilities can

[181] Wright (1987: ch 5).
[182] Wright (1985).

function as powerful motivators toward the acquisition of a self that is envisioned to be well within one's grasp.

Reaffirming the academic and social significance of disaffiliation studies, David Bromley (1997) adeptly discusses his integrated model of religious participation, which finds its genesis within a number of 'Transformative New Religious Movements' or TNRMs.[183] Case studies originating from the Hare Krishna movement, The Family (earlier known as The Children of God), the Unification Church, the Divine Light Mission, Branch Davidians, Synanon, and Heaven's Gate contribute to Bromley's five phases of TNRM i) pre-affiliation, ii) affiliation, iii) membership, iv) disaffiliation, and v) post-affiliation. Since the courting and conversion process is not my concern, it is the last three stages that I will briefly address.

Membership can be analyzed as either origin or destination. Because the focus of this dissertation is upon homegrown or ascriptive Latter-day Saints, it is the former that will conceptually frame my current position. Organizationally speaking, stable associations are known to follow from a reciprocally reinforcing situation extant between character and corporation. Consistency therefore can be stated to occur when an equilibrium of sorts is seen to benefit both involved. It is important to realize that the firm is ultimately comprised of myriad elements, indeed many more facets than might affect the sensitivities of a single actor. Due to this recognition it is sufficient to say that the individual has (at the time whereby any person may claim for oneself the status of in-group or fully-fledged member) learned to successfully fulfill the many roles and mandates of which the organization (in order to maintain its identity) expects of its constituency. Otherwise stated, when any person belongs to a totalist collectivity, that specific affiliation is often contributory to the primary identity of the community to which the person belongs. By extension, the corporate identity proffers both meaning and purpose to the specific agent as well.[184] Hence, the state of accord ensuing from both company and character is likely to yield increased cohesion within the proclivities of group as well as reaffirm longevity of commitment for the individual ego. "Therefore, it is likely that individuals will disaffiliate if substantial

[183] So named for their primary employment of the *prophetic method*, which stands as one mechanism among many propagating cultural, social, and psychological distanciation from the conventional world.
[184] Powell & DiMaggio (1991).

convergence of organizational and individual involvement does not occur."[185] Thus, "in the most fundamental terms, the process of disaffiliation emanates from structural tensions that precipitate a state of crisis for members, producing a divergence of individual and organizational involvement."[186]

Of note is the idea that Bromley is not speaking of 'organizational involvement' as some type of effort executed on the part of the bureaucracy itself, solely concerned with the macro network within which the group functions. Instead he is defining that notion which gives primacy of thought and action to that of the actor, essentially stating that believers invest copious amounts of costly personal resources into or toward a specifically deviant though devout construct in an attempt to realize existential synchronicity following from the confluence of both individual and organizational intent, desire, and goal orientation. Rewards for such commitment often take the form of experiencing preciously dense unity and fellowship amongst pious colleagues and with the ethos of the religious organization itself. Yet at those times when the actor recognizes a duality or dichotomy of purpose – often as a product of i) organizational change, ii) the subjective recognition and appraisal of spiritual anomie, iii) or the occurrence of prophetic disconfirmation – a breakdown of individually perceived collective solidarity is likely to follow. This suggests that the decomposition of an ideologically taken-for-granted structure often results in the destabilization of individual notions concerning both self and organization.

Bromley reports the phase of *disaffiliation* as often personally difficult and to take place over a significant measure of time. This is easily understood as church based businesses and careers, church financed graduate educations, church supported marriages, and church raised families are specifically designed to create formidable insularity by way of consolidated structural stability. Indeed all serve to retain the allegiances and loyalties of the individual by making the prospect of defection an incredibly costly choice. Nonetheless, continued disjunction of purpose not only furthers and sustains psychic distanciation, but also threatens extant group solidarity. Therefore open expressions of discontent are typically met with collective and bureaucratic forms of social control, which will inevitably directionalize malcontents toward formal exit.

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[185] Bromley (1997: 41).
[186] Ibid p. 42.

Consistent with the process models mentioned above, Bromley's phase of *post-affiliation* is concerned with the prospect of reintroduction to a set of socially orthodox, hence mainstream life-style conditions and routines. Despite the severance of both individual and organizational connections regarding their prior cultic commitments, a majority of ex-members report continued belief in their abandoned ideology and prophet, as well as offering staunch support concerning the sincerity of purpose regarding current followers of such movements. Bromley suggests that this paradoxical attribution is to be explained by the extreme presence of guilt, sorrow, loneliness, loss, and above all ambivalence. Such a fascinating empirical residual condition further frames the great difficulty that many former members face in achieving psychic freedom from the constraints associated with a previously valued consolidated worldview. In light of this information I believe we have found some validation supporting the hypothesis that *personal identity is, at any given time, an amalgamation of numerous and interconnected biographical experiences*.[187]

Taxonomies and typologies

Essential to the historical inception and contemporary advancement of science is the practice of converting observation into units of classification and categorization.[188] These processes can be viewed as either a scientific end in itself or as is more often the case a necessary step in the construction of some other type of research. The instance of sorting out various phenomena based upon utility born from similarity, patternization, and association – as judged by a competent researcher – might then be refined, operationalized, and possibly abstracted. Efforts extended in this direction often contribute to the creation of an illuminating formal taxonomy "in which the ensuing schematic order or arrangement of elements take their place in relation to some sort of hierarchical or gradated logic."[189] Differently however the task of empirical labeling, arranging, amalgamation, or correlation may result in the beneficial expression of a particular typology "wherein description and proximity of relatedness constitutes the domain of interdependent elements" or factors which are

[187] Recall the comment regarding human identity on pp. 54-55.
[188] Simon (1969: 54). *Classification* is the process of sorting out a collection of people, objects, or phenomena, and of developing a set of *categories* among which the collection is divided and thus catalogued. In this vein *categories* refer formally to notions associated with *taxonomy*.
[189] Ibid pp. 54-57.

seen to impinge upon a particular sensation, event, aspect, or perhaps naturally occurring circumstance.[190]

Systems of classification have evolved from the seminal methodologies established by Sir Francis Bacon as well as from the polymath and taxonomist Carolus Linnaeus, largely by virtue of his timeless *Systema Naturae* (1735). These two historical intellectuals have provided ample influence for the development of the more recent and well-known psychological analytics associated with Freud's defense mechanisms[191] as well as Jung's archetypes.[192] Other priceless classification research is easily discerned as located within the vast treatments of sociological and demographic distinctions concerning race, gender, group behaviour, and the like. Additionally, political and economic treatments marking different types of governmental forms, commodities schemas, propaganda proliferation, and ideological legitimation may also be seen to exemplify an incredible dependence upon both typological and taxonomical representation. Furthermore one of the most commonly used techniques in qualitative analysis is the formal, conceptual, folk, or native taxonomy; which is present and very well regarded within a multiplicity of anthropological and phenomenological works.[193]

Accordingly, Simon constructs a fivefold taxonomy illustrating both the empirical and theoretical applicability as well as potential implications of a well-composed system of categorization.[194] He suggests that skilled classification research i) allows for the routine analysis of individual cases. That is, in the absence of generality, practitioners and scholars would otherwise be faced with the impossible task of knowing about each and every micro unit of information concerning any particular concept before alleging to know anything at all. Thus a functional architecture built from classification enables scholars to take advantage of accumulated stores of knowledge without the burden of the alternative necessity of accessing potentially irrelevant and infinitely iterated data.[195]

ii) Categorization engenders summarization. Summaries provide aggregate information that can be employed when discussing a variety of notions such as liberal

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[190] Ibid pp. 292-295.
[191] Friedman & Schustack (2003: 83-93).
[192] Jung (1976); Palmer (1997: 93-141).
[193] Berlin et al. (1974); Frake (1964); Metzger & Williams (1966); D'Andrade et al. (1972); Conklin (1972); Frisch (1968).
[194] Simon (1969: 56).
[195] Ibid.

and conservative, Scandinavian and continental, normal and abnormal, quantitative and qualitative, as well as distinguishing between the religious and the secular. This compendiary form of knowledge fosters the acquisition of familiarity regarding specific types of issues, concepts, or groups. Lacking summative comprehension, political scientists would be unable to offer insight concerning the topic of voting preferences and anthropologists would surely suffer a devastating lacuna deriving from the deficiency of categories indicative of language or meaning. Thus summarization allows for the transfer of generalizations from one group to another.[196]

iii) Typologies foster awareness of both similarities and differences within and amongst categories; to the effect that the exposure of a unidimensional hypothesis or theoretical framework to the scrutiny associated with interdisciplinary rigour and interests may often result in an overall advancement of the intellectual enterprise at large. Simon further suggests the potential for substantive improvement to be made upon a specifically defined concept is also likely to ensue.[197]

Frequently iv) systematic classification contains within itself the explanation for a phenomenon. For example, during the process of generating taxonomic categories of obesity it is quite conceivable that we could produce childhood, adolescent, adult, and senior types of corpulence. We may proceed further to classify such in terms of social, ethnic, religious, or perhaps familial originators. Upon skilled description of the taxonomic 'familial obesity' we would surely find an element that may be stated as "usually follows from" or "leads to sedentary existence". This unanticipated suggestion, reflecting a probable explanation, stands as an invaluable latency following from a dense typology. Finally, and of extreme significance, v) typologies contribute inexorably to clarifying thoughts and opinions regarding any given subject or concept.

The accurate assertion claiming that the very casualties following from systematic categorization are often the human element, of which social scientists are in fact attempting to identify, is indeed a well-known paradox. Researchers will inevitably sacrifice richness, texture, and color, as well as experience a qualitative loss of other more concrete types of data in order to engage with the process of classification. Despite the surrender of such depth and individuality to the ability of thinking, observing, and reporting categorically, Simon responds to the following

[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.

critique: "How can you talk as if any two people in your survey were exactly the same?" Or, "How can you lump together wholesalers in Vermont and wholesalers in Louisiana, when they serve very different markets?"[198] The valid question at hand according to Simon: "is not whether or not the items that you lump together are different in some ways, but rather whether or not they are similar for your purposes. If they are, your classification is not only perfectly satisfactory, but also fruitful."[199] The convicted desire to abstain from making any erroneous generalizations leads inevitably to the necessity of relegating oneself to making no generalizations at all. Indeed a very sad intellectual state, which ultimately renders the art of science as not only impotent, but in fact impossible. To be certain, in order to procure real knowledge, scholars must not idealize the existence of safe enquiry.

Germane to an adequate review of literature related to religious retreat is Armand Mauss' highly influential and certainly unprecedented 'Dimensions of Religious Defection' (1969). Its substantive data is drawn from participant observation within a Mormon milieu as well as from members who have defected from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Advocating that the term *defection* refer only to those members "who have had some history of regular attendance and involvement in the church" beyond that of mere nominal affiliation,[200] Mauss also cites *disaffection*, *dropping-out*, and *disinvolvement* as synonyms for his operationalized definition which largely stems from taking an opposite stance to the concept of religious involvement utilized by both Glock and Stark[201] and Gerhard Lenski.[202] Given Mauss' slippery methodological empirics, his contribution to the sociology of religious exit is instead best recognized as mainly theoretical.

Conceptualizing the inverse of Glock and Starks' five theoretical dimensions of religious involvement, along with his further consideration of Morton King's nine empirical aspects of the same,[203] Mauss discusses the complexity indicative of phenomena relating to the issue of religious disaffiliation through his construction of three distinct dimensions reflecting the *intellectual*, the *social*, and the *emotional*.[204] Subsequent to the further explanation of such dimensionality, Mauss forwards an

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[198] Ibid p. 57.
[199] Ibid p. 294.
[200] Mauss (1969: 128).
[201] Glock & Stark (1965).
[202] Lenski (1961).
[203] King (1967).
[204] Mauss (1969: 129-131).

eight-fold typology of religious defectors that despite its forty-five year age can be stated to hold surprisingly well today.

Accounting for the interaction of Mauss' dimensions, *total defectors* are those individuals who are classified as being affected by all three. That is, they are significantly unhappy with regard to both the emotional and social elements of religious adherence as well as laying claim to intellectual independence concerning issues of ecclesiastical relevance or truth. *Psychological defectors* have abandoned their faith both emotionally and intellectually though remain committed socially. Disconnected emotionally and socially, *alienated defectors* retain an intellectual alliance. The common denominator among the three types of disinvolvement here mentioned is that of disaffection at the emotional level.

With a continued investment in religious emotivity, *cultural defectors* have done so for both social and intellectual reasons. Additionally, the inferred severance resulting from exclusive incongruity with only one of the three available categories is said to produce defectors of the purely *emotional*, *intellectual*, or *social* type. Last, the *circumstantial defector* reports no emotional offenses, challenges none of the established dogmas, nor reports any incidents of social exclusion. Their disengagement is attributed to issues such as geographic re-location, military service, simple torpidity, or other exceptional conditions.

Concluding with the assertion of both academic generalizability and denominational adaptability, Mauss stresses that his model can be embraced and amended by a variety of Christian churches in order to initiate or deepen their respective member reactivation or retention programs. Thus in effect assisting the bureaucratic orthodoxy in learning exactly how to extend an understanding hand of friendship rather than that of judgment and avoidance to their otherwise disgruntled affiliates.

Unambiguously and beautifully defending the notion that religion is comprised of two essential elements Brinkerhoff and Burke (1980) treat *religiosity* and *communality* with both clarity and rigour, further claiming that a thorough comprehension of each is integral to an appropriate understanding of apostasy.[205] The authors' conceive religious belief as an embodied alignment with, and allegiance to, a particular package of both ecclesia and worldview. For this basic reason, we may

[205] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980).

assume the feature of religiosity to represent belief in both religious forms and expressions deriving from a specific organizational affiliation that espouses a proprietary doctrine. Thus religiosity constitutes the sum of multidimensional determinants that illustrates a subjective commitment to pious beliefs; and further, "refers to the embracement of a set of beliefs or doctrines relative to the given sect or denomination to which one belongs."[206]

Communality, which describes the socially cohesive aspect of religion, is thoroughly operationalized utilizing the *Gemeinschaftlich* type of human association forwarded by Tönnies in his 1887 socio-political exposition *Community and Civil Society*.[207] According to this interpretation, a personal identity following from membership within a *Gemeinschaft* is typically subordinated to that of the central identity of the group. Suppression of private self-interest within such a milieu classically yields strong community ties, fervent collective unity, and unquestionable loyalty to the establishment. An incredibly serious sense of responsibility for the preservation of social harmony ensues which, provided they too share an unwavering devotion toward the exaltation of their religious corporation, extends to the well being of other in-group constituents. Bound to one another by virtue of the powerful symphonic elements indicative of life within a *Gemeinschaft*, interpersonal solidarity in conjunction with an earnest sense of personal belonging ultimately gives rise to an exceptionally durable sense of self. This identity is continually reaffirmed and strengthened as members participate in the mutual observation and celebration of their theological belief and conviction. Thus communality adduces to the feeling of comfort associated with belonging to a group unified by spiritual connectedness, and also "provides a locus of interaction for people with similar value systems."[208]

Drawing primarily from symbolic interactionism and labeling theory, Brinkerhoff and Burke conceptualize individual religious disaffiliation as a consequence of collective processes. In relation to their two aforementioned dimensions of religion – personal belief categorized by religiosity and personal identity designated by communality – they suggest a typology consisting of four possible standards of religious association. Constituting a non-issue in the scope of their argument concerning categories of individual apostasy is i) the *fervent follower*

[206] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980: 42-43).
[207] Tonnies ([1887] 2001: 22-92).
[208] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980: 42).

who embodies a keen sense of religiosity as well as maintaining a zealous commitment to their communal identity. The relevance of such a type to the discussion at hand is simply to illustrate the fact that most exes indicative of the respondents in my sample were at some earlier point in their respective religious careers considered to be fervent followers.

Following from a description provided by Caplovitz and Sherrow,[209] and similar to Mauss' psychological defector, ii) *ritualists* tend to sustain a high level of social involvement, thereby maintaining a sense of ethnic communality despite a faltering conviction in doctrine and dogma. iii) *Outsiders*, like Mauss' alienated defectors, retain faith in religious principles; however they have been relegated to the social margins of the religious community. Marginalization of this sort frequently carry concomitant judgments from normative others who malign peripherally located individuals. Disavowing confidence in both ideology and identity iv) *apostates* have become totally unchained from their religious camaraderie, origins, and beliefs – indeed they have actively severed ties to the very anchor of religious conviction – thereby finding themselves free to construct an alternative social reality congruent with new beliefs concerning self and group.

Of significant theoretical import is the authors' implication that both ritualists and outsiders may be able to recuperate their conviction of faith and devotion. However equally likely they may find themselves on the path leading to true apostasy.[210] Explanations accounting for different outcomes point to the unique reactions of particular personalities in the face of external devices intended to elicit social and individual control. Brinkerhoff and Burke further afford explanatory value to both push and pull factors as well as to the development of a rationally oriented appraisal of religious ties.

Constituting an impressive anthology concerning religious change in Catholicism as a consequence of Vatican II, the collected works of Dean Hoge[211] serve as providing a distinct impetus for his 1988 report pertaining to individual disengagement from regular Catholic observance.[212] Hoge defines *disidentification* as

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[209] Caplovitz & Sherrow (1977).
[210] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980: 44).
[211] Hoge & Roozen (1979); Hoge (1981); Hoge & Ferry (1981); Hoge, Mcguire, & Stratman (1981).
[212] Hoge (1988).

a form of withdrawal that is stressed as not necessarily nonreligious.[213] Additionally, he clarifies *dropping out* as the inclination to attend Catholic Mass only once or twice per year aside from holidays and significant family occasions.[214] Asserting a relatively high degree of extant exhaustibility linking the two, Hoge concludes that such expressions of discontent do not diverge enough in concept to warrant discrete explanatory accounts. Importantly, a return to the faith among his respondents was often prompted later on in reaction to emotional, interpersonal, or situational factors. Due to the fact that official membership rosters are absent regarding the Catholic laity, Hoge admits the utility of the otherwise appropriate term *disaffiliation* along with its more formal implications is of oblique concern.

Anthropologist Kenneth McGuire and communications specialist Bernard Stratman join Dr. Hoge in providing insight into the reasons that motivate individuals to drastically reduce their organizational attendance.[215] 182 telephone interviews were analyzed according to three social-psychological assumptions which contribute to religious leave-taking: i) visible predispositions, ii) specific people or relationships, and iii) particular events.[216] These formative guidelines evolved into the standardized rubric by which subsequent coding processes followed, ultimately resulting in the team's articulation of five different categories that cause members to eschew their active Catholic loyalties.[217] Subsequent to their 1981 publication, it was later in 'Why Catholics Drop Out' (1988) that Hoge articulated not only a clear and concise summary of the original findings, but also expands their five classifications accounting for religious attenuation to that of six, two of which are almost exclusively characterized by age.

i) *Family-tension dropouts* do so as a result of increased autonomy associated with teenage and young adult maturation. These eighteen to twenty-two year olds largely report that a strict family of origin, church hypocrisy, the money mongering practices of priests, a newfound sense of freedom, as well as the intolerable tedium associated with Catholic adherence ultimately tempered their choice to exit.

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[213] Ibid p. 81.
[214] Ibid p. 82.
[215] Hoge et al. (1981).
[216] The interviews came from thirty-two parishes within the seven diocese of Providence, Rhode Island; Baltimore, Maryland; Detroit, Michigan; Orlando, Florida; Omaha, Nebraska; San Antonio, Texas; and Oakland, California: Hoge (1981).
[217] Hoge et al. (1981).

ii) *Weary dropouts* are those who had found themselves simply lacking the necessary motivation to maintain regular attendance at Mass. Reasons given reflected sentiments associated with an empty nest, a new job, divorce or marital separation, general unhappiness, or simple boredom. Common among most accounts in this category was the statement: "it's not worth it."[218]

Consisting generally of individuals in their twenties and thirties, iii) *lifestyle dropouts* report a fundamental disagreement with the conservative nature of espoused Catholic morality. Contrary beliefs connected to the accepted ecclesiastical rules governing marriage, sex, birth control, and divorce often reflected the manifestation of an increasingly liberal attitude geared not only toward oneself but also toward the world at large.

Negative feelings associated with the church's provision of pastoral care often resulted from traumatic personal crises which followed from divorce, depression, menopause, or other undiagnosed clinical psychopathology. Such unsavory treatment at the hands of pious leaders had thus left iv) *spiritual-need dropouts* with little if any trust in their priest, parish, or religion to provide further sensitivity or counsel. In the search for solace, cognitive support, and spiritual tenderness, some members had found much needed compassion elsewhere. Hence the outcome in this situation was their inevitable out-conversion from the Catholic faith.

Fully saturated by those who Hoge refers to as older persons, v) *anti-change dropouts* refused to accept the organizational and institutional dynamics correlated with the aftermath of Vatican II.[219] Typically possessing a history of weak to moderate church attendance prior to the council, most anti-change dropouts preferred the traditional Latin Mass over the revised expression and were quite disgruntled regarding other forms of liturgical innovation as well. It stands to state that perhaps it was their original frail commitment to a Catholic identity that may simply not have been strong enough in order to endure the Vatican's reconstruction. Finally vi) *out-converts* are classified as those whose ties to the church had waned in response a non-Catholic marriage.

Many dropouts from all six categories report being somewhat unhappy. This finding together with other considerations has led Hoge to suggest that personal feelings and interpersonal influences are often the root catalysts affecting the

[218] Hoge (1988: 95).
[219] Ibid.

cessation of adherence.[220] Curiously, Hoge reports finding scant evidence that would point to a real loss of belief or a severe decline of faith in God among his respondents. Instead he suggests that few dropouts have actually fully exited from their Catholic or religious confidences.

Presenting an excellent discussion of religious exit taking place within the highly orthodox world of the Haredi Jews, Bar-Lev and colleagues articulate several particular factors that contribute to the abandonment or rejection of an ascribed piety. Despite the apparent existence of ethnic and religious diversity extant in Israeli society, it is nonetheless from rigid structural consolidation that their nationalistic character is constructed.[221] Indeed with regard to such an established milieu, the importance and intensity placed upon the religious, political, and social dimensions of composition are significantly more aligned when considering elements necessary for the creation of an ideal Haredi self. This cannot be underestimated according to the authors, especially when compared to those others who might claim a more secularist Israeli distinction.

Though Bar-Lev and colleagues follow from a sequence of quantitative studies regarding departure from Jewish religiosity,[222] their current typological framework treating ultra-orthodox congé stems from the inclusion of long-term systematic data procured in a qualitative manner. Notwithstanding the efficacy of each of their six respective analytical clusters explaining the rejection of a Haredi commitment, the authors maintain that "in reality there is often ambiguity regarding the dominant factor, and some factors are mixed. For some individuals, one factor seems to predominate, but for most, there are several related factors which apply differently to different individuals."[223] Commenting on both Mauss'[224] and Roozen's[225] universal or Christian typologies, Bar-Lev et al. suggest that their own six-fold configuration indicating the i) *intellectual/cognitive*; ii) *emotional*; iii) *familial*; iv) *social/cultural* v) *educational/pedagogical*; and vi) *material/hedonistic* determinants of religious recession is in fact more extensive. However in keeping with the logic of categorization and for purposes of brevity I condense the

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[220] Ibid p. 96.
[221] Ibid p. 198.
[222] Kedem and Bar-Lev (1983); Bar-Lev and Kedem (1989); Leslau and Bar-Lev (1993).
[223] Bar-Lev et al. (1997: 187).
[224] Mauss (1969).
[225] Roozen (1980).

aforementioned six clusters to that of four, omitting the specific treatment of types v and vi due to significant conceptual and empirical homogeneity.

i) *Intellectual factors* point to confrontation with different modes of philosophical thought, which typically occurred while engaged within academia or throughout mandatory military service. Most often stated to affect a religious constitution was exposure to the differential historical philosophies of the Orient and the Occident, as well as the introduction to the revolutionary, liberal, and critical ideas associated with Friedrich Nietzsche and Yishayahu Leibovitch. Likewise, initial unrest was often spurred by the observance of significantly dichotomous styles of life and behaviour while living or working away from home. Regarding *cognitive processes*, the occurrence of "the most horrific event in the history of the Jewish people" – the Holocaust[226] – was often simply too much to accept as part of one's religious heritage. Similarly, ii) *emotional factors* are reported to consist entirely of issues emanating from the preponderance of untimely deaths occurring in Israeli society due to extant war, terrorism, and military training exercises. In response to these traumatic events, sentiments surrounding the viability and reality of God's existence certainly come into question.

Among the essential features indicating a Jewish identity is the cultural primacy placed upon the family. Therefore in circumstances illustrating intra-family disparity or tension the authors' suggest that progeny may become affected. iii) *Familial factors* influencing the abandonment of traditional Haredi identity include *faulty religiosity among parents* and discordant *relationships between family members*. Otherwise stated, when one or both parents lack a sincere religious conviction, ritual and pious inconsistency within the home is seen to result. In reaction to discrepant signaling, the authors argue that growing children are sure to develop a degree of religiopraxic instability. Issues which further complicate the provision of an ironclad religious home-life and by extension to the weakened likelihood of the child's religious identification with either parent are instances of argumentation, fighting, divorce, alcoholism, drug addiction, and parental failure to deal with their children's increasingly complex, secular, or heretical enquiries. Also significant was whether parents enforced a strictly *religious education* or instead allowed their children access to *liberal ideas*. Irregularity within the primary

[226] Bar-Lev (1997: 189).

socialization process can frequently lead to *filial rebellion*.[227] Such is often recognized as a method by which the maturing child is able to embrace a certain type of independence that is noticeably separate from their family of origin, thus resulting in an increased sense of self-conviction and individuality.

Compulsory military service binds both men and women to their historically Zionist origins. Time spent serving one's country is both felt and recognized as a revered symbol indicating a solid devotion not only to their Semitic heritage but also to their Jewish personhood. In fact the extensive martial commitment required of Israeli citizens should be thought of as a standardized rite of passage that further tempers an unquestionable Judaic character through continued social, psychological, and educational experiences. However, throughout the fulfillment of political duties many ultra-orthodox individuals are routinely exposed to an increasingly secular military context such that the necessary resources required to maintain certain religious habits are often found to be lacking or absent due to the reality that life in the Israeli Defense Forces is predominantly non-clerical, materialistic, and profane. Through the mechanism of iv) *social and cultural factors* tied to military service, agents often develop a growing awareness of Western democratic values. In the face of Israel's singularly powerful rabbinical establishment it is easy to see that the ingredients leading to a potential existential conflict are increasingly made present. Also connected to a burgeoning familiarity of Western ideals is a developed affinity for artistic creativity, which often takes the form of self-expression through dance, acting, and art. Bar-Lev et al. continue treating *social and cultural factors* by including the emergence of modern forms of entertainment and recreation such as movies containing sexual or violent images, rock music and concerts promoting drug and alcohol use, as well as dance and night club establishments which foster intimate contact between members of the opposite sex as contributing to the breakdown of an otherwise staunch apprehension of Haredi religiosity among the younger generations.

Containing an incredibly thorough typology concerning religious exit generally, *Gone But Not Forgotten: Church Leaving and Returning*[228] and *Gone For Good? Church Leaving and Returning in the 21st Century*[229] showcase the manner by

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[227] The anthropological concept of *filial rebellion* is generally accepted to represent the adolescent rejection of parental religiosity, belief sets, values, or lifestyle.
[228] Richter & Francis (1998).
[229] Francis & Richter (2007).

which Philip Richter and Leslie Francis answer the question: "Why are so many people in Britain leaving their churches?" Informed by the wealth of American disaffiliation studies, which had taken place over the past thirty years, Richter and Francis capitalize on an extremely simple review of role theory in order to account for individual motivations resulting in religious exit. Additionally they adopt a fairly plain version of Wright's previously discussed six-stage summary of Skonovd's seven phases of deconversion including i) crisis of belief, ii) review and reflection, iii) disaffection, iv) withdrawal, v) transition, and finally vi) relocation.[230] Within Richter and Francis' conception, *church leavers* are defined as those individuals whose church attendance has dropped to less than six times per year excluding Christmas and Easter. The authors' 1998 typology produced eight categories that bear most significantly upon the decision to cease active organizational involvement.

First, the *loss of one's faith* in God and church is discussed within the broad context of secularization in Britain and in association with both agnosticism and atheism. However, given the pastoral motivations for conducting such a study in the first place, Richter and Francis note that many respondents in their sample are better described as displaced believers, thus engaging Grace Davie's thesis of *believing without belonging*[231] in an effort to legitimately constrain both the ideas of severely reduced commitment to a Christian ideology and the increasing empirics related to an epidemic of individual secularity. This approach allows the authors to avoid stating that some respondents plainly did not believe in piety whatsoever.[232]

Second, the relationship between different generations and cohorts within the institution of religion is treated brilliantly by the authors' review entitled: 'Changing Social Values'. Their extensive analysis of the experiential and existential culture indicative of both the baby boomers[233] and the baby busters[234] is impressive to say the least. Contributing to the explanation of religious exit within this classification was an espoused allegiance to personal authenticity. Various elements indicating a

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[230] Ibid p. 17.
[231] Davie (1994). It is important to note Davie's recent theoretical amendment and formalization of *vicariousness* in response to her older position of *believing without belonging*; Davie (2000, 2001, 2006).
[232] To my mind this an interesting dissonance reduction mechanism exercised on the part of the researchers themselves in orientation to the emergence of subjectively distasteful or threatening data.
[233] Those born between 1945 and 1960.
[234] Those born between 1961 and 1981 (also known as Generation X).

fundamental lifestyle incompatibility with the church, and a person's quest to achieve a certain mystical spirituality were also cited as reasons that fostered increasing degrees of distanciation.[235]

Third, *church leaving is considered conventional* as particular individuals negotiate their respective life-journeys toward personal spiritual fulfillment. In treating exit from a religious organization as a natural stage in one's hallowed progression, the authors' indirectly engage the extremely important work of developmental psychologist James Fowler[236] by specifically employing Jeff Astley's sixteen page summary of the much more expansive *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning*. Essentially Richter and Francis suggest that different people embody different levels of hierarchically based faith. As such, some individuals will inevitably outgrow the congregations to which they belong. Also indicative of this life-stage explanation is the authors' suggestion that leavers may in fact exit their church due to the advanced faith status quo that can be common among ministers, priests, or general laity. A latent consequence following from the ardour of an exceptionally fervent community is stated to be the unintentional marginalization of those simpler members who are not as spiritually developed as other churchgoers.

Fourth, *changes and chances* occurring throughout the lifespan commonly provide an ample impetus for abstaining from church attendance. Factors such as geographic relocation, marriage and divorce, parenthood, changing jobs, the onset of a socially debilitating illness, and the imposition of caring for ailing parents can produce a degree of existential change that often results in some type of disruption to an established routine.[237]

Social learning theory, religious socialization, and the provision of adequate role models worthy of emulation are analyzed according to effects upon offspring. Within this capacity the rejection of a pious lifestyle is treated as a result of *the context implicit to one's family of origin*. Thus Richter and Francis attribute a lack of parental consensus within the home as their fifth explanation of religious exit. Emotional distance between parents and children customarily frame the underlying motivation concerning whether or not sons and daughters will develop the desire to

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[235] Richter & Francis (1998: 51).
[236] Fowler (1981).
[237] Richter & Francis (1998: 66).

follow in the religious footsteps of their parents. As such, positive familial cohesion will often provide the necessary incentive to galvanize a strong commitment to the religiosity of mothers and fathers. Differently, conflict with and antipathy toward parents is instead stated to fuel both teenage and young adult rebellion against the family; generally such insurgence declares a unique identity in the face of a religiously over-enthusiastic upbringing. Gender, birth order, institutional denomination, and the absentee father syndrome also exercise significant influence upon the ultimate religious destination of children.

Sixth, applying Iannaccone's treatment of rational choice theory[238] as well as Dean Kelley's thesis regarding the strength of strict churches,[239] Richter and Francis report: "belonging to a church can involve substantial financial, physical and emotional investment."[240] Thus church exit is likely to result from the subjective sentiment that one is not receiving quite as much as one is giving; or perhaps more appropriately, as much as one feels that they deserve from their ecclesiastical fellowship. Stated simply, the requisite costs associated with in-group identification are often judged by the individual actor as far too expensive to warrant further commitment.

Seventh, *disenchantment occurs as individuals are confronted with the reality of their church*. Time and again respondents spoke of hypocrisy, inconsistency in worship styles and content, egregious abuses of leadership authority, and a complete lack of pastoral sensitivity as personally troubling. Additionally, an authoritarian or overly patriarchal form of religious structure, as well as the churches stringent teachings concerning sexual morality were reported as causing people to feel 'let down' by their faith. Such perceived attacks upon the sensibilities of ego often resulted in organizational (if not religious and spiritual) disillusionment.

Eighth and finally, the lack of *koinonia*[241] within church membership groups recurrently fostered *the feeling of marginalization* among some constituents. Despite a sincere commitment to doctrine, it is precisely these individuals who disaffiliate due to their belief that they do not fit in, and therefore they do not belong. Factors

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[238] Iannacconne (1992; 1994).
[239] Kelley (1972; 1978).
[240] Richter & Francis (1998: 90).
[241] Though the authors do not mention the term itself, Davies (2002: 126) suggests that *koinonia* encompasses an exceedingly complex idealized state of community, fellowship, integrity, reciprocity, love, commitment, and sacrifice as is theologically believed should exist within the corpus of Christianity.

associated with sentiments causing marginalization among church members are reported to derive from issues such as low social positioning, congregation size, race, sex, age, and conflict with leaders. Experiences related with peripheralization regularly left those attending worship feeling unable to fulfill useful or prominent roles within their religious communities. Thus without sufficient friendship and social ties anchoring each individual to their religious network, people will often simply just drift away from active membership.[242]

Francis and Richter's 2007 project has allowed for the expansion of their original eight-category typology to that of fifteen. Despite the fact that there are significant similarities between the two frameworks, I will succinctly address all fifteen newly typed motifs to be found in *Gone For Good? Church Leaving and Returning in the 21st Century* (2007), which effectively function to promote individual religious exit. The authors' specifically employ the term *cause* to illustrate the relationship between the following fifteen factors and their resulting consequence of organizational disaffiliation at the micro level.[243] The first cause affecting religious exit concerns *matters of belief and unbelief*. Losing faith; life-experiences of personal suffering; the witness of unwarranted torment and distress inflicted upon others; recognizing the larger role which religion plays in the initiation and sustaining of global conflict; feeling that church doctrine is illogical, nonsensical, and irreconcilable with tenets of modern science; exclusivist truth claims; and the emergence of doubt within a context wherein the questioning of faith is simply unacceptable, constitute the varying themes which emerged within this cluster.

Growing and changing includes drift due to contextual reasons associated with emerging adulthood and the mature decision to abstain from further church involvement. This typically occurs as a reaction to feeling overly-constrained by religiously zealous parents, or in response to extensive or forced participation in religion during childhood. Quite similarly, *life transitions and life changes* are grounded in issues of maturation and lifespan development such as moving away from home, the impact of starting a family and career, as well as various changes in status or role sets. *Alternative lives and alternative meanings* deal primarily with the secularizing effects of careers, non-member spouses and relationships, the finite

[242] Richter & Francis (1998: 123).
[243] Francis & Richter (2007: 36).

nature of time itself, and the manner by which people maximize their leisure activities.

Fifth, *lifestyle incompatibility* issues revolve around theological values and beliefs largely associated with homosexuality and sexual behaviour outside of marriage. Conflict or tension with particular church leaders or other congregational members, as well as one's affiliation with either the namelessness associated with an exceptionally large ecclesia or the highly conspicuous situation of attendance at a very small or parochial church often evolved into feelings of *marginalization*. Here, ex-members report uncomfortable instances of both social exclusion and invisibility.

Seventh, as a person's perceived utility curve becomes skewed in a negative direction – such that the *costs associated with religious membership* seem to outweigh the individually received benefits – disengagement or exit is typically not too far away. *Disillusionment* is reported to have occurred as members acknowledge the discontinuity between what the church represents ideally and what the church is in reality. Various types of hypocrisy recognized in other churchgoers; the formation of un-Christian-like cliques; the lack of organizational mobilization in response to social justice issues; and differences in opinion regarding feminism, homosexuality, and lesbianism are among key elements that rapidly advance subjective states of unhappiness with religious attachments.

An alleged absence of ecclesiastical care or pastoral support, as well as the subjective experience of physical or psychological neglect, along with the unfortunate occurrence of sexual maltreatment at the hands of trusted religious professionals often engendered a sense of loss with many of the authors' respondents. This resulted in the feeling of *being let down by their church*.

Seeing the organization as anachronistic, out of style, too rigid in its views, boring and uninteresting, and therefore generally irrelevant in the daily lives and aspirations of post modern individuals contribute to the authors' tenth category of *problems with relevance*. Eleventh, *problems with change* contain those issues stemming from the organizational transformation of traditional elements of church practice in an attempt to facilitate a more comfortable fit for itself within the changing context of an increasingly secular society. Factors such as changing worship styles, instituting new types of liturgical dynamics, and even amending the local seating arrangements in small parochial chapels have served to promote distrust and annoyance among certain churchgoers.

Claiming a particular type of denominational worship to be overly formal or informal, bland or variegated, or yet either too simple or too sophisticated constitute Francis and Richter's general classification of *problems with worship*. The authors propose that this category is mainly concerned with *matters of style*, *taste*, and various *matters of level*. Thirteenth, *problems with leadership* incorporate *matters of style*, which highlight the contrast between authoritarian and democratic leadership qualities. Next, *matters of status* indicate issues surrounding the hierarchical nature of religious leadership together with the observed and subjectively unwanted patriarchic dominance within the bureaucratic decision-making process. Finally, *matters of direction* typically include ill feelings related by church leavers regarding i) whether or not their previous headship presented a distinct spiritual path upon which to follow. ii) Whether or not leadership was paying appropriate heed to church convention. And iii) whether or not the authority of their religious management was in fact judged to be in touch with the will of God.[244]

A reported lack of individual autonomy concerning both theological and moral freedom underpins Francis and Richter's fourteenth category of *problems associated with conservatism*. And to finish, due to the absence of discernible traditionalist boundaries clearly signaling a Christian identity from that of a non-Christian distinction; that is, without mechanisms that clearly identify 'us' from 'them', many ex-members simply do not see the utility in maintaining an active Christian membership. Therefore several individuals convey feelings that suggest *problems with liberalism* have ultimately impacted or caused the cessation of their religious affiliation.

As might be grasped from the above review, I would argue that there is no significant difference between the content indicative of Richter and Francis' 1998 eight-fold explanation and their expanded 2007 fifteen-item account. Given this opinion, their assertion of identifying fifteen discrete themes associated with church leaving[245] is indeed far from accurate. Moreover, the fact that their data emanates from a spectrum of Christian denominations spanning the gamut from orthodox to liberal is, I believe, much more detrimental than beneficial to the overall validity of their work. This lends to the realization that their conclusions seem to capture every single possible factor – no matter how miniscule or infinitesimal – which may or may

[244] Ibid p. 267.
[245] Ibid p. vii.

not lead people to harbour ill feelings toward their religion. As such, there is no theoretical originality or benefit to be found in the aforementioned manuscripts. However, there are at least four outstanding empirical elements indicative of their work which merits comment. Primarily, their efforts constitute the first systematic enquiry into religious disaffiliation in Britain. Second, the manner in which the authors engage the relevant literature impacting religious exit within the fields of theology, sociology, and psychology is beyond comprehensive. Third, the development of their proprietary questionnaires in *Gone but not Forgotten*, which measure such aspects as religious commitment, degree of organizational affiliation, loss of faith, changing values, and perceived costs of membership are also completely admirable. Fourth, the highly consistent, ordered, and analytical method of reporting their conclusions along the lines of sex, age, cohort, and denominational differences for each of their fifteen categories lends an impressive systematic style to *Gone for Good?*

1c. TRANSITION TO MORMONISM

While the aforementioned are among the most prominent reports relating to disaffiliation, the review is by no means exhaustive. For if it can be rightly asserted that during the late 1960s and even through the mid 1980s the academic coverage of phenomena concerning religious exit was in fact scant, today nothing could be further from reality. Currently there exists an immensity of research, manuscripts, state funded projects, governmental initiatives, religio-organizational campaigns, and various political agendas related to this type of enquiry. To curb appropriately; the articles, perspectives, and texts included in my literature examination above bear upon my own unique research with regards to either methodology, theoretical posture, empirical conclusions, style of interpretation, or sample milieu. Indeed there are many additional studies to speak of, some of which have invariably impacted the agenda and direction of contemporary scholarship emerging from within the field. However, given the focus of the investigation and findings reported in this thesis, many otherwise important treatments are oblique at best and thus are not of substantive nor formal interest. What ensues from this point onward is of essential importance to the development of the question at hand and will serve as the baseline for my operationalization described thereafter.

Stanley Albrecht and Howard Bahr

Despite the title 'Patterns of Religious Disaffiliation: A Study of Lifelong Mormons, Mormon Converts, and Former Mormons',[246] authors Stanley Albrecht and Howard Bahr seem to shed absolutely no empirical nor theoretical light upon patterns of disaffiliation among Mormons at all. Instead they accomplish the respectable task of ranking the aforementioned three classes of individuals in terms of self-reported adherence to basic Latter-day Saint tenets based upon their five item metric including: i) *self definition of religiosity*, ii) *church attendance*, iii) whether or not one had *given money to the church in the past year*, and the frequency by which people engage in both iv) *private* and v) *family prayer*.[247] In fact a more appropriate title, one that hints at the content, conclusions, and relevance of their manuscript might have been 'Religiosity: A Study of Lifelong Mormons, Mormon Converts, and Former Mormons'.

Admirably embedded within the growing literature of the time concerning dropping out and denominational switching, their research developed from a sizeable *N* of 1,947 respondents. Two statewide mail surveys of adult Utahans administered in 1980 and 1981 were originally designed to illuminate various issues concerning attitudes and behaviours inherent to local families. Questions regarding both men's and women's role attitudes toward gender stereotyping were included as well. Also contained within the two instruments were an unanticipated series of points that uniquely lent insight into the included question: *Have you ever been a member of a different religion or denomination?*[248] From the nearly two thousand surveys harvested by the authors, only a meager 3%, or fifty-nine persons were identified as Latter-day Saint disaffiliates. Of the fifty-nine, twenty-five had claimed 'no current religious preference' and therefore were classified as dropouts. Thirteen former Mormons had conclusively switched to Roman Catholicism. The remaining twenty-one reported ambiguous affiliations with an array of Protestant denominations such as the Baptists, the Church of Christ, Pentecostals, Episcopalians, and general Christianity, to name a few.

The 1980 and 1981 questionnaires tapped into some additional and very important information regarding Utah residents broadly. Not all the data procured

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[246] Albrecht & Bahr (1983).
[247] Ibid p. 376.
[248] Ibid p. 371.

were related to an adherent Latter-day Saint population or to former Mormons. Indeed the authors surprisingly state that according to their findings one quarter of Utah's population at the time were not LDS.[249] Despite the fact that their original focus upon Mormon religiosity within the state had become slightly sidetracked, the emergent general ranking of the original 1,947 respondents – in terms of commitment to pious ideals – would prove quite fascinating. First, representing the strongest devotion to, and practice of sacred beliefs, are the Mormon converts. Second were the life-long Mormons. Sharing the third position would be the ex-Mormons who had switched to follow another denomination, the Catholics, and also the Protestants. Fourth were members of the sample who had claimed 'no religious preference' (without regard for religious origins). And fifth, lacking religiosity entirely, were the ex-Mormons who had dropped out and who had incidentally reported 'no current religious preference'.[250]

Contemplation of this inventory led the authors to consider the question: *Why do former Mormons exhibit a greater propensity to abandon all religion than do switchers from other faiths?*[251] I think the two practical suggestions forwarded in an attempt to address this problem are the most significant aspects of the article. Within a context whereby the dominant cultural and political influence is that of Mormonism, the authors postulate that it may be easier for an unhappy member to simply withdraw from active LDS adherence rather than to openly cavort with a minority and thereby deviant denominational affiliation. Second, among the multitudinous theological positions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is that of spiritual and temporal elitism. Due to this theology, loyalty to Mormon doctrine essentially includes a devotion to the lesser or incomplete nature of all other dogmatic schemes. Thus Albrecht and Bahr suggest that a choice to abandon an LDS lifestyle does not necessarily imply the breakdown of highly internalized mental and emotional material resulting in the acceptability of other Christian ways of being or belief.

Supported by a research grant from Brigham Young University, Bahr and Albrecht were able to revisit their original treatment concerning patterns of LDS disaffiliation with the publication of their 1989 article 'Strangers Once More: Patterns

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[249] Ibid p. 377.
[250] Ibid p. 378.
[251] Ibid p. 377.

of Disaffiliation from Mormonism'.[252] Their qualitative *N* of 30 respondents consisted of the same twenty-five dropouts who had manifested themselves during the earlier 1983 study, while an additional five subjects were procured by means of snowballing. Supplying a foundational framework for the authors was David Roozen's (1980) study of the unchurched whereby he suggested five main factors which lead to individual disengagement: i) maturation, ii) context iii) intrachurch discord, iv) irrelevance or meaninglessness, and v) a residual or other category. Hoge's (1981) classification of Catholic dropouts[253] as well as Brinkerhoff and Burke's (1980) typology of religious association[254] would also provide a much needed comparative element whereby Bahr and Albrecht could square their emergent four-fold categorization of self reported causes of disaffiliation from Mormonism. i) *Maturation*; ii) *irrelevance* or meaninglessness; iii) interpersonal, spiritual, or institutional *conflict*; and iv) *unfulfilled needs*, either spiritually or temporally are suggested as the chief antecedents promoting LDS exit.[255]

While Bahr and Albrecht appreciate Brinkerhoff and Burke's bi-dimensionality composed of religiosity and communality, they nonetheless develop another nuance in terms of a person's relationship to such dimensions. The new feature consists not merely of a high and low aspect of each, but also a complete refutation of sorts; that is, a *rejection of beliefs* (religiosity dimension), and a *rejection of community* (communality dimension, which incidentally to remind the reader represents both social participation and self-identification). Thus Bahr and Albrecht increase Brinkerhoff and Burke's four-fold typology consisting of the i) fervent follower, ii) ritualist, iii) outsider, and iv) apostate to include that of five new types of interaction with one's internalizations resulting from religious involvement. i) *Fellow travelers* reject the beliefs of their religion yet remain highly active in social participation.[256] ii) *Doctrinal apostates* denunciate beliefs though self-identify slightly with the religious community. iii) *Marginal saints* rank low on both belief and communality. iv) *Splinter saints* refuse group involvement; however, they claim a high degree of faith. And last, v) the *social apostate* can be characterized as somewhat of a social pariah (either through the labours of self or group) while continuing to

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[252] Bahr & Albrecht (1989).
[253] Discussed above on pp. 69-72.
[254] Discussed above on pp. 68-69.
[255] Bahr & Albrecht (1989: 182-183).
[256] The authors adopted the category of *fellow travelers* from Burton (1982).

maintain a low to moderate degree of trust in religious doctrine. Concerning the distribution of participants within their new typological matrix, Bahr and Albrecht report that while most (at one time or another) identified as a marginal saint, neither the splinter saint nor the fellow traveler were represented among their thirty respondent sample. Later in 'The Consequential Dimension of Mormon Religiosity'[257] Albrecht alone (sans Bahr) replaces the type fellow traveler with the much more amenable and rhetorically appropriate *cultural saint*. Not only exercising a high degree of communal involvement together with an incredibly low or in fact absent faith in doctrine, the cultural saint continues to identify strongly with their Latter-day Saint progenitors.[258]

I cannot overstate the value of the typological work indicative of the above-summarized efforts nor scoff at the sheer amount of literature, methodological, and empirical review that has obviously contributed to the development of Bahr and Albrecht's amended LDS categorizations. However, quite vital to note is the fact that only six of the thirty respondents central to their analysis were classified as ex-fervent followers.[259] This is highly significant if for only one glaring reason – the other twenty-four respondents, that is 80% of the Bahr and Albrecht sample "were marginal from youth,"[260] "never truly [considered themselves] committed to the faith,"[261] were "never good members,"[262] "were Mormon only in name and not in practice,"[263] or were "not really LDS."[264] In fact the authors write: "the evidence suggests that most disaffiliates were never truly firm believers or frequent attenders."[265] Rather than explicate the authors' highly biased and irrelevant minutia concerning why individuals who clearly do not represent the LDS moral, spiritual, social, and dogmatically established majority find temporal solace somewhere other than the Latter-day Saint context, I will instead conclude my appraisal of 'Strangers Once

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[257] Albrecht (1998).
[258] Ibid p. 269.
[259] The label of ex-fervent follower attributed to the six prior Mormons does not reflect my own appraisal of their respective religiosity; it is the opinion of the authors Bahr & Albrecht (1989: 196).
[260] Ibid p. 191.
[261] Ibid p. 193.
[262] Ibid p. 194.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid p. 196.
[265] Ibid p. 198.

More' with a brief review of the experiences and reasons given by these six former Mormons which account for their egress.

Of the three male and three female ex-fervent followers, only one had previously spent time proselytizing as an LDS missionary. Three were married in an LDS temple, and despite religious or civil marriage all the women and one man had experienced divorce during their process of disaffiliation. Plainly stated: four of the six respondents had lived through a marital breakdown, subsequently identifying such as a key element defining their exit narrative. In addition, four of the six had attributed – as a product of sincere personal reflection upon LDS scripture, belief, and doctrine – their loss of faith to intellectual factors: stating that essentially they had defected from the church due to logico-rational concerns. It must be acknowledged however that the respondents' reports had always occurred within a context fraught with personal problems, disappointments, and feelings of betrayal. These sentiments fostered initial religious disenchantment, which were made worse by the ignorance and ambiguity of revered church leaders from whom the respondents had sought counsel. Additionally, other forms of hypocrisies and burdens that were believed to have been brought onto one's shoulders by the LDS organization itself or by certain individuals within its ranks or constituency had also served to extend feelings of anger and anxiety among those represented.[266]

Stanley Albrecht and Marie Cornwall with Perry Cunningham

One year earlier in 1988 Albrecht, Cornwall, and Cunningham utilize two sources of data within their article 'Religious Leave-Taking: Disengagement and Disaffiliation Among Mormons'. One set of empirics included in the manuscript is specific to the authors' new treatment of *disengagement*, here defined as "the process by which individuals who retain an organizational identification cease active participation in their religious group"[267] – an articulation largely derived from the earlier independent work of Marie Cornwall.[268] The second set of empirics, the very same data previously discussed in both Albrecht and Bahr (1983) and Bahr and Albrecht (1989) is employed to develop their argument concerning *disaffiliation*, here

[266] Ibid p. 197.
[267] Albrecht et al. (1988: 63).
[268] Cornwall (1985).

defined as occurring when individuals "either adopt another organizational identification or they no longer affiliate themselves with any religious group."[269]

Despite the fact that I am reporting empirical works slightly out of sequence, I do so quite intentionally in the hope of maintaining a certain degree of flow within the research I have chosen to cover. As such, I believe that keeping the two major works by both Albrecht and Bahr together is much more academically appropriate than breaking with their positional continuation in an attempt to maintain chronological order. That said, the qualitative interviews which lend validity to Albrecht et al. (1988) are exactly the same as reported in the Bahr and Albrecht (1989) article, save for one minor difference. Instead of acquiring another five respondents via snowballing, Albrecht et al. (1988) feebly obtain only three. Therefore the total number of interviews conducted in an attempt to identify those reasons and situations that motivate Latter-day Saint disaffiliation are numbered at twenty-eight rather than thirty. Not surprising, the overwhelming majority of the sample who had "always been somewhat marginal in the church"[270] ceased religious participation during their teenage years or directly subsequent to graduation from high school. Subjective recollections such as "I think I was never a Mormon,"[271] and "I never thought of myself ever as totally LDS"[272] punctuate the sentiments of the small sample as the authors report that many of their respondents "had never really strongly identified with Mormonism."[273] Of twenty-eight subjects only three had stated that they were in fact raised within a Mormon home wherein both parents were active members. Thus implying that the remaining twenty-five respondents were neither socialized, enculturated, nor religiously trained within an ideal Latter-day Saint context. Indeed one woman stated – not to mention Mormonism specifically – growing up "knowing very little about religion."[274] Another issue contributing to the lack of LDS socialization factors impinging upon the most formative period of youth for members of this sample includes the choice of whether or not to attend church being left to the child alone, thereby potentially absolving non-committed parents of the responsibility of raising their children to be solid, mature, and knowledgeable Latter-day Saints.

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[269] Albrecht et al. (1988: 70-71).
[270] Ibid p. 73.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid p. 74.

Inter-denominational marriages and problems with LDS doctrine are also reported to prompt Mormon exit, although in the case of the latter the authors assure the reader that "difficulties with church doctrines do not play a major role in the process of disaffiliation."[275] Therefore "one does not necessarily dropout solely because of doctrinal disagreements."[276] Moreover we are reminded in their conclusion that subjective problems stemming from doctrinal conflict "are not particularly helpful in understanding the disaffiliation process."[277] As a matter of empirical reality nothing could be further from the narrative truth, as will be reliably and validly discussed later in my own chapters treating both results and discussion.

Marie Cornwall with Stanley Albrecht, Perry Cunningham, and Brian Pitcher

Cornwall et al. report their very important findings regarding the complexity of Mormon adherence in 'The Dimensions of Religiosity: A Conceptual Model with an Empirical Test'.[278] Considering religiosity a multidimensional phenomena consisting of individual, social-psychological, and collective attributes, Cornwall et al. adeptly define three necessary features of religiosity. i) The *cognitive* component includes knowing about religious belief, ideology, and orthodoxy. ii) The *affective* consists of feeling and commitment elements. And iii) *the behavioural component* is made clear by actions such as church attendance, financial contributions, frequency of both personal prayer and scripture study, as well as through the exemplification of religiously moral and ethical conduct. When these components are combined with Cornwall's two discrete modes of compliance the i) *personal* and the ii) *institutional*, six distinct dimensions of religiosity follow suit. This is to suggest that each of the three components of religiosity will necessarily proffer two separate types of expression, that of the *personal* or *traditional*; and that of the *institutional*, the *particular*, or the *specific*. Thus i) the cognitive or belief component is comprised of both a personal or traditional mode of compliance, which is defined as having faith in traditional Christian dogma such as belief in the existence of God, Satan, the Bible, and salvation; as well as the institutional or particular mode, which gives specific form to religious adherence through the observation of a denominationally specific type of Christian worship. Likewise ii) the commitment component is marked

[275] Ibid p. 76.
[276] Ibid p. 79.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Cornwall et al. (1986).

personally by spiritual devotion, and institutionally through loyalty to both church and ideology. Last iii) the behavioural component can be observed either in its personal mode, that is through comportment unrelated to a specific denomination yet is generally deemed 'Christian', or in its particular institutional blush, which is often associated with differential types of ritual observance, speech patterns, manners of dress, and other varied forms of decorum.

Relevant ancillaries

Following from the multiple conceptualizations regarding the most important components marking a thorough understanding of individual religiosity, Albrecht et al. (1988) effectively extends the affective factor within such a comprehension to encompass that of *attitude*. When affectivity is utilized alongside the *behavioural* category, the authors fruitfully contribute to the articulation of disengagement within Mormonism by developing a four-fold typology of LDS affiliates. Their engaged believer ranks quite high on metrics reflecting both attitude and behaviour. This is to say that i) *engaged believers* attend LDS services at least once a month and state that their faith and church represent a significant aspect within daily life. Though deemed regular regarding Sabbath attendance, ii) *engaged non-believers* attribute little if any importance of faith or church to their existence. The iii) *disengaged believer* does not attend formal services, but feels as though the church is in fact very important. Last, neither attending nor allocating the LDS Church any importance in their lives, the *disengaged non-believer* stands very near the formal definition of exactly that which constitutes an LDS disaffiliate. However within the boundaries of disengagement, the disengaged non-believer continues to retain some form of identification with Mormonism or with their LDS faith.[279]

According to Albrecht et al. (1988) Mormons generally experience some form of organizational nonattendance or unhappiness. This standardized attenuation is said to result variably from i) maturation, ii) life-style differences, and iii) contextual reasons. Here, context simply refers to problems associated with a person's access to an LDS meetinghouse and often follows from proximity issues, prohibitive work schedules, divorce, or infirm health. Context may also be extended to include the feelings experienced by recent Mormon converts as they unsuccessfully attempt to assimilate into Mormon culture. iv) Social marginalization; v) inter-faith marriage; vi)

[279] Albrecht et al. (1988: 64).

various problems with the church such as interpersonal conflict, disagreements regarding doctrine, expressing the opinion that admission costs were too high, and feeling that the church offered little contemporary relevance, are all frequently linked to causes of LDS disengagement.[280] However, re-engagement with the Mormon faith is not only common but is typically found to be most often the outcome of personal re-evaluation, marriage and family formation, a sense of duty often primed by sensations of guilt, increased social fellowship by LDS friends and family, and the self-defined realization that 'something important was missing from my life'.[281]

Summary

Whether expressed through disenchantment, disengagement, or disaffiliation from Mormonism, leave-taking is clearly a multi-causational concern. Latter-day Saint exit is driven in large part by: i) conflicts surrounding lifestyle and faith; ii) lifespan, maturation, or developmental variables; iii) issues concerning inter-faith marriages; iv) expensive demands being placed upon individual resources; v) interpersonal disputes; vi) proximity or contextual effects; and vii) a growing sense of meaninglessness or irrelevance regarding the teachings of the LDS Church. Additionally iix) the need to fit in, to feel a sense of social belonging, and to experience acceptance rather than marginalization, as well as ix) suffering from spiritual distress brought about by feelings of guilt, were also popular reasons given to account for individual distanciation among both the estranged and the ex-Mormons indicative of the aforementioned analyses.

It is telling to note that with the exception of Albrecht et al. (1988) and Bahr and Albrecht (1989),[282] none of the abovementioned studies has treated religious exit as a primary topic. Indeed the secondary or even tertiary nature by which disaffiliation from Mormonism is often considered,[283] is quite realistically a product of the fact that all the authors previously examined have initiated and carried out their research endeavours under the auspices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Strong emotional, material, and occupational ties to their denomination necessarily constitute the authors as staunch apologetic defenders of their proclaimed faith and religious worldview. As such, both bias and prejudice within the reports reviewed are

[280] Ibid pp. 68-69.
[281] Ibid p. 71.
[282] Despite the inherent weaknesses associated with sample validity therein.
[283] Including the manner in which it is mentioned within Albrecht and Cornwall (1989), as well as in Cornwall (1989).

easily discernable by those who are intimately and primarily aware of the realities indicative of a committed LDS existence.

1d. OPERATIONALIZATION

Responding to the previous literature regarding LDS membership and disaffiliation, as well as improving upon preceding definitions pertaining to self-appraised religiosity, I am now concerned with identifying factors which necessarily constitute LDS adherents as *real, authentic, genuine,* or *bona fide Mormons*. Earlier treatments often take for granted or ignore the situation and process by which a religious identity is learned, acquired, or made stable within the sensitivities of ego. Indeed religious socialization itself has received scant attention in connection with those who had earlier in life reported a pious distinction but had subsequently absconded from such 'claimed' religious ties – an unfortunate characteristic of several notable articles and texts.[284] Furthermore, issues surrounding subjective devotion including concepts such as roles, statuses, embodiment, and commitment largely remain unverified regarding those individuals who have experienced egress or distanciation from an ecclesiastical purchase. This assertion is fairly obvious as explanatory focus – whether intentional or not – has been placed upon converts, members who terminated affiliation during their teens or early adulthood years, and others who report: "I was never a real Mormon."[285]

Through careful consideration of LDS doctrine, culture, heritage, and geography I hope to provide a clear answer to the question: *What is a Mormon?* It is my intention to articulate the extremely successful method by which contemporary saints procure both a social distinction and an identity of self as a product of the highly consolidated process of Latter-day Saint enculturation.

Given the peculiar qualities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its staunch constituency, and for the purposes of this thesis, I define a real Mormon as one who i) is born under the covenant; that is, born to two married fervent following LDS parents within the protection and grace of the Latter-day Saint heartland. This qualification should stand as quite interesting to students of both disaffiliation and secularization because nearly every prior manuscript treating religious exit or change has implied or stated explicitly that parental unity – rather than divergence – in terms of religiosity and denominational affiliation, will increase

[284] Exceptions to this assertion are the works of Bar-Lev, Leslau, and Ne'eman (1997).
[285] Bahr & Albrecht (1989: 189).

the likelihood of children following in the religious footsteps of their mothers and fathers.[286] Moreover, the constant affirmation and reaffirmation of both cognitive and communal elements indicative of social life within the Mormon culture region will effectively function to reduce the societal or anomic effects stemming from a *Gesellschaftlich* form of differentiation creeping into the psyche and creating ideological distractions for youngsters who are being socialized amidst a fervent community of like-minded believers.[287]

Additionally, a bona fide Mormon ii) has successfully negotiated the complexities indicative of the lifelong LDS socialization system. My use of this qualification is specifically designed to illustrate the combination of various primacies and values associated with both ascribed and achieved identities and statuses.[288] Last, an authentic Mormon is one who iii) throughout their formative and developmental years, neither they themselves nor their family of origin were ever considered marginal by the surrounding LDS community. These three simple qualifiers ensure the treatment of only those members who have been exposed since birth to the intensified epistemological and ontological circumstances that thrive under the sacred canopy of Utah Mormonism.[289]

I will now clearly define the terms that I use, and will subsequently align them throughout the course of this thesis with relevant literature as closely as possible. When referring to *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* I am speaking of the American mainline denomination that renounced the practice of polygamy first in 1890 then again a second time in 1904, and whose headquarters are located in Salt Lake City, Utah. Other terms applied to this organization are the *Mormons*, *LDS*, and as designated by the devoutly pious themselves, *'The Church'*, thereby implying that theirs is 'the one and only'. When discussing the LDS clientage various labels arise. Ardent members refer to themselves as *saints* in order to celebrate, frame, and proclaim to others an earnest and indisputable commitment to the principles of their church. *Active members* are those who rigorously engage in organizational tenets, while *inactive members* represent those who are considered peripheral by the core

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[286] Bar-Lev et al. (1997) see p. 73 above; Richter & Francis (1998) see p. 76 above. However in stark opposition Hoge (1988) reports that overly zealous Catholic parents can pave the way for family-tension dropouts; see p. 70 above.
[287] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980) see pp. 68-69 above.
[288] DellaCava (1975) see p. 36 above.
[289] Berger (1967); Breault (1989).

membership due to irregular, circumspect, or weak church attendance. Because a person's engagement with various religious ideologies and maxims may be perceived as frail, inactive members are often referred to as 'jack Mormons' and are further believed to plague the organization with several second-order problems.[290] Indeed it will be seen throughout the development of both the Mormonization and the disaffiliation processes that many mechanisms exist to exclude free-riders[291] from the warmth and solidarity characteristic of fully fledged group membership.

Lofland and Stark indicate that an apostate is anyone who exits a religious group without the prospect of converting to a new religious identity.[292] Caplovitz and Sherrow use apostate when referring to individuals who have left religion altogether.[293] Roof and Hadaway employ the term when describing someone who once claimed a religious identity but no longer does so.[294] Brinkerhoff and Burke regard an apostate as a person who neither engages, attends, or believes in religious activities, events, or principles; further suggesting that subsequent to such an emotive change in position concerning subjective religiosity, people will often sever ties with their previous religious organization.[295] Skonovd treats the process of apostasy as ultimately resulting in the rejection of religious belief and faith. Additionally, he proposes that an apostate is anyone who has renounced his or her religious identity, religious lifestyle, and religious worldview.[296] Ryan Cragun, a prominent contemporary Mormon scholar wholeheartedly follows the aforementioned utilization of the term without allowing Bromley's more recent political orientation of such to confound and further limit the scope of harnessing the expression within a generalizing capacity.[297] While Bromley's articulation of contested or disputed role-exit within a framework dictated by elements contributing to politico-institutional stability or change is in fact quite excellent,[298] I rather agree with both Cragun and the abovementioned authors concerning the overarching definition of the label. Therefore, I prefer to think about apostasy as a definitive act whereby a person becomes totally

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[290] Coleman (1994: 270-277).
[291] Iannacconne (1994).
[292] Lofland and Stark (1965).
[293] Caplovitz and Sherrow (1977).
[294] Roof & Hadaway (1979); Hadaway & Roof (1988).
[295] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980: 44).
[296] Skonovd (1981: xi).
[297] Cragun (2007: 5).
[298] Bromley (1998).

disaffiliated from, if not at times even opposing,[299] religiously defined organizational involvement. As such, I make use of *apostate* when discussing an ex-Mormon who, regardless of any continuing internal belief, has experienced formal name removal from the organizational records of the LDS Church. Bureaucratic or authoritative identity extrication essentially represents a banning or expulsion of sorts, which effectively negates the presence of the ousted individual from any and all LDS functions. The formal action of name removal is intended to render the former member an outsider, a pariah, or unwanted within the activities and concerns regarding the Mormon milieu. This type of eviction can be initiated either i) voluntarily by the actor, or as is more often the case ii) will be brought forth against the constituent by the organization through the executive, legislative, or judicial process of religious excommunication.

Disaffiliation generally refers to the subjective termination of a person's membership with a religious denomination.[300] I use *disaffiliation* when referring to the exit process; that is, disaffiliation describes the course of action indicating an increasing distanciation FROM an origin inextricably associated with a cherished religious identity TO the potential destination of non-affiliation or apostasy. Differently however, a *disaffiliate* is someone who does not participate in religious observances and has severed ties with most, but not all elements demonstrative of organizational membership. In the case of my particular research the residual connection is often simply that of remaining on the formal membership roster of the LDS Church.[301] *Disenchanted, disengaged*, or *disenfranchised* in contrast refer to steps taken prior to disaffiliation. Such approximations are made quite evident in varying levels or degrees of unhappiness, unrest, or diminished well-being regarding religious involvement and allegiances. It is important to acknowledge that within the various descriptors associated with disengagement it is quite probable that social or familial ties, or even religious attendance to some degree or another may remain in

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[299] *Opposition*, in the sense of which I am engaging here, encompasses beliefs and actions associated with both the labeled and the labelers.

[300] Bromley (1997) see pp. 61-62 above; Mauss (1969) see pp. 66-67 above; Bahr & Albrecht (1989) see pp. 83-86; Albrecht et al. (1988) see pp. 86-88 above.

[301] While some ex-Mormons feel a strong drive toward the formal renunciation of their previous faith by requesting official name removal from the records of the LDS Church in order to achieve a satisfying sense of closure, many others however do not share this inclination. Rather, several respondents report preferring not to 'waste' any more time or resources on 'something that I do not believe in anymore'.

place. *Disidentification* may be thought of as a heightened or enhanced form of the aforementioned, and constitutes either external or internal non-compliance with religious tenets. However, despite the lack of religious identification, affiliation to some degree or another continues to abide – the type and degree of which is dependent upon the magnitude of subjectively felt animosity on behalf of the particular disidentifier at the hands of either other members or the organization.

Finally, I will implement the term fervent follower as described by Brinkerhoff and Burke as one who believes and attends,[302] albeit with minor though significant qualification. It will become quite apparent that LDS religiosity constitutes a veritable quagmire of theological, cultural, symbolic, and temporal complexity; the sophistication of which continues to baffle both secular and Christian outsiders due to its efficacious enforcement of highly meticulous and seemingly unreasonable or nonsensical rules, beliefs, and behaviours among its constituency. The Mormon code results in an incredibly single minded and obedient ethos which characterizes many if not all core Latter-day Saints. Thus I use the term *fervent follower* not only to describe those who both believe and attend, but restrain its definition thereby extending its analytical, conceptual, and contextual potency to apply only to those who exemplify or embody the wholeness of Mormon dogma. Additionally, LDS fervent followers embrace all the responsibilities delegated to them by their faith. Mere regular church attendance and observance such as might be typically assessed by a normative Christian adherent is not indicative of LDS fervent followership.

Having established my position concerning the three aforementioned constraints, which when taken together constitute the definition used herein of a person who is considered to be a real or authentic Mormon, and having also expressed my ideas regarding the definition of various terms relating to disaffiliation; I can now set forth an ascendant micro-sociological enquiry. *Why do fully socialized Mormons disaffiliate from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints?* In order to grasp the significance of such a question it is first of the utmost value to properly, and therefore contextually understand the place of religious activity within both society and within ego.[303] However more importantly, we must come to appreciate both the macro and micro roles which religio-social structure and personal spiritual praxis fulfill within

[302] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980: 43).
[303] Durkheim ([1912] 2008); Weber ([1930] 2005); Wilson (1966); Luckmann (1967); Berger et al. (1973).

the exceedingly homogenous collective milieu contributing to the vehement LDS social order.[304] Additionally – and providing the central thrust to my thesis – a clear apprehension of the unique Mormon socialization process is necessary in order to understand how certain elements of the modernization/secularization paradigm impacts upon several aspects of a homegrown Latter-day Saint identity. Furthermore, a thorough conceptual grounding in Mormonization is essential in order to fully appreciate how various theories of action and rationality intersect with an LDS worldview.[305]

[304] To my mind, *continuity* and *distinction* are the most applicable terms to apply here.
[305] In every conceivable manner we can see that the primary function of socialization is to promote *continuity* and *distinction* of ethos; or in rhetoric associated with Powell and DiMaggio (1991) as well as Zucker (1991) the central function of learning is to ensure a high likelihood of cultural persistence. Within the context of structural commitment from the perspective of ego, the dissolution of an ascribed identity – first learned through experience then subsequently unlearned through the same mechanism – is nothing short of fascinating.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

Formalized citations are not necessary in order to echo the longstanding debate regarding which procedural model is authoritatively suited to illuminate issues, dynamics, and forces that inevitably impact, shape, nurture, compel, and bind both individuals and society to themselves and to each other. Quite honestly I am offended and fatigued at the constant argumentation represented variously by members of each camp, who in stereotypical and sadly myopic style have either implied or explicitly stated opinions that point toward the paucity of qualitative methods or to the barbarity of positivism. In reflecting upon the establishment and the pursuit of goals indicative of academic progress, I do not see any paucity whatsoever when examining a well structured and cogently articulated qualitative manuscript. Nor do I recognize any barbarity present in the philosophical architecture of systematization, econometrics, or generalizability. Rather, I choose to judge both perspectives as serving their relevant purposes quite well and therefore value them as mutually beneficial to the approaches expressed in the terms *Verstehen*[1] and *Bildung*.[2]

According to this particularly romantic aspect, both socio-cultural and historical phenomena are not to be explained completely by qualitative means alone. Nor are they to become the sole property of prediction, even while maximizing ideally low coefficients of error. Instead, such developments are first to be both accepted and intellectually apprehended. Second, they are to be perceived and recognized precisely for what such historical activities actually are. Third, as scholars we are to ascertain exactly when and why they had taken place in the specific context from whence the phenomena had occurred. Only subsequent to this type of assessment is the systematic component of Weber's method to be addressed; that is,

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[1] Weber ([1968] 1978: 8-9, 57); Coser (1971: 220-21). Here, *Verstehen* is taken to imply a complete hermeneutic and interpretive understanding of human meaning.

[2] Ringer (1997: 7-8). *Bildung* is a descriptive term deriving from the German school of philosophical idealism and neohumanism. It points to the process whereby a person is perpetually involved in self-improvement through education and classical cultivation. In addition, *Bildung* can be seen as responsible for the development of individual potential through a constant engagement with text, ideology, interpretation, elucidation, and *Wissenschaften*, or systematic knowledge. The intention inherent within its parameters is to result in an internalized passion for life-long learning. Furthermore, according to historian Gustav Droysen, such a process will ultimately provide the pathway whereby humanity itself may find, indeed discover, its own consciousness; see Droysen (1868: 435, 441-444).

to adequately offer an explanatory series of the causative elements preceding particular events.[3]

Regardless of whether methodological rhetoric takes the articulated form of validity or reliability, or is represented by qualitative vocabulary such as texture or richness, it is my conviction that much more can be grasped if we can understand that each perspective is capable of existing in relative harmony with the other. Such an open posture will undoubtedly promote a greater understanding and application of both theory and research principles by adding a broader sense of utility to contemporary scholarship and academic practice. Despite our own subjective epistemological orientations, a thorough fusion of both quantitative and qualitative as well as macro and micro perspective is undeniably mandatory in the successful reflection upon forces that influence human thought.[4] For human cognition is inextricably bound to society, culture, structure, experience, and emotion.

In consideration of the most appropriate type of methodology to utilize concerning my particular research question and with respect to the challenge of producing reasonable scholarship, I have chosen to conduct a sociologically oriented qualitative ethnographic field project.[5] It is my intention throughout this thesis to lead my readers not only toward a better understanding of the unique social group to which my aims are directed, but also to the individuals within such a population who have thus far been relatively neglected within the social scientific literature. To aid in the achievement of this goal, my primary instrument of examination is the open-ended narrative interview.[6]

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[3] Ringer (1997: ch 4).
[4] Scheff (1990).
[5] Creswell (2007); Bernard (1994: 16); Thomas (1993); Wolcott (1987); Van Maanen (1988). There is a distinction between both terms. *Qualitative* refers to a paradigmatic type of understanding based upon a traditional perspective of enquiry which explores social, human, or historical problems (however defined) through complex research dealing with holism, words, conversations, detailed views of – or taken from – informants, and often takes place in a natural setting. *Ethnography* on the other hand is the collection of various forms of data which are utilized ultimately to describe an intact culture-sharing or social group. Let us not forget as H. Russell Bernard (1994: 95) states: "ethnography is the surest method to achieve understanding of how things work."
[6] Creswell (2007); Pinegar & Daynes (2007); Plummer (1983); Denzin (1989); Clandinin & Connelly (2000); Czarniawska (2004); Ely (2006). *Narrative research*, highly rich and quite sophisticated, is often considered both product and method. It is a study of stories, oral histories, biographical recollections, and opinions regarding life-stages, events, and experiences; the structure of which is famously represented by many as impressionable, malleable, and dynamic, even maximally flexible.

Through my provision of a private and thereby safe environment for the execution of both a dogmatically and politically liberal discussion among seventeen Latter-day Saints 'in good standing' in Salt Lake City, Utah during the summer of 2005, resulting in what social and anthropological researchers refer to as a focus group,[7] I was successful in establishing a fruitful baseline of enquiry. The information procured established the means necessary to begin my sensitization process to the full experience of interacting with those who would become my future respondents. Additionally, such would ultimately serve as the starting point for embarking upon a rewarding and illuminating series of narrative interviews aimed at eliciting life-long stories to aid in my efforts toward *understanding*. That is, to acquire a thorough understanding and appreciation of the psychological underpinnings and structural factors at work in the lives of those who had suffered through the often chaotic experience of leaving or defecting from the LDS Church. Participant observation[8] – in conjunction with my own relevant biographical history[9] – fostered a first person perspective.[10] When necessary I conducted other interviews separate from my sample with local LDS leaders and members in order to probe, investigate, and corroborate many emergent notions regarding Mormon doctrine, lifestyle, tastes, and expectations. Most primarily however the discussions executed, whether with respondents or with others, greatly advanced my understanding of the phenomena and culture at hand. Thereby allowing further access to enhanced degrees of clarity regarding the unique LDS socio-enculturation system or saintmaking process.

Gaining access to the distinctively stigmatized category of persons who constitute my sample proved quite difficult. Disidentified, disgruntled, or ex-Mormons in their varying degrees of disenchantment, disengagement, or apostasy are

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[7] Bernard (1994: 224-229); Creswell (2007: 133).

[8] Literature on this topic and method is vast; for a thorough contemporary overview in an anthropological sense see Bernard (1994: 136-164).

[9] I am not making the claim of representing the concept, theory, method, or philosophy of *reflexity* in a strong nor in an anthropological sense; therefore the engagement of Narayan (1993); Clifford & Marcus (1986); Okely (1996); and Foley (2002) is not included in my thought process or in the dissertation. Rather, I am intimating toward reflexivity only in the sense of placing myself in relation to the object under study for the benefit of the reader. For further understanding of this approach and its use within the scholarly endeavour see Alvesson & Skoldberg (2009); for a concise overview within the constructionist perspective see Burr (2003: 156-58); and within a sociological frame depicting reflexivity and its influence upon action see Turner (1991: 477-78).

[10] This status, often interpreted by my respondents as my being an *insider*, has served to bolster rapport, trust, and harmony; thereby genuinely legitimizing my concern and curiosity into the details of their respective and personal experiences.

neither readily documented nor contactable via municipal or otherwise accessible channels open to public scrutiny. To be clear, those individuals whose LDS identities have come into question or have otherwise been compromised, whose weekly Sabbath observance or tithing commitment has fallen or become attenuated, or those former members that have formally withdrawn or been executively banished from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are in fact methodically accounted for. Systematically precise records kept by the organization itself reside either at the local level, which is the ward or the stake house, or at the LDS worldwide church headquarters located near Temple Square in Salt Lake City, Utah. Unfortunately various types of information containing lists of potential dissenters[11] are not made available to anyone outside the church statistical department or other relevant members of the LDS authority structure.

In careful and deliberate preparation for the task, I established contact with one local university professor who has since proven priceless in the acquisition of suitable respondents as well as other forms of sensitivities which I later came to recognize as relevant forms of data. These germane nuances were developed within my academic mind almost exclusively from the materialization and solidification of components, essences, and emotions amassed and galvanized while in the field. Upon arrival to the Rocky Mountain region of Mormon Zion in 2005, my prearranged focus group consisted of seventeen members of the LDS community. My professorial gatekeeper or key contact referred individuals to me either in the first, second, or third order. Typically communication occurred via email, though in a few circumstances exchange took place over the telephone. The tiny syndicate was heterogeneous in that age, sex, occupation, residence within the locale, and level of acquired education were all relatively diverse. Excepting of course for one interestingly unifying component, which again bears being repeated. Despite the fact that a few were traditionalists, some were moderate, and others might even be considered progressive or radical *they*

[11] I use this descriptive term specifically to frame the reality that within the consolidated LDS mindset, if someone is not 'with us' then they are most assuredly 'against us'. Of course the issue of Mormon fellowship is an empirical condition that may cast the above apprehension into a dubious state. However, friendliness cloaked under the guise of proselytization may indeed be argued as the expression and exercise of in-group stabilization mechanisms as well as pointing to the reduction of both individual and organizational dissonance, and thereby can be seen as being infused with a self-serving agenda. Therefore fellowship and missionary endeavours cannot be categorically considered as pure gestures of humanitarianism or even of simply being friendly.

were all self-proclaimed active, fervent, believing, doctrinaire Mormons.[12] The overarching wisdom gleaned by myself during and after our nearly five hour round-table conversation prompted further reflection on the subjects of: i) anticipated direction of enquiry, ii) topics for discussion to be included in my interviews, and iii) hindrances likely to be encountered during the project. Additionally, the experience proffered a heightened sense of awareness vis-à-vis the ecclesiastical issues and personal LDS values which would most certainly require a delicate approach when such matters became the focus within the context of research dialogue. After the primary meeting the ensuing interplay among my gatekeeper, my emergent informants, and those yet unknown others who would ultimately fulfill the integral role of respondents within my study began to take shape. Thus the crucial beginning of the acquisition of my sample was well underway.

As implied within every methodological treatise, good data produces a good study. Likewise, a great study can only emerge from great data. This recognition is not to suggest that empirical information alone directly correlates with the strength of any given treatment. Indeed numerous considerations regarding style, interpretation, researcher temperament and aptitude, as well as purpose will inevitably add or detract from the overall respectability that the investigation and reporting enterprise will garner within and without the general academy. Acknowledging the immeasurable scope that exists regarding the myriad practices taking place within the observable world, it is relatively simple to ascertain that the concept of sampling in connection with ethnographic, narrative, and in some cases grounded theory approaches are in fact much more abstract, complicated, and therefore potentially malleable (indeed slippery) than for the rigidly prescribed methods which are both internally and externally congruent with probability theory and its affinity for controlled sampling techniques. This is to imply that qualitative researchers ideally attempt to perceive everything within their purview. Though a comprehensively enumerated series of everything is in fact a practical impossibility, it does not negate the notion that what any investigator observes is a de facto sample of all possible observations that might have been made within or throughout the course of their study. To be both

[12] Of those seventeen persons who attended the focus group, I directly contacted only four prior to my arrival. The additional thirteen had attended the focus session as a result of being invited and/or welcome to attend by virtue of existing friendships, occupational, collegial, spousal, or sibling ties which had existed from previous relations with one of the original four contacts.

theoretically and philosophically specific, every shout heard is a sample of any shout that may have touched the ears of a scrutinizing and keen analyst. Any cup of coffee is in fact representative of a cup of coffee. Any particular behaviour or practice may be considered a model for parallel conduct carried out within analogous circumstances or contexts. Therefore the observation of various religious, secular, economic, emotional, or otherwise legitimizing behaviours or beliefs stand as representations, indeed as realistic symbols, which effectively possess similarities when compared to any like oriented action taking place anywhere and at any point in time.[13] Concerning my desire to produce scholarship in which representativeness is both reliably present and quantifiably valid, I must formally affirm that my initial intention is to qualitatively elucidate the particular. Thus credibility, accuracy, detail, and authenticity occupy superordinate roles in relation to the aforementioned quantitative objectives. For sometimes as Simon clearly states: "a wise scientist does not always decide to take a probability sample."[14]

Brinkerhoff and Burke suggest that any deviant segment or questionable individuals existing within any population such as religious defectors, in this case specifically LDS disaffiliates or apostates, might best be identified and practically amalgamated by means of snowball sampling tactics.[15] In conjunction with rudiments indicative of the non-probability techniques associated with both purposive or judgmental[16] and criterion[17] related sampling methods, the snowball or chain stratagem is such that once a connection is established with a viable respondent the researcher asks for referrals of other 'like' persons. Attempting to capitalize upon the similarities among the interpersonal ties of such agents, the methodological anticipation is to establish contact with other feasible research elements. The general concept is: if a singular candidate offers one or two suggestions, possibly one or both may qualify for inclusion in the study. In turn they will also refer others, and so on and so forth. The snowball system remains in place until hopefully a relatively profitable qualitative sample of otherwise atypical respondents is obtained within a reasonable amount of time.

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[13] The utility of this statement is seen to be quite appropriate when one considers the potency and applicability of accurate, insightful, and theoretically creative operationalizations.
[14] Simon (1969: 262)
[15] Brinkerhoff & Burke (1980).
[16] Babbie (1989: 268); Bernard (1994: 95-96).
[17] Creswell (2007: 128).

Creswell has reported numerous examples of narrative research consisting of one or two participants.[18] Additionally he advises that discussion, thought, and inspection should continue "until the workings of the cultural-group are clear."[19] In phenomenological research Dukes recommends studying three to ten subjects,[20] while Moustakas makes no suggestions regarding quantity whatsoever, though stresses the supreme importance of the 'long interview'.[21] Regarding the aim toward validity, reliability, and objectivity in grounded theory, despite the fact that Glaser advocates notably in defense of small sample sizes, he nevertheless rests upon the verity that more cases are better than fewer cases.[22] Arguing distinctively with concern toward bolstering levels of researcher reflexivity when discussing sample size, Charmaz suggests that several observations can strengthen a researchers grasp of the empirical world; she further proposes that an increased *N* will foster clarity among variations within constructivist categories.[23] On the same topic, Creswell recommends an *N* of twenty to thirty in order to develop and maximize the methodological and epistemological ideal of saturation.[24]

My two-wave forty respondent snowball sample is illustrated in diagram 2 on page 106 below. The earlier noted professorial gatekeeper, who holds a PhD in the arts and humanities, is represented here as fulfilling the dual roles of both *Key Informant* – which is clearly labeled and denoted by the largest grey node – and *INF #1* which is signified by the black node and also aptly identified.[25] Informant one's involvement in the study yielded thirteen respondents, two additional informants who later proved vital to procuring data associated with the second wave, and three unqualified referrals (URs). Informants two, three, and four – represented as well by their corresponding black nodes – emerged from those original seventeen members in

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[18] Ibid p. 126.
[19] Ibid p. 128.
[20] Dukes (1984).
[21] Moustakas (1994: 114).
[22] As cited in Charmaz (2006: 132).
[23] Charmaz (2006: 188-190) defines reflexivity as "the researcher's scrutiny of his or her research experience, decisions, and interpretations in ways that bring the researcher into the process and allow the reader to assess how and to what extent the researcher's interests, positions, and assumptions influenced the inquiry. A reflexive stance informs how the researcher conducts his or her research, relates to the research participants, and represents them in written reports;" also see (p. 132). For an additional discussion of reflexivity from a sociological perspective see Burr (2003: 156-158).
[24] Creswell (2007: 126). Also see ft. 30 below p. 109.
[25] INF indicates 'informant'.

attendance at the formerly discussed focus group. Informant two, a thirty-four year old male who is married and has four children works as a postal employee and delivers mail for a living; his involvement yielded ten respondents, one second-wave informant, and one UR. Informant three, a divorced male aged thirty-nine with two children is employed as a teller at a local bank which is owned by a prominent LDS family; five respondents can be attributed to his connection. The sole first-wave female informant is also a divorcé with two children; aged fifty-five, she works on an industrial packaging line at a nutritional/vitamin supplement factory located in the southern reaches of Utah County, again also owned by LDS proprietors. Her participation in the study rendered eleven respondents and three URs. None of the informants are respondents in the sample. All are geographically distanciated from one another concerning residence, all four are occupationally distinct, and with the exception of informant number one, none of the remaining three possess any higher education credentials. Furthermore there were neither associations nor family or friendship ties of any kind present among the first-wave informants; indeed they did not know each other at all. Last, all four informants were self-defined practicing Latter-day Saints. I believe this to be relevant information in order to present as much transparency as possible and to establish as much objectivity as such a sample will allow.

All four of the first-wave informants provided me with leads which I then contacted in order to assess if they were able to meet the rigid parameters that I had decided to impose upon my respondents regarding the necessary characteristics chosen to define my sample.[26] That is i) were they previously fully socio-enculturated Mormons? In other words, did they formerly identify themselves as ardent saints while conforming to the elaborate saintmaking process, as will be described in coming chapters. ii) Did they actively choose to disaffiliate (either through actions associated with commission, that is purposive name removal or egress; or omission, which points to behavioural deviancy resulting in excommunication) or exit the church during adulthood? Here preferably defined as over the age of twenty-eight years old, though a few concessions were made on my part resulting in the inclusion of two subjects, one had left the church at age twenty-three and another at twenty-four. Finally, if these two constraints were met iii) would they be willing to share their

[26] Recall my operationalization of that which constitutes a real, genuine, and authentic Mormon on pp. 91-92.

stories with me? After ascertaining the above, my second objective was then to establish informed consent. I assured my respondents both verbally and contractually that participation in the study was completely voluntary. Further, I ensured them that both confidentiality and anonymity would be treated with the utmost ethical importance and care. Therefore various actors, specific places and dates, as well as additional details that might possibly serve to identify some respondents in relation to their respective narratives were promised by me to be changed or otherwise cloaked in order to remain consistent with ideals ultimately serving to retain and to protect the privacy of their lives.

As can be seen in diagram 2, not all referrals fit the criteria standardized by my operationalization as designated by nodes labeled *UR*, thereby demonstrating those who were deemed as *unqualified referrals*. Reasons negating participation included i) not being born under the covenant. ii) Some URs were converts and therefore had not fully experienced the totality of the saintmaking system prior to their exit. iii) Others had disaffiliated a bit too prematurely for the study, typically during their adolescent or earlier adult years. iv) Some unqualified referrals had led a staunch LDS life and exited the religion during their adulthood, but unfortunately were raised outside of the Mormon canopy. v) There were even those who had met all the qualifications yet were unwilling – for a variety of reasons – to extend their personal narratives. vi) In fact, I procured three interviews which are not represented anywhere in the manuscript. These stories were pregnant with detail; however upon completion the interviewees apologetically pleaded that I refrain from using their experiences to aid in my research. Exemplifying the highest ethical standards, I happily agreed to their requests. Illustrated in diagram 2 are seven URs, though throughout the entirety of the two-wave acquisition of my sample there were eighteen. The remaining eleven are not included in the schematic due to the fact that they did not yield any fruitful information resulting in the betterment of the study.

Image is too large to fit on page, please email Mr. Jason Singh for diagram 2

The two-wave aspect of my sample is made apparent by the colors green and blue. Green representing the activity indicative of the first wave occurring in 2005, and blue signifying the endeavours associated with the second wave of research taking place over a four-month period during 2009. The implications arising from informants five, six, and seven – represented by black nodes contained variably throughout the cascade and numbered accordingly – are solely related to various interviews corresponding with respondents twenty through forty which are exhibited in blue and can be seen as occurring throughout the course of the second phase of investigation. Informant number five, a fifty year old psychotherapist who holds a Master's degree in psychology is employed by a church sanctioned social services establishment, she had been divorced decades earlier and has yet to remarry; I owe her involvement in the study to a connection with a UR which is linked to informant number two. Informant six, a young man who had recently completed his Master's degree in business administration from the University of Utah is present due to a second-degree link with informant number one. Also resulting from the same leg of the network, though removed from informant number one by three degrees, informant number seven is a forty-four year old female counselor who works for a county funded therapy/reintegration center for court adjudicated alcoholics and substance abusers; she holds a Master's degree in clinical social work. To be clear, both the green and blue nodes, numbered according to the specific and chronological interview from which data will later be shown to correspond, indicates those interviews as taking place during the first or second phases of field research.

The data represented in this manuscript arise primarily from in-depth narrative interviews where viable respondents have agreed to share intimate aspects concerning their public, private, childhood, adolescent, and adult lives. Further description and context included in the thesis result from ethnographic or field observations gathered while spending time in LDS Zion both observing and fraternizing with its people; in addition, I have appropriated countless hours to studying the Mormon scriptural canon in order to provide a deeper sense of passion regarding the process of gaining an LDS identity. Throughout the research and reporting enterprise I have maintained a systematically oriented qualitative mindset in the hope of inclining toward a thorough understanding of Mormonization and LDS disaffiliation. Indeed through the saturation of myriad variables provided by my respondents, which speak directly to these processes, I believe such a goal has been achieved. It is my further anticipation

that the several issues, feelings, and interactions which I have observed and studied will be profitably conveyed to the reader. For reasons associated with i) statistical insufficiencies, ii) a complete nonappearance of coefficient or regression formulations, and iii) affording a full confession of methodological limitations congruent with the specific type of research question to which I have directed my exertion, I do not represent nor claim any generalized conclusions regarding religious disaffiliates at large, or more specifically to any broader conceived saints who have exited the LDS faith.

There are of course many other procedural issues at hand that will inevitably come into play when assessing the value of this work. Interviews classically represent a single perspective. Not only is this reference limitation impaired by the inexorable biases indicative of a solitary point of view, but is also further compromised due to factors associated with both personal partisanship and idiographic ideology.[27] Subjective memories of life altering choices and events are further susceptible to post-choice dissonance reduction mechanisms. This attenuation of objective veracity is characterized by the selective appropriation and assimilation of information which more often than not supports certain and particular courses of optionality, expectation, and rationale while simultaneously refuting or discrediting other foregone alternatives or opposing conditions.[28] Therefore a certain line of reasoning might argue that an ex-Mormon may be less likely to recollect concrete circumstances which had led to their exit than say, a neutral observer. As a researcher the significantly more interesting question to consider alongside such a claim is: *Would a neutral spectator or witness recognize or even possess the skills, patience, or interest necessary to comprehend the myriad features, components, and emotions indicative of those persons who have actually experienced such an event?*

The apparent subjectivity associated with both preconceptions and prejudice does not constitute a valid reason to deny the accuracy of personalized accounts or reports. On the contrary, no human being is without pre-existing beliefs or inclinations; such recognition will undoubtedly affect the theoretical ideal of

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[27] Berger (1963: ch 5). When stating *reference limitation* I am engaging both the phenomena of i) the person or individual being predisposed towards one's self, as well as acknowledging that ii) bias exists inherently in the direction of the unitary reference group from which a person has received their primary identity.

[28] Festinger (1957: 18-24).

procuring an absolute grasp of unadulterated objectivity or value neutrality.[29] To be sure, I have taken the narratives presented here as real. Otherwise stated, data included in this thesis are both reliable and valid. This assertion is based upon the concept of saturation of information[30] and is further derived from my affording credence toward the notion that subjective reality is in fact the participants' actual reality.[31] Therefore the following accounts describing various pious lives lived within the context of LDS Zion as well as the religious and emotional stress leading to disengagement, exit, and ultimately in some cases to apostasy are valuable, indeed precious, because they are the only source of original information concerning the actualized beliefs and feelings consistent with Mormon disaffiliation. This fact remains despite the alleged charge that selective disclosure, social desirability biases, and possible retention effects may compromise the integrity of the qualitative endeavour.

Open to the allegation that my findings are not statistically or probabilistically nomothetic in any manner – I simply state apparent realities that are indicative of my sample, my investigation, my academic propensities, and my intellectual capabilities. The benefit of such a project lies in the breadth and depth of information given by the respondents. Their narratives when heard collectively unite in voice, becoming a complex synthesis of similarity that describes and lends profound insight into the otherwise feebly examined process of losing or abandoning an LDS conviction. The qualifications and experiences represented and reported in this research underscore the incredible dynamics associated with many unpublicized characteristics regarding the LDS *Weltanschauung*. This enquiry also exposes the manner by which the

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[29] Here we must recognize the existence of paradigmatic, epistemological, and/or ontological favoritism that inevitably extends throughout the investigation process to include the inherently present biases, tastes, and preferences of both the researchers themselves and their respondent actors.

[30] Homans ([1961] 1974: 226-227) states that both satiation and satisfaction share the same Latin root *satis*, which simply means "enough." Blalock (1969: 105) compares *the saturation effect* as conceived in sociology with that of the point of diminishing returns in economics, which recognizes the tendency for successive extra units of any input to a productive process to eventually yield reduced increases in output. Charmaz (2006: 113-114) suggests that data, categories, and themes become *saturated* when analysis no longer sparks new insights nor reveals new properties. Glaser (2001: 191) states that *saturation* is achieved when no new properties or patterns emerge; he refers to this point in the research process as attaining 'conceptual density' and proffers such to yield and bolster theoretical completeness. Last, Creswell (2007: 240) defines *saturation* as the point at which no new information adds to the understanding of a category or phenomena.

[31] Berger (1967a; 1967b).

organization and its fervent constituency commonly behave toward those insiders who are somehow judged to be less than 'perfect'. Indeed quite contrary to the assertions of L. Iannaccone[32] who has mainly extended Dean Kelly's renowned thesis regarding the stability and growth of strict churches,[33] this seminal examination accurately identifies LDS members who could never have been categorized as second-order or free-riders prior to the experiences resulting in a decision to exit the Mormon structure. These facts and considerations lend immense strength and utility to this perceptive and illuminating research.

[32] Iannaccone (1994).
[33] Kelly (1972).

CHAPTER THREE

PATTERNS AND COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY

3a. THOUGHTS TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF STABILITY

There exists in each of us an innate inclination to work toward, to achieve, and ultimately to maintain order in all things. This normative disposition abides despite the breadth, relevance, and explanatory potential of proven sociological variables[1] that otherwise lend tremendous insight regarding an increased comprehension of seemingly differential forms of human action. Moreover, such a tendency persists in the face of any claimed philosophical posture.[2] Order, simple and elegant, produces feelings and other conditions that are pleasing to the mind, body, and personality.[3] Contrastingly, a state of disorder can be seen to render not only a plethora of vexatious moods but also to retard sentiments associated with subjective well-being.[4] As self-conscious organisms, we instinctively strive to attain harmony as often as possible.[5]

During the course of an intellectual consideration of the terms 'order' and 'disorder' we are inevitably led to the realization that the meanings and assumptions associated with each are indeed arbitrary when referring to a state of mind. After all, what exactly educates the individual human psyche regarding that which faithfully constitutes coherence and what does not?[6] Might an atmosphere judged as exemplifying tenets associated with integrity and morality be recognized as incompatible or uncomfortable by someone else's personal or social prudence? Likewise, is it possible that chaos and irrationality might be ascertained as pleasant,

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[1] Classically utilized are ethnicity, race, gender or sex, age, religion, socio-economic status, cultural origin, and even perhaps worldview.

[2] I'd like to define such a philosophical position to include both epistemological and ontological considerations.

[3] Parsons (1951: 42; 1961).

[4] Various forms and expressions of distress exist as a product of basic cognition. Aggravation may also be present in both the corporeal and existential realities of many individuals who experience phenomenological ataxia. I believe the experience of inconsistency is dictated in large part by any actor's uniquely acquired collective, psychological, and reflexive aptitudes; see Giddens (1990; 1991).

[5] Festinger (1957).

[6] I use coherence – whether cognitively, psychologically, or sociologically defined – as referring to notions of stability attained through a sense of robust patterns of alliance emerging from repeated interactions in time and space. Stability of this type is made available and strengthened by the enduring effects of solidarity, ritualization, and moral security; see (DiMaggio & Powell 1991: 24); Collins (1981; 1988); Durkheim ([1912] 2008).

indeed even desirable by another who operates from a differential episteme or ontic perspective? My answer on the matter most certainly rests upon the affirmative.[7] Empirically speaking this is to say that distinctive people and populations, who personify contrasting values and inhabit divergent cultures, can and legitimately do apprehend the world differently.[8] Therefore different agents may come to understand order and its implications not only in varying, but also in potentially irreconcilable or hostile ways.

The sources of learning for each of us are the various exchanges that take place between our individual selves and the world in which we respectively live. Undeterred by individual psychological factors such as personality characteristics, self conceptions, esteem, or personal temperament – our social and cultural reality, which is symbolically represented continually in the surrounding environment of which we jointly share, manifest, and maintain with and to social others, is maximally imprinted upon the psyche through ego's interaction with the everyday life-world.[9] The human mind is thus formed and acquires adaptive skills enabling the appropriate and accepted interpretation and differentiation between what is socially given as order and what is not through the dual experiential processes of socialization and enculturation.[10]

The communitarian project of firmly establishing "society in man"[11] is the most significant inter-generational enterprise ensuring the effective socio-cultural and psycho-emotional transmission of fundamental and complex expectations and limitations exercising influence upon volitional behaviour.[12] This endeavour, most

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[7] This is to be understood in relation to statements made by Kant ([1787] 1933: 633, 655; 1996: 755-770) regarding the concepts of reason and rationality following from *cogito ex principiis* rather than from *cogito ex datis*; also see Nuckolls (1993: 7-8).

[8] Dimaggio & Powell (1991: 24) echo Parsons' argument about the role of cognitive processes in economic decision-making by stating: "different institutional domains evoke cognitive, cathectic, and evaluative orientations to varied degrees." In addition see Friedland and Alford (1991) for comments on different modes of evaluation and action-orientation within the distinctive parameters associated with the bureaucratic, the family, and the religious dimensions of human life.

[9] Schutz & Luckmann (1973: 3-20); Ferguson (2009).

[10] I would like to stress the idea that enculturation when contrasted against socialization – in a sense – affords credence to a richer, deeper, and ultimately more nuanced understanding of human accord.

[11] Berger (1963: ch 3).

[12] Ibid; Durkheim ([1912] 2008: 19); Zucker (1977; 1991); Schöpflin (2001: 1) suggests that the primary endeavour of every collectivity is to "secure its own existence over time" through the variety of instruments at its disposal which will ensure a maximal degree of cultural persistence or reproduction.

potent in the *Gemeinschaftlich* form of solidarity, is often subjectively perceived – at different times and in different circumstances – variably as both constraint and license or punishment and reward. Pro-social actions objectively labeled as beneficial come to occupy a position in an agent's mentality as virtuous, ethical, or right. Likewise, anti-social conduct is often understood as immoral, hedonistic, or bad thus lending to the realization that collectively distasteful elements come to define the socially and individually dogmatic concerns dictating that which is believed to be wrong. Such a principled architecture – regarding both the mechanics of socio-moral clarity and the intended awareness it promotes within the mind of the human animal – will find ultimate evolutionary and collaborative purpose in the psychological development of a person's conscience.

Successful socialization and/or enculturation ensures the cognitively cool or functional internalization at the very least, or the wholehearted embodiment – at its most successful idiothemic expression – of a variety of psychological and institutional methods of social control. This abstract means of existential jurisdiction, appreciated as both antecedent and consequence of self-charge or even self-mastery, often takes the form of collectively defined morals, norms, customs, ideologies, and beliefs. Though socially derived these individually esteemed and upheld capabilities, habits, and traditions are required as standard knowledge or common practice for any constituent or actor to function as a conforming, contributing, and valued member of any particular society, culture,[13] or *Weltanschauung*.[14] Whether occurring as a primary, secondary, or tertiary mechanism, socialization in its fullness constitutes the temporal-sequential series and myriad of role and status situations indicative of social performance, location, and cooperation. It dictates to a significant degree the parameters of probable or possible personal ambition and vocation. Furthermore, an ascribed worldview considerably determines any person's scope of interest, expertise, influence, and activity in relation to that which is deemed permissible by the

[13] Reminiscent of Tylor (1958: 1).

[14] Isaiah Berlin (1960: 6) initiates *Weltanschauung* when describing "a deeply ingrained, widespread, long-lived [world view, which serves as] the unquestioning (and not necessarily valid) assumption of one particular objective order of events or facts..." when utilized over and against another. Indeed the historical, political, anthropological, sociological, and philosophical use of *Weltanschauung* can easily be considered among the most highly elastic of normative terms, which is often utilized in order to provide conceptual shape to elements associated with social cognition, values, and moral systems. Ashmore (1966: 215) suggests that within academia the concept of *Weltanschauung* is consistently recognized as a primary force regarding individual attitudes and behaviours.

environment in which one functions. In addition to the forces and effects associated with socialization, enculturation may further be seen as providing the subjective means or framework by which ego's innermost experience is shaped. In this way, enculturation is responsible for unifying each singular individual to his or her identity through an objectivated program of sanctioned emotionality that is predominately coordinated and confirmed via a shared world construct. Stated plainly yet robustly, the dual or consolidated processes of socialization and enculturation bestow both knowledge and meaning to the social actor, to the tribal member, to the corporeal body, to the human mind, and to the *Dasein* spirit.

Regarding both a theoretical and an empirical concern, the process of socio-enculturation associated with a principal identity is not only considered to be integral in the tempering of core notions associated with the self but is also quite axiomatic regarding a person's epistemic, emotional, and behavioural state throughout the duration of life. Notwithstanding the importance of countless dynamics linked to any individual's progression through a variety of pre- and proscriptions connected to the successful negotiation of later life-occurrences, primary socialization can be seen as the mechanism *par excellence* by which individuals are forged, indeed manufactured to exemplify symmetry between internal drives and desires and that which their specific cultural milieu determines as acceptable, viable, and revered action. In this way, a person's central identity – born from the primary processes of socio-enculturation – navigates to an extremely appreciable degree how well any particular agent has learned to actualize, manage, and potentially to amplify the socio-personal task of maximizing one's individual utility. Such opportunities resulting in the likely pro-social expansion of municipal advantage or autonomy is undeniably dictated by the rules of thought and behaviour mandated as 'truth' by society itself. It is indeed the apprehension of truth – subjectively acknowledged as it may be – which serves as the substrate for collective mobilization ensuring the individual recognition and execution of conventional and proper adherence to behaviour associated with repetition and patternization. Thus routinization sharply emphasizes the immutably commanding influence and effectiveness of both human intellections and sentimentality or cathexes[15] that derive from the concepts of regularity, familiarity, and cognizance. These types of recurrences, being consistently produced and

[15] Parsons & Shils (1951: ch 3 esp. pp. 164-166); Pollock (1974).

reproduced in response to utilitarian ideals associated with corporate realities, will inevitably tend toward the comprehensive opinion within ego that such realities – or certainties – in fact constitute the overarching definition of 'The Truth'.[16]

It is within the methodological construction of an ideal model of the process of socio-enculturation where culturally unique or subjectively held verisimilitudes are i) to be discovered, ii) exercise influence upon the mentality and emotionality of both their recipients and practitioners, and iii) subsequently grow in both individual and collective legitimacy and value. As a result of agentive pro-social response to the mechanisms and actions signifying social etiquette and reciprocity, such collectively presented plausibilities or facticities ultimately come to resemble a type of 'Truth' that is incontrovertibly taken-for-granted as representing an overarching and unquestionable fact.[17] In this manner the multi-dimensional nature marking any and all generalities and particularities – taking place either in solitary or composite processes – associated with socio-enculturation are both profoundly and entirely responsible for presenting to its singular constituents the iterated patterns and meanings that ultimately constitute the definition of that which is considered to be real. Simply stated, socialization strictly choreographs reality through the mediating concept of meaning. By extension, socialization likewise arranges order as a phenomenological construct fashioned and subsequently tempered from that which is held to be correct. Commitment to a particular standpoint – due in part to its sustaining effect upon in-group stability, thus maintaining to a crucial degree the extant status quo of any given community – is naturally the socially desired outcome of the individual internalization or embodiment of 'knowing'. That is, of possessing the certain knowledge that one's own explanation regarding the material and esoteric elements of the world is in fact 'the actual Truth', 'the right Truth', 'the moral Truth', 'the only Truth'.[18]

It is apparent that any sociologically informed macro-comparative study or corresponding examination treating diverse ideologies would most certainly yield a variety of findings. In fact it almost needn't be stated that we would both expect and empirically validate the presence of a multiplicity of descriptors, units, and instrumentalities that punctuate the unique characteristics of any singular position.

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[16] Truth with a capital 'T'.
[17] Berger & Luckmann (1967); Schutz ([1932] 1967: 74).
[18] Schutz ([1932] 1967).

Along these lines it is quite comprehensible to see that just as both distinction and analogical correlation exist at the macro level, so too do such analytical conceptions obtain at the individual or micro aspects of scrutiny. The implication here is simply to acknowledge the verity that persons originating from dissimilar socio-cultural environs necessarily experience dissimilar processes of socio-enculturation. Upon this account, diverse individuals predictably come to understand and acknowledge their surrounding universe as vastly, moderately, or perhaps only marginally different from the manner by which others will ultimately comprehend their own. Equally important to recognize however is the potential that those social actors who have arisen from socialization procedures sharing certain cultural resemblances will likewise possess a degree of similarity or agreement within their respectively internalized and externally held cosmologies. To be sure, it is the practically interpreted relationships that endure in the domain of social, cultural, and individual correlation that proclaims and regulates the human cum academic conceptions of 'us' and 'them'. Such axiological distinctions patently hold undeniable sway upon the common-sense judgments and actions indicative of contemporary individuals, groups, and cultures.

In consideration of the heuristic value regarding the idea of socio-enculturation, it is now analytically appropriate to re-state an important theoretical conception: *While involved in the process of primary socialization, individuals recognize and internalize culturally specific patterns of proper and ordered phenomena*. Subsequent to prolonged and iterated exposure to proceedings associated with socialization, agents will learn or come to repeat the same customary phenomena themselves. Formative enculturation provides the multiplicative, and therefore evolutionary means responsible for the solidification and determination of the desired type of behaviour emblematic to the collective individual through the communal task of coordinating and directing personal emotivity into socially accepted expressions of efficacious conduct. Also, such *becoming*[19] processes successfully facilitate the acquisition of a specific type of awareness, skill, fluency, and ultimately a prime identity. Thus resulting in a general type of uniquely perceived individualism or personality which is derived, nurtured, and potentially modified from the endless idiosyncratic experiences and exchanges occurring within the parameters of any particular social environment.

[19] Allport (1955).

To come to the point I now offer three straightforward examples of the most basic intuitions associated with the process of identity formation and social interaction which broadly informs my thinking in this thesis. First, an infant born in Japan who naturally transitions to occupy various stations of adulthood will inescapably be presented with clear and sanctioned patterns affirming the symbolically approved forms of speech and other methods of convention, which will ultimately come to frame the general meaning of life within a Japanese context. To be sure, this process will most certainly differ abundantly from those symbols and tools made accessible to, experienced, learned, and internalized by an infant born and raised within the geographic and normative parameters indicative of England. Therefore we can accurately assert that to be Japanese is to be something monumentally apart from being something or someone who is British.[20]

Second, American children learn to count numbers by first reciting the correct manner in which they occur: 1,2,3,4,5,6… and so on. As youngsters mature they are able to count higher and higher as well as acquiring the skill to enumerate in reverse order. This learning process provides access to an increased amount of knowledge pertaining to the basic structure marking the numerical scheme. Later on however the child's talent to both appreciate and manipulate the values, quantities, qualities, and behaviours indicative of the mathematical system – founded upon the laws of numerical structure – is of course tethered to the child's encouraging and repetitive exposure to such within both school and home, or educational and familial environments. Assuming there exists a substantial degree of efficacious exposure of agent to arithmetical logic, then the equations 2+2=4, 4x4=16, and 96÷8=12 are not only routinely recognized as accurate, but are indeed *understood* to be correct. In this manner the statements 5+5=8, 3x12=24, and 67÷11=6 will not only cause a mathematically cogent citizen minor stress and annoyance upon first glance, but will also levy an appraisal which affirms that the above logic is flawed, erroneous, or otherwise wrong.

Third, flirting with the topic of subconscious sedimentation, the next example warrants at least minor consideration regarding the manner by which the socio-enculturated self accumulates, manages, and negotiates internal and external situations. To the extent that the recitation of numerals and quantities may serve to

[20] Ferguson (2009: 55-64, 138-143).

establish and strengthen ties between particular individuals and the culture of mathematics, we may also observe the same to occur when discussing the alphabet. Contact with, rehearsal of, and most importantly consistently singing the A, B, Cs as a young child will pave the way for ensuring a further command of reading, writing, and grammar.[21] In fact the maintenance and perpetuation of meaning, emotion, exchange, and structure[22] is likewise dependent upon similar social machinery. Given its absolute symbolic primacy to social and commercial existence, as we know it, it is perhaps endearing that the first grasp of codified language for modern Western individuals is their initial exposure to the simple unassuming alphabet. Twenty-six letters represented by written symbols, correlated with particular vocalizations or utterances, and perceived through correctly interpreted sounds,[23] are irreversibly imprinted upon the minds of millions of American school children by ritually performing the task of continually and habitually reciting – both with and without elements of harmony or rhyme – the letters: A, B, C, D, E, F, G… and so forth, in that order. As children grow, both themselves and their loved ones discover a sense of pride and accomplishment in their ability to rehearse the alphabet at increasingly faster speeds. Eventually taking no less than only a few seconds to perform such a feat, the developing child has also begun to gain a modicum of expertise regarding the practice of comprehensive reading and writing. This proficiency rightly functions as yet another point of perceived individual and familial success. To be sure, absolute dependence upon the alphabet, reading, writing, and language is made abundantly clear throughout childhood and adult life. Surprisingly however, perhaps even astonishingly so; if asked, most comparatively intelligent adults find it impossible, that is completely removed from their sphere of mental fitness and capabilities to recite the twenty-six-letter alphabet in reverse order without the benefit of taking pen to paper.

The cognitive re-arrangement of elements required for turning this normative concept on its head is not necessarily to be initially understood in the rational choice sense of simply being too expensive of a mental or temporal undertaking, but rather results from the specific type of internalization model which originally functioned as the learning and imprinting instrument. Imagine the angst felt by ego, escalating in

[21] Ashcraft (2002: 360-389).
[22] Davies (2002: 104; 2011).
[23] Ashcraft (2002: 430-440).

psychological, emotional, organic, and existential irritation deriving from the futile attempt to accomplish such a seemingly basic yet ultimately insurmountable task. In this case the exasperation at hand is due to the socio-biographical actuality of recognizing, accepting, learning, internalizing, then embodying the same precedent for the intellectual storage of information. The fact that the alphabet itself is overwhelmingly, indeed perpetually confronted by contemporary actors on a daily even upon a momentary basis, does not, and cannot undo the singularly internalized, routinized, and hence cognitively fixed archetypal blueprint implemented by society in order to successfully instruct; thereby enabling the child to be taught; the twenty-six-letter alphabet from its presented beginning through to its sequential, structured, and anticipated end.

The detection of either the occurrence or presence of that which is personally held to be familiar (such as the chronological recitation of the alphabet as compared to the task of saying the A, B, Cs in reverse order), is to discern among a cacophony of social noise an attractive and welcomed orchestral harmony of existential factors. Such signals or notes, which are largely influenced or fashioned by any given social or cultural location, constitute a particular type of rhythm that is emergent or determined from both tastes and preferences deriving from a subjective point of origin or a person's primary *habitus*.[24] Apart from the effects of the ever-broadening notions

[24] Davies (2000: 108) states: "*Habitus* is both a useful and troubling word," it covers a vast range of processes that are otherwise very difficult to either describe or to comprehend. However, a worrisome implication deriving from the term is its tendency toward the simplification of incredibly detailed elements falling within the parameters of its far-reaching yet highly important domain. Its broad presage throughout anthropological and sociological history has been engaged variously in order to shed light upon differential forms of experience: Weber ([1922] 1964: 158-159), and socially acquired patterns of corporeal ritualism: Mauss (1979: 101). It has been utilized as a generative principle by which the multiplicities of *emically* oriented cultural practices could be *etically* catalogued, described, and conceptualized as regulated, thus providing direction toward that which is deemed socially appropriate: Bourdieu ([1977] 1999: 78). Additionally, the concept of *habitus* has been generally responsible for producing an absolute array of personal dispositions, temperaments, preferences, and convictions; however at the same time, such a diversity of implied idiosyncrasies are also correctly assessed as both quite fixed and deterministically manufactured as well as being devoid of any real dynamic structure: Bourdieu ([1979] 2002; 1980). I accept and appreciate the highly supple complexities inherent in harnessing the explanatory and illuminating power of such a concept. Within the specific context of this dissertation I would like to bring to light Davies' (2000: 108) thinking of "*habitus* as a distinctive key signature underlying many different harmonies or as imparting a clear similarity to different aspects of life within one's group of people. It underlies the way children are brought up and influences the style of life they follow. It makes things second nature to people, moulding their dispositions, characterizing populations and influencing

affecting individual identity within our contemporary globalizing world[25] – it is clear that symbolically patterned melodic euphony provides psychosocial comfort to the singular person. Following from the experience of temporal amicability, the human animal is quite likely to internalize feelings associated with existential and emotional consistency. Thus the iterated occasions which yield psychological pleasure and reassurance will serve to place the stabilizing effect of *consistency* squarely within the domain of that which is taken-for-granted or otherwise understood to be normal. Deviation – either on the part of ego or as a person observes trespasses in the actions of others – from set and expected or normal patterns of order concerning thought and behaviour will often not seem right. In fact the mere blush of wrongness will potentially cause at least a mild sense of insecurity or flux within the sensitivities of any actor.[26] Otherwise stated, existential conditions marked by order based upon precepts associated with subjectively valued judgments of predictability are pleasant to the mind, body, and personality. Indeed corporeal or experiential reliability and regularity can be described as the existence of consistency or consonance between patterns of cognition and behaviour which have been internalized throughout the acquisition of an individual identity. To be sure, we strive to maintain symmetry within our immediate environs. This endeavour toward balance follows quite obviously from the implication that internal and external states or conditions often impact one another in kind. A person's cogito-belief construct as well as their respective behaviour-action response concerning any single issue are not likely to produce exorbitant degrees of contradictory, binary, or menacing emotional states. Nor would such be expected to provide a direct challenge to an individual's sense of self or mode of being. If however a potentially threatening variance does emerge, the indisputable result is cognitive dissonance.

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individuals." Following Davies (2000: 108) I place the concept of *habitus* as standing central to notions associated with both individual and collective *becoming*; see Allport (1955).

[25] Giddens (1990; 1991); Ferguson's (2009) theory of the 'fragment' is relevant here; he argues that life in the contemporary world is more akin to fragmentation than to schismatic or evolutionary processes. Therefore, modern existence is disconnected from its history; this is to say that life within a post-modern/industrial/collective sense is without beginning and bereft of legacy. Ferguson attributes this dismal existential state of affairs as resulting from the breakdown of unifying social bonds.

[26] DiMaggio & Powell (1991: 21); Schöpflin (2001: 1-2).

3b. BALANCE, CONSISTENCY, CONGRUITY, AND DISSONANCE

Few if any scientific models bridge the span of a diversity of academic and intellectual disciplines, as does the broad philosophical concept of cognition. Given the breadth of the field, it is not the project here to review or to critique this expansive literature.[27] Rather, my intention is to harvest from such work and ideas that which is useful in enhancing the description and comprehension of the particular issue under investigation. In so doing I hope to unite certain intellectual domains that bear directly upon my goal of ascertaining the ecological validity which inheres in a person's ability to evaluate, judge, choose, and engage with the perpetual action of information processing.[28]

Paramount not only to my specific consideration of cognition, but also to its generally accepted academic esteem, is the expansive definition and formulation of memory.[29] In the absence of treatments mainly concerned with memory, cognitive science whether taken in its fullest sense or with regard to any of its specific foci would quite likely never have emerged as a viable school of thought. The temporal dimension of memory presents itself most simply when considering that human beings remember things from the past but nonetheless experience them in the present. To be sure, we harness the most visceral aspect of memories for the purpose of facilitating our own actions associated with planning, determination, and anticipation of future events. Certainly – with regard for the experience of reminiscence within the confines of the individual – the originally perceived totality of the physiological arousal coupled with the coexistent emotionality indicative of the incipient situation will likely never be exactly replicated nor re-experienced as a prime or pristine event in the later recall of a particular memory from biographical history. Furthermore, mental processing of this type occurs at least by way of two different, yet potentially

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[27] The formalization and development of cognition can find its origin in theology and philosophy; its efficacy then spread to social and clinical psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, linguistics, organizational studies, sociology, politics, and institutionalism. Concepts central to cognitive studies now extend to the diverse fields of computer science, neurology, brain and body trauma, artificial intelligence, and anesthesia.

[28] Consider Neisser's motivational call for greater ecological validity as found in *Cognition and Reality* (1976).

[29] Recall the philosophical function of the phantasm in Carr (2012), as well as the Aristotelian quote "the soul understands nothing without a phantasm," as found in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, Q84, art. 7, also in its original form in *De Anima*, book III, ch VII, 431a: 16-17, as cited in South (2012: 126).

dialectic modes of remembering;[30] that is through i) conscious or deliberate recollection, or by ii) automatic, unaware, subconscious, or unconscious evocation. The empirical reality of memory or anamnesis[31] is substantiated when the product or calculus connected to the act of mental retention and retrieval exercises influence upon subjective actions, emotionality, behaviours, or consciousness to some degree. It is important to state that various persuasions or inducements which exercise authority upon a currently lived cogito-activity construct, stemming from an individual's memories, indeed do occur despite whether or not ego is aware or mindful of such. Therefore when engaging the concept or phenomena of memory at least three distinct types of mental capabilities or faculties constitutive of the mind are inferred.[32] i) The initial acquisition, learning, or encoding of information can be thought of as occurring most efficaciously throughout the primary stages of any defined socialization, enculturation, or socio-enculturation period. ii) Subsequently, retention or preservation of given, received, and conditioned knowledge both engenders and enables iii) the utility, action, or emergence of the phenomena of recovery or reclamation of information or material in order to affect in some way or another a person's present circumstance or mode of being.

As my particular aim is to illuminate the intersection between the concepts of *sociality* and *individuality* – in both their traditional and liberal, and therefore systematic and delicate expressions – it is indeed reasonable to state that the manner in which I consider the analytics of cognition are predominantly phenomenological and empirical in nature.[33] Therefore most notably I choose to view an individual's cognitive functioning as embedded within the variegated constructs linked to particular social and cultural processes[34] that ultimately attend to the acquisition and maintenance of an identity. Furthermore I see not only the realization or apprehension

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[30] I understand *remembering* to be the mental or intellectual capacity to link one's contemporary condition or state of affairs to specific by-gone moments and sensations variously associated with, and constituted by, exclusive existentially informed contextual states.

[31] Blackburn (2005: 14).

[32] Accounting for Aristotle's tripartition of the mind resulting in sensation, imagination, and intellection; as contained in *De Anima*, book II, ch V, 417b: 18; 418a: 25. Also see Reid (1785: ch VIII) as well as Reid and Hamilton (1895: ch III).

[33] Berger et al. (1973: 17-22).

[34] Subsequent to the cognitive revolution of the 1970s, some scholars within organizational studies and sociology have revised the classic processes of social and cultural creation to instead rest in ideas associated with new forms and expressions of institutionalization and institutionalism; see Powell and DiMaggio (1991).

of an identity, but in fact the subsequent formation and actualization of the self as constituting a perpetual series of actions that can be stated to occur *sans terminus ad quem*, or otherwise stated, without end.[35]

In light of the intrinsic promiscuity associated with such a copiously humanistic pose, it is not surprising that I have found a particular affinity with a rather broad operationalized working definition which had been originally supposed by Freud[36] and later utilized by Ulric Neisser. "Cognition refers to all the processes by which sensory input is transformed, reduced, elaborated, stored, recovered, and used. It is apparent that cognition is involved in everything a human being might do; [thus] every psychological phenomenon is a cognitive phenomenon."[37] The characterization of cognitive processes are not only sweepingly vast in consideration, conception, connotation, and application; but are likewise considerably adept in describing and accounting for all higher mental processes indicative of *Dasein becoming*, or knowing. These instances, or rather the continuous project of human *sapientia*,[38] therefore follow from devices or transactions as *sensation, perception, imagery, retention, recall, problem solving, and thinking*.[39] Stated differently; the structure, phenomena, and practice of cognition points to the expanse of activities – mental, physical, emotional, social, and spiritual, among others – that endows the psyche, soul, conscience, or mind with the fundamental, peculiar, and elaborate framework by which all people create and sustain value. Other treatments of cognition seek to place its presage either within a scientific mode of thought or to allow for a normative realization of its causes and effects.[40] Warner distinguishes the scientific approach from the normative by telling us that such a perspective rejects the notion of variability, thus framing the social actor as lacking evaluative competence.[41] However, while the normative style of interpretation recognizes the potential for innovation, alteration, and deviation it nonetheless reduces the life-long cognitive event to a simple treatment or issue of 'belief' whereby individuals fall drastically short of acquiring a grasp of practical consciousness.[42] Garfinkel has appropriately

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[35] Recall the comment regarding human identity in ch 1 on pp. 54-55.
[36] Freud (1915; [1963] 1991: 71-94).
[37] Neisser (1967: 4).
[38] *Sapience* refers to the inherent ability of any person to express intelligence.
[39] Neisser (1967: 4).
[40] Parsons & Shils (1951); Parsons (1951).
[41] Warner (1978: 1328).
[42] Ibid; DiMaggio & Powell (1991: 36).

called this latter type of inert person a cultural dope.[43] More recent revisions of cognitive processes often contrast the 'old' view, that of its referral to the full range of mental activities with the 'new', that of utilizing the concept of cognition to punctuate its role in "both reasoning and the preconscious grounds of reason: [such as] classifications, representations, scripts, schemas, production systems, and the like."[44] Clearly the difference between old and new conceptions of cognition is simply grasped in the manner by which any particular scholar or discipline seeks to diversify various operationalizations in order to utilize its explanatory power. It is the topic of salience in relation to *individuation*[45] and *self-preservation*[46] to which we now turn.

The notion that humans behave in meaningful and sensible ways as a product of the desire to appear consistent to both themselves and others, assumes that irregularity and inconsistency can potentially generate a noxious or uncomfortable psychic state of affairs. These unpleasant feelings and apprehensions produce various pressures or motivations which not only compel people to reduce such, but also ideally to completely eliminate if at all possible. Alternately, a balanced existential state is hypothesized to be the normal or otherwise preferred condition of cognitive tendencies. Along this line of logic, heterostatic structures will incline toward equilibrium rather than in the direction of disparity. For this reason, the numerous accommodating principles relevant to cogito-compositional poise may tenably be taken as an initial and exceedingly powerful set of heuristics regarding the subjective shape of concept systems, as well as accounting efficiently for the subsequent differential directionality concerning their alteration or revision. Fritz Heider originally cast this idea as theoretical bedrock in his triadic/binary expression of *balance theory*.[47] Newcomb's *strain toward symmetry*, Osgood and Tannenbaum's focus upon identity as a type of maximization toward simplicity inherent in their

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[43] Garfinkel (1967: 66-68).
[44] DiMaggio & Powell (1991: 35).
[45] I am referring to the individual process of acquiring a socially acceptable personality.
[46] Though it could be fruitfully argued that notions of the *self-concept* are implied within Festinger's pioneering dissonance theory, it is his student Elliot Aronson (1968; 1972: 211-213, 236-238; 1992; 1997; 1999) whom specifically stated both self-preservation and the self-concept to be integral elements in his derivation of the theory. Yet over a decade earlier Allport (1955: 13) notes that Spinoza, among others, had already referred to the self-concept as a 'process' within the ancient Greek concept of *conatus* (here simply taken as representing the 'will to live', to continue, or to enhance one's self). Joshua Aronson, Elliot's son, also a social psychologist, has adopted some of his father's positions concerning the theoretical centrality of the self within dissonance studies (1999).
[47] Heider (1946; 1958).

overarching *principle of congruity*, as well as Cartwright and Harary's articulation of *structural balance*, all serve to establish an essential precedent by which the formal theory of cognitive dissonance may be fully examined and thereby effusively understood.[48] Despite the recent tides of emendations and controversies deriving from the general theory of cognitive dissonance,[49] except where otherwise noted, I will unapologetically concentrate upon the implications of Festinger's original (1957) formulation to chiefly enlighten my current exposition.

Festinger makes clear quite early in his thinking that behavioural reliability is typically a standard phenomenon, indeed overwhelmingly so. Since relative dependability is theorized as endemic to the human condition, it is precisely the exceptions to otherwise consistent conduct that mandates academic attention. Therefore erratic behaviours observed or experienced within the context of a normatively taken-for-granted structure beg for analytical and phenomenological resolve. Dissonance – synonymous with frustration, tension,[50] ambivalence,[51] and at times chaos – constitutes an important principle of subjective motivation arising from the presence of discordant relations among cognitive elements, units, or clusters. These nominal descriptors must be understood to correspond with and endorse certain selected feelings, actions, associations, and actualities indicative of an established cosmology. Plainly stated, "any knowledge, opinion, or belief about the environment, about oneself, or about one's behaviour"[52] which may ultimately jeopardize the continuity or solidity of subjective character, necessarily precedes the onset of cognitive dissonance to some degree or another. Accordingly, the inception of a threatening cognitive state may be analytically recognized as an antecedent provision that yields activity oriented toward dissonance reduction and to the re-stabilization of

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[48] Newcomb (1953); Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955); Cartwright and Harary (1956; 1970). For an excellent discussion see Scott (1963) as well as Zajonc (1960).

[49] To be certain there are no shortages of contemporary revisions concerning dissonance theory. For a thorough overview of current developments in the field of social psychology see Harmon-Jones and Mills (1999). I also particularly appreciate the differential works of macro-rational choice theorist Timur Kuran (1998) and micro-rational choice theorist Ziva Kunda (1992).

[50] Appropriate here is Kelley's (1972) theoretical utilization of *tension* along with both Mauss' (1994) and Iannacconne's (1994) development of the term in their descriptions of how strict churches maintain strength, integrity, and identity in the face of a broader social, cultural, economic, or political infrastructure.

[51] Merton (1968: 348-9).

[52] Festinger (1957: 3).

a person's identity status within the framework of an internalized socio-cultural reality.

Originally gaining purchase then escalating in mentality, emotion, and situation, dissonance can be seen as the simple product of at least four mundane yet potentially kaleidoscopic operations. Because i) choice effectuation mandates some form or another of commission and omission in an attempt to maximize an embodied sense of capital or utility, the seemingly uncomplicated task of basic decision-making can and oftentimes in fact does directly cause varying degrees of aggravation and discomfort. Subsequent to the sincere contemplation of contextual pros and cons, as well as weighing the costs and benefits associated with various alternatives and pathways, an executed preference toward action ought to yield the least amount of possible psychic and social degeneration.[53] On this account, when faced with a choice, the particular course executed upon should represent the volitional act resulting in the realization of heightened comfort, pleasure, and self-justification.

In addition to selective choice effectuation which is inextricable from routine self-governance, ii) normative compliance[54] stemming from ego's reluctant conformity to publicly lauded actions and behaviours associated with collectively defined notions of merit and reverence may very often conflict with private opinions, feelings, and intuitions. As well, the iii) exposure to novel, innovative, or threatening information,[55] despite the fact of whether such knowledge is acquired voluntarily or involuntarily, actively or passively, purposively or tacitly, may also provide fertile grounds for the development of doubt.[56] And last, iv) personal growth – appreciated here in the form of experience in its broadest sense – also constitutes an incredibly

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[53] The ecological observation here is that this socio-subjective expectation, ideal, or hope for enduring stability is not always guaranteed. Existential dynamism is due in large part to the omnipresent though perhaps infrequently realized conception of 'the constant flux'. Such an abstraction is punctuated by the perpetuity of both sentience and vivacity, exacerbated and made increasingly more apparent as life itself perseveres in the contemporary world.

[54] I am manipulating Festinger's experimentally validated concept of *forced compliance* (1957: ch 4, ch 5) into the sociologically more amenable concept of *normative compliance*. Also see *induced compliance* and *the forbidden-toy paradigm* in Harmon-Jones and Mills (1999: 9-10).

[55] Festinger (1957: 4).

[56] The idea of integrating new, unanticipated, or hostile information into one's extant *Weltanschauung* in order to affect a healthy psychologically functional self betokens the conception of living a mature life. I am initiating the term *mature* in the same manner as represented by Allport (1950: ch 3).

strong psycho-situational origin for the provenance and expansion of personal inclinations leading ultimately to conceptions of uncertainty.

Within the wide parameters demonstrating psychological normativity, thus when speaking of socio-emotionally functional individuals, experienced or felt uncertainty cannot exist in either an exhaustive or an exclusive capacity. For this reason, the evident magnitude and corresponding degree of trepidity indicating the presence of dissonance in any circumstance, as well as its ensuing influence upon further subjectively oriented cognitive states, is not only accurately described as transitive but is also affected by a variety of emotions, sentiments, confidences, and expectations associated with a semiotic or phenomenological identity.[57] Such anthropic factors are made quite useful and provide extended insight when conceptualized and discussed in terms of extant proportionality. While the ability to refer to 'a cognition' in the singular sense may be heuristically beneficial, it does stand however as a potential travesty. The totality of human action embodied within and executed from the nexus of corporeality, kinship, commerce, conformity, predictability, and hope[58] (to name but a few overarching dimensions affecting the social self) is nothing if not complex. Thus the potential connectivity and relevance abiding, anticipated, ignored, or unrecognized among and between innumerable cognitive elements cannot be overstated.[59] Therefore the extent of dissonance known by ego will be a function of the importance of the elements or clusters involved[60] as well as to the length to which they reach within an idealized world construct. Cherished self-definitive cognitions when implicated in dissonant processes will yield greater degrees and possibilities for the experience of distress, fear, and pain[61] than when contrasted against those counterparts which are only of a mundane, tertiary, or relatively inconsequential type. For these reasons i) dissonance is amplified as the breadth of discrepancy among value-based cognitions seemingly or realistically expands. Thus the subjective proximal-relational density indicative of belief assets is of significance. ii) Dissonance intensifies as the plain number or amount of incongruous cognitions proliferate. Hence numerical preponderance of divergent

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[57] Singer (1980).
[58] Davies (2011: 84, 191-200).
[59] I am referring here to the complete comprehension of the human body and its associated or afforded human consciousness.
[60] Festinger (1957: 16).
[61] Davies (2011: 68-94).

notions associated with truth are also of primacy. And ostensibly, iii) dissonance is inversely proportional to the quantity and quality – that is, *the importance* – of consonant cognitions held by ego.[62]

The ligature here implied, regarding the importance principle concerning notions of the self and feelings of dubiety or other forms of disquiet, may also be applicable in determining the variable strength or potency of idiosyncratically perceived motivations that initially drive ego to undertake a variety of actions in an attempt to lessen or rid oneself of an uncomfortable or threatening psychic state. Whenever dissonance exists there will be diametrically corresponding energies impelling efforts toward its reduction. Therefore as the severity of dissonance increases, so too does the subjectively felt need for its dismissal or diffusion.[63] Generally speaking, in order to quell unsavory effects arising from the presence of potentially antagonizing factors, nonlinear or heretical aspects of consciousness must be directionalized in such a manner that ultimately nurtures superior flow[64] or heightened consonance with other more salient features indicative of a person's identity. Such attained confluence is postulated to result eventually in an increasingly harmonious or steady state of being.

There are various methods by which stabilization can be accomplished; each however depends upon the type of cognitions affected as well as the specific situation, context, and milieu implicated in any given personal drama. I will begin by emphasizing that *people exist within a social and cultural environment*. Thus an experienced or ecologically validated reality can be stated as paramount to the development and comprehension of distinction, homogeneity, coping mechanisms, strategies, bureaucracies, power, personalities, destitution, affluence, theodicies, and all manner of understanding one's place within the world. As such, initial attempts at

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[62] In addition to Festinger (1957: 17), also see *dissonance ratio* in Harmon-Jones and Mills (1999: 4). It is important to note that the utility of such an equation lies in the particular understanding exhibited by any respective scholar regarding their ability to think about the impact of both the quantity and quality of consonant elements upon present levels of dissonance while comprehending the respective effects in both their singular and simultaneously amalgamated expressions. As far as I can tell, I am the first to suggest that a qualitative consideration be included in the overall conception of the dissonance ratio.

[63] To be absolutely clear the energies of which I speak are indeed derived from both micro and macro sources. That is, from individual or personal, AND social, collective, or structural considerations. In addition, the middling areas existing between such poles of conception are likewise endowed with various strengths, powers, and energies, which when exercised can be seen to influence the internalizations, actions, and destinations associated with ego.

[64] Csikszentmihalyi (1990).

dissonance reduction are always embedded within the seemingly ultimate constraints indicating a subjectively proximate worldview.

If two or more cognitions are discrepant, then the facile re-ordering of the most inconspicuous element in relation to other more forceful cognitive components can often lead to the resumption of emotional accord. The act of i) altering minor issues influencing an individual's matrix of existence will hopefully render unnecessary the more concentrated endeavour of ii) changing the factor of importance indicative of a given – perhaps more influential, and certainly more interconnected – cognitive cluster. Other forms of common practice regarding dissonance reduction include the psychologically successful mechanism of iii) rationalization.[65] This particular method for attaining an increased sense of comfort typically promotes an optimization of perceived inconsistencies in the mind of ego that results in the sustaining and justification of a variety of uncertain and potentially dysfunctional or egoistic perspectives. Also highly effective is the assumedly uncomplicated act of iv) adding new consonant intensifying cognitions, or likewise, disposing of those concepts which aggravate feelings of conflict and contradiction.

Further; v) manipulating the environment through a) the modification of certain situational circumstances, b) establishing collective support and creating familiarity with others who will provide agreement with otherwise deviant perspectives through the provision of an ulterior social reality, or c) the renovation of one's immediate facts of existence by way of integrating varying mechanisms constitutive of world reconstruction, all stand as quite successful techniques which frequently result in major cognitive transformations. This course of action is much more difficult to achieve than refining or adjusting extant behavioural or emotional fixtures. For one must possess the necessary and sufficient control over both internalizations and environmental resources in order to effect such a change – indeed a very rarely occurring convergence of embodied, realized, material, and endowed competences. Because the possibilities for the self-imposed metamorphosis of exterior schemata are so very limited, initial endeavours to improve tranquility and

[65] *Rationalization* can be understood as the conscious and purposive attempt to modify, change, or legitimize thoughts, beliefs, or behaviours associated with the self; or likewise to those emotions linked with the cognitive interpretation or appraisal indicative of social others. Very pertinent to the dissertation, and relevant to my larger conception of LDS exit and human identity management, is the treatment and function of proselytization found in Festinger (1957: 246-259), as well as the negative correlation abiding between proselytization and maturity as implied in Allport (1950).

peace will typically commence with other tactics.[66] Finally, it must be stated that while involved in the project of dissonance management a person may inadvertently expose or release an entire legion of black beasts which will come to haunt ego at some future point in time.

Given the emergence, recognition, and asperity of dissonance as well as affording full consideration to the various emotional, behavioural, and environmental causes, consequences, and methods available for its containment and diminution, there is no overarching guarantee that such vexation will or in fact can be reduced. If reductive attempts fail, ego will suffer from symptoms characteristic of psychological discomfort, torment, and self-perceived abnormality. Recalling the importance principle mentioned above allows for some measure of illumination to be shed upon the sources resulting in an exhibition toward a resistance to change.[67] Subjective adjustment may be inconvenient, costly, disagreeable, or thoroughly agonizing. An actor's habitual comportment or thought processes may be conceived as somewhat satisfying. Additionally, opportunities or circumstances affording personal evolution may be significantly hindered by implausibility, impracticality, irrationality, or impossibility.

To be sure, *change is threatening*. It can be experienced as uncomfortable, risky, and difficult. For these reasons the pain associated with the effort necessary to abrogate dissonance may at times overpower the strength of a person's drive to reduce discomfort. Under these circumstances anxiety can persist indefinitely. Furthermore, some people may attribute a certain degree of pleasure to an unhealthy series of habitual action. When such a case is observed, dissonance will persevere. In the face of an inability to moderate extant conflict; that is, when there is no discernable, practical, or realistic avenue to reduce the magnitude of tension felt by ego, then it is likely that an individual's personal drama will endure. However, subjective limitations upon tolerance for experiential dissonance eventually will be revealed in contrast against the resistance to change, thus resulting in some sense or another of cognitive/psychological/contextual innovation or reform.

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[66] Festinger (1957: 18-24).
[67] Festinger (1957: 26-28).

CHAPTER FOUR

SAINTMAKING

4a. FOUNDATIONS FOR THE CREATION OF AN IDEAL MORMON SELF

The ontological and epistemological considerations associated not only with ostensibly perceived autonomy, but also those considerations linked to the various degrees of extant determinative structures that effectively function to constrain individual action, provide both a philosophical and theoretical framework whereby we may better comprehend the prospect of appreciating the self.[1] When discussing or thinking about the scores of models purporting to explain the occurrence of an identity, I am not solely engaging a psychic treatment which largely postulates such to have emerged from a multiplicity of interior processes signatory of subjective conceptions connected to the personal construal of information. In addition, I see the development of both singular and myriad selves as undeniably central to the intergenerational process – indeed constituting its very medium – by which political, economic, spiritual, institutional, and other collective intentions may be demonstrated, shaped, created, and in fact reproduced.[2]

Having grappled extensively in order to gain a thorough understanding of the reciprocity inherent among the judgment and telos of society and its resultant implications upon idiosyncratic personhood, I have come to the position that both the modal structures of society and the dominant contemporary values of culture will

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[1] I follow Knowlton (2007) in seeing deterministic factors that impinge upon individual autonomy as arising from, and therefore subsequently existing between and among the concepts of: i) macro and middling structures indicative of any given society, culture, or ethos; ii) the experiential dimension of its people, that is, one's lived praxis; and iii) the morphologically wide range of possible selves which develop inevitably from the interplay of such forces. Thus the interaction that takes place amid the three factors will inevitably result in any individual's psycho-cognate *Lebenswelt*, or *life-world*. Quite central to my inclusion here of the life-world conception is the fact that such is always based upon a shared and constantly reaffirmed collective construct; see Schutz ([1931] 1967); Schutz and Luckmann (1973).

[2] Recall the statement made by Schöpflin (2002) cited in ft. 12 above on p. 112; in addition Zucker's (1977; 1991) work regarding cultural persistence is important to understand. The idea of social and cultural persistence and reproduction, when examined in conjunction with items ii) and iii) listed above in ft. 1, yields the undeniable awareness of the fact that perfect intergenerational transmission of structure is an empirical impossibility. Further substantiating the reality of dynamism and/or innovation within the intergenerational process of transmission is the recognition of stochastic, polythetic, and autopoietic forces (as described on p. 132 below in ft. 4, 5, and 6).

generally be represented in differing forms of primacy within the psychic composition of constituents who derive from particular locations or definable systems.[3] Otherwise stated, when considering the proposition leading toward the likelihood of a stochastic,[4] polythetic,[5] or autopoietic[6] aspect of individual self development, I believe we must concede that the ultimate expression of personality, along with the fullest possible actualization of a private sense of authenticity, is both dependent upon and limited by pathways contained within and made available to ego by the social process itself.[7] With regard for these concerns, the defining influence of historicity pertaining to both micro and macro forms of Latter-day Saint endeavour and identity cannot be overlooked.[8]

Historico-ethnic context

Mormonism – timeless in its message, cosmic in its proclaimed truth, mystical in its origins, millenarian in its ethos, restorationist in its gospel, elitist in its theology, deviant in its Christianity, persecuted and peculiarized in its commemorated narrative, and isolated during its ecclesiastical development and ethical evolution – is not only among the fastest growing religious movements on earth boasting a current

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[3] Obeyesekere (1990); Knowlton (2007: 163).

[4] While the mathematical formulation concerning *stochastic processes* are primarily concerned with numerical or statistical equations or algorithms representing the ever-present and inherent randomness or unpredictability indicative of closed systems, as can be found in Doob (1953) and Gross (1996), it is the semiotic philosophy of Julia Kristeva which has harnessed such and developed an interesting grasp of *stochasm* as a fixed element existing within the human process; for an introduction see McAfee (2004: ch I and II). In addition, prolific anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1979: ch VI) refers to *learning* and *evolution* as the "two great stochastic systems" which ultimately lend an increased understanding to his conceptions of mind and epistemology.

[5] Generally speaking, I am employing the term to punctuate the observation that due to issues concerning multi-dimensionality and variegation, perfect standardization simply does not exist. This assertion follows from Vygotsky and Wittgenstein, as represented by Needham (1975).

[6] Maturana & Varela ([1928] 1980); Luhmann ([1984] 1995); Seidl (2004). In engaging an *autopoietic* nature to individual *becoming*, I am simply attempting to highlight the existence – to some degree or another – of self-governance.

[7] Obeyesekere (1990).

[8] *Historicity* in philosophy constitutes the underlying conceptualization of history; or rather more specifically, obtains within the precise location of the intersection of teleology (the concept and study of progress and purpose), temporality (the concept of time), and historiography (semiotics and history of history). Various utilizations of such a hermeneutic emphasize linear progress as well as the repetition and/or modulation of past events, while recognizing their respective influences upon the present. Despite specific arguments regarding the parameters of several related though subtly different uses of the term, I accept and loosely engage with the breadth of all generalizations concerning the epistemological implications, and therefore am familiar with the possible dubious validity associated with various opinions regarding either the actuality, or the objectivity of this slippery concept.

membership of over 14.1 million Saints,[9] but is also predicted by some to become the world's fourth 'new' religion after Islam.[10] Genuinely global in its presence, Adventist in its worldly outlook, exclusive in its soteriology, Zionic in its hopes, vivacious and dramatic in its story, and unmistakably steeped in American history and tradition Mormonism has been addressed variously by several authors, critics, zealots, dissenters, and thinkers throughout its near two-hundred year tenure. Recently however, impressive academic provisions include considerable social research findings compiled by Duke (1998) and Cornwall et al. (2001). Structural assimilation, accommodation, and tension have been treated very well by Mauss (1994). Historical, cultural, and theological issues are hung together in extremely unique style in Givens (2007). The inception, evolution, and forging of Mormon cosmology are richly addressed in Brooke (1994). And finally, Davies has contributed massive substance to Mormonism's efflorescent thematic and intellectual corpus by weaving together concerns and issues stemming from both partisan and impartial perspectives concerning anthropology, theology, sociology, and psychology as contained in his now five significant texts.[11] While these works have undoubtedly provided abundant material from which I have grounded my own research, it is the historian Jan Shipps whom supplies a very useful heuristic concept integral to my interpretive rationale that is also central to the idea of describing the historico-traditional Mormon distinction.

Discussing symbolic mechanisms required not only for LDS religio-cultural identity but also for the invention of Mormon ethnicity,[12] Shipps borrows from the concepts utilized by Harvard's Werner Sollors in which he is concerned with issues of group solidarity and ethnic construction within the American context of modern pluralism.[13] The anthropological network principles associated with fictive kinship, specifically those resulting from the practice of metaphorical adoption, evolves in

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[9] The LDS Church's *2010 Statistical Report* reflects the claim of possessing 14.1 million adherents, however their online newsroom currently states global membership to be at 15 million (www.mormonnewsroom.org/facts-and-stats; retrieved March 15, 2014). For an outstanding review of current LDS memberships rates in the US, along with implications for membership abroad see Phillips and Cragun (2011: 1).

[10] Stark (1984). The prediction of LDS growth has been validated for the past eighteen years, thereby generating continued academic research and much debate.

[11] Davies (1987; 1996; 2000; 2003; 2010).

[12] Shipps (2001).

[13] Sollors (1986: ch 2, 5, 7; 1989: Intro.).

Shipps' thesis and ultimately provides composition to her *consent model*.[14] The rhetorical construction of blood descent, in conjunction with strict obedience to priesthood authority, serves to canonically legitimate the idea that Mormons are the intended beneficiaries of the divine promises and blessings given to humanity by God proceeding from the Abrahamic covenant.[15] Such allegorical constructs along with their perceived protracted promises supply the bedrock for the further development of consanguinity and affinal notions of kinship to develop and to undergird her equally significant *descent model*.[16] The scheme of intergenerational inheritance is initiated in order to shed light upon the course by which fully-fledged membership within the LDS community supervenes from birth or ascription, rather than from fictive choice grounded in Smith's biblical hermeneutics.[17]

Shipps' historical categorization of the descent process, beginning around 1880 though certainly taking root by 1896, largely resulted from the sprawling Mormon theocratic territory – then known as *Deseret* – receiving federally sanctioned statehood emerging from their capitulation to the demands of the wider US political, moral, and cultural majority. Canonizing this surrender, the fourth LDS prophet Wilford Woodruff formally rescinded the earlier divinely revealed and practiced doctrine of plural marriage, which had been instituted by Joseph Smith nearly sixty years earlier in 1831. Polygamy – or more accurately, polygyny – was legally banned through what has come to be known within Mormon parlance as the Woodruff Manifesto of 1890.[18] Conceding to secular stipulations, earlier generations of gathering, wayfaring, and generally trammeled Saints could now worship and proliferate within a relatively, ideologically, and geographically safe distance from distrusting or otherwise harmful others – thus affording the seminal Mormon settlers an approximated sense of constitutional peace and stability. This autonomy was

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[14] Shipps (2001: 64-72).

[15] The canonization of Mormons as 'the chosen people' is of course strictly limited to beliefs associated with LDS faith and doctrine. For clarification regarding the 'spirit' of adoption see Romans 8:14-24, 9:4; Galatians 3:26-29, 4:1-7; Ephesians 1:15; Smith ([1835] 1981), *Doctrine & Covenants* ch.84: v.33-40. For an additional Biblical clarification concerning the LDS perspective of divine promises following from the Abrahamic covenant see Genesis 17:5-6. And for further legitimation of the Mormon claim within LDS scriptures see Smith ([1851] 1981); *Pearl of Great Price; The Book of Abraham* ch.2: v.9-11, v.3: 14.

[16] Shipps (2001: 64-65, 72-81).

[17] Recall DellaCava's assertion on p. 36 of ch 1 that ascriptive bonds, statuses, and processes are of primacy when contrasted against their achievement or choice based counterparts with regards to the central meaning which people attach to their self-identity.

[18] Van Wagoner (1992: ch 1-15).

embodied and made formal by virtue of their newly designated status as the 45th United State, now known as Utah.[19] Latter-day saintmaking in the descent sense – as has been recognized to occur for nearly the past century and a quarter, at least since the inception of statehood – "continues to operate [even today] unimpeded along the Wasatch front and throughout the Mormon Culture Region."[20] It is within such a vicinity that members of this populace experience, practice, exchange, objectivate, and in so doing reify their beliefs and behaviours connected to LDS social and ecclesiastical modes of being.[21] In the end, a cultural system is manifested which may be appropriately described as an incredibly unique type of hermetic lifestyle.[22]

Consisting of the entirety of the state of Utah, nearly the totality of Idaho, including significant sectors of northern Arizona, eastern Nevada, eastern Oregon, and western Wyoming – the Mormon corridor or the Mormon cultural region contains the beating heart, indeed the *axis mundi*, of the original western Rocky Mountain LDS *Weltanschauung*.[23] I am not referring to the prolific Salt Lake Valley, upon the sight of which from atop Emigration canyon on July 23, 1847 Brigham Young, the 'Lion of the Lord' proclaimed: *This is the place!* Rather, about sixty miles south it is 'happy valley', 'the bubble', Utah County, or more specifically Utah Valley that provides geographical stewardship over a particular way of life which is nothing short of anomalous given its integration within the modern economy of the industrialized world.[24] Both native and transplanted residents claim, as well as visitors from every corner of the globe drawn to Utah for various reasons will agree, *there is simply no other place quite like it*.

It is clearly observed that those sheltered beneath the LDS sacred canopy[25] exhibit noticeably different behaviours when compared to their increasingly secular

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[19] Of absolute academic interest is the acknowledgement that extant forms of amity which would come to exist between the pioneering saints and the government of the United States, would result only from the Mormon's symbolic acquiescence to the demands of the modern American value system. This capitulation – as a rational concept – has been treated as a mechanism of assimilation by Mauss (1994: 21-22). Also see Givens (2007: 57).
[20] Shipps (2001: 80).
[21] The process of which I speak is also quite amenable to a thorough discussion under the umbrella or guiding ideas of Powell and DiMaggio's (1991) conception of both cognition and the new institutionalism.
[22] Berger & Luckmann (1966: 87).
[23] The Mormon culture region exceeds 250,000 square miles in land area; this is nearly three times the size of Great Britain.
[24] Durkheim ([1912] 2008: 7).
[25] Berger (1967b); Breault (1989).

contemporary counterparts.[26] Even when casually strolling about the campus of nationally recognized Brigham Young University located in Provo, an outsider is easily taken aback when the actual vista presenting itself is fully acknowledged. That is, when one realizes that the citizenry of Mormon Utah overwhelmingly – some of my respondents have forwarded opinions closer to *hauntingly*, *frighteningly*, or *regime-like* – tend to comport themselves in a fashion which can only be depicted as *the same*. Each person's lifestyle, including responses to various forms of external stimuli, seems to cohere from a common pattern or standardized protocol. The populace possesses and articulates *the same* colloquialisms and rhetoric in word usage and speech. They typically espouse *the same* political views.[27] Value is often placed upon *the same* habits and tendencies toward everyday life functioning. Loyalties and insecurities, indeed even individual aspirations and optimisms are extremely similar, if not relatively *identical*.[28] 'Zion the chosen land' – as the LDS people regularly refer to this insular region – is dominated by cultural and ecclesiastical Mormonism.[29] Here religious belief and adherence – with regard to nearly every aspect of existence – are communally shared with extremely low tolerance for diversity or individual interpretation.[30]

At this point in the discussion it is important to note that I am referring to a specific LDS constituency within a constituency, indeed to an unambiguous type of

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[26] I am referring here to both Latter-day Saints and non-Mormons who reside outside of the Mormon sacred canopy.

[27] Phillips & Cragun (2011); Sells & Harold (2005).

[28] Durkheim ([1912] 2008: 7) describes *sameness* within lower societies as the endless repetition of rites and gestures that lead to the near diminution of individual types. Such embodied homogeneity yields most everything considered to be social, moral, or cultural, as uniform and simple.

[29] The sociological issue of *consolidation* and the economic notion of *saturation* are quite apparent in the Wasatch region of the Rocky Mountain west. Their presence affects the development and maintenance of norms, values, mores, taboos, and other forms of social control, cultural development, and political positioning, as well as commercial opportunity and expansion. Of incredible note is the stark observation that the population in Utah has been hegemonized by the Latter-day Saint faith since their settlement of the area in the mid-nineteenth century. In recent decades the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has continued its social influence in the region, as it remains Utah's majority demographic. Interestingly, Kevin Breault (1989) finds Utah as the most religiously homogeneous, or to put it another way, the least religiously diverse state in the US, a reality still observed in 2011. For additional information on this hotly debated topic see Phillips & Cragun (2011), as well as data compiled from the American Religious Identity Survey, the Pew Research Center, the Glenmary Research Center, the US census bureau, LDS.org, and the Mormon Social Science Association.

[30] Phillips (2001); Sorenson (1997: 152); Barber (1995); Sillitoe (1996: 79).

seminal, enduring, and homegrown Mormon species.[31] Many saints living under the shade provided by the LDS canopy are not first generation converts. To be sure, a vast majority can trace their genealogical roots not only to LDS parents or grandparents, but also to Utah's early polygamist settlers. Moreover it is a relatively simple task to find many contemporary Mormons living in Zion who are descendants of the courageous LDS pioneers who had taken part in their sensational exodus.[32] Beginning in western New York, moving through Ohio, Missouri, and then Illinois, persecuted and oppressed Latter-day Saints ultimately found solace within the great basin, at that time still the property of the First Federal Republic of Mexico. Such genetic intensity, confidence, devotion, and verve undeniably functions as a point of ethnic pride and supports the divine auspices leading ultimately to religious legitimation and veracity for contemporary members. These sentiments, often felt within the hearts and minds of those current saints who are able to claim such a birthright, serve as both a personally cherished and cooperatively reaffirmed truth, embedded and embodied within both socio-historical experience and individualized identity. Thus LDS historicity finds its present expression evident in moral ideologies and municipalities located throughout the Mormon corridor, being both densely populated by, and largely intended for, the proliferation of members of the LDS Church. It must be made clear that for members – both individually and collectively – tenets indicative of the Mormon faith within the geographical and spiritual locale of Zion can be nomothetically stated as constituting nothing less than an axiomatic taken-for-granted reality.[33]

From infancy to adulthood, how does a person become an authentic Latter-day Saint? It is of importance to note that the saintmaking process hinted at by Shipps (2001) is only completely familiar to those who have experienced the indoctrination program. Moreover, such territory has been scantly trodden by secular social scientists attempting to map its strikingly foreign terrain. The highly strict and

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[31] Shipps (1998: 91-92).

[32] Thirty-two of the forty respondents represented in this research are direct descendants (on both their father's and mother's side of the family tree) from the early Mormon pioneers who had trekked westward from New York, Ohio, and Missouri. Of the remaining eight individuals, seven claimed a pioneering heritage originating from either their mother or father's line. However of note is case number 40, he is the only participant whose parent's were both converted to Mormonism from another religious persuasion. Interestingly they had been baptized in Uganda and travelled to Utah in order to attend Brigham Young University and raise their children within the protection and privilege of Zion.

[33] Berger & Luckmann (1966).

efficacious project of galvanizing Latter-day Saints through the plan of saintmaking requires several steps that must be both engaged and completed sequentially and wholeheartedly. Each approximation within the scheme correlates to a religio-socio-cultural role, which – notwithstanding the agent's embededdness within the staunchly self-conscious collectively focused structure indicative of the Mormon ethos[34] – must be valiantly fulfilled by the individual. Beginning in childhood Mormons internalize certain expectations and obligations that compound with both age and maturity, eventually making possible the realization of every saint's ultimate purpose, celestial attainment and apotheosis. The Mormon objective of celestiality and godhood does not waiver or deviate, nor is the 'ultimate' open for question or reflection; through careful organizational control and selective social sanctioning, it always remains *the same*.

Proclamation of identity

In 1842, responding to a request regarding clarification into the content of the new church from John Wentworth (then editor of the *Chicago Democrat*), the first prophet and founder of the Mormon movement Joseph Smith provided a predominantly ecumenical explanation as an abridgment concerning the LDS position. Toward the end of 'The Wentworth Letter',[35] Smith offered a brief summation of basic beliefs that have since undergone significant refinement and can now be examined, subsequent to its 1880 inclusion into the Pearl of Great Price,[36] as the contemporarily revered thirteen Articles of Faith.[37] Standing as an enumerated creed of sorts, the thirteen statements carefully frame exactly how the LDS conviction may be understood to fit within a larger Christian nexus. It is no surprise that such an accessible arrangement of 'certainties' has come to occupy an integral place within the hermeneutics of the LDS canon as well as within the dynamics of both collective and individual Mormon thought. Despite the typical scholarly practice of treating only those articles that relate directly to a particular intellectual or theological aim, I submit such in its full form and grammar for complete consideration:

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[34] Knowlton (2007: 164); Davies (2000); Mauss (1994); Shipps (1987).
[35] Smith ([1842] 1981).
[36] Smith ([1851] 1981); Davies (2003: 65); Bushman (2008: 117); Givens (2007: 87); Ludlow (1992), *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (*EM*: Joseph Smith; *Wentworth Letter*, 1750-1755).
[37] Smith ([1851] 1981: 60); *EM*: 67-69.

1. We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in his son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.
2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.
3. We believe that through the Atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.
4. We believe that these ordinances [the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel] are: first, Faith in the lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.
5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by prophecy, and by the laying on of hands by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.
6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the Primitive Church, namely, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, and so forth.
7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, and so forth.
8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.
9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.
10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion [the New Jerusalem] will be built upon this [the American] Continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and, that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.
11. We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.
12. We believe in being subject to Kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.
13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul – We believe all things, we hope all things, we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things.

Notwithstanding the highly composite and telling nature related to the above inclusion, I will proceed with clarifying not only its practical content, but also certain attendant elements of its implied socio-ecclesiology. I do so in order to paint an accurate picture of both a theoretically and an organizationally ideal Mormon life, thus laying out the dominant sets of constraints, beliefs, and expectations which

influence – and are fundamental in understanding – the scaffolding of an LDS psychology.

Foremost, and contrary to some outside opinion, Mormons 'know' they are Christians.[38] They believe that Jesus Christ is one of three distinct members of the Godhead, all "united in purpose and will but not in substance."[39] The other two being Heavenly Father, from whom the entirety of humanity is literally both patterned and descended; and the Holy Ghost, also referred to as 'the still small voice', whose role is to 'confirm truth in the hearts and minds of God's children'.[40] Manifestation and knowledge of truth is authenticated to ego as pious individuals experience the most eminent of physico-emotional sensations common to saints. I am speaking here of the *coenaesthetic* phenomenon of the 'burning in the breast'.[41]

Latter-day Saints claim that Jesus Christ himself directs the temporal affairs of the church through his proxy or amanuensis the Mormon prophet, or more secularly accepted, the president of the LDS Church. Furthermore the administrative, spiritual, and ecclesiastical hierarchy helmed by both Jesus Christ and his prophet are authoritarian in nature, and are both centrally and bureaucratically supported by an entirely patriarchic leadership network. This tripartite directorate consists initially of 'the First Presidency', which is comprised of the prophet and his trusted first and second counselors. Second in command are 'the Twelve Apostles'. Third and last, are other strictly defined members of 'the General Authorities'. All such mortal members of the LDS headship are called to serve from the dictates of both God and Jesus Christ to serve as chieftains, heralds, and directors of 'the one and only true church on earth'.[42] Through divinely inspired revelation received by their prophet and seer,[43] then delegated as such to the various members of presiding quorums and councils which symbolically represent and reflect differential levels of spiritual capacity and

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[38] Ostling & Ostling (2000: ch 19).
[39] Smith ([1835] 1981) ch.130: v.22; Bushman (2008: 6).
[40] Davies (2003: 71-73).
[41] Davies (2003: 62, 180); Allport (1955: 41). Colman (2006: 143) defines *coenaesthesis* as "the awareness of one's own body, or one's own existence arising from the sum of all sensations; as opposed to, and clearly distinct from, the experience of individual sensations themselves. It is the feeling or sense of being alive, of feeling vital." As such, I think of *coenaesthesis*, or *coenaesthesia*, as contributing to the antecedent process leading to a fullness of embodiment, and therefore is also to be thought of as chief among elements resulting in any person's acquired *sensorium*; see Colman (2006: 685).
[42] Smith ([1835] 1981) ch.102: v.23, 39, 58; ch.107: v.23, 39, 58; ch.124: v.91-94, 123-8; McConkie (1966); Smith ([1902] 1946).
[43] Smith ([1835] 1981) ch.21: v.1; ch.107: v.91-2; ch.124: v.125.

power, it is felt within the Mormon heart and known within the Mormon mind that their leadership fulfills a sacred responsibility. That is, to guide the Latter-day Saint membership throughout the course of their lives here on earth in righteousness, truth, honour, and purity.

Discrediting to some degree or another every belief structure in existence; LDS history, doctrine, and dogma leads its impassioned constituents to the conclusion that theirs is the only reclaimed or true church of Christ on the earth today.[44] Following nearly eighteen centuries of misguided and prejudiced Christianity, the period known as 'the Great Apostasy'[45] or 'the Great Falling Away'[46] in fact had reached its conclusion during the spring of 1820.[47] It was within a sacred wooded grove near Palmyra, New York where a fourteen year old Joseph Smith jr. – amidst the zeal and fervour of events and ideas associated with both the second great awakening[48] and the burnt over district[49] – knelt alone. In solitude and prayerful humility he asked the Lord aloud: *Which of the religions are right, so that I may know which to join?* Suddenly bound by the power of darkness, unable to speak or move, the youthful though determined Smith continued to pray in silence for deliverance from his shadowed captor. Smith's theophany – later canonized in the Pearl of Great Price as 'the first vision'[50] – recalls how 'God the Eternal Father and his Son Jesus Christ' descended from the heavens upon a pillar of light, even of fire, loosed the hold which Lucifer had placed upon him at the grove and henceforth banished such evil from their presence. Receiving an inviolable answer to his prayer, Joseph was told by Jesus Christ that all religions were wrong; therefore he was not to offer his allegiance to any of them.[51]

Three years later after retiring to bed on the evening of September 21, 1823 the angel Moroni, as commanded by Christ, visited Joseph three distinct times.[52] Smith was told i) that he was a most important person who would ii) obtain and translate an historical account engraved upon ancient stannic pages and that Christ's

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[44] *Restoration of Jesus Christ's Church*.
[45] Talmage (1909, 1915); Le Grande (1976); Newcomb (2003); *Preach My Gospel* (2004: 35); Eyring (2008).
[46] 2 Thessalonians 2: 1-3.
[47] Lyon (1960).
[48] Hatch (1991).
[49] Cross (1981).
[50] Bushman (2005: ch 2).
[51] *The First Vision* (Film).
[52] Smith ([1835] 1984: 24).

original priesthood would soon be revealed and reinstated through him.[53] The next day after fainting due to exhaustion caused by a dramatically sleepless night Moroni appeared yet again to Joseph and repeated the neglected point of his third appearance. He was to iii) inform his father of such visions,[54] and thereby proceed to an acclivity not far from their home – then an inconspicuous drumlin not reaching an elevation of even 700 feet, or 208 meters[55] – in order to unearth the previously spoken of metallic record.[56] The mound, which came to be symbolically recognized as 'Cumorah' by both Smith and his trusted friend Oliver Cowdery in June of 1829,[57] is now adorned with both an LDS visitor's center and a stunning monument commemorating Moroni's role in the Mormon restoration. Purchased from private farm holders in February of 1928 under the direction of the 7th LDS prophet Heber J. Grant,[58] 'Mormon Hill' – as Wayne County locals call it – provides the actual stage whereby the ritual reenactment of Joseph's past experiences presently reaffirm LDS belief aspects which are considered integral to an LDS identity.[59] Endearingly, contemporary Saints often refer to the 'Hill Cumorah' as 'inspiration point'.[60]

Despite having successfully discovered, viewed, and in fact purportedly even having touched the golden plates themselves exactly four years would transpire before Joseph was deemed worthy to commence his consecrated duty of rendering the precious pages into English. The sacred translation – originally scripted in reformed Egyptian – was ultimately to become *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ*, first published in March of 1830.[61] Currently available around the world and printed in scores of languages, the Book of Mormon recounts an interesting theoretical history professed to have occurred throughout the pre-Columbian civilizations of both the North and South American continents. More importantly however the text offers a detailed elucidation of Christ's personal ministry there.[62]

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[53] Davies (2007: 3).
[54] Smith ([1902] 1946: ch 1); Smith (1853: 82).
[55] Peakbagger.com [http://www.peakbagger.com/peak.aspx?pid=12806].
[56] Smith ([1902] 1946: 6-7).
[57] Raish (2004).
[58] Ibid.
[59] Argetsinger (2004); *Hill Cumorah Pageant*.
[60] Kesler (1898).
[61] Smith ([1830] 1981). Though originally titled: *The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi*, Boyd K. Packer, president of the quorum of the twelve apostles, announced the modification of such in 1982 to reflect its current title.
[62] Reynolds (1888); Ogden & Skinner (2011); McConkie & Millet (2010).

Regardless of the blasphemy and shock which outsiders attribute to Smith's 'Golden Bible',[63] saints nonetheless hold the book in deep and solemn reverence; moreover it is considered their primary form of scripture. Adherents are encouraged to read from its pages daily, to passionately follow its teachings, to prayerfully ponder its implications, and to sincerely take heed of its admonitions.[64]

Twenty-one years after the alleged first vision; fourteen years from the acknowledged formation of 'The Church of Christ' in 1830;[65] and six years subsequent to Smith's 1838 revelation concerning the forthcoming organizational title change to the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints';[66] the murder of both Smith and his loyal brother Hyrum transpired at the hands of a furious anti-Mormon throng. The assassination during his incarceration at Carthage Jail in Hancock County Illinois on June 27, 1844 – interpreted at the time by his devotees and remaining so to this day as 'the martyrdom of their prophet'[67] – sparked an impassioned intra-faith debate amongst those faithful followers who believed that they possessed a legitimate claim to their receiving the apostolic authority regarding the restored truth contained within the developing theological framework of Joseph's movement.[68] Despite the many declarations made known during the 'succession crisis', it was Brigham Young who was chosen by his fellow members to succeed their first leader. The majority decision was made formal during the October general conference of that same year. In the absence of a prophetically ordained successor,[69] 'Brother Brigham' was called and publicly sustained as 'leader of the Saints' by virtue of his presiding over the 'First Quorum of the Twelve Apostles'.[70] However three clamorous, remarkable, and nomadic years would pass before the American Moses[71] would be set apart in Kanesville, Iowa – one of the last midwestern LDS townships – during the winter of 1847 as the second prophet and guardian of the LDS Church.[72] Young's would be the longest, most distinguished, spectacular, and certainly the most organizationally relevant term of any LDS prophet to date. During his thirty-three year administration

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[63] *The Golden Bible* (1830).
[64] Smith (1835); Hinckley (2005).
[65] Davies (2003: 226); Marquardt (2005: 224-225).
[66] Smith ([1835] 1981: ch.115: v.4); Roberts ([1957] 1965: vol.1: 383, 393)
[67] Ibid vol.2: 274-287, 314-16.
[68] Ibid vol. 2: 413-442; Smith, J. F. (1909).
[69] Smith (1909: 136-39); Arrington (1986: 114-5).
[70] Nibley (1974: 45).
[71] Arrington (1986).
[72] Bennett (1987: ch 11).

Brigham would come to be named among the most significant settlers and colonizers of the rugged western United States.[73] Desperately seeking religious repose from their otherwise intolerant socio-ecclesiastical origins,[74] Young's nearly four hundred LDS communities and protectorates ranging from northern Mexico to Montana would ultimately provide solace for tens of thousands of displaced saints travelling from the central and eastern US, Scandinavia, Great Britain, and continental Europe.

Unofficially refining many of Joseph's previously revealed temple rites and ordinances essential to LDS salvation throughout the earliest years of his leadership, Young quickly made his desires formal by continuing to develop and amplify his revelation, his inspiration, and his *modus operandi*. Through forceful and numerous speeches delivered to his disciples, taking the form of publicly integrated sermons or discourses,[75] Brigham's uncompromising position concerning both 'this world' and 'the world hereafter' were made known. Topics treating faith in Christ;[76] Joseph's restoration;[77] eternal progression;[78] the doctrine of cooperation;[79] the divine order of plural marriage;[80] both the highly controversial issues of the 'Adam-God principle'[81] and 'Blood Atonement';[82] as well as Young's announcement banning the almighty priesthood with its attendant temple blessings from all men of black African descent,[83] came to occupy a central position in the thoughts and actions of Brigham's followers. Additionally, conflict with non-LDS outsiders, notoriously expressed in occurrences such as the Mountain Meadows Massacre[84] and the Mormon Rebellion of 1857,[85] have indelibly shaped the manner by which both historical and contemporary Mormonism is viewed and interpreted by the present-day public.

Currently president Thomas S. Monson, 16th prophet and 15th successor to Joseph Smith, directs the entirety of LDS affairs in accordance with revealed truth as well as paying heed to the teachings found within the Mormon scriptures. Alongside

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[73] Stone (1956).
[74] Arrington (1986: 130-91).
[75] Young et al. ([1855] 1966).
[76] Ibid vol.3: 155; vol.6: 98; vol.14: 118.
[77] Ibid vol.3: 51; vol.6: 279; vol.13: 216.
[78] Ibid vol.6: 275, 286.
[79] Ibid vol.4: 29; vol.17: 117.
[80] Ibid (throughout).
[81] Ibid vol.1: 50.
[82] Ibid vol.3: 246-47.
[83] Ibid vol.10: 110.
[84] Harrod (2011: ch 18); Cannon & Knapp (1913: 273-83); Bancroft (1889: 543-571).
[85] Cannon & Knapp (1913: 284-308); Bancroft (1889: 512-542).

the Book of Mormon and the previously mentioned Pearl of Great Price, saints primarily rely upon one other manuscript, which with some consideration given to The King James Version of the Bible[86] constitute the church's standard works. The Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) provides abundant passages consisting of modern revelation given to Joseph Smith – with some omissions and additions following from divine revelations or inspirations received by his successors – regarding the laws and enterprise of God's kingdom on earth during this final dispensation of time. These "messages, warnings, and exhortations are for the benefit of all mankind, and contain an invitation to all people everywhere to hear the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ, speaking to them for their temporal well-being and their everlasting salvation."[87] Discussing several of the 'keys' and 'ordinances' necessary to living in accordance with the 'fullness of the gospel', the D&C – whether known or not by the saints themselves – stands as an incomparably dominant element in the formation of the spirituality following from an LDS inculcated mindset. Generally its 138 chapters provide a thorough account of both what it means and how to be a Mormon during these Latter-days. While I admit there is a blush of rhetorical redundancy couched within such a statement, I employ it in order to recognize the depth of meaning which lies beneath an LDS identity without proceeding too hastily toward any of the D&C's inherent specificities which will later come to find relevance within my overarching thesis.

Mormon conceptions of heaven and hell, while theologically much more complex than most, are nonetheless relatively simple to convey. LDS doctrine acknowledges three different degrees of glory to which humans may ascend. The apex of which is proximally and symbolically represented by entitlements associated with the celestial kingdom. Home to both Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ, married couples as well as other worthy family members may eventually 'dwell within and amongst its light and glory together forever as Gods themselves'. Merit required for access to celestial godhood is solely granted through an individual's fulfillment of the

[86] Generally the King James Version of the *Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments* is ecumenically proffered by Latter-day Saints to be an acceptable adaptation of original Biblical meaning. However, despite such a claim, Mormons in fact use their own printed version of the text which is published according to their own discretion at the LDS publishing house in Salt Lake City, Utah.
[87] Smith ([1835] 1981: *Explanatory Introduction*).

Latter-day rites of baptism, confirmation, temple endowment, and temple marriage.[88] Such dromena are accorded only through one's constant reverence and dedication to an LDS way of life. Lesser in glory, thereby considered inferior by members, the terrestrial and telestial salvatic destinations are thus understandably not the focus of LDS effort. As with most other forms of theology Mormons also recognize a version of damnation. Theirs, an eternal state of purgatory or outer darkness, is where the sons of perdition, the sons of Lucifer, or the followers of ultimate evil "shall go away into the lake of fire and brimstone, [to dwell everlasting] with the devil and his angels."[89]

Informally included within the LDS canon are several regularly dispersed periodicals containing enthusiastic and inspiring messages, articles, news, announcements, and solutions to commonly encountered dilemmas. The *Friend* is a magazine specifically tailored to appeal to young children; the *New Era* for adolescents; the *Ensign* for adults; and for the multitudes of international or non-English speaking members, the *Liahona*. As with the scriptures, saints of all ages are urged to read from them often and to utilize their content as the basis for both casual and pious conversations with friends and loved ones.[90] In fact it is quite common to find copies of these monthly publications proudly displayed upon the living room tables of LDS households across the country. The 'triple-combination',[91] together with any number of other books authored by Mormons, about LDS history, or discussing Mormon politics or finance are often found neatly arranged among the magazines as well; thus providing simple access to the teachings of the prophet while also symbolizing a family's commitment to tenets of their faith.

Biannually a general conference is held in Salt Lake City. During this occasion literally thousands of members from around the world assemble at Temple

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[88] Davies (2000, 2002, 2003, 2010) discusses the general theological and anthropological concept of *merit* within a traditional Christian view; he then thoroughly and splendidly develops the idea to be fully understood within an LDS framework.

[89] Smith ([1835] 1981: ch.76).

[90] Recall the implicit gravity and consequences of various conversations which DellaCava (1975), SanGiovani (1978), Ebaugh (1988a), and Jacobs (1984) afford to the actions of their respondents regarding religious exit as reported in chapter 1. Indeed conversations with others provide a fundamental basis to the construction and legitimation of social and individual reality. This important epistemological consideration is central to the creation and maintenance of knowledge, meaning, identity, and various truth-conditions; see Wittgenstein (1953), Berger and Luckmann (1966), Ammerman (1987), Peacocke (1992), Esterberg (1997), Burr (2003), Ferguson (2009), and Burke & Stets (2009).

[91] The 'triple combination' is a term given to a single book of scripture that contains the Book of Mormon, the Pearl of Great Price, and the Doctrine and Covenants.

Square during the first weekends in both April and October in order to refresh, fortify, and reify their love and commitment to the LDS Church. For those unable to attend, the entirety of the two-day convocation has been broadcasted globally via closed-circuit television for many decades. Thereby allowing all who wish, to partake.[92] Here, various members of the higher ecclesiae-bureaucratic leadership convene to extend sermons to their devoted laity. These presented talks or preachments, though occurring within both a collective and individual state of supreme reverence and obedience to principles of quietude,[93] are interspersed with rousing and quite powerful episodes of congregational singing, choral ensembles, instrumental music, introductory and benedictory prayers, as well as the rite of the sacrament.

Subject matter delivered at general conference is always to be found later within the pages of the previously mentioned publications.[94] Appropriated to the differential levels of readership – despite age, ethnicity, or geographic location – it is the hope of the bureaucracy that the pious substance of each and every conference can be made available to each and every Latter-day Saint throughout the world. Over the past several years while promoting ideas associated with tithing, faith, forgiveness, missionary work, repentance, spiritual and temporal preparedness, acquiring a testimony, the heavenly nature of family, and the Book of Mormon; church authorities have also counseled their community to eschew pornography, gambling, debt acquisition, sexual promiscuity, and a myriad of other secular temptations. Additionally informing lived dogma are the plentiful and consistently scheduled programs, retreats, local conferences, and the like which are designed to strengthen and edify modern saints in their struggle to remain attentively and loyally upon the path of righteousness. Indeed engagement with such activities continually reminds the saints of the importance in holding tightly to 'the iron rod'.[95]

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[92] During the April and October general conferences many church houses throughout the nation and abroad are alive with excitement and activity in association with the weekend broadcasts. Such is the case as 'conference' is collectively viewed and celebrated by the LDS constituency who have instead chosen to share the occasion with friends, neighbors, and family rather than travel to Temple Square in Salt Lake City.

[93] Davies (2000: 109) defines the LDS *habitus* as consisting "in a sense of a divine presence; in the veracity of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; in the authenticity of its prophetic leadership, past and present; in a purposeful commitment to and receipt of support from its community life as a framework for family life and ancestry; and in the divine future identity after death, all expressed in an emotion-laden yet calmly controlled fashion."

[94] The *Friend*, the *New Era*, the *Ensign*, and the *Liahona*.

[95] *The iron rod* is symbolic of 'the word of God'. If saints will but adhere to God's teachings, it is promised in song (LDS Hymnal, 1985: song 274) that the iron rod will safely guide

Signs of belief or rules of engagement

The outward expressions indicating an LDS identity invariably stem from an emergent harmony achieved among the seldom divergent, and very often nearly exacting social and personal preferences signifying one's moral apprehensions. As such, not simply an elemental, but indeed a sufficiently comprehensive exposition of externally available factors indicating an LDS identity will serve to further frame the structure of the contemporary homegrown or birthright Latter-day Saint.

Mormons are taught to regard their bodies as 'temples of God'[96] which must not be defiled by the consumption of coffee, tea, or alcohol; the legitimacy of such a teaching is illustrated by the acknowledgement that only 7%, or three members of the sample represented herein had ever experimented with alcohol during their adolescent or college years before their disaffiliation,[97] and none of the entire forty had ever tasted coffee or hot tea while actively engaged with Mormonism. The use of either tobacco or illicit drugs in any form is also strictly prohibited; in fact only one individual among forty exhibited signs of smoking at the time of the interview and admitted that his "smoking cigarettes constitutes a habit that I would very much like to be rid of."[98] Two additional subjects, one male and one female, stated that they had begun smoking in secrecy or with non-member friends during their teenage years;[99] both had abandoned the practice by early or mid adulthood through their engagement with the organizationally recognized repentance process. The three participants mentioned who experimented with alcohol are also the same three who had ventured into using tobacco. This pro-health behaviour is mandated by and canonized as the 'word of wisdom'.[100] Adequate rest, frequent exercise, a focus upon healthy habits declaring self-respect, honest engagement with labour, alongside a wholesome diet[101] – customs largely following from historical and contemporary interpretations and exhortations of LDS leaders concerning such a law – have contributed to Utah's

humankind through the turmoil and tumult associated with this life. The iron rod metaphor also represents a particular type of Mormon, which has been described and further contrasted against its counterpart the *liahona* Mormon, by Givens (2007: 16-17).

[96] 1 Corinthians 3:16-17, 6:19-20.

[97] Respondents #21, #24, #28.

[98] Respondent #28.

[99] Respondents #21 and #24.

[100] Smith ([1835] 1981: ch 89).

[101] *Gospel Principles* (2013: ch 29).

notable consistency in ranking among the most healthy states in the US for over twenty years.[102]

Rigid conceptions surrounding the affirmation and preservation of modesty, as well as the avoidance of all things deemed promiscuous are held in high social regard. Indiscriminate, lewd, or wanton behaviour or dress is considered sinful and must be avoided at all costs. When encountered, expressions of these types should be shunned or negatively reprimanded. Collective and individual dedication to ideals associated with clothing, chastity, and social judgment is easily observed within Zion as the everyday Mormon body exposes very little to the public eye or to the open air. Typically saints are seen covered from ankle to wrist during cool months of the year; throughout the very hot summer months (June, July, and August) members are noticeably more conservative in their dress than non-Mormons despite the agonizing heat of the great basin climate. This follows predominately from the life-long practice of wearing the LDS holy garment, a type of underclothing that is worn continually against the skin. Consisting of both bottoms and tops (also available as a singlet) extending from the upper arms near the shoulder, shielding the entirety of the torso (both front and back) and covering the leg just above the knee, the sacred garment is gifted to each person who has received their temple endowment and is believed to offer both physical and spiritual protection from the influences of evil as well as serving as a constant reminder of one's identity as a Latter-day Saint.[103]

Tattoos, body piercings, and unbecoming hairstyles also detract from ideals of corporeal sanctity and are believed to fly in the face of dignity, intelligence, and overall notions linked to an LDS commitment toward cleanliness. Indeed one male respondent who grew up in Provo during the 1970s volunteered information regarding the tattoo of a small Celtic symbol that was concealed underneath his shirt by saying:

> *I got this when I was probably twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old. It was definitely an act of rebellion, I was angry with the Church… and my marriage was in turmoil, I didn't know what else to do in order to gain some sense of control over my emotions; but at the same time I think it expresses my heritage. Before coming to Utah my family lived in Europe… I know it's pretty stupid, I drove all the way to Las Vegas to get it in order to make sure that no one would see me... I didn't really know what a tattoo was at the time, to be honest, I really never saw anyone with a real tattoo except on TV*. (#16)

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[102] United Health Foundation (2011).
[103] Davies (2003: 217).

Additionally, the viewing of adult themed cinema or the reading of questionable literature is treated as material that is best left untouched.[104]

Profanity and indecency have no place in LDS parlance. Thus standards of communication ideally embody concepts such as integrity, justice, veracity, cheer, selflessness, and family.[105] Indeed members bolster notions associated with in-group identity, cohesion, and cultural kinship by referring to one another as 'Brother' or 'Sister' – appended with a known surname – rather than by their given name. The formal nomenclature associated with the use of Mr. or Mrs. do not exist within LDS convention, even the venerable use of sir or ma'am is seldom heard within the cultural parameters of Mormon Zion.

Above all, sexual purity is not only expected, it is a concept that occupies a given or taken-for-granted status within the perceptual construct of most saints. Therefore premarital, extramarital, and dubious sexual encounters, relations, or practices are patently forbidden. Of the forty subjects represented, the same three individuals mentioned above who began smoking during their adolescence also report having engaged in pre-marital sexual activity during the same years. Such action defies the traditional Mormon view that procreation and the experience of heterosexual love are 'given to humanity by God as a sacred and divining gift'.[106] Indeed the typical LDS perspective regarding physical intimacy is that it is only to be exercised between a legally wedded man and woman. Further, it is held very near and dear to the heart that the ideal maximization of such expression should occur only within the bonds of the divinely sanctioned temple marriage; that is, between eternal companions.[107]

Proper observance of the Sabbath is a commandment to which God's chosen fervently abide. More than a few experiences and sentiments of many respondents are reflected in the following several statements: "growing up in Utah it almost goes without saying that we always went to church on Sundays."[108] "I grew up going to church every Sunday. We would always attend together as a family; my parents, my grandmother and grandfather, and even a few aunts and uncles with their children (my cousins) lived in the same ward, so every Sunday we'd sit together at church and

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[104] *For the Strength of Youth* (2001: 14-16).
[105] Ibid p. 22; Ephesians 4:29.
[106] *EM*: Brent A. Barlow; *Procreation*, 1157-1158.
[107] *For The Strength of Youth* (2001: 24-28); *Gospel Principles* (2013: ch 39).
[108] Respondent #17.

afterwards we'd have dinner together as well... this has happened from as far back as I can remember and the tradition is still going strong today."[109] "I always looked forward to Sundays. My mom and I would set my church clothes out on Saturday night so that early the next morning I'd be ready."[110] "I couldn't even fathom the possibility of not going to church on Sunday, the thought would never have crossed my mind."[111] And finally, "My parents taught me to love Jesus Christ through their commitment to going to church and by making sure that I always fulfilled my Sabbath responsibilities… I have always tried hard as a father to do the same with my own family."[112] Within the ideological parameters of Zion Sundays are consecrated for rest, for family, and for dedicated service to the Lord not for recreation, shopping, entertainment, or business dealings.[113] In fact a common complaint among visitors unaware or unaccustomed to Utah Valley's culture is that several stores, restaurants, automotive repair and sales centers, as well as many other commercial venues are closed for business during half of the weekend. This of course results in a very narrow range of secular opportunities and locations for non-Mormons to engage in weekend activities.

In accordance with ecclesiastical adherence and Mormon *becoming*, two pillars of socially recognizable identity are integral to both personal notions of selfhood and nomothetic expectations regarding normative behaviour. The pledge of saints to exemplify superlatives associated with both service[114] and duty[115] provide ample opportunities for the manifestation to oneself and to others that these inherent standards of the gospel are in fact alive within the soul of the individual. Members of all ages are destined to receive divine callings whereby each person may serve while fulfilling their duty – as a constituent of the laity – within official organizational

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[109] Respondent #2.
[110] Resondent #30.
[111] Respondent #12.
[112] Respondent #29.
[113] Exodus 31:16-17; Mosiah 18:23; Smith ([1835] 1981: ch.59: v.11-14, ch.68: v.29). In addition to scriptural references, the topic of the Sabbath and its observance is a very well covered and regularly addressed concept in both the *Ensign* and the *Liahona* magazines.
[114] Matthew 22:35-40, 25:34-46; Luke 10:25-37, 22:27; John 13:35; Galations 5:13-14; Mosiah 2:17, 18:8-9; *Gospel Principles* (2013: ch 28). *Service* is represented copiously throughout modern LDS teachings. Ninth, eleventh, and twelfth presidents David O. Mckay, Harold B. Lee, and Spencer W. Kimball as well as many other members of the church hierarchy routinely stress the importance of selfless dedication to the gospel.
[115] *Fulfilling My Duty to God* (2010). Perfection in exemplifying *duty* is esteemed among the saints; indeed those worthy young men who personify this ideal are congregationally recognized by the reception of their 'Duty to God award'.

positions of influence, authority, support, and expertise.[116] As can be recalled from page 140 above, like the prophet and his council, local leaders such as bishops, stake presidents, relief society administrators, and others also receive their unique call to serve within the LDS union from the direct will of Jesus Christ; mediated of course by the extant structure indicating the Mormon chain of command. These regional, district, community, or neighborhood positions of prestige certainly afford their bearers copious allowances of religio-social capital. In fact no monetary compensation taking the form of a salary, bursary, or subsidy is received for the faithful execution of one's duty at any level of church government.[117] Rather, pious labour, sacrifice, and commitment are considered a privilege, an organizational and heavenly recognition of worthiness. Indeed the stalwart fulfillment of one's divine responsibility is idealized as an honour that symbolically, temporally, and socially reflects and validates the depth of faith which Mormons possess in their church and in its teachings. All forty respondents, whether male or female, had held multiple religious callings within the church; in fact many had been charged with the responsibility of ensuring ecclesiastical growth, development, and maintenance at the bureaucratic level of community and region as well as occupying positions of authority within the structural framework of LDS education, proselytization, and finance. This is to say unmistakably that the respondents represented in this research had claimed many experiences, both public and private, that would lead them to a thorough comprehension of exactly what it means to be Mormon.

Also demonstrative of obedience and love is a member's allegiance to the 'law of consecration' or to the tithe. Devotion to the tithe is in fact required for exaltation.[118] Members 'in good standing' happily confer 10% of their net income to the church.[119] 'Fast offerings' constitute another form of sanctioned fund acquisition.[120] Saints deny themselves two meals during the first Sunday of each

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[116] The LDS Church does not possess any formally trained, nor specifically employed theological or pastoral ministry. Members of the laity fill all positions within the church; such statuses and their coetaneous roles constitute one's calling.

[117] Service and duty fulfilled at the local and regional levels are widely recognized by various scholars and by the Latter-day Saint laity themselves as unpaid; though the objective accuracy of such a claim regarding the upper echelon of administration or leadership housed within the LDS headquarters in Salt Lake City seems to be met by skeptics with argumentation, suspicion, and potential fraudulence.

[118] *Gospel Principles* (2013: ch 47).

[119] Ibid ch 32.

[120] Ibid.

month; this fasting period not only serves to galvanize a deeper sense of spirituality, but also provides the opportunity for adherents to grant the monetary value of the foregone fare to their church.[121] Strictly speaking, a person's donation beyond the mandatory tithe is considered optional; however, within the capacity of the fast it is known that many members give abundantly. Suffice it to say there are several methods by which saints may contribute financially to their faith. Believing that God will return honest charity ten-fold and that the blessings of eternity will be theirs; members around the world and from all echelons of the socio-economic strata overwhelmingly endow their church with ample financial fruits. All members of my sample report being full and dedicated tithing payers during their tenure as active Latter-day Saints; interestingly, many report paying a full 10% tithe throughout the duration of their disaffiliation process. Indeed adherence and belief in the veracity of the tithe had influenced four of my respondents to continue their financial responsibilities to the church despite the fact that they had been disengaged from religious attendance or had shed other LDS convictions for several years.[122] Participant #18 had not stepped foot into a Mormon Church for over two decades, in fact he exhibited a strong resentment to both the church and its membership, yet he continued to pay tithing and diligently maintained wearing the sacred shield or garment; thus constituting a near classic example of Bahr and Albrecht's splinter saint[123] as well as showing strong categorical resonance with Albrecht's disengaged believer.[124]

Despite the very few instances of individual deviation cited above, it can be stated without doubt or hesitation – in both a collective and an independent sense – that the adherence to the aforementioned charges along with the pride associated with ones pioneering heritage certainly constitutes a source of immeasurable yet palpable joy among the steadfast members of the Latter-day Saint community. When volition is understood to take its desired or principled shape in relation to such an ideology, the resulting embodied commitment to building up the 'Kingdom of Zion' on earth through a culture of self-reliance, preparedness, and proselytization promotes much more than a mere sense of happiness, fulfillment, or dignity. Indeed the truest identity

[121] Ibid ch 25.
[122] Respondents #5, #18, #33, and #35.
[123] Bahr & Albrecht (1989); discussed on p. 84.
[124] Albrecht (1988); discussed on p. 89.

springing from a dedicated Mormon mindset will find maximal pleasure within strict notions of ecclesiastical obedience and pious expectation.

4b. SOCIALIZATION AND ENCULTURATION: THE FORMATION OF BELIEFS, DESIRES, AGENCY, AND CONVICTION

Recall the distinction made earlier in chapter 1 between structural or functionalist accounts of status and role theory on the one hand, and symbolic interactionism or interpretivist explanations of individual behaviour on the other.[125] From the two perspectives we can see the implications of both the overly determined and thus *oversocialized* conception of human beings whereby the propensities of individual motivation and autonomy are severely underrepresented,[126] and its counterpart the *undersocialized* person who is essentially able to behave without regard for historical structures, extant rules of conduct, or the deep internalizations associated with values, norms, and morality.[127] Both views are useful and quite relevant for the comprehension of some aspects indicative of socialization; however, each is deficient in presenting a full picture of the inheritance, transmission, acquisition, and interaction of cultural and psychological aspects that shape social existence. Despite the variable potency of theoretical binaries such as habit or conformity vis-à-vis autonomy or free-will, individual drive compared to collective constraint, or the effectiveness of socially prescribed role behaviour and etiquette contrasted against subjective negotiation and situational definition, the process of socialization remains a multidimensional yet stable model which cannot be conceptualized as anything other than a central and continuous course of sophisticated development which takes place throughout human life.[128]

Adam Ferguson states: "Man is by nature, a member of a community."[129] Viewed from the perspective of the community, socialization represents the method by which membership is both psychologically stabilized and intergenerationally maintained; it therefore provides the machinery[130] that enables society to replenish,

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[125] See p. 27-29.
[126] Wrong (1961; 1976: 21-30, 55-70).
[127] Wentworth (1980); Ebaugh (1988b: 6-7); Persell (1990: 99-100).
[128] Marshall (1998: 624-625). In this sense, the process of individual socialization is both cumulative and never-ending.
[129] Ferguson ([1768] 1991: 59); Kettler (1965: 188).
[130] In anthropology, sociology, and psychology the various cogs, wheels, bits, and pieces include but are not limited to: habit, expectation, knowledge, meaning, reactions, language, memory, gestures, communication, media, ritual, sanctions, emotion, social interaction in the form of relationships, imitation, the emergence of the self along with the apprehension of the

retain, and strengthen itself. "Socialization is perhaps the best example of a process that fuses constraint and enablement,"[131] thereby rendering a constant unity of sorts between person and place, collective ideology and individual vision, and control and freedom. Implicit in the idea of limitation and facilitation is an inherent yet reciprocal dependence that emerges between the human organism and its personality AND the material and social environment in which any person exists. This relationship, which abides between self and society, provides the opportunity for people to efficiently mediate both internal and external realities in an attempt to maximize their in-group identity while also affirming a precious sense of individual *becoming* or personal growth.[132] In this sense, the prismatic concept of socialization[133] describes the process through which people learn the skills, customs, norms, and values necessary for their functional participation within his or her society or *Weltanschauung*.[134] Indeed socialization symbolizes the introduction of ego to "the total body of traditions… to which [humankind] fall heir."[135]

'generalized other', and the development of a 'conscience' which enables a person to discern 'right' from 'wrong'; see Mead ([1934] 1967); Erikson ([1959] 1994); Geertz (1974); Bourdieu ([1979] 2002); Kohlberg (1981; 1984); Schwartz (1981); Ammerman (1987); Read et al. (2009). Also, let us not dismiss the powerful forces of which organizations and institutions hold over society, culture, and the individual person; see Powell and DiMagio (1991). In addition, it would be a travesty not to mention the objectivity or facticity of Bourdieu's enduring and embodied 'structured structures' and 'structuring structures' which exercise impressive influence upon subjective action by virtue of the *habitus* ([1977] 1999); Swartz (1997: 103-116). The cognitive framework indicating Bourdieus's *habitus* is acquired through socialization and fosters the reproduction of current social relations among cultural players; see Ritzer et al. (2003: 419). Despite the seemingly fixed results commonly associated with the model, flexibility is however possible within its domain. Ritzer and colleagues (2003: 419) recognize that "we can never be completely free from our habitus," however they also stress that people are able to transcend its primary function of controlling and determining the consumption patterns and thereby the destinations of social actors by their exercising innovative action motivated through reflective thought.

[131] Powell (1991: 203).

[132] Hurrelmann (1988).

[133] I use the term 'prismatic' to discern not only the multiple stages or levels of socialization such as primary or childhood, secondary or adolescent, adult, religious, anticipatory, or organizational (to name but a few); see Vernon and Caldwell (1981: 267-281); Krause and Ellison (2007); Armet (2009); Mortimer and Simons (1978); Cornwall (1987); Ebaugh (1988b); Feldman (1976); Nelson (1987); Tierney (1997), but also to bring attention to the dynamic effects which modernity and social change have brought to self-identity structures and subsequently to the broad meanings and interpretations that individuals are able to attach to various phenomena; see Giddens (1990; 1991).

[134] Berger (1967).

[135] Herskovitz ([1948] 1964: 326). The totality of such traditions include the economic, social, technological, religious, aesthetic, and linguistic reservoirs of culture; also see Shimahara (1970: 144).

Many scholars refer to the anthropological process of enculturation as "virtually synonymous with socialization"[136] thereby allowing the two terms to be used and treated interchangeably.[137] Within the fields of psychological anthropology and culture and personality studies, both concepts are stressed as providing "adaptive and integrational mechanisms"[138] toward the formation and constitution of the self. Indeed prolific anthropologists Gananath Obeyesekere and Pierre Bourdieu specifically mention socialization rather than enculturation when they describe both the antecedents and consequences of symbolic forms, as well as the development of cultural tastes and preferences.[139] This is not to imply that all social thinkers conceive of the two endeavours in an indistinguishable manner. George Spindler states: "Socialization and enculturation are not identical constructs as I use them," he suggests that differences between the two lie in the distinction that categorizes "culture as ideational and society as behavioural."[140] Ina Corrine Brown also prefers to use the two concepts differently as she views socialization as "that part of enculturation through which one learns to be human. It is the process by which the individual adjusts to the fact that there are other people who can make life pleasant or miserable… and there are times, places, objects, and events with which [all persons] must reckon." She concludes by remarking "socialization never takes place in a vacuum… it is therefore a part of one's enculturation. You do not teach a child to be good, honest, kind, or polite. You teach [a child] to behave in certain ways that are defined by the culture as being good, honest, kind or polite."[141] This leads us quite easily to a widely utilized, yet sufficiently simple definition: "Enculturation is the process where the culture that is currently established teaches an individual the accepted norms and values of the culture or society in which the individual lives."[142] Within this framework, each constituent of society comes to 'know' his or her roles as dictated by the needs of the group. Furthermore, people will acquire the aptitude to distinguish between those types of behaviour that are considered standard, profitable, or exemplary and those which are not as a cognitive product of learning the lifestyle that imposes itself upon one's proprietary experience. This is not to suppose nor argue

[136] Marshall (1998: 193).
[137] Shimahara (1970: 143).
[138] Weiner (2005: 235).
[139] Obeyesekere (1990: 230); Bourdieu ([1979] 2002: 474).
[140] Shimahara (1970: 143).
[141] Ibid p. 149.
[142] Kottak (2004: 209).

for a pure determinism. For if current sociological treatments associated with socialization have in fact been extended beyond its relatively Parsonian origins, then indeed enculturation – as seen from a post-cognitive revolutionary perspective, as well as from the vantage of contemporary notions associated with innovation and cultural change – must be understood as even more supple than its sociological counterpart when discussing the inception and development of identity, individual *becoming*, negotiation, information processing, experience, human accord, and freedom.

In an excellent review of earlier treatments which had led to the formalization of enculturation within the literature Shimahara evaluates the work of Alfred Kroeber,[143] Ralph Linton,[144] and Melville Herskovitz[145] among others and rests upon the conviction that the behavioural process of enculturation is an anthropological construct "that delineates the dynamics of transmission and transmutation of culture throughout human growth."[146] It begins at birth[147] if not in utero,[148] occurs both unconsciously and consciously, and represents the routine yet reflective manner by which the human species is able to reproduce social conditions. Enculturation may also be thought of as providing a pastiche platform from which exceptionally endowed social agents are able to innovate, change, or create variations of and within existing cultural realities.[149]

Following Theodore Schwartz in his treatment of language, memories, tradition, and meaning in relation to the child's enculturative experience being largely defined by culturally structured events, pre- and other structured scenes, as well as other enculturated persons,[150] Dwight Read with David Lane and Sander van der Leeuw view enculturation as a case of "complex social organization" whereby "the complete conceptual framework through which behaviour is produced and interpreted by individuals… is acquired, developed, and transmitted to others."[151] Read et al.

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[143] Kroeber ([1948] 1963); Kroeber and Kluckohn (1963).
[144] Linton (1936; 1961).
[145] Herskovitz ([1948] 1964).
[146] Shimahara (1970: 148). Shimahara seems to view the concept of enculturation in somewhat divergent terms than Spindler's ideational perspective of the same.
[147] Read et al. (2009: 52).
[148] Schwartz (1981: 13).
[149] Shimahara (1970).
[150] Schwartz (1981).
[151] Read et al. (2009: 52). The authors stress that "the complete conceptual framework" of any social system must include (among other aspects) both the ideational and cultural knowledges

(2009) further suggest (and I agree) that the essence of what is transferred from one generation to the next through the process[152] of enculturation is "the ideational basis through which culturally based behaviours are constructed."[153]

Social and cultural contexts frame the myriad processes leading ultimately to ego's attainment of meaning and purpose. This is not a mechanical transfer of information, norms, values, mores, and emotional states from society to the individuals who comprise its population, it is rather a multifaceted series of life-long interactions taking place between less enculturated and more enculturated people.[154] Indeed a person's existential matrix, or otherwise stated, the parameters associated with everyday functioning and practical action, will unequivocally constitute the primacy or centrality of one's identity. Following from the above mentioned historical events along with the establishment of an unmolested geographic, spiritual, and political homeland, as well as having gained an understanding of macro-level constraints, individual hopes, and Mormon tradition, we are now better positioned to appreciate the consolidated nature of both the transmission and acquisition of LDS culture and morality within the sacred canopy of Utah Mormonism.

Infancy through adolescence

During general services associated with the LDS fast and testimony meeting, which again takes place once a month mainly falling upon the first Sunday thereof, infants who have recently been 'born under the covenant'[155] are presented publicly to members of their ward. It is under the auspices of the home ward or congregation,

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which organize action from the perspective of "the phenotypical individual." For this reason, their definition of enculturation encompasses much more depth and complexity than simply inheriting and passing on to succeeding generations a particular set of norms and values.

[152] It may be relevant to formally state that I think about the term 'process' as allowing some degree of fluidity, variation, inspiration, or preference to emerge within particular contexts indicating certain 'situations'; or similarly, 'process' may become apparent in cases where judgment or evaluation is present. In this sense however, I am not placing 'process' within the realm of autonomy, free will, or choice associated with perfect information; nor am I treating 'process' in binary opposition to 'rigidity' or 'determinism'. As implied earlier, 'process' is best represented by the recognition of the varied descriptive mechanisms by which humankind may negotiate situations in an attempt to maximize the confluence of collective and individual identity, thereby realizing or acquiring a heightened or increasingly satisfying sense of self.

[153] Read et al. (2009: 52).

[154] Vinden (2004).

[155] *EM*: Ralph L. Cottrell Jr.; *Born in the Covenant*, 218. That is, gifted by the Lord to two fervent following, endowed, temple married parents. Recall the relevance of 'being born under the covenant' in relation to my operationalization of LDS homegrown membership; see ch 1, pp. 91-92.

where all other believers will 'witness' the ritual blessing whereby fledgling children of God are both ceremoniously welcomed to this earth and given or granted a name. Such an identity by which he or she will come to be known and progressively embraced as a Latter-day Saint from that point onward is not to be understood as merely representative of one's designation within the confines of 'this world'. Indeed this blessed identity is also the name by which Saints will continually and 'everlastingly be recognized upon the records of the church and within the proceedings of heaven, for time and all eternity'.[156] Narrative data reveals that 100% of my sample, that is all forty respondents, both male and female alike, had been born to adherent Mormon parents and were also the beneficiaries of the 'naming rite'. An authorized priesthood holder must conduct the solemn practice of bestowing an LDS name upon the head of another. Ideally – in fact typically, especially for those born within the covenant – the infant's father, the patriarch of the home, welcomes this powerful responsibility. On some occasions however, within the traditional framework indicative of the LDS system, a worthy maternal or paternal grandfather may consecrate the child. This substitutionary act serves as a means of paying respect or signaling homage to the incredibly strong religious ties shared among the extended family network.

As soon as they are able to be apart from parents – thus allowing new mothers to resume or partake of other Sabbath duties – toddlers are placed into the *nursery program*, the first stage of the *primary* process.[157] From the age of eighteen months until three years old LDS youngsters will be introduced to the principles of sharing and reverence. They will be taught how to properly fold their arms and bow their heads in prayer, how to remain still, and will be exposed to the idea that both Heavenly Father and their big brother Jesus Christ love little children very much. They will also learn that their Heavenly Father and Jesus desire them to 'be good' through quiescence and obedience while always showing love and respect to others. To be sure, it is quite astonishing to observe the levels of conformity achieved through this training at such a young age. Since the typical Latter-day Saint family is significantly larger than the US average, there are many children to be found at church.[158] Raucous behaviour is held to an impressive minimum, and order

[156] *EM*: Bruce B. Clark; *Blessings*, 128.
[157] *Behold Your Little Ones* (2008).
[158] Heaton (1998: 111-114); Heaton et al. (2001: 89).

predominates through many activities that take place at regular intervals during these two hours of time spent separated from parents. Following teachers on a walk around the church grounds in line with arms folded and eyes forward or while holding hands with partners, along with listening to stories told while sitting outside on the lawn legs crossed and backs straight, effectively reduces the monotony associated with the extended Sunday meetings for these young minds and bodies. Furthermore, such exercises set the stage for the development of an earnest dedication to their church while bolstering loyalty to those who are considered 'nearest and dearest'.

For one more year – until the age of four – the objective of the *sunbeam class*[159] is to instill a sense of rudimentary certainty regarding basic doctrinal tenets into the emerging psyche and thought processes of these young children. Myriad activities associated with and dictated by age and attention span serve to make learning about the gospel fun, vibrant, and exciting. Indeed quite efficacious is the routine and robustly plentiful practice of learning and singing a veritable cornucopia of songs. Tunes, melodies, and different types of both chorus and lyric will theoretically emblazon its contents as definitive within the minds of these impressionable youngsters. Thus the messages contained therein will inevitably come to be understood as axiomatic, and will therefore be manifested as absolute when it comes to the mental and spiritual scaffolding which will ultimately support the totality of their impending pious endeavours. 'I am a Child of God'; 'Jesus Wants Me for a Sunbeam'; 'Give Said the Little Stream'; and 'Book of Mormon Stories', as well as both 'Pioneer Children Sang as They Walked', and 'Reverently Quietly'[160] are among the children's hymns mentioned by many respondents that had united them with their religion in senses not simply associated with harmony and musicality, but had also served to bond one to another in familiarity, kinship, and purpose.[161]

The CTR or *choose the right* portion of the primary process will last until the age of seven.[162] Two years will be spent continuing to synchronize ideas connected to Heavenly Father, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, temples, missionary work, love, kindness, honesty, correct decision-making, prayer,

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[159] *Primary 1* (2000).
[160] *Children's Songbook* (2002: 2, 60, 236, 118, 214, 26).
[161] Recall the significance of singing the ABCs as an important mechanism in transmitting and solidifying various elements of social structure as suggested in ch 3, pp. 117-120. The idea remains equally relevant here in terms of galvanizing an allegiance to meaning, emotion, and exchange within a culturally defined space as suggested by Davies (2002: 104; 2011).
[162] *Primary 2* (2000); *2011 Outline for Sharing Time*; *2012 Outline for Sharing Time*.

families, the earth and its seasons, the five senses, sacrament, baptism, and LDS appropriateness. Older children are taught specifically how to pray and what types of words are to be utilized when doing so. Subsequently, such teachings are made real by each child being extended an invitation to be called to offer the opening or closing prayers within their respective Sabbath proceedings. Preparing formal speeches based upon scripture and expressing one's testimony[163] – the proclamation of faith and belief in the LDS Church – are also highly encouraged practices. In fact it is frequently observed that in order for the child to successfully internalize many of these formalities, a significant degree of positive assistance is often required. Therefore parents consider it a point of pride to leave their otherwise normally attended modules – when necessary – in order to whisper into their child's ear the designated phrases which are essential for public presentations. If however a parent or other loved one is absent and hence unable to offer tutelage for any reason, the teacher of the class will act accordingly and guide the child in the appropriate direction. The main focus here – in conjunction with basic LDS formation – is to groom children for their decision to be baptized when they reach the age of eight years old. Narrative data confirms that all forty participants had earned their CTR rings. To celebrate the Latter-day Saint aim toward preparedness for baptism,[164] and in anticipation of graduation from the CTR segment of the primary process, each worthy child is awarded a CTR ring.

> *I remember getting my CTR ring; it was an awesome moment. I felt so special, like I had just become a superhero with brand new superpowers or something. I would walk around showing it to everyone. At the time I knew that because of my ring there was absolutely no way I would ever do anything that the Lord, the prophet, or my parents would frown upon. I wore my ring throughout elementary and high school, during my mission, and all the way through college; when I asked my wife to marry me, we exchanged our CTR rings and used them as symbols of our engagement. It's funny now, there was a time that my CTR ring meant so much to me that I thought about how wonderful it would be to pass it on to my son as a family heirloom when he turned seven rather than buying him a new one of his own.* (#4)

Beautiful, bright green, sparkling, and inscribed with silver lettering designating the symbol 'CTR', this chevron is worn righteously and proudly upon the finger of its

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[163] Stoker & Muren (1980).

[164] *Preparedness* is not only a central theological motif, but is also an enduring theme within the narrative of both the LDS organization and the Mormon person; its conceptual impact upon action, whether actual or anticipated, cannot be overstated.

recipient. Every glance at the hand constantly reminds its young wearer that when faced with choices they are in fact 'children of their Heavenly Father'; therefore they must unwaveringly and steadfastly *choose the right*.

The prescribed rites of baptism and confirmation are strongly recommended to take place at the age of eight. Indeed in practice it can be validated that allegiant members predominantly undertake such rites at this age with scant variation.

> *The decision to be baptized was one that had been central to everything that I could remember. As a child I recall, probably since at least four, five, or six years old, that being baptized when I turned eight was the most important event of my life.* (#2)

And:

> *Walking to the church to be baptized with everyone in my family, all my friends, and nearly everyone else in my ward in tow was the grandest experience I had ever imagined. People came, congratulated me, and told me how proud they were of me. They asked me how it felt becoming a member of the true gospel of Jesus Christ; honestly, it felt great. I felt as though I was the center of the universe.* (#13)

As well:

> *I remember putting on my white baptismal clothes about an hour before the baptism; my dad gave me a blessing with my mom and the rest of the family present. For the remainder of the time until I entered the font we prayed together for understanding and guidance, thanked the Lord for all that we had been given, and expressed our gratitude to Heavenly Father and each other for the privilege of being members of the Mormon Church.* (#29)

Thirty-nine of the forty subjects represented in the research were baptized during their eighth year with the exception of participant #26, she received her baptism and confirmation blessing later at age ten in 1972 due to her father serving abroad in the armed forces during the Vietnam War. Despite the patience extended, her father did not return home and therefore her maternal grandfather extended the rite. Like the naming ritual discussed above, baptism is executed and made legitimate by virtue of the power emanating from an authorized priesthood bearer such as a person's worthy father or grandfather rather than requiring validation from a bishop, priest, or minister (as is the case in several other denominations). It is through this *rite de passage* by which an individual, who is found to be deserving, is formally recognized as an abecedarian member of the Mormon tribe.[165] LDS beliefs surrounding baptism are

[165] *EM*: Bruce B. Clark; *Blessings*, 128. The ceremony of the *confirmation* proceeds with a verbal blessing being addressed to the recipient while in the presence of social others. Again,

similar to that of many other Christian denominations, in that baptism by immersion represents a spiritual cleansing and rebirth. As stated previously – also like some other faith persuasions – baptism is considered a necessity in a person's journey toward salvation, or in LDS parlance, exaltation.[166] Children are thus taught through their engagement with the *valiant* program of the now considered *senior* primary process – until the age of eleven – that their sins have been washed away, and that they now possess the gift of the Holy Ghost, a bequest and entity which will serve as both liaison and shepherd of the Lord, thus enabling and promoting personal experiences associated with Godly inspiration. For it has been taught throughout the primary engagement that 'the still small voice' will always speak the truth if one will but listen. During the next four years the Book of Mormon will assume a central position within the teachings of Sunday school. Messages and parables contained therein will be introduced and subsequently developed in order to realize a type of evolution, ultimately coming to play a vital role in the lives of these sprouting saints.[167]

Until the age of twelve particular distinctions have not quite presented themselves in an entirely structural or authoritative sense within the shaping process. However after transitioning from the primary assembly, a goal that all members of the sample had achieved, youngsters will next find themselves unmistakably segmented from those of the opposite sex. Gender and sex roles are firmly embedded within the Mormon laity through the organizational, practical, and theological separation of boys from girls. For the remainder of their lives each will belong to a strictly gender defined situation within the church.[168]

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typically the father of the child is charged with this honour; but, during such an event, as well as with most blessings occurring generally within the Mormon Church, one additional priesthood-worthy male must accompany the orator in order to validate the blessing according to LDS rules and conventions. While a theologically legitimate blessing requires the presence only of a second, it is not unlikely to see such a 'blessing circle' consist of many, sometimes upwards of twelve or even sixteen or eighteen priesthood-holding friends and family members standing together in order to provide increased power, efficacy, and overall spirituality to the rite.

[166] Davies (2003: 104).

[167] *Primary 4* (2000).

[168] Mormons favor traditional marriage, conventional family orientation, and orthodox gender roles. Communal and individual esteem associated with such views have led to strict definitions and rigid ideological opinions regarding interaction between the sexes. Consequently, large families exceeding that of the national average are not uncommon. Heaton (1998: 111-14); Anderson (1996); Chadwick & Garrett (1996); Shipps (2001: 78); Cornwall (2001); Heaton et al. (2001: 101-8).

The *young men's* program consists of two separate though highly cooperative projects. First, each Sunday young men will attend a priesthood quorum which is part and parcel of an incredibly sophisticated hierarchical system representing both ecclesiastical authority and sacred power. The *Aaronic, Levitical,* or *lesser priesthood* – modeled after the functions and responsibilities associated with Aaron the Levite, brother to Moses[169] – prepares young men for a life of dedication to priesthood and church through their ordination into the initiatory office of *deacon*.[170] Second, in a coordinated effort, twelve year olds are encouraged to join the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) and achieve the esteemed rank of *Eagle Scout* by the time they turn sixteen. The activities of the BSA are viewed by the Latter-day Saint headship as promoting wholesome, pro-social, and pro-civil behaviours by which LDS boys may gain an increased sense of service, community, country, and duty. Despite the somewhat conventionalized expectations associated with the scouting enterprise and the anticipation of family and friends that all LDS boys 'will' earn their Eagle Scout award, this achievement is not technically mandatory for upward priesthood mobility. Very interesting however, within the sacred canopy of Zion, the otherwise ecumenical or even secular affair of the BSA has been wholly subsumed by the Latter-day Saint organization. Scout meetings, business dealings, and scheduling take place not only on Sundays, but at the local LDS Church house as well. The saints also carry out BSA fund and charity coordination. Scout leadership – in the form of scout master, den mother, and other bureaucratic positions – are also helmed by Mormons as they are called and sustained as such through the support of the congregation during their fast and testimony services.[171] Data indicative of the sample represented here suggests the impressive statistic that all twenty-nine adolescent male respondents, regardless of reasons or factors that stimulated their disaffiliation from Mormonism later in life, including case #39 who would undergo sex reassignment surgery to become a female, had accomplished the task of receiving their silver Eagle Scout award.

As young men approach the age of fourteen years they are advanced to the next office of the Aaronic order with the bestowal of the title *teacher*.[172] Later at sixteen they will be deemed ready to fulfill the divine duties associated with that of a

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[169] Rivers (2004).
[170] *Aaronic Priesthood: Manual 1* (2012).
[171] *EM*: Lowell M. Snow; *Scouting*, 1275-1277.
[172] *Aaronic Priesthood Manual 2* (2012).

priest.[173] Here they will remain for two years until movement away from the Aaronic order is symbolically recognized by their being elevated to the apostolic sodality of the higher priesthood, also known as that of Melchizadek. During these six years – age twelve through eighteen – several tenets are internalized and an unfathomable commitment to the LDS gospel is embodied.

> *We were always doing some kind of service to be of help around the neighborhood and within our ward. Shoveling snow off driveways and sidewalks in the winter for the elderly; mowing lawns, raking leaves, bailing hay and straw, picking corn, as well as all sorts of other yard work and carpentry constantly filled our Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays year round.* (#6)

And:

> *The priesthood was a pretty big deal in our household, as the only girl in the family I wanted so much to be able to pass the sacrament during church, collect fast-offerings, give blessings, and engage in all the fun things that my brother got to do. He would let me tag along sometimes, and when he and my dad went home teaching on Sundays they often allowed me to go with them. I have such fond memories of that time in my life.* (#38)

Another:

> *After my mom died I went to live with my maternal aunt and her husband, they were the best parents I could've asked for under such unfortunate circumstances. My uncle taught me to love the church and to respect the power of the priesthood, and I did. As a young man I took my duties very seriously, I served as quorum first and second counselor as well as being called to be president in my final year. I was the first in my group to memorize both of the sacrament prayers, I think I did it a year before it was necessary, back then I was so excited about the gospel.* (#33)

Finally:

> *It was hard for me. I never felt like I was part of the Aaronic priesthood quorum in my ward. All the other boys were close, they were friends at school, they played baseball, football and basketball together, built tree houses and went fishing together; I didn't do those things with them. Even the leaders treated me a bit differently, always with some distance it seemed. It definitely made my parents a little sad, myself as well, but I tried. I never stopped trying. I was always the first to memorize scriptures, to volunteer to stay late after meetings and put away chairs and tables, I worked very hard to do what the Lord wanted and was always happy to*

[173] *Aaronic Priesthood Manual 3* (2012).

> *help out in any possible manner. I was genuine to a fault in fulfilling all my callings and appointments.* (#31)[174]

Whether a deacon, a teacher, or a priest the entirety of doctrine, skills, logic, and principles taught are aimed at preparing adolescent males to successfully fulfill future roles in the church, community, and family. Such focus and embodiment of ideology are intended ultimately to 'strengthen the church' itself, and to 'promote its growth and development across the earth'. Over the course of a young man's engagement with the Aaronic priesthood, decisive influence by the organization is extended toward the individual in largely successful hopes of ensuring that he will appropriately choose to become a missionary at age eighteen.[175] Missionary service is conventional and thereby principally mandatory for all those who are considered worthy.[176] If however an individual exercises their God-given agency[177] to the point of preferring not to serve, then they – and to a very real degree their family – are often openly questioned and scrutinized by others. For such persons are commonly viewed by the membership as shirking their obligation to God, gospel, and church. Data shows that twenty-five of the twenty-eight men represented in the sample, or 89%, had made the decision to minister their faith to others as proselytizing full-time

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[174] This particular excerpt and its heavy emphasis upon 'trying hard to satisfy certain demands associated with the expectations of the community' is quite reflective of sentiments shared by respondents #5, #8, #20, and #32.

[175] The age at which young men have been allowed to serve LDS missions changed from nineteen years old to eighteen in 2012; this ecclesiastical amendment has no bearing on any of the respondents in the sample.

[176] I have until now refrained from making any distinctions regarding the heavily stressed LDS term *worthy*. Suffice it to say, *worthy* or *worthiness* embodies the fullness or robust quality of being the absolute best that one can be. Essentially, to be worthy is to try as hard as is possible to achieve success in the emulation of the ideals associated with Christ regarding thought, word, deed, and action.

[177] *EM*: Terry C Warner; *Agency*, 26-27. In the Mormon sense of the term *agency* refers to the spiritual condition of a person's reception or rejection of God's teachings, manifestations, enlightenment, and intentions. This LDS based definition alludes to the specific capacity of people to act and choose for themselves, yet betrays the reality of such a meaning by inextricably binding the agency of ego within existential and eternal conceptions of obedience to both doctrine and dogma. Further, *agency* embodies the 'accountability' aspect or the consequential dimension of one's actions. That is, saints are taught that they will experience joy and fulfillment as a consequence of conforming to LDS ideals in terms of their choices and personal preferences. Likewise, they also learn that deviation from accepted and revered practices will result in temporal and spiritual ruin. "Wherefore, men are free according to the flesh… to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great mediator of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and power of the devil…" Smith ([1830] 1981), 2 Nephi (ch.2: v.27).

ambassadors.[178] Of the three who did not attend to their ecclesiastical duty, two were denied the opportunity because they were drafted into the Vietnam War.[179] Respondent #14 served in Vietnam for the duration of his term, while #6 exercised his right to 'conscientious objection' against violence and was released from the armed forces after nearly a year and a half of arguing his case. As for #8, the pursuit of his undergraduate education at Ricks College, subsequent graduate studies at BYU, full-time employment by the church, as well as both marriage and starting a family stand as reasons which he believes legitimizes the claim that "the Lord clearly had other work for me to do."

The celestial privilege of fatherhood is another significant cultural role in life for which the church diligently grooms its young men. Priests are expected to one day become the patriarch of their family, and as such will be directly responsible for the worldly and spiritual well-being of their future wife and children. It is therefore both highly recommended and stressed that men acquire a solid, useful education, one that will enable them to obtain a noble profession. Thereby providing the means necessary for marriage, while supplying the essential element of financial solvency and social position in order to support his impending family.[180]

Similar to the sequence and values indicating headway within the novitiate ranks of the priesthood system, the organization of *the young women* also strives to synthesize the same LDS message into the psychic identities of their unversed female constituents. This curriculum stands as integral to the organizational intent upon producing respected, competent, and supportive LDS wives, mothers, and sisters. Many of the female respondents' share similar versions of the same memory:

> *All we ever did was learn about homemaking; cooking, sewing, child care, and respecting the patriarchal order dictated everything that an adolescent girl was allowed to do or to think of... we did other things too; we played games, learned how to do genealogy, rehearsed our scriptures, and helped*

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[178] As stated previously on p. 164 and which will be reported again later, case #39 is unique because she represents the only transgendered individual in the sample. I included her accomplishment above in my statistic concerning those who had received their Eagle Scout award because at the time in life when the accolade was earned she was in fact an adolescent male; the same logic is applied here when discussing young men who served missions. However, she has asked to be treated throughout this report as a female. Therefore in the tables represented later in the thesis her missionary, marriage, and divorce status is represented in the female category.

[179] I find it quite interesting to note that the only men who did not serve an LDS mission were born in 1946, 1939, and 1946.

[180] *For The Strength of Youth* (2001: 40-41).

> *those in the ward who were in need. 'Service to others' constituted our mantra. Delivering meals, cakes, and cookies to the elderly along with other kinds of domestic charity are among the things that I remember most about being a young Mormon woman.* (#2)

Differences between the male and female programs are of course present and can be effortlessly observed within the substantive variation among their respective content. However, any apparent polarity concerning male/female development is in fact illusory. LDS ecclesiology, soteriology, and eschatology depend primarily upon the married couple and their ability to procreate temporally in relation to their divine purpose. The enculturation of young men and young women in the capacity indicative of gender definitionality within the LDS process is simply one element among many contained within the overarching totality of *Mormon orchestration*[181] regarding the attempt of the organization to ensure consonant compatibility between the two sexes. Thus the ideal daughter of heaven is a woman who is both eternally sealed to her husband, and additionally, is more than capable of joyfully engaging with the divinely ordained tasks tantamount to domesticity.[182] A statement from respondent #25 neatly illustrates the principled mentality following from a successful internalization of the plan: "Looking back I honestly cannot remember a point in my entire adolescence or young adulthood when I ever thought about anything other than marrying a returned missionary in the temple and having a large family." Aiding in the preparation for the actualization of these highly celebrated roles many programs, each building upon the precepts of the former, function to bolster the mental, physical, moral, social, and spiritual skills and fortitude necessary to exemplify the young women's greatly anticipated callings as 'wives and mothers of Zion'. Quite potent in this effort are the many lessons which several respondents mentioned that taught them of their pioneering predecessors who 'broke the ground' and 'blazed the trail' for the women of the church today. Learning of the extreme difficulties experienced by Mormon women in the early years of the church indeed provides valued contemporary

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[181] Here I am referring to concepts associated with the classical meaning of *totalism*, whether defined as religious or not. *Full-service* churches or religions – also referred to as mega-churches – have been discussed by Finke & Iannaccone (1993) as well as by Rosenberg (1993), and are characterized by providing for their members that which would otherwise be accessible only through secular channels of action or enquiry. This conceptualization of *full-service* is theorized to ensure the highest possible likelihood of maximizing religiously defined endogamy. Sherkat & Ellison's (1999) treatment of *consolidation* is also highly relevant.

[182] *The Latter-day Saint Woman* (2000a, b).

incentive for the modern emulation of such historical examples of unyielding endurance, faith, and self-reliance.

At age twelve girls join the *beehives*, at fourteen the *mia maids*, and at sixteen she will become a *laurel*.[183] During these six years of classes young women learn to recognize the value of the supreme qualities which a temple worthy male will undeniably bestow upon their future households. In order to promote both the anticipation and preparation for a future husband, each adolescent female is recurrently taught throughout all three stages of the program that worthy living will merit all the blessings that a temple marriage can confer upon her expectant family. For this reason she organizes herself in mind, body, and spirit for a young man who has valiantly served a two-year mission. Indeed the highly desired feminine characteristics of patience, kindness, virtue, and integrity assumes an ironclad form and it is hoped that all young women will come to resolutely maintain and exemplify Latter-day Saint ideals associated with purity and chastity.[184]

In conjunction with the aforementioned scheme and analogous to the Eagle Scout award for boys, *personal progress* is in place to assist in the shaping process. Through its provision of additional opportunities to exercise temperance, trust, and accountability, young women will continue to gain a deeper appreciation of their divine nature.[185] Life-skill enhancement is both organizationally and culturally coordinated through a variety of social projects and communal gatherings.[186] Penultimately such a schedule serves to encourage greater solidarity among women in the church; however, the fundamental aim of this focus is to strengthen and improve respected homemaking abilities and spiritual growth. At age eighteen, after successfully accomplishing the established criteria, a young woman will be presented with her personal progress award during the sacrament period of her local church proceedings.[187] Thereby ensuring – like the Eagle Scout award for young men – that all congregational members 'witness' her achievement. After receiving the highly regarded 'honour bee', as did 100% of the females in my sample, young women within the fold will henceforth be treated as an adult. Her final bureaucratic LDS

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[183] *Handbook 2* (2010: ch 10).
[184] *Young Women: Manual 1, 2,* and *3* (1994).
[185] *Young Women: Personal Progress* (1995).
[186] Life-skill enhancement describes the element of the program that is dedicated to the development of domestic talents and feminine sensibilities.
[187] A golden honeybee, referred to as 'the honour bee', symbolizes the ideal that LDS women are always willing to do more than is required.

identity, upon graduation from the program, will begin by being welcomed into the sodality of the relief society.

The weekly schedule followed by both the young men's and the young women's programs are not strictly limited to Sunday observance. Generally Wednesday afternoons and evenings are also set aside for ward activities. These meetings are expressly intended to augment the religious education which is cultivated on the Sabbath while at church as well as to promote fellowship and familiarity among local and regional LDS youth. Such an extension of church events seems to include intentions concerned equally with both sex-specific segregation and gendered incorporation. Sports, dances, the preparation and presentation of feasts for the entire congregation, visits to museums, developing proficiency at a variety of valued skills, engaging in charitable works, producing stage and holiday theater pieces or road shows, and attending or creating other enriching cultural, intellectual, artistic, and musical events top the list of preferred expenditures of time.

In addition, Monday evenings are set aside for 'home gospel instruction'. It is hoped by the LDS authority structure that tutelage thusly provided within one's residence and therefore among the comforts of home will pleasantly remind modern saints "to pray, and to walk uprightly before the Lord."[188] In fact the primary function of 'family night' is "to call families together, and teach them the principles of the gospel,"[189] to assist mothers and fathers in "bringing up [their] children in light and truth,"[190] and "to teach children diligently of love and to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."[191] *Family home evening* (FHE) regularly commences on the night of the first weekday after both parents and children have completed their responsibilities associated with work and school. Crucial in framing the LDS family as among the most treasured commodities in existence, FHE symbolizes a significant element in dogmatic conformity. Typically members of all ages will be found at home studying and pondering the teachings of their contemporary prophet under the supervision and guidance of their family patriarch. Such is often carried out in accordance with church approved games, trivia, travel, or media.[192] Indeed to a keen spectator there is in fact a noticeable stillness regarding secular affairs and other

[188] Smith ([1835] 1981: ch.68: v.28).
[189] Ibid (ch.68: v.25).
[190] Ibid (ch.93: v.40).
[191] *EM*: James P. Mitchell and Terri Tanner Mitchell; *Family Home Evening*, 495-497.
[192] *Family Home Evening* (1997).

occurrences within the crown of Zion during the evening hours of this hallowed weekday. The following statement affirms the special place of family home evening within the consciousness of a female respondent:

> *We never missed family home evening; it was always something we did. We'd start with an opening prayer, my mom and dad would provide a lesson, and then all the kids would have an opportunity to ask questions and talk about the things we had learned. My parents worked hard to make it fun for us, afterwards, like clockwork, I don't think we ever missed an evening; we'd all go to the BYU creamery on 9th East for ice cream… Despite the fact that I am an apostate now and have been disowned by my family – to be honest I shutter at the prospect of ever having to go back to Provo again, I think it's a vile and poisonous place – I really can look back and appreciate all the great times we had getting ice cream every Monday night.* (#36)

The church's *seminary* program provides another venue by which young saints may come to "understand and rely on the teachings and Atonement of Jesus Christ, qualify for the blessings of the temple, and prepare themselves, their families, and others for eternal life with their Father in Heaven."[193] This agenda is marked by a four-year commitment to LDS catechism. Taking place daily in concurrence with conventional secondary education, a young Mormon's graduation from seminary is not to be overshadowed by either secular academic or extra-curricular pursuits. The structure and content of the system is designed so that each year doctrine is further advanced and internalized through the examination and consumption of one of the four standard canonical works. That is, every weekday between the ages of fourteen and eighteen – throughout the duration of their high school tenure – each of the four major scriptures are given their turn and studied thoroughly. In this manner, and by the completion of the curriculum, the entirety of the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon, and the D&C will come to be recognized as not only familiar territory, but indeed subject areas where most students may claim a high level of theological expertise. Thirty-six individuals within the research successfully completed their seminary instruction while only four failed to do so. Respondent #3 states: "I attended seminary in high school but didn't finish because my dad sent me to a military academy in Nevada." #6 reports: "I just didn't see the point… I was much more interested in learning about the world, politics, history, and geography than spending what little precious time I had being force-fed the same things that

[193] *Objective of Seminaries and Institutes of Religion*.

were taught at church." #25, the only female of the four who did not complete their seminary requirements, had failed to do so because at age fifteen during the summer break between her sophomore and junior years in high school she – along with an older sister – were sent to live in Michigan with close LDS friends while her parents settled some 'family issues' which were detracting from the stability of their home-life. Of the experience she states: "I just wanted them to figure out what they were going to do; I wanted to come back home and finish school with the friends that I had grown up with." When asked why her attendance and devotion to the seminary program ceased in Michigan, her response was simply: "honestly, I thought it was a waste of time." And finally respondent #28 said sadly: "I started but didn't get to graduate; my dad was a pretty high-ranking church leader and we had to move out of the country during my sophomore year because of his new calling in South America."

Further, 85% of the sample had engaged with the *patriarchal blessing*, which is provided in order to encourage advanced states of enthusiasm and to proffer the acquisition of additional character in the direction of galvanizing a person's loyalty to the LDS Church. Of the six members who did not receive this rite, only one was male. Explanations given by the five women are captured in the following responses: "I had been engaged to be married since high school, so there was no need;"[194] "by the time I turned twenty-one I was already married with children, so pursuing my own patriarchal blessing was something I thought was unnecessary."[195] "I already knew what the Lord wanted me to do, and I was doing it;"[196] and lastly: "I didn't really feel as though I had to do it; don't get me wrong, I wanted one, it just seemed like I never took the time to jump through all the hoops, go to all the interviews, and make sure that it happened. I guess looking back it was something that wasn't all that important to me."[197] Despite being raised in an exceptionally fervent Mormon household and later serving a successful mission, male respondent #13 had also neglected to procure his blessing based upon sentiments related to lethargy and triviality.

Bestowed upon the head of each adolescent by 'the laying on of hands' – only when an individual is deemed ready to understand its implications – the practice and content of the patriarchal blessing has been compared to that of the secrecy associated

[194] Respondent #15.
[195] Respondent #38.
[196] Respondent #36.
[197] Respondent #7.

with the rites executed within the sacred temple.[198] Due to high degrees of solemnity, this specific dromenon is treated as an extremely important step in the lives of young Saints. Each geographical region called a *stake* is comprised of several local wards; indicative of each stake presidency or leadership hierarchy is the designation of 'stake patriarch'. Though each Melchizadek priesthood-bearing father stands as the head of his household thereby being symbolically recognized as the patriarch of his family, there is but one formally ordained patriarch of each region who is called to perform the sacred rite of invoking the Holy Spirit.[199] Typically received during one's adolescent years – as a matter of convention young men are given their blessing between sixteen and eighteen in preparation for missionary service, likewise most young women welcome their blessing between the ages of eighteen and their early twenties in anticipation of marriage – the patriarchal ordinance is a divinely inspired set of guidelines and advice specifically designed and proclaimed for the unique individual. Courses of life and particular choices are suggested, biblical lineage is pronounced whereby the recipient is declared as a descendent of one of the twelve tribes of Israel, and many future events are promised. The realization of such consecrated utterances are believed to be contingent upon the future faith and devotion of the recipient. The rite itself takes place either in the home of the stake patriarch or at the local church house. Exact wording is recorded then transcribed by specified LDS clerks, the original document is held within the administrative archives of the church while a duplicate copy is hand delivered to its beneficiary by trusted leaders. The patriarchal blessing represents a direct line of personalized communication with the spirit of God; indeed it is considered a sacred gift of strength and knowledge. Treated as a holy writing or an individualized testament, the ordinance is understandably held in blessed reverence and is only shared with others amidst the most fervent discretion.

Mission and young adulthood

From the time a young boy enters primary he is taught the basics of missionary work and of its importance in the overall story of his faith and righteousness. In this sense song, conversations, expectations, aspirations, ritual, and other cognitive processes combined with structured interaction – whether described as social, familial, educational, ecclesiastical, or personal – cannot be underestimated

[198] Davies (2003: 130-2).
[199] Van Wagoner (1994: 151-5).

when considering the social and cultural formation of an ardent LDS reality.[200] From an academic perspective, this type of *Weltanschauung* will inevitably proffer the fact that heroes of Mormon young men will frequently be fathers, grandfathers, and uncles who have successfully served missions. Indeed residing even closer to an idealized conception of himself, neighboring young men and if the circumstances provide older brothers who are either preparing to share the word abroad or who have successfully returned home from the field of battle will no doubt be looked upon with respect, reverence, and admiration.[201] Public testimonies, prayers, lessons, mythology, legends, and bedtime adventures have all coalesced to form an indomitable desire to follow in the footsteps of these highly revered champions. Upon the previously discussed initiatory rites providing access to the lesser Aaronic sodality, and in conjunction with the broader activities associated with LDS youth and adolescence, young men have solidified an incredibly passionate value system regarding the importance of the crusading enterprise. For he along with many other kindred cohorts have been inculcated with ideas by leaders, parents, and teachers to prepare in all ways possible for this marvelous two years of denominational service. They have been told and thus have learned that it will be 'The Best Two Years'[202] of their life and that it will be THE foundation upon which to build their futures. Indeed young men come to understand through a lifetime of training and from the intimacy and magnitude of their patriarchal blessing that their education, social standing, family, and career will all be impacted by the choice of whether or not to serve an LDS mission. Further galvanizing such an overarching message upon the mind are the numerous accounts professed by adult Mormon men who attest that their overall faith was strengthened, that their current lives have been blessed, and that the church itself had been manifested to be true by the Lord unto them ONLY after overcoming various obstacles and serving diligently as an LDS emissary.[203]

At age eighteen, in recognition of imminent adulthood and in order to fortify their countenance toward the task, young men advance to the higher order of the *Melchizadek* priesthood. Donning the title of *elder*, greater and ever more important responsibilities and authority is granted. For it is the worthy adult male, recognized as

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[200] Recall section 4b above, pp. 154-158.
[201] *Gods Army* (1999); *Gods Army 2* (2005). Also see Shepherd & Shepherd (2001: 163-165).
[202] *The Best Two Years* (2003).
[203] Recall the short discussion of statistics concerning male members of the sample who had served a mission and those who had not on pp. 166-167.

an elder, who is able to perform an increasing number of sacred ordinances such as the blessing of the sick and the afflicted in the name of 'The Holy Son Jesus Christ', and who may consecrate both baptisms and confirmations.[204] Field observations taken from multiple visits to many priesthood sessions throughout the region suggest that most elders' quorums consist mainly of middle-aged men, a point confirmed unanimously by members of the focus group. Often the lessons taught within the classes promote philosophies intended to aid in properly raising children; in emotionally and financially supporting one's wife; as well as offering suggestions for living prudently, conservatively, and righteously.[205] Generally these themes begin to appear much more useful to the eighteen and nineteen year olds after they have returned home from two years of ambassadorial service at ages twenty-three or twenty-four, when they have begun to engage in the happenings of marriage, parenthood, family, and career.

While it is customary for young men to commence service at age eighteen, thereby ministering for the Lord for two years, there exists no implied obligation or expectation regarding young women since their denominationally ideal objective lies elsewhere. If however by the age of nineteen a temple marriage is not directly in a young woman's future she is extended the option of proselytizing for eighteen months, rather than for twenty four, in order to further broaden and solidify her faith in the gospel.[206] Three of twelve, or 25% of the females in the sample served missions in the same capacity as their masculine cohorts.[207]

Regardless of sex or duration of time spent in the field, LDS messengers and their families are expected to fund the privilege of missionary service. Indeed a highly revered practice within Mormon Zion is to save money for one's own anticipated mission. Beginning at an extremely early age youngsters steadfastly place pennies, quarters, and dollars into their 'missionary fund'. It is not uncommon to chat with youths who would prefer to put money earned from allowances, chores, odd jobs around the neighborhood, babysitting, or part-time employment after school toward their immanent missions rather than spending their earnings on secular or worldly

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[204] *Duties and Blessings of the Priesthood: Part A* (2000: lesson 9: 63-68).
[205] *Duties and Blessings of the Priesthood: Part B*. (2000).
[206] The age at which females have been allowed to serve LDS missions changed from twenty-one years old to nineteen in 2012; this ecclesiastical amendment has no bearing on any of the respondents in the sample. Also recall footnote 175 on p. 166.
[207] Respondents #2, #25, and #39 (recall the unique situation of respondent #39 mentioned on p. 164 as well as in ft. 178 on p. 167).

items – a convention resoundingly agreed upon by the members of my focus group. Narrative and focus group data further concur that in addition to feeling an incomparable amount of personal pride associated with a diligent savings plan, that conversations with friends, family members, Sunday school teachers, and church leaders constantly stoked the zeal and dedication necessary to 'save, save, save'.

> *Together with my mom and dad I would count the money in my piggy bank every year the day before my birthday. In kindergarten it wasn't much, only a few dollars; but every year the amount grew. By the time I reached high school I had over two thousand dollars; and by the time I left for my mission I had about four or five thousand – more than half of the entire cost. My family wasn't very well off and so it was a little hard to save, but we all knew it was for the best.* (#4)

And:

> *I worked hard to save for my mission throughout my childhood. Before I was old enough to have a real job I would collect old newspapers and aluminum cans and sell them to the recycling company in order to earn money to put away in savings. When I was twelve or so, one of the counselors in my bishopric helped me start selling light bulbs door to door to everyone in the ward. He said it was a great way to earn money for my mission because everyone needed light bulbs, they were always going out, they were cheap, and everyone would buy them from me because I was selling them for a good purpose.* (#37)

Another:

> *One thing that always bothered me was when the boys in my priesthood quorum would compare with each other how much money they had saved for their missions; like it was a point of supremacy or like it gave them power over others who had not, or were unable, to save as much. It always ended up being mean, malicious, and hurting someone's feelings.* (#33)

In an attempt to reduce – or to equalize – the financial burden of sending sons and daughters into the proselytizing world, which oftentimes can weigh quite heavily upon the shoulders of those originating from unfortunate locations within the socioeconomic spectrum, standardized costs have been implemented by the organization, thus reflecting the LDS law of consecration whereby monthly missionary expenses do not exceed nor fall below four hundred US dollars. This amount – typically hailing from the family of origin of each particular missionary – is independently paid into a general missionary fund, which is then managed by the central administration of the church in Salt Lake City. For those worthy young men and women who are lacking the financial means necessary to fund their pioneering call, support is often given and/or subsidized by the individual's local or home ward.

> *It was a real big deal for me. Even though my dad served a mission when he was young, he wasn't overly supportive of my going; I don't think he was against it, I think it was just that he didn't care. My dad worked hard and didn't make much money. We drove the oldest, ugliest, rastiest station wagon in the ward; people always made fun of it. My mom worked hard also, raising all nine of us kids was no easy task. I guess the burden of it all took quite a bit away from my mom and dad… I was so relieved when the bishopric took me aside one day and said: "son, you're a worthy young man, when it's time for you to serve your mission, the ward will pay for it."* (#18)

And:

> *I was worried about paying for my mission, so were my parents, but during my interview with the bishop he had said that both he and the stake president had talked about it and that the cost would be taken care of.* (#22)

As well:

> *During one of the preliminary interviews my bishop asked: "have you saved any money for your mission?" I answered quite ashamed: "No, it's been too difficult." After the interview was over I soon received a mission call to serve in St. Paul, Minnesota… I was never asked about finances again.* (#25)

Throughout the period of the missionary assignment, agents are recognized as official representatives of the LDS Church as well as of Jesus Christ himself. For young men *elder* is the appropriate title, while women are referred to as *sisters*. Both designations are intended to distinguish proselytizing saints as stewards of the Lord, a role that is not only deeply embraced by the LDS community, but one that is profoundly meaningful to the minds of its bearers. The following two statements express sentiments shared unanimously by all the respondents who had made the decision to serve: "I knew that going on a mission was the right thing to do."[208] And: "It felt good knowing that I was doing what God had commanded."[209] Upon a victorious homecoming, Mormons have now earned the right to be addressed as an RM, that is, as a *returned missionary*. This venerated achievement symbolizes a person's utmost sacrifice and commitment to Latter-day Saint piety, and accordingly both commands and receives great respect within the fold.

Despite broad and overwhelming organizational efforts, the love and admiration of the program by the saints themselves, and the communal capital gained

[208] Respondent #10.
[209] Respondent #32.

through ardent conformity, some young men nonetheless opt against missionary service. While there are no formal theocratic consequences following from this decision, both focus group and interview data confirm that social stigma and informal sanctioning due to speculation of immorality and unworthiness often takes its toll upon the evading individual. Indeed the choice to abstain from missionary service, coupled with various reactions from zealous social others, may very well brand those particular agents and their families – to some extent or another – as 'less than perfect'.

Relief society

Educational, philanthropic, compassionate, cooperative, supportive, generous, and benevolent are but a few adjectives among many that describe the individual, local, regional, and global counterpart to the patriarchic network and function of the Melchizadek priesthood. Standing as one of the world's largest and most highly organized sororities, the LDS sisterhood of the *relief society* unites literally millions of diverse women aged eighteen years and older by virtue of their shared personal promises to magnify one another's faith in Jesus Christ, family, and friendship. Each Sunday while men convene in their respective priesthood quorums, the adult sisters of the ward will come together to instruct and inspire all who attend in the endeavour of satisfying their roles as strong, self-reliant, and dedicated LDS women;[210] that is, as *guardians of the hearth*.[211] Sabbath lessons are derived from a wealth of sources and focus upon topics such as *living up to your privilege*; *ministering through visiting teaching*; and *establishing, nurturing and defending the family*.[212] However in large part the overall message and proviso is always to 'bring women unto Christ'.[213]

The relief society is charged with ensuring the continuity of the well-being and welfare of ward members by providing domestic assistance during times of need. Examples include the birth of a child, a death in the family, illness, loss of employment, or any other situation necessitating a gentle and caring hand of encouragement and understanding. Its motto and goal is both simple and telling: *charity never faileth*.[214] Effort put forth to care for neighbors in such an unmitigated manner manifests a sense of selflessness and ardour seldom found within the prevailing market of contemporary American behavioural economics. Indeed the

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[210] *Latter-Day Saint Woman* (2000a, b).
[211] *Daughters in My Kingdom* (2011: ch 9).
[212] Ibid ch 7, 9, 10.
[213] Holland (2005).
[214] 1 Corinthians 13:8

women who constitute this enterprise consider it an honour to be part of something much more expansive than themselves; they feel that the matronly expectations of which they are to bear, indeed their very femininity and womanhood, is in fact celebrated by their ability to contribute to such a divine program.[215]

Brigham Young University

Pedagogically speaking the church's original flagship is without doubt the University of Deseret. Inspired and chartered by the second prophet Brigham Young, the institution was an attempt to validate the scholarly and academic prowess growing within the region of Zion during its early years of settlement. Despite its theocratic formation in 1850 as America's first academy of higher education west of the Missouri river, its enduring stability was finally to be established fifty chaotic years later – following Utah's 1896 statehood – in 1900 under the nomenclature of the University of Utah.[216] Notwithstanding the subsequent myriad successes experienced by the Salt Lake City based university, it cannot be disputed that the existing bellwether for the LDS faith within both collegiate academia and popular culture is instead 'the Lord's University'.[217]

Brigham Young University or BYU was officially recognized in 1903. This third largest privately owned and single most substantial religious university in America[218] has to a great extent legitimized the Mormon people, their professional and occupational potential, their beliefs, and their associated ethic.[219] Through its nationally respected undergraduate and graduate curricula, its amazing success at producing exceptional collegiate and professional athletes, its role in the research and development of modern technological innovation, and at the rate and prominence by which BYU graduates – and LDS members more generally – are seen and present among the personnel of top tier business and political organizations both domestically and globally,[220] BYU has in fact earned its mention as among the strongest

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[215] Holland (2005).
[216] Givens (2007: 91).
[217] Waterman & Kagel (1998).
[218] Naparsteck (2007).
[219] I refer here to the Mormon ethic of hard work, which largely results in *workaholism*. This idea is identified by the frantic compulsion to constantly stay busy in an attempt to avoid both idleness and the possibility of losing one's place in the celestial kingdom; see Davies (2003: 161-2).
[220] 2012 US Republican Presidential candidate Mitt Romney is a devoted Latter-day Saint who can claim a multigenerational Mormon heritage. Additionally, the hotel franchise of the Marriott Corporation, as well as Bulgari International Hotels and Resorts, the Ritz-Carleton

institutions for higher education within the United States. Such broad and secularly assimilative efforts continue to fracture the still extant historical stigma that seems to persist in relation to ideas held by gentiles toward Mormons, their religious views, and their lifestyle.

BYU campus is home to a surprising proportion of LDS faculty members,[221] administrators, and students. As the state's fourth leading employer, with a locally based staff of over seventeen thousand ardent individuals and countless numbers of corporate, commercial, municipal, state, national, and intercontinental ties, BYU understandably enjoys a kind of omnipresence within its home territory and beyond.[222] In fact a sense of organizational oneness can be seen to strengthen the feelings that LDS individuals internalize regarding notions of togetherness and in-group solidarity when referring to 'our school'. This notion of singularity follows logically from BYU's distinctive and overwhelming 98.5% Mormon population within its student body, and its staggering RM rate of 97% for men and 32% for women.[223] Furthermore, such is compounded by the fact that 22,422, or 67% of its student-saints arrive at BYU fully alive; that is, clad with the socio-cultural-dogmatic piety cultivated by a life lived within either Zion itself or within the broader region of the Mormon corridor. Interestingly only two nonwestern states provided numbers significant enough to be represented in the University's statistical overview. Just over two thousand, or 5% of 32,980 students in 2011 came from Texas and Virginia. Thus BYU concludes with the addition of some smaller figures derived from other states that 93% of its populace has arisen from within the US itself. And though a slight 14% of BYU's total student population are considered ethnic minorities, or in fact

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Hotel Company, the Calloway Golf Company, and Black and Decker tools and electronics are owned or have been helmed by Latter-day Saints. American pathologist and founder of Virion Systems Incorporated (which later partnered with MedImmune Incorporated to provide the world with effective drugs for the containment of RSV diseases in high-risk children), Gregory Prince is also a fervent believer. In addition, technology leading to the development of television and word processing were pioneered and specialized in whole or in large measure at BYU; see Givens (2007: 224); also see Brigham Young University (2006). For further information concerning Mormons in the United States Senate, their roles in the United States House of Representatives, and the LDS contribution to the United States Congress; as well as containing a discussion of several influential Mormon athletes, business tycoons, billionaires, and Pulitzer Prize winners see Oslting & Ostling (2000: ch 8).

[221] 95% of BYU's 1,260 faculty members are practicing Latter-day Saints 'in good standing'; the remaining 5% claim membership within the Baptist, Catholic, Episcopalian, Jewish, and Islamic faiths; see Brigham Young University (2006: xvii).

[222] Knowlton (2007: 165).

[223] Brigham Young University (2006: xvi).

claim a multi-cultural status, it must be understood that the majority – if not the totality – of this proportion are also members of the LDS faith.[224]

Recognizing such a titanic quantity of homogeneity present within the BYU estate, it is clear to discern that virtually all students share the same overarching, yet specific worldview. These micro and macro confluences inevitably yield a treasured student culture that is noticeably marked by magnanimous ethical and epistemic density, directionality, focus, regularity, and sameness.[225] Therefore the prospect of upholding the organizationally mandated *honour code* is in large part relatively simple. All students – regardless of professed religion – are obligated as a condition of their status as a BYU student 'in good standing' to strictly uphold a set of laws which regulates, restricts, and controls deviant and immoral behaviour. The result that follows from the imposed code is the endurance of a clean, virtuous, and spiritually uplifting environment whereby pupils may receive the finest opportunities for pious growth alongside an uncompromisingly unique college education.[226] The BYU policy dictates and stringently enforces dress standards, personal hygiene, language, cordiality, and decorum as well as setting the standard for the visitation and interaction of unmarried members of the opposite sex within both public and private areas and spaces.[227]

In orchestration with the tone set by the honour code, the *ecclesiastical endorsement* is further integrated into the BYU experience as categorically imperative. Each student regardless of program, status, or denominational inclination as well as all employees including tenured members of the faculty must receive an annual letter of disclosure. Sealed and addressed to the honour code department located within the Brigham Young University's administrative offices, the bishop of every individual who is officially associated with the university must formally attest to the temple worthiness of the endorsement's recipient.[228] All things concerning celestial intentions are scrutinized within the interpersonal interview that must take place prior to the formalization of the response. Payment of tithing, sexuality,

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[224] All 2011 statistics used can be found on BYU's website at [http://yfacts.byu.edu/].
[225] Recall the short description of homogeneity and sameness that exists underneath the LDS sacred canopy and within the Brigham Young University campus as described on pp. 135-136; also see ft. 28, p. 136.
[226] *Church Educational System Honor Code* (2007-2008).
[227] Enforcement of the *honour code* extends to private residences including homes, apartments, dormitories, and bedrooms.
[228] *Church Educational System Honor Code* (2007-2008).

testimony, dietary habits, role and calling fulfillment, as well as one's faith, knowledge, and credence are vetted in an attempt to identify and eliminate potential dissenters who exist within the system. While this organizationally formal mechanism of jurisdiction indeed protects and maintains the continuity of the conservative LDS ethos, such an apparatus has also been seen to take its toll upon the lives, careers, and thought processes of a small percentage of both students and employees alike.[229]

Another culturally reifying externality resulting from the interaction of individuals who exhibit high degrees of similarity among one another, and from BYU's providing an outstandingly prime venue for the elaborated exposition of Mormon life in contemporary terms is the realization that 'the zoo'[230] has become highly renowned for its propensity toward matchmaking among Latter-day Saints. For over a century as Mormon students have flocked to Utah County in order to procure a higher education, the 'Y' has inevitably functioned as an efficient pairing ground for men and women of college age. Therefore numerous Mormon families have begun and been sanctified amidst the BYU experience. Indeed in 2011, 22% of the graduating underclass embarked upon their future adult lives supported by LDS spouses, while 62% of all graduate students at BYU report the same. Interestingly, and perhaps telling, these percentages have remained quite stable for many years.[231] Data representing the respondents in my sample indicate that 53%, or fifteen 'initial marriages' of those twenty-eight individuals who were 'ever married' had taken place during their years at Brigham Young University. This is not to overshadow the additional six other 'first marriages' to Mormon spouses which had resulted as a consequence of attending an alternative (though still LDS affiliated or identified as predominately Mormon in its student body) educational institution such as the University of Utah, Utah State University, Weber State University, or Utah Valley University. Of the remaining seven 'initial marriages', one respondent states that he had met his spouse while serving a mission, and another five indicate that they had dated their respective husbands and wives throughout their adolescent years while in

[229] Abbott (1997). The role which the ecclesiastical endorsement has played within the lives of some respondents represented in the research will be discussed in later sections.
[230] Local saints refer to BYU campus as 'the zoo'; students are likewise both admiringly and humorously called 'zoobies'. These terms are explored rather poorly in Hadfield & Kartchner (2002).
[231] [http://yfacts.byu.edu/].

high school. Only respondent #25's initial marriage, which is still intact, was to a non-Mormon gentleman who she had not known during her adolescent or college years.

Due to the rapid growth of the LDS Church, the impossible number of young adults wishing to attend BYU has become increasingly evident over the past several decades. In response to this demand the church has expanded its proprietary educational system to include two supplementary undergraduate institutions. BYU-Hawaii located on the gorgeous north shore of Oahu in Laie, and BYU-Idaho in Rexburg (formerly known as Ricks College) both function quite well as structures offering secondary support. In the event that LDS students prove unable to meet the rigorous academic criteria required for admission into BYU-Provo, than typically they will accept a place at either of these outstanding feeder schools, often with the goal of transferring to the esteemed 'cougar campus'[232] after the completion of their associate's degree. Also in place to assist with the education of a burgeoning Mormon population is Southern Virginia University (SVU) or 'BYU-East'. Purchased in 1996 and funded by private LDS financiers, 'BYU-East' is not officially owned by the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; however, it does fully embrace the religion's values and ideals. Since SVU claims a strong allegiance to Mormonism in both its ethos and pedagogical style, and is also predominately LDS in its student body and faculty populations, it is not surprising that the institution enforces its own version of the Brigham Young University system honour code as well as an amended type of ecclesiastical endorsement.[233] When all things are held as equal and considerations are afforded toward the proximity of tradition and identity, it can certainly be construed as unorthodox for a Mormon whose position, aspirations, scholastic aptitude, and faith are all judged to be true to attend a university which exists outside or beyond the so called ideological pale.[234]

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[232] The North American cougar is the highly admired mascot of Provo's Brigham Young University. This solitary predator is also known by other names such as puma or mountain lion, and is a well-known mammal within the Rocky Mountain west.

[233] For more information visit the SVU website: www.svu.edu; also see the following retrieved April 21, 2014: http://www.sunstonemagazine.com/pdf/104-67-77.pdf; http://www.deseretnews.com/article/765586395/Southern-Virginia-University-Latter-day-Saint-values-and-the-genius-of-small.html?pg=all.

[234] Of course certain exceptions have become quite conventionalized as many LDS students have pursued their educations at other institutions.

Mormon marriage and family

Robust statistics suggest that as recent as 2008, 60.3% of Utah marriages were 'sealed for time and all eternity' in an LDS temple; such ceremonies are reported to take place at a median age of twenty-two for women and twenty-four for men.[235] Data from the sample contained herein reflects a 93% temple marriage rate when considering first marriages. Furthermore I have found the average age of such marriages to be congruent with those reported above by the Utah state government. Mormon sealing rites are carried out under the auspices of a senior member of the temple staff who holds – and has magnified throughout his religious career – the sanctified power of the Melchizadek priesthood. Dedicated spaces called 'sealing rooms' housed within the symbolic architecture of the LDS temple are consecrated for the holy purpose of celestial marriage. Here the religious beliefs of the bride and groom are realized in their temporal entirety. Confluence between cosmic concepts indicating faith, obedience, agency, procreation, apotheosis, and infinity are made real in the singular moment when husband and wife commit to one another, thereby uniting themselves and their posterity forever. The dromenon of the Latter-day Saint sealing does not incorporate celebration in the popular sense, nor is it considered an occasion warranting the invitation of many people. Rather, on bent knees and with contrite hearts in the spiritual presence of both the Godhead and their deceased progenitors, along with only a handful of worthy loved ones to 'witness' the event, temple worthy couples reverently pledge themselves to the ethos of the Latter-day Saint faith.

Unions taking place between members in Mormon chapels or stake houses, despite the incidence of being officiated by an LDS leader who exercises the authority of the higher sodality, does not however carry the cultural or dogmatic significance of espousal occurring within the temple. Vows undertaken in this manner are considered civil and are ultimately viewed as 'limited' to the parameters associated with mortality. Due to the incomparable importance of a temple marriage, divine matrimony is a treasured and prestigious occasion among saints and represents an integral element in the plan of each and every Mormon life. Indeed both men and women alike have faithfully waited and diligently prepared for their temple experience since memory – a social fact which had been stated time and again by

[235] *Utah's Vital Statistics* (2008: table R-12, pg. R-17; table 4, pg. S-6).

every member (without exception) indicative of my sample. The event of empyreal synthesis, which is dictated by LDS principles and is made possible by one's worthiness, constitutes the first of life's crowning occasions for the bride and the groom and can be seen to glorify and symbolize a member's unrelenting devotion and love for the LDS church.[236] This sentiment has been made abundantly clear from numerous respondents who had reported without hesitation or qualification that they had been taught to believe that 'my temple marriage was the most important moment of my life'.

Logically the internalization, ideally giving way to the pure embodiment of all things considered patriarchal and celestial, has been given a central thrust within the LDS socio-enculturation endeavour. Due to this highly complex and longitudinal process adult saints eagerly anticipate the day when they may assume their rightful and sublime responsibility as parents, thus affording the opportunity to raise a family of their own in rectitude and graciousness, thereby constituting the second crowning occasion in the life of an ardent member. Essentially the task of inspiring children to become fervent-following believers is the next step subsequent to marriage in adhering to the standard of exemplary Mormonism; that is, to the norms and customs inextricably fused to an orthodox LDS identity. Once again from birth, in the households of intergenerational and committed Mormons, children are taught that they should strive to become faithful followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. They learn through the organizational and familial integration of history, narrative, experience, and lore that their adherence to the multiplicity of LDS tenets is in fact a precursor to Godliness. Youngsters become edified in the knowledge that the most divine role a daughter could ever hope to fulfill will be motherhood, and that the prime obligation for sons is the promise to venerate and glorify the priesthood by serving a praiseworthy mission and ultimately elevating their forthcoming family 'unto the Lord'.

The LDS doctrine of eternal families as well as a person's membership within such an esteemed unit no doubt functions as a source of immense gratification, self-respect, and spiritual fervour. For these reasons the highly deviant act of divorce can become a source of tribal and intra-psychic lament and judgment, which in some

[236] The thematic distinction between chapel/temple symbolism and their effects upon personal thought, action, and piety is to be found throughout Davies' work, beginning not least with *Mormon Spirituality* (1987).

instances can lead to extreme social sanctioning, ostracism, expulsion, and defection. In some circumstances however the dissolution of a seminal temple marriage simply yields a more successful, loving, and rewarding second union. Despite the issues surrounding a second or third marriage, when saints marry saints they are expected to wed once and only once. In the event of general unhappiness or misery spouses are often counseled by their ecclesiastical leaders to be strong, to tolerate, to endure. Indeed for husbands and wives involved, subjective discontent is often proffered by their leadership and therefore seen by themselves as an opportunity to grow closer to their Father in Heaven through intensive prayers, ardent fasting, and increasing both service and dedication to the church. If all things are in fact proceeding according to the Mormon constitution, then spouses are generally assured that all will work out in the end. Pastoral counseling in this situation often defers to logic associated with theologically supported patriarchy rather than aligning with methods that promote or maintain equality within the household. Frequently such tactics will employ accusations of inadequacy, vilification, demonization, and victimization. After all, if there were equality, balance, or stability to be had, then it would have been so.

Retirement and senior citizenry

After children are raised a source of immeasurable pride is highly anticipated; that is, the appearance of grandchildren who are born under the covenant, the third and final crowning event for Latter-day Saint believers. This exceedingly normative occurrence brings inestimable joy to an LDS progenitor, and represents an unbroken line of family faith and resilience. The arrival of grandchildren also signals to others a person's own unique contribution to the proliferation of the gospel, and perhaps even more importantly, to their benefaction toward the greater Mormon web of cultural belief, meaning, conviction, and persistence.[237] Due to the recognition of the early age at which saints marry and begin their families, it is not uncommon for some to become a grandparent by around fifty years old. In fact many octogenarians smile at the prospect of seeing their great grandchildren baptized, serving missions, going off to college, and even marrying; a fact born out in the prevalence of photographs hung upon the walls of numerous LDS households depicting the multi-generational make-up of family reunions, wedding ceremonies, and the like.

[237] Geertz (1973a: 5) states: "… man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun."

Retirement no doubt affords an abundance of free time, thus allowing for moments and occasions to think about the broad swath of life. Goals achieved, delights, disappointments, and the inevitable presence of regret often stand in full relief when considering the totality of one's own biographical and philosophical history.[238] In light of this self-reflection, and in remaining true to the busy honeybee – the symbol and totem of the LDS people – there is no scarcity of opportunities by which saints may further serve their church, legitimate their beliefs, validate themselves, influence forthcoming generations, and exemplify the effort and commitment of which they have hitherto invested into the system for the duration of their lives.[239] Stability, intelligence, pious capital, increased leisure time, and financial freedom – blessings commonly associated with late adulthood and retirement – often pave the path resulting in fulltime missionary service for *prime timers*.[240] Senior missionary service frequently fills the void which had up till then been occupied by the struggles largely associated with building a career and providing for one's own family. Indeed former president of BYU and current LDS apostle Jeffrey Holland implores: "We need thousands of more couples serving in the missions of the Church. Every mission president pleads for them. Everywhere they serve, our couples bring maturity to the work that no number of nineteen year olds, however good they are, can provide."[241] Together with their spouses retirees are able to serve missions lasting either six, twelve, eighteen, or twenty-three months. These callings take place both domestically and overseas, and are not limited to proselytizing alone. Humanitarian efforts, missionary leadership, temple stewardship, the establishment and maintenance of LDS structure in foreign countries, various types of administrative roles, the provision of medical and psychiatric care to church members and other missionaries, as well as genealogical research are but a few examples of assignments designated to elderly couples by 'the Lord and His ordained Apostles'.[242] Additionally, senior missionaries may fulfill multiple mission callings. With gaps between tenure or in succession, retiree's may minister for the Lord as long as they feel required to do so. Many aged or veteran couples have enjoyed their silver years travelling and living

[238] Wright (1982: 98-101).
[239] Festinger (1957).
[240] Instead of empty-nesters, the Potomac ward in Montgomery County Maryland near Washington DC refers to an extra-curricular group consisting of LDS retirees who engage in fun, religiously fulfilling, age appropriate activities throughout the week as *prime timers*.
[241] *Senior Missionary Opportunities Bulletin*.
[242] Ibid.

abroad while serving one, two, or three missions. In fact some have even felt inclined to remain in the mission field for up to four or five consecutive terms.

During regular Sunday services the elderly still convene to their usual classes and priesthood quorums. However by this stage of life men have advanced to the rank of *high priest*, the highest echelon in the locally organized order of Melchizadek. At this position most 'keys' and 'ordinances' regarding the power of the priesthood may be exercised with full authority. Women on the other hand attend relief society in the same manner as they did during young adulthood. Though it is the higher-ranking sisters who often occupy leadership positions – either at the community, regional, or district levels – which shepherd the various affairs of the women's sodality. The aged, the matured, and the tempered are among the most beloved within the embrace of the LDS Church. They are deeply respected due to their experience, knowledge, acumen, and tireless fidelity. These 'spiritual giants' are typically found throughout sacrament meetings sitting in the front few rows of the chapel in order to continue absorbing the uplifting messages delivered to the congregation each and every Sabbath.

Summary

Central to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the project of perfecting its membership. To accomplish this task the church itself has established a geographic homeland, maintained a commemorated history, developed a stable theology, and exalts a unique identity structure which serves as the foundation for numerous sanctions, programs, norms, mores, conventions, and several other criteria that aid in the growth and galvanization of its adherents. Personal achievements, blessings bestowed, and collective recognition are designed for specific age cohorts and can be accorded sequentially beginning from birth. Opportunities for new and ever-more important responsibilities and commitments are found linked together with greater individual and organizational expectations; thereby providing willing saints with copious occasions for maximizing their potential concerning the fulfillment of tenets associated with, and allowing for, the realization of becoming an ideal Mormon. As a child who is born under the covenant grows and develops into an adult, much is accomplished through their constant endeavour toward an LDS sense of righteousness. Indeed Hodgson's treatment of cumulative causation,[243] together with

[243] Hodgson (2001; 2004). Recall the use of cumulative causation in relation to my ideas associated with both human existence and the expression of self in ch 1, p. 54. It is important to state that I have found Hodgson's interpretation of Veblen and Darwin to be quite

various formulations in the company of path dependency and determination,[244] provide a lens which enables the scholar to clearly discern the process by which Mormons draw nearer to their ultimate goal of being welcomed into eternal solace and thereby enjoying the blessings associated with perpetual apotheosis.

The valleys along the west side of the Wasatch Front of the mighty Rocky Mountain range in Utah are undeniably home to one of the most peculiar societies and cultures to be found in the Westernized world. The atmosphere there has been created and sustained by the geographically bound set of onto-epistemic standards emanating exclusively from Mormon narrative and belief. Such an ethos continues to frame and govern the zealous aspects of both public and private LDS life. When compared to the Mormon culture region significantly elevated levels of civil, political, and religious diversity are easily observed to exist in just about every other major city and state within the US. However in this arid and snow-peaked region heterogeneity subsists only where allowed by the dominant *Weltanschauung*. To be certain the variety, individual eccentricity, and institutional/organizational accommodation necessary for the expression of diversity is largely reduced, if not entirely absent, in some municipal enclaves indicative of Utah itself. Due to these genealogical, contemporary, and topographical reasons an extant nomosyncratic mindset prevails in Utah territory.[245] In the end, it can be seen that Latter-day Saint singularity, unity, homogeneity, and purpose is both powerful and quite predictable.

Ceteris paribus it is safe to advance the notion that tribally oriented Mormons thoroughly enjoy living – protected and sheltered – within their sacred canopy. In fact many saints throughout the past century and several decades more recently have

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fascinating; in conjunction with the elements of variation, inheritance, and selection Veblen applies human intention to the process of social and institutional evolution and asserts that intention must follow from considerations associated with causality. This is to say that intention itself is also caused or otherwise influenced by an antecedent structure of its own; therefore neither intention nor purpose occurs *ex nihilo*. Providing an excellent review of the history and logic associated with Veblen's ideas and further discussing intention within various frameworks such as purpose and habit, Hodgson's articles prove incredibly enlightening when discussing the social, cultural, institutional, organizational, and individual phenomena of cause and effect; or to be parsimonious, *reproduction*. Hodgson's (2004: 344) statement: "The principle of causal determination is not the same as determinism" in fact punctuates the most important point that I have gleaned from his and other's work within the new institutionalist vein.

[244] Hodgson (2001; 2004); Nee (2003: 5); Schöpflin (2001); Zucker (1977, 1991); Powell (1991).

[245] Recall the several references to sameness and homogeneity on pp. 135-136 and p. 181; also see ft. 28 on p. 136.

relocated their families from distances afar and dismissed lucrative salaries associated with stable careers elsewhere in order to remain or become part of their beloved LDS culture. No other people in such vast numbers and across such a large expanse of geography experience life quite like the Latter-day Saints. Designated by God himself to the LDS people, Mormons cultivate in earnest their Rocky Mountain heartland.

Concluding remarks

It is my hope that the reader has been able to grasp the institutional model of the LDS socio-enculturation process through my engagement with its organizational structure, theological ethos, cultural convictions, and social intent. In addition to simply representing how saints are mechanistically manufactured in theory, I have further attempted to show – as much as my data will allow – the many congruencies and inevitable deviations that occur as Mormons are made in empirical reality, in life, and in practice. Though the official or structural version of an ideal plan may describe quite well how Latter-day Saints are prepared, groomed, and finished it cannot be assumed to provide the whole picture of individual experience, causality, motivation, situational management, negotiation, growth, innovation, emotion, and *becoming*.[246] For despite the myriad efforts extended toward its constituency by culture and society which are designed to bolster the likelihood of replication, reproduction, persistence, and standardization we as scholars cannot dismiss the phenomenon of self-awareness and perhaps self-charge when assessing how people view themselves within various public, private, shared, dependent, or independent contexts. Furthermore, the manner by which roles are engaged and acted out by individuals existing within parameters that allow for a modicum of unique expression are always quite different when compared to that which the macro consciousness or bureaucracy would prefer.[247] This is to imply that while the concept which states: 'people who belong to a collective identity can often be confirmed to follow corporate patterns of social and cultural convention' will generally hold as accurate, there is however a continuously abiding possibility for diversity in behavior, thought, and action which will inevitably spawn a broader sense of self in relation to one's ever-expanding world.[248]

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[246] Recall the discussion of status and role theory contained in ch 1, pp. 25-33. Symbolic interactionism, theatricality, and dramaturgy along with emergence, progress, and compromise in pursuit of an individual identity are treated on pp. 27-28 while structure, determinism, compliance, and conformity are briefly reviewed on pp. 28-29.
[247] Powell & DiMaggio (1991).
[248] Ammerman (1987); Taylor (1989; 2004; 2007); Giddens (1990; 1991); Ferguson (2009).

The LDS socio-enculturation process rests upon the conception that saintmaking is a successive enterprise by which sequential achievement proceeds from 'stage' to 'stage'. Table 4 below offers a brief yet concise glimpse into this course of obligation, accomplishment, anticipation, and action.

Table 4 Brief Mormon Socialization or Saintmaking Process

Age	Male	Female	Goal / Event / Action
Newborn	Birth under the covenant		Blessing and bestowal of a name
Toddler	Nursery program (Sunday school)		Identification with Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ
3-5 Yrs	Primary (Sunday school)		Introductory doctrine
8 Yrs	Baptism and confirmation		Sins are washed away and reception of the Holy Ghost
12 Yrs	Aaronic priesthood *Deacon*	Young Women's *Beehives*	Initiation into lesser priesthood for boys, the indoctrination of LDS tenets for girls
14 Yrs 16-18 Yrs	*Teacher* *Priest*	*Mia Maids* *Laurels*	Scouting activities and *Eagle Scout* award for boys, *personal progress* award for girls, and patriarchal blessing
	Seminary		
19 Yrs	Melchizadek priesthood *Elder*	Relief society	Missionary calling and higher priesthood for young men, temple marriage preparation for young women
Young to middle adulthood	Temple endowment ritual (required prior to serving a mission and to temple marriage)		Temple name is received; one pledges to live the law of consecration; and one commits to wear the holy LDS garment against the skin continually
21-22Yrs	Mission return	Temple marriage	If a young woman has no prospects for a temple marriage, she is encouraged to serve a mission
23-25 Yrs	Adulthood and Brigham Young University		Temple marriage and acquisition of a BYU education
26-55 Yrs	Mature adulthood		Raising children, fulfilling church callings
55+	Retirement 'Spiritual giants'		Further serving the church by voluntary mission service and fulfillment of callings

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

Having discussed various ideas related to the definition and function of religion, along with providing insight regarding the acquisition of a person's identity, I would like to suggest that Mormonism as conceived from the perspective of its fervent adherents seems to be fully aligned with the thoughts of Schleiermacher ([1799] 1996) in terms of submission to a force greater than one's self, as well as being congruent with Tillich's (1959) view that proper belief must be primarily concerned with treating one's faith as the central aspect of life. Further, it can be seen that the LDS *raison d'être* is quite concerned with perpetuating a sense of unity, superiority, and righteousness among its membership when subjectively compared to opinions and lifestyles emanating from the outside or secular world. Such a belief structure is significantly bolstered and intergenerationally preserved by the recognition that Mormons possess and effectively utilize an incredibly rare commodity, a vast geographic homeland which has proffered the growth and development of its unique social, cultural, and theological ethos. This unmatched context has historically provided, and continues to uphold, a sense of community for its followers that can be argued as quite similar to the total bonds typically extant within a *Gemeinshaftlich* form of solidarity. Thus Whitehouse's (2004) qualification that religion must be specifically associated with supernaturalism connected to a particular group of people, Geertz' (1973: 4) suggestion that religion provides a "system of symbols" which promote a sense of fact and realism, Wilson's (1966; 1982) assertion that religion is sourced within interpersonal relations linked to community life, and Davies' (2002; 2011) view that human emotion is essential to religion are apt descriptions of Latter-day Saint social life as it has come to be lived and personified within Zion. It is now to characteristics that describe the state of the sample to which we turn.

5a. RESPONDENT ATTRIBUTES

Current structural and demographic characteristics, previous mission and marital aspects, as well as extant marital, sexual orientation/identity, and spiritual/religious features of disaffiliates interviewed are illustrated in tables 5a, 5b,

and 5c. Case number and sex are reported in each of the following tables in order to differentiate specific information based upon gender.

Table 5a. Selected Demographic and Structural Characteristics of Respondents at Time of Interview

Case No.	Sex	Age	Occupation	Ed. level	Area of Ed.	Salary USD
1	M	56	Uni Dept. Chair	PhD	Philosophy	90
2	F	43	Uni Prof	PhD	English Literature	55
3	M	55	Bus Driver	BA	Political Science	35
4	M	32	Financial Consultant			41
5	M	27	Private Business	BA	Political Science	35
6	M	59	Janitor	BA	Political Science	25
7	F	35	Uni Prof	MS	Performing Arts	43
8	M	66	Librarian	(2) MS	Music, Lib. Science	45
9	F	48	Marketing Director	BA	Marketing	58
10	M	30	Stock Trader	BS	Economics	100
11	M	48	Interior Designer	BS	Internat'l relations	100
12	F	81	Land Developer			250+
13	M	30	Business Consultant	BA	English	70
14	M	59	Uni Prof	PhD	Botany	120
15	F	60	Uni Prof	MA	English	50
16	M	44	Jr. College Prof	BA	English	88
17	M	28	NPO Employee	MS	Public Policy	30
18	M	53	Uni Dept. Chair	PhD	Public Health	70
19	M	31	Scientist	PhD	Boichemistry	30
20	M	43	Electrical Engineer	BS	Elec. Engineering	53
21	M	39	Phys. Fitness Trainer			36
22	M	35	School Psychologist	MA	School Counseling	30
23	M	69	Sales	MA	Linguisitics	150
24	F	46		BA	Marketing	
25	F	44	General Office Admin			44
26	F	47	Nurse	BS	Nursing	65
27	M	36	Journalist			
28	M	37	Pharmacist	DPharm	Pharmacology	135
29	M	28	Computer Software	BS	Computer Science	42
30	M	30	Human Resources			37
31	M	48	Chef	BA	Culinary Arts	47
32	M	36	2ndary Ed Teacher	BA	English	40
33	M	60	District Linguistics Director	MA	Education	85
34	F	32	Personal Consultant	BA	Communication	70
35	M	33	Comp. Programmer	(2) MA	Music, Comp. Eng.	65
36	F	39	Attorney	JD	Law	160
37	M	49	Bldg. Contractor			80
38	F	58	Corporate Editor			76
39	TF	50	Uni Prof	PhD	Education	75
40	M	38	Attorney	JD	Law	130
N=40	**M=28 F=12**	**Range 27-81 Mean 44.5**		**32 of 40 (80%) Received 'Higher education'**		**Range 0-250 Mean 68.1**

As represented in table 5a, nearly three-quarters of my respondents are men. This finding is congruent with many studies which suggest that males are more likely to disaffiliate, to secularize, to claim a non-religious or irreligious status when answering questions about religious activity or observance on surveys, to become atheists or agnostics, and finally are also more likely to apostatize than females assessed within the same milieu.[1] Indeed an extensive body of research exists which makes clear that on several measures of religiosity, men consistently fall short of the levels maintained by women.[2]

Also included in table 5a is the singular condition regarding case #39. Born a male, she had undergone gender or sex reassignment surgery (SRS) at age forty-three, eight years after leaving the LDS Church, as a means of reconciling the conflict that had plagued her identity earlier in life. Therefore participant #39 represents the sole example of someone who currently identifies as a transsexual woman. As stated in previous chapters, she has requested that her narrative information be treated as 'female' throughout the analysis rather than male; unless otherwise noted, this is an appeal to which I have happily complied.

Current literature suggests that Americans who reject a religious identification or refrain from religious affiliation tend to be young;[3] indeed Voas and Day find correlating evidence in Britain supporting such an inclination as well.[4] Regarding the respondents presented in this research the average age at the time of the interview was roughly forty-four years old, with a total range spanning from twenty-seven to eighty-one. I believe this to be of the utmost consideration when attempting to discern real reasons why individuals choose to discard their religious allegiances. Moreover I trust

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[1] Veevers & Cousineau (1980); Hadaway & Roof (1988); Altmeyer & Hunsberger (1997); Rice (2003). Recent statistics have shown that 58% of Americans who claim 'no religion', 75% of Americans who report that 'agnostic' best represents their religious views, and 70% of Americans who identify as 'atheists' are men; see Keysar (2007).

[2] Batson et al. (1993); Miller & Hoffman (1995); Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle (1997); Francis (1997); Walter & Davie (1998); Hayes (2000); Miller & Stark (2002); Furseth (2010).

[3] Hayes (2000); Lambert (2004); Kosmin & Keysar (2006) found that nearly one quarter of those aged between eighteen and thirty-four describe themselves as secular, while only 10% of those surveyed over the age of sixty-five did so. Keysar (2007) further reports that one-third of US atheists are under twenty-five years old and half are under thirty. Also see http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise-demographics/.

[4] Voas & Day (2007) find that 63% of British young adults aged eighteen to twenty-four do not claim any affiliations with religion, while 22% of those over the age of sixty-five report the same. It is quite interesting to note that these statistics are significantly higher than those reported in the US by Kosmin & Keysar (2006). Also see Pew Research: Religion and Public Life project (2012) http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise-demographics/.

such maturity will contribute significantly to the integrity of the narratives given as none of the respondents spoke from the perspective of someone dealing with life during their adolescent years or early phases of adulthood, a time often associated with significant social and personal flux as people are attempting to discover who they are and where they fit within the world.[5] In fact the three respondents under the age of thirty had achieved higher education degrees and were all gainfully employed.

Occupationally speaking, among others, we have the voice of a janitor, a bus driver, and a middle-aged unemployed single mother. It must be stated however that the sample suffers clearly from its skewedness toward the direction of intellectuals, professionals, administrators, and high-grade managers.[6] Reflecting this limitation there is a significantly high level of educational attainment among members of the ex-Mormon representation. Such a finding may be charged as partially resulting from the effects of my gatekeeper/key informant who also served as informant #1 in the acquisition of my sample.[7] Nevertheless this cannot be judged to be a negative aspect of the manuscript; for it is well known that educational attainment, college attendance and graduation, and an increased level of intellectual orientation has been found to positively correlate with, and thereby function as significant predictors of disaffiliation and abandonment from religious origins, the rejection of a religious worldview, and the development of a secularized life-style.[8] Indeed to remind the reader of Ebaugh's conclusions based on her extensive studies of exiting nuns she states: "education level in an order is the best predictor of the degree of structural

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[5] It seems to me that the drama of adolescent/young adult identity and flux is largely absent from the context constructed by those who are dedicated to the LDS path. Indeed there is little space for negotiation or deviation from norms of idealism to flourish due to the highly efficacious and consolidated system of saintmaking, which consistently provides meaning, direction, validation, and purpose to various life stages associated with growth and development. However, it would be academically absurd to negate the reality that to some degree or another interpretive action in the form of peculiarity, asymmetry, variance, or divergence from the established status quo is omnipresent.

[6] I have used the well known Goldethorpe class schema to classify the occupations of my respondents (2000: 209).

[7] Recall the discussion concerning my focus group on pp. 100-101 and the role that my professorial gatekeeper fulfilled in its formation. It would also be prudent to review the description of my sampling methodology as well as the acquisition of additional informants and respondents that are detailed on pp. 101-108 in relation to the effects which my gatekeeper may have had upon the educational and occupational constitution of the sample.

[8] Baker (2008); Kosmin (2008); Sherkat (2008; 2003); Beit-Hallahmi (2007); Keysar (2007); Hayes (2000; 1995); McAllister (1998); Altmeyer & Hunsberger (1997); Johnson (1997); Sherkat & Ellison (1991); Hadaway & Roof (1988); Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi (1975). Also see Pew Research: Religion and Public Life project (2012) http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise-demographics/.

change effected [therein]," and by extension "is also a predictor of rates of leaving from [such an] order."[9] Furthermore let us not forget the results of Bar-Lev and colleagues who determined that both intellectual and educational/pedagogical factors are quite significant when attempting to understand a person's choice to disaffiliate from Haredi-Judaism.[10] As for the full breakdown of the sample, only 20% or eight individuals received 'no higher education' beyond high school; that is, 80% or thirty-two respondents have attended and graduated from university with at least a baccalaureate certification. Eight or 20% had acquired a master's degree, with one-fourth or two of such master's holders earning dual graduate qualifications. Nine respondents or 23% possess doctorates, with three participants obtaining doctorate degrees within a professional capacity. Of extreme interest are the subject areas in which the Mormon disaffiliates specialized: of thirty-two individuals who possess higher educational qualifications, we find only two who had pursued either philosophy or literature to their furthest ends; the remaining thirty vary between those in the hard or the practical sciences and those that are arguably professional in orientation. It is also interesting to point out that only two individuals represented did not attend a school within Utah; participants #3 and #26 earned their qualifications in Missouri and Oregon. Of the remaining thirty respondents, nineteen had attended BYU for either their undergraduate or graduate programs and eleven began and finished at other universities located within Utah or near the Mormon corridor with one participant receiving his Ph.D. in philosophy from Yale.

Last, the average income reflected in the sample is over $68,000.00 (US dollars) per year. It is vital to acknowledge that within the Rocky Mountain west such a salary is surely ample to afford any given person or household a better than average lifestyle as the typical annual income in 2011 has been reported to be $39,811.[11] This finding is congruent with statistics brought to light by the Pew Forum in 2012 which suggests that rising levels of personal income in America correlate to an increasing rate of religious 'nones' being represented within survey data.[12] International Gallup facts and figures affirm the above by reporting that religious allegiance and belief are

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[9] Ebaugh (1977: 122). Also recall the previous treatment of Ebaugh's findings regarding the acquisition of graduate degrees in ch 1, pp. 43-44.
[10] Bar-Lev et al. (1997) is discussed in ch 1, pp. 72-74.
[11] *Economic Summary 2012*.
[12] Pew Research: Religion and Public Life Project (2012) http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise-demographics/.

most apparent in poor nations when compared to wealthy nations;[13] indeed Norris and Inglehardt's existential security thesis of secularization taking place in religion and politics thoroughly elaborates and confirms such phenomena.[14] Finally Steve Bruce, upon massive reviews of the secularization thesis, states unequivocally: "prosperity itself weakens religious commitments."[15]

Contributing somewhat divergent evidence for consideration, eight individuals interviewed earned less than the average income reported by the Utah state government with salaries ranging from $25,000.00 to $37,000.00 per annum. Categorizing the slightly decreased earning schedules associated with these respondents in terms of educational attainment we can see that three possessed baccalaureate qualifications, two had achieved master's degrees, one individual held a Ph.D. in biochemistry, and two were not educated beyond secondary school. Despite lower salaries all eight participants were securely employed and reflected contentment, even happiness, when describing their respective occupational roles and achievements. Two additional respondents were unemployed at the time of the interview; the first, a middle-aged single mother with four children held a baccalaureate degree in marketing from BYU, however she was not seeking employment while raising her family. The second, a thirty-six year old male attempting to procure a career as a freelance journalist, was actively submitting work to various newspapers and magazines while maintaining a presence on several internet chat forums in the hope of obtaining public recognition for his views on politics and human rights. Despite his thorough knowledge of current affairs, legislation, and other issues surrounding equal rights for women and homosexuals, he did not possess any higher education qualifications.

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[13] Religiosity Highest in World's Poorest Nations (2010). http://www.gallup.com/poll/142727/religiosity-highest-world-poorest-nations.aspx. It must be acknowledged that the idea of American exceptionalism abounds in several reports concerning global, international, or cross-cultural/comparative treatments of religiosity; this Gallup article is no different as it states that 'the US is among the rich countries that buck the above stated trend'. Recognizing that this is not the time, place, or context to engage in arguments regarding this perspective, I would nonetheless like to make the reader aware that my views on the subject of American exceptionalism have come to rest fully on the position forwarded by British scholars of secularization who suggest that contemporary religion and au courante expressions of religiosity in the US are best described as largely vacuous; see Wilson (1966: 86-124), Bruce (2002: 204-228; 2011: 157-176). There are of course cases which do not conform to this characterization; Utah Mormonism is perhaps the most substantial and definitely among the strongest examples of departure from such a statement.

[14] Norris & Inglehart (2004).

[15] Bruce (2011: 29).

Table 5b. Previous Mission and Marriage Characteristics of Respondents

Case No.	Sex	Mission	1st marriage temple	Divorce
1	M	Y	Y	Yes
2	F	Y	Y	Yes
3	M	Y	Y	Yes
4	M	Y	Y	Yes
5	M	Y	Never married	
6	M	N	Never married	
7	F	N	No	No
8	M	N	Y	No
9	F	N	Y	Yes
10	M	Y	Never married	
11	M	Y	Y	Yes
12	F	N	Y	No
13	M	Y	Never Married	
14	M	N	Y	No
15	F	N	Y	No
16	M	Y	Y	Yes
17	M	Y	Never married	
18	M	Y	Y	No
19	M	Y	Never married	
20	M	Y	Y	No
21	M	Y	Y	Yes
22	M	Y	Y	No
23	M	Y	Y	Yes
24	F	N	Y	Yes
25	F	Y	No	No
26	F	N	Y	Yes
27	M	Y	Never married	
28	M	Y	Y	Yes
29	M	Y	Y	No
30	M	Y	Never Married	
31	M	Y	Y	Yes
32	M	Y	Never married	
33	M	Y	Y	No
34	F	N	Never married	
35	M	Y	Never married	
36	F	N	Y	Yes
37	M	Y	Y	Yes
38	F	N	Y	Yes
39	TF	Y	Y	Yes
40	M	Y	Never married	
N=40	**M=28**	**Male**: **25 of 28 (89%)**	**26 of 28 (93%)**	**17 of 28 (60%)**
	F=12	**Female: 3 of 12 (25%)**		

Table 5b familiarizes us with the subjects' choice of whether or not to have served an LDS mission, as well as making us aware of their decision to marry in a religiously sanctioned ceremony. Recall that the personal commitment toward the formal expression of organizationally endorsed proselytization and the sacred wedding rite performed in a consecrated LDS temple are both highly valued in the

Mormon faith; moreover such are considered overt symbols affirming one's worthiness and both claims and solidifies a person's right to belong. Further, mission service and temple marriage are believed to ensure an individual's place within the celestial kingdom of glory, the benefits of which are only to be enjoyed by deserving Latter-day Saints in the life hereafter. As can be seen, nearly 90% of all men as well as one-quarter of the women represented have served the faith of their origins by advocating – either domestically or abroad – for the dogma, theology, and belief structure indicative of the Latter-day Saint worldview.

Twelve of the forty subjects or 30% were 'never married', which reduces our qualifiable *N* to twenty-eight when discussing respondents who were 'ever married'. Quite significant is the very interesting observation that of the twelve individuals who had refrained from marriage only one is a female. Aged thirty-two, respondent #34 holds a baccalaureate degree in communication from Utah State University, is profitably employed, and did not serve a mission. The remaining eleven or 92% are men, two of which had not earned any higher education qualifications. Of the nine who possess higher education credentials, participant #19 holds a Ph.D. in biochemistry from the University of Utah (U of U) and his undergraduate degree was earned while attending Southern Utah University located at the gateway of both Bryce Canyon and Zion National Parks. Respondent #40, the only African-American in the sample, had achieved his bachelor's degree in economics from BYU and subsequently earned a Juris Doctor (JD) from the University of California. Participant #17 had obtained his master's degree in public policy from the U of U after studying economics at BYU. Respondent #35 acquired both his master's and bachelor's degrees from the U of U. Of the remaining five, four held baccalaureates earned while at the U of U or Utah State University, and one individual graduated from BYU with a B.A. in English Literature. Ten of the eleven males were similar in age (twenty-seven years old to thirty-eight years old; or born between 1971 and 1978) and had served LDS missions. Only one male respondent stood out from the norm established here in terms of age and the decision to proselytize; fifty-nine year old respondent #6 was the earlier discussed conscientious objector who had been drafted into the Vietnam War.[16] When considering the higher educational achievements of those 'never married' it is important to acknowledge that all undergraduate training had

[16] See ch 4, p. 167; see p. 162 for a quote from respondent #6 regarding memories associated with Aaronic priesthood service.

taken place within the MCR; additionally, three cases were fully associated with attendance at Brigham Young University and therefore can be described as taking place amidst the 'BYU experience'. Judging from the data reported above it might seem that attendance at a university other than BYU subsequent to serving an LDS mission may foster a progressive or liberal rather than a conservative or traditional perspective when it comes to viewing one's own decisions regarding marriage.

Regarding the 'ever married' category we can see that twenty-six or 93% of first unions were sealed for time and all eternity by the sanctification associated with wedding rites taking place within a Mormon temple, thus reflecting the participant's individual maximization of, and dedication to, the ideal LDS marriage.[17] Such action based upon belief brings into play the entire spectrum of theological, social, and psychological realities surrounding exaltation, family life, community, and church.[18] Of these eternal sealings, only 34% or nine have remained intact. Taken as a whole, seventeen of twenty-six initial celestial unions ended in divorce. Otherwise stated, the dissolution rate for first-time LDS temple marriages represented in this sample is over 65%. This finding is not intended to directly condemn other statements forwarded by LDS scholars who suggest that "Temple marriages are characterized by lower divorce rates" and further that "Non-temple marriages are almost five times more likely to result in divorce than are temple marriages."[19] Nor is such a discovery meant to displace statistics presented by Brigham Young University faculty members who have reported the LDS temple marriage divorce rate to be 7% for women and 6% for men as contrasted against 33% and 28% respectively for those members who have instead been married only in a civil procedure.[20] Rather, the rate of termination concerning eternal marriages reported here is descriptive of this qualitative sample alone with no extrapolation of meaning, quantities, qualities, or intent implied. Contradicting so much of what young Mormons are taught throughout their engagement with the saintmaking process, not only are we able to ascertain that temple marriages can in fact fail, but may possibly do so at rates that far exceed the statistics and implications suggested by previous studies. Additionally, and also diverging from norms associated with an LDS sense of expectation and judgment, the otherwise considered

[17] Heaton (1998: 124).
[18] Davies (2003: 166).
[19] Albrecht (1998: 277); Judd (1998: 488); Thomas (1983).
[20] Judd (1998: 489); Heaton (1987).

inferior marriages performed outside of the covenant have in fact persisted for many years. Despite the occurrence of these secular unions taking place within a Mormon milieu and by those who claimed to be Latter-day Saints at the time, I believe this result reflects conclusions that are fully supported by Zuckerman who agrees with the Barna Research Group that atheists, agnostics, and secularists (essentially those refraining from religious affiliation and identification) have a lower divorce rate than religious Americans.[21] The total divorce rate for first-time marriages among the sample was 60% after accounting for the two municipal cases of wedlock, which again, did not result in divorce.

[21] Zuckerman (2009: 957).

Table 5c. Current Marriage/Sexual Identity, Spiritual/Religious Outlook, and Disaffiliate/Apostate Type

Case No.	Sex	Marital/Sexual Status	Spiritual/Religious	Disafill/Apostate
1	M	Div, not remarried	Spiritual	Integrated
2	F	Div, not remarried, homosexual cohabitation	Atheist	Apostate: I
3	M	Div, 3rd marriage, LDS spouse	Buddhist	Apostate: I
4	M	Div, 2nd marriage, non-LDS spouse	Atheist	Apostate: II
5	M	Never married	Cnfsd	Discordant
6	M	Never married	Spiritual	Integrated
7	F	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Atheist	Apostate: I
8	M	Widower, LDS spouse	Seeker	Integrated
9	F	2nd divorce, not married	Agnostic	Integrated
10	M	Never married	Agnostic	Integrated
11	M	Div, 2nd marriage, non-LDS spouse	"AM" Cnfsd	Discordant
12	F	Widow, LDS spouse	Agnostic	Integrated
13	M	Never married	Agnostic	Integrated
14	M	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Atheist	Integrated
15	F	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Agnostic	Integrated
16	M	Div, 2nd marriage, non-LDS spouse	"CM" Cnfsd	Apostate: I
17	M	Never married	Atheist	Apostate: I
18	M	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Cnfsd	Discordant
19	M	Never married, homosexual cohabitation	Agnostic	Apostate: I
20	M	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Pagan	Apostate: I
21	M	Div, not remarried	"OM" Cnfsd	Discordant
22	M	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Spiritual	Apostate: I
23	M	Div, not remarried, homosexual cohabitation	Spiritual	Apostate: II
24	F	Div, not remarried	Spiritual	Integrated
25	F	Orig. marriage, non-LDS spouse	Spiritual	Integrated
26	F	Div, not remarried, homosexual cohabitation	Agnostic	Integrated
27	M	Never married, homosexual cohabitation	Atheist	Apostate: I
28	M	Div, not remarried	"PM" Cnfsd	Apostate: II
29	M	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Sec. Hum.	Integrated
30	M	Never married, self reported homosexual	Christian	Integrated
31	M	Div, not remarried, self reported homosexual	Agnostic	Apostate: I
32	M	Never married, homosexual cohabitation	Atheist	Integrated
33	M	Orig. marriage, LDS spouse	Christian	Integrated
34	F	Never married, self reported homosexual	Agnostic	Integrated
35	M	Never married	LDS ? Cnfsd	Discordant
36	F	Div, not remarried	Atheist	Apostate: I
37	M	Div, not remarried	LDS ? Cnfsd	Discordant
38	F	2nd divorce, not remarried	Agnostic	Integrated
39	TF	Div, not remarried	Agnostic	Apostate: II
40	M	Never married	Agnostic	Integrated
N=40	**M=28 F=12**	**Not Remarried N=11 of 28 (39%)** **Intact Original Marriage N=9 of 28 (32%)** **Widow(er) N=2 of 28 (7%)** **Remarried N=6 of 28 (21%)** **Never Married N=12 of 40 (30%)** **Self Reported HMSX N=9 of 40 (23%)** **HMSX Cohabitation N=6 of 9 (66%)**	**Agnostic N=12 (30%)** **Spiritual N=6 (15%)** **Confused N=8 (20%)** **Atheist N=8 (20%)** **Other N=6 (15%)**	**Disaffiliate N=25 (62%)** **Int N=19 (76%)** **Dis N=6 (24%)** **Apostate N=15 (38%)** **I: N=11 (73%)** **II: N=4 (27%)**

In addition to making clear the current marital, sexual orientation/identity, and spiritual/religious condition of respondents who constitute the sample, data further contained in table 5c identifies the subjects' disaffiliate or apostate type. Following from previous information reported in table 5b we can see that eleven or 39% of those seventeen individuals experiencing divorce from an initial celestial union have not remarried – indeed to remind the reader, only those who had partaken in rites associated with an eternal sealing experienced marital severance while the two secular, civil, or mundane nuptials remained immune to partition. Of the eleven cases summarized in the preceding discussion (nine temple marriages and two civil ceremonies) whereby a person's first marriage resulted in a stable and enduring relationship, nine remain stalwart while two have unfortunately ended due to the death of a spouse, thus yielding one widower and one widow who were both previously sealed in an LDS temple. Claiming a strange sort of commitment to their deceased spouses through an uneasy yet hopeful belief in eternity while condemning the Latter-day Saint religion, participants #8 and #12 are content to continue living their lives alone, in fact they both report: "I will never remarry." This brings us to the recognition that seven temple and two non-temple unions, or nine original marriages endure. Including the two cases where marriage was not broken due to divorce but to the passing of a loved-one, along with the nine persisting marital bonds currently recognized, the first-time marital success rate represented in the sample can be reported as 39%.

Six divorced respondents had re-wed by the time of the interview. Participant #3, a fifty-five year old bus driver, had remarried an LDS spouse though did so in a civil ceremony. After yet another break-up, he is now happily married to his third wife and states: "I guess the third time is a charm." Despite his rejection of the Mormon faith #3 is curiously – perhaps comically though quite unsurprisingly – wed to a semi-active twice-divorced LDS woman, he now claims five children. Thirty-two year old respondent #4 currently shares his life with a new non-LDS wife who hails from Salt Lake City, was raised within a Mormon household, and had not been married previously; he appreciates her completely but disclosed quite ashamedly at the end of the interview: "I think I am wrestling with my own identity… I love her very much, but I'm not so sure who I am anymore." Within a year of her first divorce, which occurred at age twenty-one, participant #9 remarried an upstanding older LDS gentleman who had also been divorced. Despite his respectable position within the

Mormon community, he entirely supported her desire to abstain from another celestial ceremony. She reflects: "He was a good man, there was nothing wrong with him, but I guess I came to feel that there was nothing very right with him either." After twelve years of living a life that she described as resembling "a stale piece of bread," she initiated divorce proceedings and has not entertained the idea of a third marriage. Respondents #11 and #16 both remarried non-LDS wives. #11 became the first husband of a young woman born into an intergenerational Mormon household who was raised in Provo, and #16 was now the third spouse of a Los Angeles, California woman who was much older than he, but similar to the above-mentioned second and third spouses, had also been raised within a Latter-day Saint home. Last, participant #38 fled from her civil marriage to a second LDS man after nearly three years of extreme abuse, unhappiness, and depression. A final point merits an explicit statement: all first and subsequent marriages indicative of every respondent in the sample had taken place, developed, succeeded, or failed within the geographic and ideological confines of the Mormon culture region. This to recognize – with the exception of respondents #36, #39, and #40 who currently reside in Arizona, Nevada, and Seattle – that no one else had left Utah to seek for, establish, and maintain a fuller more satisfying sense of life and happiness elsewhere.

The previously observed $N = 12$ representing those 'never married' is treated in table 5c as well. Five of the twelve individuals who had abstained from marriage, that is one-third or 42%, currently claim a homosexual identity; three of which presently report living with a partner. This underscores the broader N of nine total respondents or 22% of the entire sample who profess either a gay or lesbian identity.[22] With three cases coming from those who were 'never married' and three additional cases originating from those who had experienced divorce, six self-reported homosexuals expressed at the time of the interview that they were grateful to be involved in committed, fulfilling, and overall healthy cohabitational relationships. Two 'never married' participants, a thirty year old male and a thirty-four year old female, stated that they would "welcome with open arms" the prospect of a "genuine life-commitment to someone they loved;" however, because experience had thus far taught them both similar lessons neither were eagerly game to enter the dating scene. At the time that I spoke to each of them respectively, they both seemed to be quite

[22] Respondents #2, #19, #23, #26, #27, #30, #31, #32, and #34.

stable, comfortable, and satisfied regarding their sexual orientations. Representing the opposite end of the spectrum, respondent #31, a forty-eight year old divorcé who had spent his life in Provo, Utah and career at BYU had sadly not found a sense of balance between his inner propensities and the external reality from which he felt continually tormented. Neither dating, looking for a companion, nor at ease with himself #31 disclosed at several points throughout his interview that he was depressed, physically unwell, utterly confused, and psychologically exhausted.

Regarding the presented spiritual/religious outlook of the ex-Mormon sample, eleven participants or 30% report that 'agnostic' most accurately describes their current perspectives. Here, claiming an agnostic preference means that a person is unsure or undecided about the reality of God; or differently, believes that there are certain matters in this world that are beyond the scope of human knowledge and comprehension, thus resulting in the opinion that God's existence or non-existence is ultimately un-provable or unknowable.[23]

Six or 15% identify as 'personally spiritual', which points not only to a subjective dimension of belief, but also to the possibilities associated with an incredibly vast amalgamation of religious, other-worldly, or unconventional methods that are utilized for the subjective attainment of mystical oneness, existential peace, or physico-cosmic wellness. Personal spirituality may also imply or perhaps even identify various ideas, techniques, or exercises by which an individual subjectively claims to connect with a universal or ultimate truth, or likewise maintain a relationship with a higher power. For many within the sample, notions of personal spirituality often included the assertion that prayer and fasting were not under the sovereign control of the Mormon Church; indeed many participants told me that anyone could engage in such actions and garner spiritual benefit. Therefore the practices were reinterpreted, individualized, and ultimately utilized differently in order to provide personal meaning and value apart from the dogmatic constraints associated with a strictly defined LDS context.[24]

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[23] Zuckerman (2009: 950); also see Eller (2005). Kosmin and Keysar (2009: 8) have qualified the two differing expressions of agnosticism as constituting either a 'softer form' or a 'hard form'. Soft agnostics are those who are unsure about God's existence while hard agnostics are those who claim that there is no way to know whether God exists or not.

[24] Bruce (2011: ch 5) treats the development of personal spirituality as a significant result of the process of individualization, which as we know is an inextricable component of his presentation of the secularization thesis.

Eight respondents or 20% are either fully confused regarding a religious stance or are negotiating or purporting some type of informal, nominal, or partial allegiance to their LDS roots. Despite professing an aversion to Mormon theology and doctrinal belief, photographs of various LDS temples, Mormon Church houses, and several prophets hung upon the walls of respondent #16's home. Indeed the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, decades of the *Ensign* magazine, and scores of other examples of Mormon literature were stacked within the living room bookshelf. Although he had formally become an apostate eight years earlier at age thirty-seven by requesting name removal from the records of the church, thereby rendering himself an outcast among worthy members of the faith, he admitted: "I often stroll the grounds of the Salt Lake City temple at night… it reminds me who I am and where I have come from… in a way, I guess, living in Utah even after all the drama allows me to remain in touch with myself." Five years prior to #16's apostasy he reported being violently and callously ousted from his family of origin when denouncing the truth of a temple marriage and marrying his second wife in a civil ceremony. Rather than harbouring hatred and anger he instead embraces the history of his pioneering ancestors, values the choices that his family has made, and continues to appreciate the milieu in which he resides by calling himself a 'cultural Mormon'.[25] Representing a slightly different type of confusion, negotiation, or existential compromise among members of the sample, some participants exhibited a complete inability to embrace, reject, or identify with any religious or non-religious perspective whatsoever (apart from maintaining a strange belief in Mormonism based upon an ascriptive identity) thus resulting in what I will refer to as near-complete ambiguity, formlessness, or apathy. Similarly, piecemeal or selective loyalty to seemingly divergent identities or incompatible ideologies were manifested in several statements by which individuals claimed themselves to be an 'agnostic Mormon', an 'occultist Mormon' and lastly, a 'partial Mormon'.[26] It is important to stress the finding that within this research only men exhibited high degrees of religious confusion, vacillation, or ambivalence

[25] Recall Albrecht's (1998) categorization of the cultural saint treated in ch 1, p. 85.
[26] 'Pick and mix' or cafeteria style religiosity allows people to choose from among a culturally accepted repertoire those religious or spiritual "bits they like best" and drop those other ingredients or structures which they view as unnecessary, irrelevant, or otherwise unrelated to their psychological well-being; see Bruce (2002: 83; 2011: 20, 138-139). Such psychologization of religious belief can also be stated to represent a pastiche, piecemeal, or smorgasbordian type of religiosity or spirituality, which is the result of greater degrees and acceptance of eclecticism as realized from the perspective of modernization.

concerning an appraisal of belief or religious position; women on the other hand seem to have been able to solidify a sense of equanimity and strength regarding various aspects leading to their self-reported identities.

An additional eight respondents or 20% declare 'atheism' as their newly adopted worldview. Most subjects who maintain an atheist identity have moved beyond the view of simply disbelieving in God, instead they have taken a rigid stance against such a belief and further reject all notions associated with his existence.[27]

Six participants or 15% affirm beliefs unrelated to the aforementioned categories. Respondent #3, the earlier discussed thrice-married bus driver, now regularly attends a Buddhist temple in Salt Lake City and states: "Buddhism's focus upon tranquil, harmonious, and Godless wisdom is the best thing I've found." Respondent #8, the singular widower in the sample who is also a devout seeker, sees "truth and honesty in all things." Discovering a degree of intimacy and friendship amidst deviant forms of religious expression that he had never before experienced in Mormonism, participant #20 comfortably identifies himself as a pagan. Respondent #29, a twenty-eight year old secular humanist, is neither indifferent nor oblivious to the influences and effects of organized religion.[28] Viewing religion and spirituality as nonsensical, he has adopted a perspective or worldview that emphasizes the rational, logical, scientific, and the strictly economic in matters of his own existence.[29] Interestingly, respondent #29 was resolute throughout the interview in maintaining a neutral opinion concerning the role which God, religion, and spirituality fulfilled in the lives of others – indeed a very mature perspective.[30] Finally, respondents #30 and #33 profess their allegiance to Christianity and retain a strong degree of faith in the wide-ranging tradition and knowledge associated with Christ and the Bible; as well, both equally convey disdain and distrust regarding LDS interpretations of Biblical meaning.

Despite the decision to sever ties – either spiritually, organizationally, theologically, or otherwise – we can see that twenty-five participants or 62% of the ex-Mormon sample are categorized as 'disaffiliates'. It is important to bear in mind

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[27] Baggini (2003: 1-11, 91-107).
[28] Individual indifference or oblivion to the effects of religion upon a modern American consciousness is a type of secularity that aligns well with Kosmin's (2007: 3) dimension of 'soft secularism'.
[29] Bruce (2002: 4; 2011: 27).
[30] Allport (1950: 60-61).

that all forty respondents in fact fulfill the various criteria associated with the term as it has been generally used and engaged throughout the disaffiliation literature.[31] However, because the dynamics related to an LDS definition of apostasy are relevant to this enquiry, I have distinguished between the two acts/concepts of religious exit in order to provide clarity when it comes to understanding the utility of each expression. At its base, disaffiliation entails a process of disidentification by which ego may ultimately come to break away from previously cherished ideals associated with group members, goals, and leaders; in this sense religious disaffiliation is simply the sequence of actions that indicate a person's transition FROM an earlier valued religious career, mindset, or series of involvements TO the position of identifying as or with something different. Often such a change will place the alternating individual within the status of non-member from the perspectives of both self and others. Thus in the case of disaffiliation from Mormonism a disaffiliate is someone who has either reached the end point of identity transition away from the LDS faith, or is currently occupied by various efforts and attempts to locate and define oneself as no longer affiliating with Mormonism, believing in LDS principles, or identifying as a Latter-day Saint. The twenty-five participants who have been labeled as disaffiliates in this research are further qualified as aligning with either an 'integrated' or a 'discordant' sense of self. These descriptive terms, derived from Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance,[32] have been utilized in order to differentiate respondents who have reached a healthy degree of detachment from Mormonism in terms of their self-reported identities from those others who are still struggling to extricate themselves from the chaos and pain of fully 'letting go'. As can be observed in table 5c, nineteen individuals or 76% of disaffiliates are labeled as 'integrated', thus reflecting my own judgment regarding the conviction and confidence in which they had represented themselves and talked about their current goals and aspirations throughout the interviews. The remaining six respondents, or 24% of disaffiliates represented (again, all are males), are categorically described as 'discordant' due to variable levels and degrees of professed beliefs or family ties that abide between themselves and their Mormon origins; an artifact that is significantly represented in the manner by which

[31] Greil and Davidman (2007); Francis and Katz (2000); Bromley et al. (1997); Schaffir (1997); Bromley (1988, 1991). The phenomenon of disaffiliation from several religious origins is discussed at length in ch 1; also recall the treatment of disaffiliation, as well as my operationalization of the individual disaffiliate, which is detailed on pp. 94-95.
[32] Festinger (1957).

respondents #5, #11, #16, #18, #21, #28, #35, and #37 have identified their current spiritual/religious outlook.

Faintly at variance from the above depiction, the label 'apostate' is often enlisted to characterize any person who has left religion altogether.[33] Furthermore the term frequently refers to an objective disavowal of religious identity without retaining any implications toward a broader conceived individual religiosity or personal spirituality that may or may not occur beyond exit.[34] Very important for this research is the distinction that apostasy applies only to those religious defectors, disaffiliates, and ex-members "who have had some history of regular attendance and involvement in the church, not merely nominal affiliation."[35] In a strict sense, the act of apostasy is defined by the abandonment of religious beliefs and the abrogation of faith. However to further sharpen its analytical utility, apostasy also indicates the necessity that in order to be considered an apostate a person must reject a particular ascriptive community as the primary basis for one's self-identification.[36] Thus, to be an apostate is to rebel against one's origins. Indeed warnings contained within the LDS canon inform fervent members "Apostasy occurs whenever an individual… rejects the revelations and ordinances of God, changes the gospel of Jesus Christ, or rebels against the commandments of God."[37] Further, "Latter-day Saints who have seriously contravened or ignored cardinal Church teachings, publicly or privately, are considered apostates, whether or not they have left the Church or affiliated with another religion."[38] In this sense, to be certain, just as I had stated above on page 208 that all forty respondents are in fact disaffiliates, it can be understood that all participants represented in the sample are apostates as well. I have discussed the treatments of those who have used the expression in the past and have also pointed out its relevance to Mormonism's conception of adherence, conflict, identity, and control.[39]

Though apostasy commonly indicates various processes whereby the end result is the self-initiated rejection or renunciation of religion and religious principles acquired through the myriad processes of ascriptive socialization by those who exhibit

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[33] Caplovitz & Sherrow (1977).
[34] Hadaway & Roof (1988).
[35] Mauss (1969: 128).
[36] Caplovitz & Sherrow (1977: 30-31).
[37] *EM*: Todd Compton; *Apostasy*, 56-58.
[38] *EM*: Gilbert W. Scharffs; *Apostate*, 59.
[39] See ch 1, pp. 93-94. Also see Davies (2003: 229).

overriding passions toward alternative preferences, we must not ignore the fact that within an LDS worldview this describes only one aspect of the term. To be specific, despite the claim of the organization that apostasy can occur from a series of rebellious or disobedient events unrelated or divorced from an individual's presence upon a bureaucratically maintained membership roster, it must be further understood within the context of an everyday Latter-day Saint reality that an 'apostate' may also be created through the process of excommunication. Herein lies a subtle duality of purpose, emotion, and experience; for excommunication can be realized in two distinct ways. First, a Latter-day Saint may request their names to be formally removed from church records because it is something that the individual agent desires. Second, Mormons may be driven out of the fold because the organization, leadership, or authority structure deems it necessary in order to maintain a strong sense of collective identity, to ensure the continuity of its ethos, to preserve social harmony among its constituency, or in reaction to a range of punitive or corrective issues. It is straightforward to comprehend that those members requesting their own removal from the Mormon milieu are in fact happy to be unchained. However for those whose expulsion has been mandated by the will of others in response to transgression, sin, an inability to 'tow the line', or perhaps even one's refusal to complete a course of repentance, the loneliness of being forcefully banished from a treasured LDS universe may very well be felt more akin to receiving a prison sentence or perhaps even a death decree than simply being set free. Within the sample there are fifteen cases of apostasy resulting from excommunication. Eleven instances are defined by voluntary name removal from the records of the LDS organization as reported in table 5c by the label 'apostate: I'; the remaining four have been classified as 'apostate: II' and were denounced from the church through official channels of discipline and condemnation. Male respondents #16 and #28 represent the sole apostates that I have also categorized above as 'confused', or rather more accurately, they have been unable to alleviate various dissonances associated with reconciling their current identities as non-members with the socially constructed belief system of their past. Representing apostate type I, #16 commenced his own removal from the formal Mormon world while participant #28, categorized as apostate type II, was expelled by way of ecclesiastical proceedings.

5b. INTERPRETATION OF DATA: INTRODUCTION TO THE TRIUNITARIAN MODEL OF LDS DISAFFILIATION

Supporting the development of my triunitarian model is the assumption that humans behave according to tenets associated with Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance. This is to say unequivocally that people enjoy living within a state of existential and psychological harmony, order, and consistency rather than existing within a state of conflict, uncertainty, instability, threat, or imbalance.[40] Of course the basis for individual thought, belief, and action cannot be stated to spring from an undefined or ambiguous source, therefore I have treated the processes of socialization and enculturation occurring within the Mormon culture region as the primary foundation from which to frame an LDS identity.[41] Such an identity can be seen to provide discernable shape regarding the manner by which Latter-day Saints execute choices and view the expanse of their lives.

Providing the second premise underlying my model is the broad historico-intellectual process of secularization, which can be seen to supply ample possibilities for the questioning and breakdown of religious commitment and character. Indeed Bruce (2002, 2011) and many others have suggested that the new economy of knowledge, born from both modernity and secular expansion, has exercised profound influence upon the cognitive functions and realities of contemporary agents.[42] Such influences have further promoted drastic changes in the ways and categories by which people think about themselves, their environments, their convictions, their social networks, their intimate relationships, their problems and their successes. Within the constraints of a Mormon mindset and among the members of a Mormon community change can be ascertained as threatening, unwanted, or heretical.[43] However as Bruce (2002, 2011) has so compellingly argued, secularization – largely an unintended consequence or latent externality resulting from the processes of modernization which includes industrialization, individualization, egalitarianism, intellectualism, the predominance of science over theology in terms of providing suitable explanations for phenomena occurring within the natural world, and both economic growth and

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[40] I have discussed these issues at length in ch 3.
[41] Recall the discussion regarding patterns and cognitive complexity in ch 3, as well as the process of saintmaking discussed in ch 4.
[42] Carrette (2009); Ferguson (2009); Taylor (1989; 2007); Bar-Lev et al. (1997); Giddens (1990; 1991); Ebaugh (1977; 1988a); Berger (1967a; 1967b); Wilson (1966; 1982); Allport (1950).
[43] Recall ch 3, p. 130.

rationalization – is an incredibly powerful global force. In conjunction with Bruce's impressive contribution, it must be admitted that I also believe Wilson's (1982) treatment and concept of societalization[44] to be imperative when discussing appropriate macro-level metaphors that account for changes and modifications of consciousness, subjective decision-making, and desire among members of the sample.

Third, the model provides explanatory focus upon personal, organizational, structural, and belief factors which have caused my respondents to question, doubt, and ultimately to leave their religious certainties behind. Such a significant series of choices and actions, despite their complexity and without asserting any general applicability outside the parameters of this research, indeed supplies the final proposition regarding my current thoughts. For members of this sample, a Latter-day Saint identity did not survive (intact, unscathed, or otherwise) when pitted against a secular sense of self or society. Stated differently, due to the pervasive nature of secularization, its standards and characteristics have come to permeate the geographic and ideological boundaries that had historically separated Latter-day Saints from the outside world.[45] Following from this observation, secularization has presented new possibilities and opportunities for the individual interpretation of various situations and circumstances which may come to challenge traditional Mormon methods of social control, explanation, and judgment. Thus modern Mormons are faced with the prospect of retaining the faith and belief of their fathers through compliance to LDS teachings, or adopting a multiplicity of worldviews that are increasingly more aligned with a liberal, flexible, or secular apprehension of reality. To be specific, secularity has been observed to be at odds with Mormonism. Consequently the Mormon actor who has found secular forms of culture appealing to his or her tastes, preferences, and inclinations will inevitably be forced to deal with the drama and chaos of cognitive dissonance. Therefore the value contained within this project can be seen in its furnishing the reader with an increased appreciation regarding the understanding of

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[44] Wilson (1982: 148-179). The observation that religion and religious thought are both increasingly becoming impoverished is a corollary to the process of societalization, which can be understood as the diminution of small-scale community values in the face of large-scale societal growth. I have touched upon issues of solidarity many times throughout the thesis; however for further clarification regarding Wilson's views recall ch 1, pp. 13-14; for additional information concerning the *Gemeinschaftlich* form of communality see ch 1, p. 68.

[45] This is not to suggest that Zion or the Mormon way of life is breaking or being destroyed under the tide of secularizing forces; see Mauss (1994). I am simply stating that the pressure or impact of modernization does yield observable effects among the pious members of the Latter-day Saint community.

subjective experiences of confusion, pain, and liberation associated with 'letting go' of an earlier cherished LDS identity.

Evidentiary data was gathered by means of in-depth interviews, incidentally more than a few of these dialogues had lasted several hours. All narratives were digitally recorded for accuracy and subsequently transcribed, the longest of which numbered ninety-three pages in length. Full and exact typed renderings were then converted to chronological life histories that conveyed the robust experiences of every respondent. Next, I examined and coded each story multiple times in order to craft a concise, sequentially accurate, unique time-line for all participants. Care was taken to ensure that the time-lines included all issues and aspects that produced distance between my respondents and their ascribed faith. It has been my intention to place all the processes indicative of i) the saintmaking system, ii) the critical inception of happenings or occurrences, as well as iii) the development of questions and actions taken that ultimately resulted in each participant's disaffiliation from the LDS Church within a chronometric and easy to read layout. Innumerable research hours invested over countless months spread throughout several years are represented in the construction of all forty time-lines. However for purposes of explanation and clarity please see time-line #33 depicted below in diagram 5 on page 215.[46]

Upon inspection of the schematic it can be ascertained with ease that a great many features, concerns, and emotions exist within the narrative given by this particular respondent. Similar types and forms of drama frame the accounts given by every other participant as well. Such storm and strife will undoubtedly lead to an extremely sophisticated context regarding the exercise of situational or objective appraisal, social expectation, and personal judgment when attempts are made by ego to negotiate life's everyday pre- and proscriptions.[47] To repeat, for the purposes of this thesis I am providing focus and empirical explanation only to the psycho-sociological enquiry: *Why do fully socialized Mormons disaffiliate from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints?* Of course in addressing this matter a great deal

[46] Time-line #33 was the only case taken to such lengths as to be presented here in a refined, clean, visually appealing example of the end result of my efforts. In order to ensure that cases one through forty stood an equal chance of being chosen for inclusion into the manuscript, the numbers one through forty were placed within a small container. This is to say that #33 was identified by the random selection method of drawing numbers from a hat. While some may label such a technique as trivial, this uncomplicated procedure in all its indiscriminate simplicity thoroughly and suitably fit the needs of my purpose; see Simon (1969: 43).
[47] Turner & Stets (2005: 9).

must be understood in terms of the multidimensional elements that dictate the parameters and constraints associated with an ascriptively acquired Latter-day Saint identity. It is precisely this complex apprehension – in conjunction with various constructionist, structural, cognitive, sociological, rational, economic, and cultural perspectives – which has principally determined the organization and architecture of this work. Taking a serious cue from the status and role treatments discussed earlier in chapter 1,[48] as well as following the processual logic formalized in SanGiovanni's,[49] Ebaugh's,[50] Jacob's,[51] Skonovd's,[52] Wright's,[53] and Bromley's[54] stage models of causality and disaffiliation[55] I bring attention to three emergent stages encountered by all forty participants. When taken together, the experience of these three phases have effectively resulted in the religious disaffiliation or apostasy of the entire membership of my sample. Otherwise stated, my use of the term 'triunitarian' implies that when all three stages are directionally experienced – that is, lived in sequence – a subsequent unity within the model is then brought to light by recognizing that a person's exit from Mormonism is the end result.

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[48] Status and role theory, as well as various examples of work centered upon its concepts are discussed thoroughly in ch 1, pp. 25-50.
[49] SanGiovanni (1978) is reviewed in ch 1, pp. 39-41.
[50] Ebaugh's (1988a) model is discussed in ch 1, pp. 45-48. It is important to remind the reader that Ebaugh amalgamates or unifies the responses of all the ex-nuns in her sample in order to describe the emotional and psychic situation which best categorizes the general experiences of her participants. I have adopted a similar method to report my own findings.
[51] Jacob's (1984) three stages are to be found in ch 1, pp. 49-50.
[52] An efficient review of Skonovd's (1981) work is in ch 1, pp. 55-58.
[53] Wright's (1988) exit model is represented in ch 1, pp. 59-60.
[54] Bromley's (1997) important contributions to the specification of *membership* and *disaffiliation* as concepts that reside within a context of organizational involvement can be reviewed in ch 1, pp. 61-62.
[55] My thoughts on causal processes and stage development are thoroughly discussed in ch 1, pp. 50-53.

Image is too large to fit on page, please contact Mr. Jason Singh for diagram 5

An antecedent is considered to be an individual's *passive acquisition* of knowledge and therefore also represents the introduction of destabilizing cognitive elements to the consciousness of an otherwise contented mind. Such an idea may be understood to support Wright's (1988) suggestion that personal disillusionment occurs as insulating mechanisms, which otherwise protect an individual from the buffetings of an 'outside world', deteriorate. In this sense, Wright's ideas adequately frame the notion that exposure to new information may provide incentive for a person to rationally catalog their current social involvements and in so doing may also adopt a degree of alternation from which the subjective assessment of self is weighed and measured. This is not unlike Ebaugh's (1988a) seminal stage of role exit which is defined by the emergence of *first doubts* and *initial questions*. Furthermore, antecedents also share a slight affinity with Skonovd's (1981) articulation of the *initial crisis* whereby driving forces behind subjective change are attributed to begin as feelings of *uncertainty* become transformed into internalizations of disorientation, alienation, and anomie. However, the emotional heat implied within Skonovd's first stage is at opposition with the cognitive coolness that I attribute to the process of acquiring knowledge in a passive manner. As a final point, Bromley (1997) suggests that a person's commitment to a sense of membership is strongest when consistency and stability is interpreted to abide between character and corporation. Thus as the permanence associated with an organizational identity is placed under scrutiny, so the degree of commitment toward such an identity is questioned as well.[56]

Neither the singular instance of an antecedent nor the presence of the entirety of the stage itself is powerful enough to instigate the serious questioning or doubting of a person's *Weltanschauung*. I conceptualize antecedents as providing to sapient actors glimpses into the potential apprehension of dynamics related to the unfair treatment of self or others, they may also make known the presence of uncomfortable biases, thus they elucidate details or occasions whereby things may not make sense or seem right. Antecedents often make available to a person's cognitive composition issues that require time – concomitant with perhaps other necessary developments or ingredients – in order to progress into serious thoughts of suspicion, anxiety, ambivalence, or confusion regarding the LDS religion.

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[56] This notion, along with Bromley's (1997) suggestion, builds upon Jehenson's (1969) concept of *organizational attractiveness*; see ch 1, p. 34.

Antecedents categorically describe stage 1 and are shown in diagram 5 between the dates 1963 and 1996. At about age fifteen, during the time when young men are serving their faith in the capacity of teacher, which is designative of the Aaronic or lesser priesthood,[57] #33 experienced his first intimation or impression that some things alleged to him by his church leaders in fact "did not feel right." The description of the first instance in the antecedent episode is contained within the green colored account enumerated as (1) and is positioned upon the time-line to have taken place in 1964. As can be seen, #33 experienced ten verifiable antecedents,[58] all of which may be identified in structural context and are located in chronometric order by occurrence and color. Further, the key or color code is located at the bottom left-hand side of the chart.

Steps are denoted in red and constitute the workings of stage 2. They represent the initial operations indicating an *active acquisition* of knowledge that is often, though not necessarily always, purposive in intent. In this sense, steps generally correspond to an increase in emotional heat concerning an individual's evolution toward religious disaffiliation. However, steps do not imply a state of genuine urgency for members of the sample. Despite the many events indicative of stage 2 which have in fact been reported as 'highly disturbing', 'bothersome', 'disgusting', 'eye-opening', 'enlightening', and even 'offensive' by many represented in this research, most participants (if not all) continue to identify as Latter-day Saints within this stage of transition.[59] Following from stage 1 discussed above, steps are

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[57] Recall ch 4, pp. 164-167.

[58] The antecedents, steps, and galvanizers reported in this research are treated as verifiable and therefore may be thought of as 'discrete' only in order to ensure an analytically appropriate presentation of several complicated and intertwined life experiences. I have stated elsewhere (ch 1, pp. 54-55; ft. 53, ch 3, p.126) that continuity, fluidity, and the imperative of the constant flux frame several of the dynamics associated with knowledge, social participation, and self-awareness. Further, I believe it is the combined or cumulative amalgamation of experience that grants the sapient agent an identity capable of evolving in response to any given existential situation (ft. 243, ch 4, pp. 188-189).

[59] I refrain from providing a breakdown regarding the type of 'saint' or 'defector' which members of my sample may align with throughout their engagement with the three stages of the triunitarian model. Recall the various typologies associated with religious membership, identification, rejection, and defection articulated in ch 1, pp. 66-74; however of extreme importance to the topic at hand are the typologies that classify Mormon membership and defection which are comprehensively treated in ch 1, pp. 84-85 and pp. 88-89. To engage in a discussion with this subject would be irrelevant for two reasons; first, the authors Bahr & Albrecht (1989) (discussed in ch 1, pp. 83-86), Albrecht et al. (1988) (treated in ch 1, pp. 86-88), as well as Cornwall et al. (1986) (mentioned in ch 1, pp. 88-89) have achieved a splendid level of representation and clarity regarding LDS membership typologies and the several

understood to be much more potent in their effects upon personal well-being and religious conviction. Thus steps signify factors which intensify ego's feelings of dissonance regarding an LDS identity. Skonovd's (1981) use of *cognitive transition* is relevant here as participants become aware and by extension familiar with the various forms of differences and deviations that affect their everyday experiences and judgments of self.[60] Such an emerging awareness of variation will inevitably impact the thought processes and consciousness of people who are otherwise unsatisfied with the situational context and agentive possibilities indicative of their status quo. Similar to Ebaugh's (1988a) second stage which she calls *seeking alternatives*,[61] steps have also functioned to provide opportunities (whether psychic, theological, or physical) to those members of the sample who envision life apart from the dictates of Mormonism to flirt with identities, customs, and practices which have until this point in their lives been treated as taboo.

Like the antecedents, steps are also chronologically numbered according to the time of life in which they occurred. Notice in the example that the reception of information episodically identified as antecedents – transpiring throughout ten occasions and lasting from 1964 until 1995, a span of thirty-one years – was what essentially necessitated the evolution of individual passivity toward the realm of manifest pursuit and discernable interest concerning this respondent's questions regarding the veracity of the LDS Church. Otherwise stated, in 1997, thirty-three years after his first antecedent, #33 became thoroughly and certainly aware of external and internal factors that had come to exercise influence upon both his worldview and his *Lebenswelt*. At such a time #33 finds he is able, in fact he is compelled, to consciously and meaningfully ponder distanciation from previously held religious internalizations.

Galvanizing issues are presented in blue and mark the content of stage 3. Similar to the antecedents and steps described above, galvanizers are enumerated and

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dimensions of Mormon religiosity. Secondly, my work is not concerned with the extension or development of these categories. The grist of what I gather to be of importance is the fact that all participants within my sample have expressed becoming disillusioned, distanciated, and generally unhappy (to some degree or another) with either the LDS Church, or their own membership within its parameters.

[60] Skonovd's *cognitive transition* has been reviewed in ch 1, p. 58; this idea also shares much with Jacob's (1984) attribution of a *heightened feminist consciousness* as integral to her model of deconversion from cult groups by women; see ch 1, p. 49.

[61] See ch 1, p. 46.

correspond to psychological and socio-structural events located in biographical time and space. Contrasted against the coolness of stage 1, and following from the moderate heat or warmth associated with stage 2, galvanizers are treated as intrinsically hot, wholly active, and both cognitively and emotionally purposive regarding each individual's attainment and interpretation of knowledge.[62] Dominated by narrative reports that reflect several different forms of existential crises – such as religious, spiritual, affiliational, physical, psychic, occupational, sexual, and familial traumas – stage 3 in fact provides the lynchpin by which my respondents have disposed of an earlier valued LDS mindset. SanGiovanni (1978: 27-39) discusses the process of role *relinquishment* as representing the point at which nuns had made the decision to leave their convents;[63] Ebaugh (1988a: 111-113) treats *the turning point* as representing the psychological tranche whereby her disengaging nuns were able to justify and rationalize their decision to exit the convent to both themselves and others;[64] and finally, following from her discussion of the *breaking point*, Jacobs (1984: 170) engages the term *total deconversion* to frame the traumatic struggle of fully breaking free from sacred bonds.[65] Similarly, Skonovd (1981: 113-126) suggests that the decision to actually *leave or exit a new religious movement* is often predicated by lengthy periods of disenchantment, thereby constituting *the crisis of review and reflection* as a course of action that is both long and involved.[66] Bromley (1997: 42) states: "in the most fundamental terms, the process of disaffiliation emanates from structural tensions that precipitate a state of crises for members."[67] Within descriptions of disaffiliation, disinvolvement, and disillusionment he reports that marriages, families, education, and careers function to provide formidable insularity through structural consolidation against the prospect of membership losses within various TNRMs.[68] Casting the prospect of religious disaffiliation as an extremely difficult endeavour for individuals, Bromley (congruent with the thoughts of

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[62] I have sought to describe the stages of antecedents, steps, and galvanizers by integrating the distinction brought to light by DiMaggio & Powell (1991: 15) whereby 'hot images of affectivity' lend comprehension to strong notions of emotion, 'identification', identity, and 'internalization'; while 'cool images of cognition' provide insight into implicit psychologies that pertain to everyday schemas and scripts or routine models of organizing information along the lines of social and psychic categories which are conceptualized as tepid.
[63] See ch 1, p. 40.
[64] See ch 1, pp. 46-47.
[65] See ch 1, p. 50.
[66] See ch 1, p. 57.
[67] Bromley's relevant views are discussed ch 1, pp. 60-62.
[68] Bromley (1997: 49). Recall TNRM refers to *transformative new religious movements*.

Skonovd) further intimates that complete separation can only take place after ego has carefully contemplated the pros and cons of exit, a process which he represents "to occur gradually."[69]

I believe it is important to acknowledge that the process of disaffiliation is made excruciatingly difficult not simply due to the experience of various existential crises emanating from a range of structural tensions, but also because memories consistently stimulate subjective feelings which remind the actor of treasured emotional attachments that have formed between ego and group. Indeed the broad concept and role of memory is an essential aspect for consideration when attempting to understand a person's acquiescence to collective definitions of morality, as well as providing significant comprehension regarding the inherent power which resides within various mechanisms of social control.[70] On the other hand, it is easily grasped that memories also serve an integral function in the process of a person's transition from an ascribed Latter-day Saint identity to an otherwise ex-Mormon distinction.

I have conceptualized stage 3 as providing an excellent mechanism from which to identify the many elements that define an LDS actor's mental and emotional threshold.[71] As such, galvanizers provide the theoretical tipping point[72] whereby disillusioned Mormons are brought to face the realization that there are simply no means available by which an LDS self may fruitfully coexist or share either psychological, corporeal, or proximal space with an oppositional, competitive, or secular identity. Thus to reduce existential pain or discord a disidentified, detached, or disbelieving Latter-day Saint must mobilize the psychic and other energies required in order to advance their perceived conflicts in the direction of the next logical approximation; that is, to exit the faith and in so doing alleviate intolerable amounts of uncomfortable cognitive dissonances.[73] Throughout the lives of the participants in

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[69] Ibid p. 48.

[70] Recall the patternization and cognitive learning characteristics that are discussed at length in ch 3; however of specific note is the short review of the definition and function of memory on p. 121-122.

[71] Hedstrom & Swedberg (1998: 9); Granovetter (1978).

[72] Gambetta (1987; 1993).

[73] Festinger (1957). The decision to disaffiliate or apostatize from Mormonism will not result in an immediate realization of psychological harmony or existential bliss for most ex-members; recall the statement made in ch 3, p. 130 regarding the reduction of dissonance: "while involved in the project of dissonance management a person may inadvertently expose or release an entire legion of black beasts which will come to haunt ego at some future point in time." Indeed in reality the choice to exit the LDS belief system and its organizational control over individual agency is oftentimes the result of ego's absolute necessity to choose

this study the acquisition of new information substantiating their respective decision to distrust, discredit, and in due course to disengage from the LDS religion is in fact tied together and ultimately equates to significance through the theoretical and empirical observance of galvanizing issues. In this sense the various experiences with galvanizers represented herein stand within the model as the *adhesive of distanciation*.

Toward religious departure – marked by the red circle on the right-hand side of the time-line – notice the interval between step one taking place during 1997, and disaffiliation occurring in 2003; it is important to note that such an interval includes the elements of both stage 2 and stage 3. Recall the distinction registered above concerning a person's *passive acquisition of knowledge* associated with the antecedent stage and the *active acquisition of knowledge*, which is understood to take place within the second and third episodes. Furthermore, keep in mind that the affectively hot experiences of galvanizing issues are actively interpreted by ego in order to provide a sense of purpose regarding an individual's rational choice or self-protection matrix.[74] In the case of #33, the active or formal process of distanciation from Mormonism – which includes both steps and galvanizers (stages 2 and 3) – has taken six years, lasting from 1997 until 2003. When consideration is given to the passive, informal, or cool development occurring prior to the secondary and tertiary means of movement, we are able to add another thirty-one years to his cumulative experience of drama. Including the two years separating antecedents from steps, we may thus report a total of thirty-nine years – beginning in 1964 and ending in 2003 – of deliberation concerning the resumption of #33's mind regarding his particular problems with LDS tenets that ultimately shaped and produced his respective exit from such a context.

Ancillary information is provided within the scene of the time-line as well. Toward the top near the case number, specific demographic data can be found that have already been presented in earlier tables and discussions. Grey colored *notes* supply clarification into circumstances that had influenced my consideration of

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between two exclusive states that many respondents within the sample would prefer to unify. This is to say that if an ideal identity were in fact possible, it would be an identity that is both LDS and non-LDS at the same time. Such a prospect is clearly a structurally and psychologically difficult, if not impossible feat to accomplish within the social and theological confines of Zion.

[74] Recall my discussion regarding the preservation of self in ch 3, p. 124-130.

determinism, determination, and causality regarding each respective narrative. On the far right-hand side I have included supplementary descriptions and perceptions from the field that speaks to the theoretical and paradigmatic issues of i) costs, ii) benefits, iii) post-decisional consequences, and residual issues surrounding iv) post-decisional dissonance. Toward the extreme left – however brief – are two additional yet supremely vital characterizations. *Overarching issues* and *themes* represent a synthesis of all three stages experienced by each specific participant. Themes are my own general reflections upon the broad familiarity and understanding of the respondent's narrative while overarching issues quantitatively epitomize the saturation of empirical variables. Therefore overarching issues convey the primary driving force or essence behind or represented within the antecedent, step, and galvanizing episodes for each participant. It is my allegation that this ancillary data may have something important to contribute to the stories contained herein. Regardless of the fact that most of these ancillary considerations are not treated primarily in this manuscript, such information has nonetheless proven integral to my technical process. Due to this issue, I am grateful to have found an appropriate exhibit where these ideas are most usefully conveyed and made known to the reader.

Disenfranchising, exiting, and eventually apostatizing from an inculcated, culturally celebrated, and thereby personally esteemed Mormon identity is nothing if not an extremely serious choice to execute in its own right. However, we must acknowledge that such considerations are made remarkably more unbearable, shameful, and potentially impossible while one resides within a locale predominantly populated by an ardent Latter-day Saint constituency. As moral and political Mormonism engulfs ego at every turn neither antecedents, steps, nor galvanizing issues acting in isolation are powerful enough to dismantle the intense taken-for-granted monolith which exists within the minds of its indoctrinated adherents. Indeed all three stages of the model must be conceptualized in terms of being able to develop throughout the lives of individual's represented in this study in order to result in a person's disaffiliation from the LDS faith. Because life within the Mormon culture region is designed and exists to foster an unceasing confirmation and reaffirmation of every Mormon's commitment to the LDS faith,[75] it is reasonable to assume that upon

[75] I have developed the terms saintmaking and Mormonization (see ch 4) to describe such a design, its evolution, and its effects upon the actions, hopes, and expectations of individuals who live, believe, and function beneath the Mormon sacred canopy.

confrontation of doubt, uncertainty, skepticism, or other secularizing forces many Mormons are able to effectively maintain an LDS devotion by simply discarding or rationalizing away such distractions. Thus it is further sensible to presume that for each Mormon who leaves their faith, there are in fact countless other members within Zion who remain.

Of paramount importance is the recognition that all forty time-lines that I have constructed are in fact idiographic. Each schematic reflects the inherent heterogeneity indicative of every participant regarding quality, quantity, and experience. Hence actual collective, representative, or nomothetic meaning is methodologically derived from principles associated with categorical aggregation.[76] Otherwise stated, accuracy of explanation, drama, and sequence is achieved through the observance of similarities and patterns found among and within each narrative.[77] Utilizing mutually occurring antecedents, steps, galvanizers, and overarching issues or themes as general factors promoting LDS disaffiliation – and further, by considering the frequency of such common factors as contributing valid answers to my query, I am now equipped to compare and contrast the content of each episode accounting for equivalence and substance.

[76] Stake (1995: 71-90).
[77] Glaser & Strauss (1967); Strauss & Corbin (1990).

Table 5d. Duration (in years) of Decision Process and Age of Respondents at Exit

Case No.	Sex	Age @ 1st antecedent	Informal process	Formal process	Total	Age at exit
1	M	25	5	21	26	51
2	F	18	7	9	16	34
3	M	12	29	4	33	45
4	M	18	1	8	9	27
5	M	19	2	5	7	26
6	M	6	13	14	27	32
7	F	18	12	2	14	32
8	M	11	20	32	52	63
9	F	21	6	8	14	35
10	M	18	5	6	11	29
11	M	12	6	11	17	29
12	F	5	7	12	19	24
13	M	20	1	5	6	26
14	M	12	6	36	42	54
15	F	12	17	26	43	55
16	M	12	9	16	25	37
17	M	18	3	2	5	23
18	M	12	33	7	40	52
19	M	16	4	10	14	30
20	M	18	6	14	20	38
21	M	5	17	8	26	29
22	M	20	2	8	10	30
23	M	8	41	3	44	52
24	F	12	12	17	29	41
25	F	13	12	3	15	28
26	F	16	9	3	12	28
27	M	17	3	8	11	28
28	M	15	13	7	20	35
29	M	17	5	5	10	27
30	M	9	15	2	17	26
31	M	8	20	19	39	47
32	M	5	20	2	22	27
33	M	15	32	7	39	54
34	F	5	20	4	24	29
35	M	20	5	8	13	33
36	F	25	11	4	15	40
37	M	29	11	3	14	43
38	F	20	16	2	18	38
39	TF	5	25	5	30	35
40	M	5	26	2	28	33
Range	**M=28**	**ES 5-29**	**ES 1-41**	**ES 2-36**	**ES 5-52**	**ES 23-63**
	F=12	**M 5-29**	**M 1-41**	**M 2-36**	**M 5-52**	**M 23-63**
		F 5-25	**F 6-25**	**F 2-26**	**F 12-43**	**F 24-55**
Mean		**ES 14**	**ES 12.5**	**ES 9**	**ES 21.5**	**ES 36**
		M 14	**M 12.5**	**M 10**	**M 22.5**	**M 36.5**
		F 14	**F 13**	**F 8**	**F 19**	**F 35**

**ES indicates entire sample*

Unpacking the exit process in terms of age and duration, table 5d indicates that the age at which men had initially experienced an antecedent ranges from five to twenty-nine years old, while the age range for women spans from five to twenty-five. Despite the slightly attenuated parameters reflected within the female category, both men and women share the same mean age at the time of their first antecedent, which is fourteen years old. Accounting for time spent within stage 1 we can see that the informal or passive process indicating the antecedent condition has lasted from one to forty-one years for men and six to twenty-five years for women. Notwithstanding the drastically reduced duration indicative of the females within the sample, the data again expresses that men and women share the same average time spent within the antecedent episode, about thirteen years. Further, the active or formal expression of disengagement – manifested by a person's dealings within stages 2 and 3 – can be seen to stretch from two to thirty-six years for men and two to twenty-six years for women. Once more, regardless of the respondents' gender, a typical engagement with steps and galvanizers is reported to last about nine years. Concerning the age at which respondents had experienced their first antecedents, as well as taking note of the durations of both the informal and formal processes of distanciation, I would like to point out that relative similarity and correspondence rather than divergence or imbalance seem to abide among the male and female categories of the sample.

Total time spent engaged in passive/active cogitation spans from five to fifty-two years for men and twelve to forty-three years for women. Again, even though the range represented within the female category is noticeably reduced when compared to the males in the sample, the average duration is not significantly different. Men have commonly invested a little over twenty-two years in the total process of distanciation from Mormonism while women can be seen to have spent about nineteen. I believe this amount of consideration clearly indicates an individual's choice to depart from the fold as 'not a hastily made decision'. The average maturity level of the sample at the time of exit is reported as thirty-six years old for men and thirty-five for women; congruent with the aforementioned statements regarding the other variables contained in table 5d, it is obvious in this regard as well that there is a striking degree of resemblance between the genders. Male participants have disaffiliated as early as twenty-three and as late as sixty-three while females report exiting the LDS Church between the ages of twenty-four and fifty-five years old. Due to this observation, I would like to suggest that teenage rebellion against parental discipline or identity

stands as a highly unlikely confounding element when attempting to ascertain why the ex-Latter-day Saints represented in this research have ultimately decided to discard their Mormon convictions.[78]

5c. VOICES FROM THE FIELD

The presentation of data, providing the platform and schematic by which to understand and conceptualize the saintbreaking process as well as supplying both form and context to the experiences of participants within the sample, will correspond with the aforementioned triunitarian model of LDS exit. It is essential for the reader to understand that elements or factors indicative of an individual's experience within the various stages represented herein have not been utilized more than once within my report unless otherwise noted. This is to say, only antecedents that had been stated by my respondents to be antecedents are treated and categorized as contributing to stage 1; similarly, only steps that have been conveyed to me through the interview process and labeled as such within the time-lines of each individual are discussed in this thesis as steps; indeed galvanizing issues have been managed and singularly evaluated in the same manner, that is, galvanizers are described and given utility only within the tranche indicating stage 3 of the disaffiliation process. I offer the reader my apologies for what might be construed as redundant; however, because all my respondents were born, raised, and made within Zion there is an impressive amount of similarity to be found among and within all three stages, in fact incredible equivalence can be recognized within several categories and sub-categories. Due to the unique saturation of experiences and feelings represented, I am aware that the ensuing resemblances might give the impression that care was not taken in the preliminary separation or analysis of particular events taking place within the lives of specific individuals; if the reader comes to hold this judgment, be assured, it is patently incorrect. Thus the following arrangement provides and reflects both the varieties and affinities of

[78] The religiosity of an individual's family of origin has been examined thoroughly by several authors when attempting to locate reasons that account for religious disaffiliation. Hoge's (1988) discussion regarding *Why Catholics Drop Out* is almost entirely concerned with adolescence and a person's psychological relationship with parents, family structure and one's early years in college. Stolzenberg et al. (1995) provides clarity concerning life-cycle effects and church membership in early adulthood. Bar-Lev et al. (1997) discuss teenage rebellion in relation to leaving a Haredi-Judaic identity. The subject of adolescence is also heavily represented in both Richter & Francis (1998) and Francis & Richter (2007). For a good review of religiosity, gender, transmission, and marital structure in urban American families see Wolfinger & Wilcox (2008).

antecedents, steps, galvanizers, and overarching issues or themes that are emblematic to this sample.

Stage 1: Antecedents

Presenting motives and experiences accounting for the genesis and development of passive distanciation among former Mormons see table 5e.

Table 5e. Antecedents for Disaffiliation among Respondents

Antecedents	N	%
Mission/MTC experience	17	42
Homosexuality (self or others), incl homosexual masturbation	12	30
Problems in seminary and/or primary	9	23
Feelings of marginalization/stigmatization (self or others)	8	20
Temple ritual (bothersome, uneasy)	8	20
Joseph Smith story	6	15
Discrepancies in church history and doctrine	6	15
Feelings of being different	6	15
Polygamy/forced polyandry	5	13
Patriarchy (cultural, theological, educational, familial etc…)	5	13
Higher education	5	13
Racism/Black people's access to the priesthood	4	10
Celestial/eternal doctrine of families	4	10
Depression/loneliness/clinical condition (self or others)	4	10
Church's position on heterosexual masturbation	3	8
BYU ecclesiastical endorsement/honour code (student)	3	8
Mormon elitism/arrogance	3	8
Marital infidelity	3	8
Physically or sexually abusive family environment	3	8
Plagiarism of canon and ritual (from the Freemasons)	2	5
Chastity (heterosexual)	2	5
Exposure to outside information (not higher education)	2	5
Periods of disidentification/inactivity	2	5
Sexual molestation by non-family member	2	5
Patriarchal blessing (received disheartening information)	1	3
LDS repetition, homogeneity	1	3
Dissolution or unhappy 1st (temple) marriage	1	3
Lack of inspiration; church is NOT run by God	1	3
Offended by church and/or leaders	1	3
Ungrounded adolescence due to parents' callings	1	3
Financial hardships	1	3
Feelings of betrayal by God, gospel, LDS spouse etc…	1	3
Lack of the Holy Ghost	1	3
Mormon facade/hypocrisy	1	3
Church seen as boring/useless	1	3
Father's remarriage to unpleasant LDS woman	1	3

As shown above 42% of those disengaged have communicated that various experiences either at the missionary training center (MTC), in preparation for active proselytization, or while fulfilling their call as a formally appointed missionary for

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints – apart from serving domestically or abroad – has served as the inaugurating precursor to an unanticipated journey away from the fold. For most of the seventeen individuals represented here, experiences with this variable had been stated as comprising only one or two of the items within each of their respective antecedent episodes. However, respondent #5 admitted that the murder of a companion while fulfilling a mission in Russia from 1997-1999, harsh discipline instigated by his mission president for allowing 'investigators' to call him by his first name rather than using the church appointed title 'elder', and the complete lack of what he referred to as "a God defining experience" constitute three important aspects that allowed substantial degrees of both doubt and suspicion to take root.[79] Participant #32 had also cited three events that were linked to personal realizations made while on his mission: apprehensions associated with the Joseph Smith story, racism, and polygamy have been identified as quite significant to the emergence of dissonance regarding the LDS religion for this respondent.[80] Finally, #35 conveyed having problems with the mimetic nature of testimonies, asserting that the action of simply copying or parroting what others say often leads to dishonesty. In addition he states that according to his own experience, the terms "literal" and "true" are frequently overused within Mormon rhetoric; #35 further suggests that use of these terms are often initiated within Mormondom to validate things or issues which are clearly not. Third and last, sentiments associated with his feeling that "my mission did not define me" are factors which produced an increasing sense of unease concerning his ascribed LDS piety.[81]

Commenting on feelings associated with various degrees of control at the MTC, respondent #21, a thirty-nine year old divorced physical fitness trainer who has been

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[79] Despite his faltering LDS convictions, respondent #5 continues to pay tithing. This artifact has led me to categorize his current spiritual/religious status as 'confused' as well as illustrating his disaffiliate type as 'discordant'; see ch 4, p. 153; also see table 5c above on p. 202. For a reminder of the meanings associated with 'confused' and 'discordant' see p. 206 and p. 208.

[80] Respondent #32 has been mentioned in ft. 174, ch 4, p. 166; also see ft. 209, ch 4, p. 177.

[81] Despite such seemingly firm or convicted statements, respondent #35 (like respondent #5 described above in ft. 79) continues to pay a full 10% of his income to the church in the form of tithing. This artifact (along with other information) has led me to categorize his current spiritual/religious status as an 'LDS questioner' and further to attribute his psychological state of being as 'confused'. For these reasons I have classified his disaffiliate type as 'discordant'; see table 5c above on p. 202.

discussed earlier in connection with alcohol experimentation, smoking during high school, and premarital sexual relations states:[82]

> *My time at the MTC in Provo was more like spending time being brainwashed. The MTC president used techniques more akin to inculcation, repeating himself constantly and demanding that we do certain things over, and over, and over again. Both he and all the other instructors really creeped me out; I hated them, and I despised the whole ordeal.* (#21)

Participant #19,[83] a thirty-one year old self-reported homosexual with a PhD in biochemistry, describes an observation made while in the mission field which subsequently initiated sentiments associated with confusion regarding his faith:

> *My mission president was an extremely wealthy man and ran the mission like a business. If you happen to have come from a wealthy family you could count on being given a leadership position and preferential treatment. It didn't take long until this concept was pretty commonly understood. To be honest, it really bothered me. And not that I cared about having a leadership title, I just thought: If this is really inspired by God, why all the politics? It didn't make any sense to me.* (#19)

Setting the stage for a subjective-epistemic renovation that would result in #29's adoption of a strictly rational 'secular humanist' identity,[84] he reports:

> *Shortly after the time I arrived in the mission field, my senior companion had a crisis of faith. He began openly and overtly questioning the gospel and its truthfulness. He basically started posing all these questions like: If The LDS Church was in fact the ultimate truth, why would so few people be aware of it? Why would a supposedly loving, omnipotent, benevolent God do this or that, or allow any of the truly ugly things in this world to occur? And, what is the real meaning of everything we are doing? Why are we even here?*
>
> *Seemingly little questions like these hit me really hard. Did I really know that the things I had repeatedly said to others while proselytizing were true? I had said: I "know" this; I "know" that; and I "know" the other. I was telling people: "I know The Church is true." I started to ask myself: What did that really mean? Did it mean 'I know the church is true', or did it really mean, 'I know I want the church to be true'?* (#29)

Attempting to find answers that would satiate his curiosity and quell a sense of burgeoning stress regarding doctrinal veracity and fortitude, participant #29 further states:

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[82] Recall ch 4, p. 148, 150.
[83] Respondent #19 has been discussed above on p. 199, 204.
[84] Respondent #29 has been quoted in relation to fulfilling his Sabbath responsibilities in ch 4, p. 151, and again regarding baptism on p. 162; he has also been mentioned above on p. 207.

> *Many elders, in fact all twelve in my zone, had read the entire Book of Mormon, some many more times than only once. But none in truthfulness had ever completely read the Bible. I thought to myself: For a church that says we believe the Bible to be the word of God; there really wasn't a lot of emphasis placed upon it in much of our discussions.*
>
> *It was right then and there that I decided it was time for me to take that measure upon myself; and so I began reading the entire Bible. I finished in about five months. It changed my perspective regarding how I saw the church. I found that when I went through and actually studied the Bible, that in fact the whole book of first Corinthians and the first book of Exodus, when read in context, do not really mean what our church says it means.* (#29)

A smaller percentage than those who claimed various 'mission experiences' to be problematic cite 'the homosexuality of self or others' as among first issues causing initial disquiet. Interestingly, when the nontraditional sexuality of another seemed to instigate negative feelings toward the organization, it was always allied with sentiments associated with opinions that the church had mistreated or harshly judged treasured loved-ones or precious friends. In fact the first antecedent of fifty-six year old participant #1 who had attended BYU for both his baccalaureate and master's degrees, after which he had attained his PhD in philosophy from Yale University, was not linked to an initial or escalating sense of intellectualism, indeed it was the "awful manner in which the LDS Church treated my gay brother" that served as the originating impulse behind his disaffiliation. Respondent #28, a thirty-seven year old divorced pharmacist conveyed his fourth antecedent as solely concerned with the way that the church, their neighbors, and the local bishopric had treated his father throughout his religio-sexual crisis: "Instead of providing support and help, they all treated him and our entire family like garbage. We lost all our friends, I remember how people treated us terribly at the grocery store and at school; even my grandparents avoided us. We still went to church but it didn't matter, no one wanted anything to do with us."[85]

[85] Respondent #28 has been mentioned earlier in ch 4, p. 148, 150 in relation to alcohol experimentation, tobacco use, and pre-marital sex; he has also been quoted in ch 4, p. 172 regarding graduation from seminary.

A forty-three year old female professor of English Literature, devoted mother of four children, divorcé, self-initiated apostate, self-reported cohabitating lesbian, and avowed atheist recalls:[86]

> *I have always been extremely disturbed by those who consider or call themselves 'good Mormons'. Their inability to accept anything different from themselves or from what they are told continues to leave me speechless. The manner in which they treated my gay friend, was to say the least, cruel and dehumanizing. Homosexuality in the Mormon Church is a no-no and sadly is not tolerated.* (#2)

Sixty-nine year old excommunicated participant #23 expressed seven elements within the antecedent tranche of his disaffiliation process. All are directly tied to subjective interpretations of feelings, issues, or experiences which imply that homosexuality has been both an extant and in some senses a principal factor shaping and defining the entirety of his life:

> *In terms of religious experience, I think it was all colored – probably very, very early for me – by my initial impressions of sexuality, of my own sexuality. From a very young age I remember being an extremely fearful child. I was cautious, I didn't like to go out and play with the other boys; I preferred to stay indoors. I spent much more time with my mother than I did with my father; he was an outdoorsman, a hunter, a fisherman – those kinds of things never had an attraction for me. I liked music, the piano, and the organ. I was a good student. I was extremely awkward when it came to athletics, and throughout my childhood I suffered from an incredibly low self-esteem.*
>
> *I was such a fearful, timid child; it seemed as though I trusted no one, though that really wasn't it, despite identifying with my mother and grandmother rather than with my father I had a good relationship with him and I felt loved. It's difficult to describe but I always felt like I was not measuring up to his expectations or that I was constantly disappointing him. For several weeks before my baptism, my dad and I would go to the pond and practice. He knew the process of being dunked and held underwater would cause me an incredible amount of stress and anxiety; however, regardless of all the time and preparation, on the day of my baptism I was terrified, I just knew I was going to drown. I started kicking and screaming; there was nothing my father could've done to calm me down. My mom and dad, my grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, and the bishopric didn't know what to do or what to think; I'm sure they all thought I was a lunatic.* (#23)

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[86] The thoughts of respondent #2 on baptism have been relayed in ch 4, p. 162; her memories of experiences while involved in the young women's program can be found in ch 4, pp. 167-168.

Throughout his childhood and adolescent years, respondent #23 had meticulously achieved levels of success within the community and church as a means of compensating for the internal differences which he felt defined him as "far from what I was supposed to be" and no doubt "less than others." Despite the several accomplishments regarding scripture memorization, proficiency in reciting the sacrament prayers, garnering the highest marks in seminary classes, earning both the 'duty to God'[87] and Eagle Scout awards,[88] and serving as the Aaronic priesthood quorum's treasurer, #23 continued to think of himself as increasingly flawed when he began masturbating at age twelve. Reporting the episodes to occur always in conjunction with mental images of other boys, #23 soon came to envision himself as "broken beyond repair." Variations of this practice persisted throughout high school and through the duration of his mission. To his astonishment he continued to have sexual fantasies about men after marrying in the LDS temple, still the feelings and fantasies remained even after becoming a father. Indeed subsequent to being called as the bishop of his own ward[89] #23 shared:

> *There was a particular time when providing counsel to a middle-aged homosexual man who had been married for quite some time and had children of his own. I can remember quite clearly the first time he told me in confidence that he had been struggling with homosexuality since he was a child; I was shocked, I had known this gentleman for many years, our kids were friends, and our wives knew each other well, by all measures he was a solid and respected member of the ward. I can't convey just how stunned I was upon hearing what he had to say. During the course of our meetings and conversations I came to realize that I wholly identified with the experiences, the pain, and the constant torment that plagued this man's life. Not only did I recognize and find a bit of comfort in the fact that another person was like me, but throughout the ordeal I also felt an increased sense of sexuality.* (#23)

Such experiences and realizations have functioned to produce enormous levels of guilt within the consciousness of #23 as he has struggled to maintain an ardent LDS identity.

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[87] Recall ft. 115, ch 4, p. 151.
[88] Recall ch 4, p. 164.
[89] Recall the short description offered concerning bishops and other local leaders in ch 4, pp. 151-152.

Matters associated with discovering his sexuality also exclusively inform participant #30's antecedent episode.[90] "I've always known that there was something very different about me, I guess looking back it's easy to see that I've always had homosexual tendencies. I mean, my first crush was on another boy when I was in the fourth grade." Then later "in seminary and in high school things got really crazy… puberty, maturation, wet dreams, it was all so fucking confusing. I didn't know what to do, I didn't want a girlfriend, I just wanted a man. I didn't tell a soul about my problems, I just put a smile on my face and pretended that life was normal." At age nineteen after completing the requisite priesthood steps that would prepare him for two years of proselytization and subsequent to one year of study at BYU respondent #30 stated:

> *I have always been taught that if I choose the right and do what's good then I'd be blessed, and I'd be happy. So the most important reason for me to serve a mission was because if I did what God wanted me to do than he would for sure make me a better person, he would help me to become straight.* (#30)

Unfortunately rather than being led away from temptation, 'God' had instead placed #30 within a context where he and another short-term missionary companion were able to engage in sexual exploration:

> *We were together for almost three months; it wasn't until the final few weeks that we began masturbating together; everyday, all the time. I'm not sure how my companion felt about it, I've never spoken to him again, but it caused me a great deal of guilt and sadness because regardless of what we did together I desperately wanted to live righteously, I wanted to get married in the temple and have a family… I wanted to do the right thing; I didn't really want to be gay.* (#30)

Upon returning home to Utah #30 knew that God had not changed him into a heterosexual, he knew that he was still attracted to men. Concealing the truth of his feelings from parents, friends, and church leaders #30 re-entered Brigham Young University under conditions of considerable personal stress and misery in the hope of finishing his education. Soon meeting another BYU student who was also struggling with the same issues, a relationship began that lasted nearly a year. Upon its dissolution #30 was left heartbroken. He stopped attending classes, fell into a dismal state of depression, and slit his wrists in an attempt to "end all the sadness and

[90] Respondent #30 has described himself as a 'Christian', this convicted appraisal along with the maturity inherent throughout the interview has led me to categorize his disaffiliate type as 'integrated'; see table 5c, p. 202.

confusion." After his release from hospital, he was admitted into the state psychiatric ward where he would remain for four months.

The narratives of male participants #27, #31, and #32 also include elements of 'knowing' that they were different from others at a very young age; further, all respondents strongly identified with their mothers rather than with their fathers. Multiple statements connected to painful experiences of guilt, feelings of self-disgust, judging one to be unworthy of Christ's love, and feeling a sense of abandonment by God equally punctuate the three accounts. Masturbating to images of men during adolescence and throughout missionary service, the psychological dysfunction that follows from a constant suppression of emotions, and various reports of self-destructive depression can be found among the antecedent factors within each story as well. Comparable to the preceding description of participant #30's plight, all three respondents had hoped that serving missions would alleviate the homosexual character that defined their innermost or authentic desires; yet all had returned from church service unchanged. However, also like #30, respondent #27 would arrive home having explored homosexuality in a physical sense with other LDS mission companions. Marking a drastic deviation in experience, instances of sexual abuse had occurred early in the lives of two participants. #31 had been repeatedly molested over the course of two years (between the ages of twelve and fourteen) at the hand of his deacon's quorum advisor, and #32 (at the same age) suffered numerous episodes of sexual victimization by an older teenager in his ward.

Within the sample we can see nine cases of self-reported homosexuality, six respondents are males and three are females.[91] Although the antecedent stage of the disaffiliation process has been described as primarily 'passive' in nature rather than 'active',[92] it cannot be denied that the men represented here have expressed significantly higher levels of 'hot' emotion when discussing the inception and subjective attempts to manage various issues regarding a burgeoning sense of homosexuality, which may come to threaten an otherwise stable Mormon identity, than has been reported by the female participants #2, #26, and #34. Indeed the elements conveyed that frame the antecedent tranche for women who claim a lesbian status reflect feelings more aligned with intellectualism, loneliness and marital discontent, becoming disgruntled by anti-homosexual rhetoric encountered at church

[91] See table 5c above on p. 202.
[92] Recall pp. 216-217.

and within the seminary program, and a sense of general dissatisfaction with heterosexual relationships.

After accounting for repetition and mutually occurring sentiments within individual cases – that is when a person has stated more than once that 'mission experiences' or 'issues with homosexuality' had affected their antecedent episode OR when someone has conveyed that homosexuality had affected their antecedent tranche as a product of a mission experience – the two variables described above together constitute an antecedent factor specified by twenty-two respondents or 55% of the total sample.

Problems occurring in either the primary or the seminary programs[93] served to spur uneasy thoughts or feelings for nine individuals or nearly one-quarter of the sample. Admittedly this category pales in comparison regarding the overall substance which is contained within the above treated features of 'mission experiences' and 'issues with homosexuality', though its recognition is important in adding comprehension to how and when concepts are understood to function within an ex-LDS mindset. Despite his dropping-out of seminary, participant #6 who has been mentioned above on page 199 above shares two experiences that serve quite well in capturing an overall sense of this variable's place within the consciousness of the other eight respondents:

> *I was about eight years old, in the third grade I believe. One of my earliest memories of Sunday school was being put on the spot to bear my testimony of Joseph Smith just like everyone else had, and just like I'd been taught. For some reason, I can't really remember why, I basically said to my teacher: "I'll pass". I recall never being treated quite the same after that.* (#6)

And again:

> *Just before the transition to high school my eighth grade principle had signed me up to take LDS seminary in ninth grade. He didn't ask me, it was just something that everybody did. We all took seminary – there was never any question about it.* (#6)

Proud of graduating from four years of LDS catechism, twenty-eight year old participant #17 nonetheless stated that "the blind obedience" necessary for what he has called "a full belief in Mormonism" had become very apparent throughout his engagement with the seminary program. Moreover he remembers the theological

[93] The primary program is discussed in ch 4, pp. 159-163; as well, the seminary program has been reviewed in ch 4, pp. 171-172.

explanations provided by his teachers that accounted for issues surrounding politics, economics, race, gender, and psychology simply "made no sense." Female respondent #26 (self-described as a lesbian and further categorized as an 'integrated' disaffiliate)[94] shares nearly an identical recollection, while participant #29 confirmed his involvement with the seminary curriculum had opened the door to an increasing comprehension of various inconsistencies that exist within Mormon doctrine and history.

Following closely, 20% of the sample or eight subjects divulge that feelings associated with 'marginalization or stigmatization of self or others' had prompted them to view the church in a somewhat less than rosy blush. I have already mentioned three of such cases above on pages 230-231 when referring to the way respondents #1, #2, and #28 felt about the church's or their neighborhood's reaction to the homosexuality of friends and loved-ones. In addition, participant #8 who is a widower and has been depicted as both an 'integrated' disaffiliate and devout seeker states:

> *During the early years of what I can now look back upon as my questioning period, I neither had nor saw anyone, absolutely no person at all within the LDS Church with whom I could speak to about things which were bothering me. I desperately needed someone to talk to. They claim to have over eleven or so million members, but I've yet to find one that I could walk right up to and say: "You know, I've got a problem and I'd like to talk about it."*
>
> *Having questions or doubts is horrendously isolating. Not thinking, breathing, and acting the same as everyone else seems to have disconnected me from all those who might have been able to help me out, who might have been able to help me feel valuable. After my early years of questioning, I felt alienated and ostracized. I never felt connected to anyone after that, and I never ever fit in again.* (#8)

Participant #22 reports both he and his wife feeling a sense of shame, embarrassment, and stigmatization at the hands of several neighbors because they had not yet procreated after three years of marriage.[95] Due to the incessant badgering by others within the community #22 ultimately disclosed that he and his wife did not want to have children; this statement garnered more than a few confrontations by social others as well as from church leaders who inquired scornfully: "Why would you deny God's work?" Fifty-eight year old respondent #38 conveys that neither she nor her two children were treated with any sort of respect or given even the slightest

[94] See table 5c above on p. 202.
[95] Respondent #22 has been quoted in relation to saving money for his mission in ch 4, p. 177.

bit of concern after the failure of her first temple marriage; and subsequent to the dissolution of her second union, she felt as though the community looked upon her and her family not only with disdain, but also as outsiders who did not belong. The difficult prospect of finding an LDS wife who was attracted to him seemed an impossible task which caused participant #40 (the sole African-American individual in the sample) a great deal of stress, anxiety, and loneliness as he reports: "I dated quite a bit, but when it came time for a real commitment *nobody really wanted to be the one who married the black guy*."

Once again eight respondents or 20% claim an uneasy or bothersome relationship with rites performed within the sacred LDS temple. Here we find a significant difference in the sentiments conveyed by women who seem to be irritated by an aversion to ritual forms of patriarchal domination and those forwarded by men who appear to stress its 'general strangeness' as providing the basis for the inception of discord. Forty-eight year old participant #9, a twice-divorced agnostic whose reasons for her second divorce are reported on pages 203-204, states apprehensively: "I just didn't like it. The patriarchy of it all wasn't really that different from everything else in the Mormon Church, it's just much more 'in your face' throughout the temple ceremony." Disclosing her thoughts associated with the temple marriage ritual, respondent #15 told me:[96]

> *The temple marriage ceremony was a traumatic experience; it was very, very traumatic; especially for me as a woman, having to surrender all that I am to the patriarchal discretion of my husband. When we* [husband and wife] *went to the temple, I can't stress enough, it was a very disturbing experience. My husband and I went back to the temple about once a month for years and years, praying and trying to find a match for it in our lives. No matter what we did or how hard we believed, it was always very strange. That was when I began to realize that I might be beginning to question the church.* (#15)

Finally forty-six year old participant #24,[97] a self-described 'spiritual person' and single mother of four children, held nothing back when expressing the significantly hot emotions that defined her LDS temple experience: "Swearing myself to the will of my husband and consecrating everything that I would ever have or become to the church, along with all the other initiation stuff was SO WEIRD… it all really freaked

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[96] Respondent #15 has been quoted in relation to the patriarchal blessing in ch 4, p. 172.
[97] Respondent #24 has been discussed in relation to alcohol experimentation, using tobacco, and pre-marital sex; recall ch 4, p. 148, 150.

me out BIGTIME!" "Honestly, the time I spent in the temple was horrible, just complete hell." "As far as I am concerned everything that goes on in there is fucking bizarre, I've always hated being inside, it never felt like a good place… it just felt so evil."

Respondent #8 relayed his first temple experience as: "Shocking, it definitely was not what I had expected." Participant #11 voiced a similar opinion about the first time he attended the temple: "Throughout the entire endowment ceremony I was speechless, I didn't know what to think. My parents and bishop had told me how special it was going to be and how blessed I was to finally be able to enter the temple; but I felt like there was nothing special about it, I felt as though I was spiraling down the rabbit hole." Respondent #20 a forty-three year old electrical engineer, and #22 a thirty-five year old school psychologist who was mentioned above in relation to he and his wife's decision to abstain from having children, communicated corresponding estimations though both added that 'the bathing initiation ritual' had caused them to feel "uncomfortable, confused, and dirty." In a robust yet breviloquent manner thirty-six year old participant #32, whose voice is utilized several times throughout the manuscript,[98] splendidly conveys feelings which (to some degree or another) had been articulated by all the male respondents represented in this category:

> *Going to the temple for the first time was a real eye-opener. I remember there was a moment when I sat back and watched the whole process of everyone doing his or her thing and thought to myself: Wow, this is really weird. I tried very hard to understand it. Overall I think I felt comfortable and good, but when I was there I didn't feel the spirit. Failing to have a spiritual experience while in the temple made me feel extremely guilty, like I wasn't worthy to be there or something. But again, at the same time, I couldn't help but to think that the whole process of anointing, all the different men touching me, blessing me, and giving me strange messages, names, and tokens; and all the clothing, hats, and aprons – it was all just very uncomfortable for me.*
>
> *At the time I simply took it as one more thing that I needed to work on. You know, God would eventually show me the way; I just have to be faithful and stick to it. I can't expect that I'll understand everything at once, I just needed to stay faithful and God would show me the way.* (#32)

[98] See ft. 22, p. 204; see p. 228; recall ft. 80, p. 228; also see p. 234.

Six individuals or 15% of the sample hold that the entire Joseph Smith story was simply too far-fetched to have actually occurred.[99] The first vision, locating the golden plates, Smith's mystical translation of such from an entirely unknown and historically undocumented language into what is currently taken to be the Book of Mormon, as well as the fact that absolutely no physical evidence of anything claimed by the church's founder has ever been validated[100] – has certainly provided adequate vanguard material for Mormons as they have entertained the possibility that their religion may in fact be based upon an illegitimate foundation.[101]

In addition to Joseph's claims, other issues that are also central to Mormon belief have been reported as quite troubling for several respondents. Table 5e identifies six individuals who have stated that multiple discrepancies existing in official church history and within LDS doctrine, often being learned either in seminary or while upon one's mission, have proven enigmatic to their ability to maintain a committed, fully obedient Mormon identity. Participant #3 the earlier discussed Buddhist bus driver who is happily married to his third LDS wife voiced having a small problem with the 'doctrine of received revelation'.[102] Thirty-five year old participant #7 stated: "The 'Mormon hierarchy of sins' has always been a source of confusion for me because I never thought that drinking a cup of coffee, going swimming on Sunday, or listening

[99] Respondents #4, #10 (who described that he had apprehended Smith's theophany to be a work of fiction while studying in seminary, but had solidified the opinion that the story was nothing more than a fairy-tale while serving an LDS mission), #21, #24, #32 (who also described his initial inclinations regarding the falsity of Smith's theophany to have taken place while serving an LDS mission; also see p. 238 above), and #34.

[100] See ft. 148 below, p. 259.

[101] For a review of the Joseph Smith story see ch 4, p. 141-143.

[102] The Latter-day Saint doctrine of 'received revelation' essentially frames the idea that any LDS prophet (who must also have the support of his first and second counselors, the twelve apostles, and agreement from all other general authorities) may initiate alterations to the organizational, canonical, or political countenance of the Mormon Church by claiming that God had commanded it. A particularly celebrated example of such a renovation was the 1978 'Declaration on Negro ordination', also known as the 'official declaration', whereby people of black African descent were granted full access to the power and blessings associated with the holy Melchizadek priesthood which then allowed their admittance into the sacred temple. It is believed within LDS folkways that the second prophet Brigham Young had formalized the ban in 1848 as a product of 'divine revelation'; however, thanks to the 'divine revelation' associated with prophet Spencer W. Kimball, occurring fourteen years after the US Civil Rights Amendment of 1964, the theological prohibition has now been renounced; see Davies (2003: 126); Givens (2007: 348, 350); Bushman (2008: 110-112). In the context of this dissertation the problem of such a prospect (that is, literal communication with God) lies most notably in the opinion that 'divine revelation' is not really heavenly or transcendent at all; rather, members of the sample have come to understand that 'revelation' is simply a manipulative term that represents a particular outcome or series of products which follow from bureaucratic choices, administrative strategy, and the will of men.

to the Beatles or Led Zeppelin was as 'evil' as I had been taught throughout my youth and adolescence."[103] Respondent #10, a thirty year old agnostic stock trader who has never been married and holds a baccalaureate degree from BYU in economics has suggested that subsequent to his conviction regarding the speciousness of the Joseph Smith story, he inevitably came to question and ultimately owed it to himself to scrutinize several other dubious issues associated with the LDS movement's inception, political and economic development, and theological evolution.[104] Respondent #22,[105] a self-initiated apostate, told me he had become increasingly frustrated throughout his mission with the idea that within Mormonism Jesus Christ is not considered superior to Joseph Smith; indeed he asserts the church's first leader is treated as paramount in every possible manner. Additionally, the secondary or often inconsequential role that the Bible fulfills in relation to the supremacy of the Book of Mormon had also caused #22 to hesitate regarding the absolute truth of his faith. Following from subjective feelings and conceptions recognized to have taken shape while involved in seminary participant #29,[106] who has been discussed earlier in relation to several topics, had acquired and begun reading more than a few volumes of Brigham Young's *Journal of Discourses* throughout the duration of his mission. It was this episode of study that had primarily cast myriad canonical discrepancies existing within Latter-day Saint doctrine into discernable relief. Following an examination of several of Young's bold pronouncements while serving his mission, respondent #40, like #29, had also come to view the LDS canon as somewhat inconsistent.

Included in table 5e are four additional variables that despite their being categorized separately are also inextricably tied to Mormon history, doctrine, belief,

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[103] A university professor of dance and theater, respondent #7 is a noticeably contented atheist and self-initiated apostate; additionally she is one of two members within the sample whose original non-temple marriage has survived intact; see table 5b, p. 198. To recall #7's views regarding the patriarchal blessing see ch 4, p. 172.

[104] Respondent #10 has been quoted in relation to missionary service in ch 4, p. 177.

[105] Respondent #22 and his wife have been mentioned above on p. 236 regarding their decision to abstain from having children; his distaste for the temple ritual has also been discussed above on p. 238.

[106] Participant #29 is the secular humanist who has been quoted in ch 4, p. 151 regarding his parents' teaching him to love Christ; he has also been quoted in ch 4, p. 162 in relation to the importance and reverence associated with baptism. See p. 207 for information regarding his currently claimed epistemic outlook as well as his views concerning the perspectives of others; see p. 229 for information regarding new conceptions of 'knowing' and see pp. 229-230 to recall the opinions following from his reading of the Bible while serving a mission.

and culture. It is because polygamy, patriarchy, racism, and the doctrine of celestiality had been specifically identified and emphasized by eighteen respondents within the sample that their distinction is merited. The revelation and practice of plural marriage or 'polygamy/forced polyandry', which had been officially renounced by the church in 1890 and again in 1904, continues to plague the overall reputation of today's Latter-day Saints. Indeed five ex-members[107] have affirmed that the issue is one that has caused a noticeable degree of discomfort, as #22 states:

> *Yeah that's a hard one. Plural marriage is a rough topic. We're all taught how to deal with it during our mission, it comes up a lot, it seems like everyone wants to 'bash' us because of polygamy and I totally agree; it's pretty out there.*
>
> *It's hard enough to try and convince yourself and others that plural marriage was somehow a 'revealed truth' or a 'divine commandment' that is now part of a long-gone Mormon history. But it's certainly an entirely different story to stomach the disturbing fact that on top of Joseph Smith's dozens of wives, some of whom were little girls no older than eleven or twelve; he also had, I can't remember, nine or ten or so who were already married to other men. Essentially these poor women who already had families of their own were forced into marrying the prophet. What the hell is that about?* (#22)

And:

> *I simply couldn't tolerate the fact that my own great grandfather had four wives right here in the same town that I still live in. The idea of it is absolutely nauseating. Even worse is the thought that my poor great grandmother had to live that way just because some asshole told her that she should. It makes me so angry and so sick to think about it. And how this stuff does not repulse other people, I'll never know.* (#24)

Mormonism is built upon a foundation of historical, theological, cultural, normative, and organizationally sanctioned, supported, and revered patriarchy. Saturating every aspect of religious life beneath the Rocky Mountain sacred canopy, divinely inspired sexism is notoriously proffered by the LDS Church as 'God's will', furthermore it is a central tenet of the religion that a person's adherence to Mormon patriarchy is the only path to the greatest glory of heaven. Both narrative and focus group data has revealed that several women within the Latter-day Saint faith often experience ecclesiastical patriarchy as a profound 'subordination or repression of self'. It seems that throughout their unmediated attention and service to husbands, children, and the religious structure that Mormon women may at times feel a sense

[107] Respondents #17, #22, #24, #26, and #32.

that their own private existential needs and desires are not being met nor fulfilled. This statement is not intended to imply that all Latter-day Saint women yearn for additional recognition, wish for an increased sense of personal autonomy, or long for structural or organizational roles which may provide greater or more apparent amounts of respect, utility, or capital; indeed focus group and observational data as well as conversations with several LDS women who are not represented in the manuscript have yielded information which leads to the conclusion that many female saints in fact find a great deal of satisfaction, purpose, enthusiasm, and meaning throughout their enduring engagement with sacred ideals indicative of the Mormon faith. However for some, experiences with this variable has constituted the most vehemently represented element within the antecedent tranche. Indeed the orthodox or conventional manner in which chauvinism is expressed, accepted, and even celebrated within LDS community life has proven to be a significant factor resulting in religious exit for many members of the sample. Five respondents[108] have stated that this particular aspect of the religion had functioned to slowly destroy their commitments to Latter-day Saint piety as participant #2,[109] a professor of English Literature recalls:

> *When I was younger I remember being at odds with my parents on several issues. They never really liked the ways that I thought nor did they understand the types of questions that I'd ask. I think they thought I was always a bit too independent, too strong-willed. That was understandable because they were both from pioneering families, were from the same small town that I was raised in, and they both had served missions; I think they just couldn't fathom why I wasn't exactly like everyone else. I didn't vex or trouble them in any terrible ways, in fact I always did what I was told, got excellent grades in school, and was thoroughly committed to the church, to God, and to being the kind of person that I was taught to be… but even back then I was bothered by the fact that my father, my grandfather, and my uncles were always in charge of everything. Don't misunderstand what I'm saying, my father was a good dad and a great husband, he treated my mother with love and respect, I can honestly say that while I was young she was an exceptionally happy woman…* (#2)

And again from the same participant:

> *At about sixteen years old, during seminary, I had finished one of the big scripture mastery tests in about ten minutes, which was quite a bit faster than anyone else. It was one of the tests where you needed to know all the references as well as all the related passages throughout the other texts.*

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[108] Respondents #2, #25, #36, #37, and #38. Despite her inclusion here, participant #38's relationship with the element of LDS patriarchy will be discussed a bit further into the manuscript due to its relevance with other variables.

[109] Respondent #2 has been mentioned on p. 231 (also see ft. 86, p. 231) and p. 234.

> *I've always had a really great memory; I knew all the scriptures and all the references. What happened next just stunned me; Brother Stevenson the seminary teacher didn't even talk to me about it, he called my father and told him that I had cheated. My dad knew I hadn't cheated, but he didn't do a whole lot about the accusation. I ended up having to talk to the bishop about it later that week; even he thought I had cheated. It really shook me up; I knew I hadn't done anything wrong. I had been raised to believe that righteous people could sense each other's integrity and so I couldn't believe that they didn't know I was telling them the truth. My hard work, honesty, and seriousness didn't matter; these two men couldn't believe that a studious young woman had the intelligence to finish the test in such a manner. That was definitely one of the first times I was severely offended by the church and its leaders and to top it off, my feelings were devastated because I couldn't understand why my father had not defended me.* (#2)

Participant #25 reflects:[110] "My mom believed in the church with every fiber of her being, she loved the gospel without question until the day she died… she was one of those people, you know, the kind of person that would drop everything in order to help someone." Four of the five elements that constitute respondent #25's antecedent stage are focused upon the differential ways in which the LDS patriarchal order had treated her mother in contrast to the treatment of her father following the discovery of an extended multi-year adulterous affair between he and another married woman from their home ward. To be specific #25 was "appalled" by her father's actions, additionally stating: "… he was always a jerk, he never really treated my mom all that well and he was pretty heavy-handed with us kids." She was then absolutely astounded at the church council's decision to do nothing in terms of formal ecclesiastical discipline. Rather than punishing him for his transgression, the leadership instead reprimanded #25's mother for her 'lack of sexual attractiveness'. They blamed her for her husband's marital treachery because she was "overweight, didn't wear a lot of make-up, didn't pluck her eyebrows, and didn't make herself personable enough for her man." The bishop and stake president further chastised her because she was unable to provide immediate understanding and forgiveness to "the 350 pound man who had caused her so much pain." Subsequent to the dramatic turn of events #25 reports: "after all that something in my mother had snapped, she

[110] Forty-four year old respondent #25 has been discussed in ch 4, p. 168, 172, 177, and 183. Recall her original non-LDS marriage remains intact, that she had served an LDS mission, and that she is a 'spiritual' person who has been categorized as an 'integrated' disaffiliate; see table 5c page 202.

became clinically depressed, reclusive, and utterly hopeless; she was 'ruined' for the rest of her life." Of the entire experience #25 states:

> *I began to see the church leaders as domineering, unfair, hurtful, and dishonest. I kind of always felt as though there was some sort of conspiracy or collaboration that targeted my mother as the cause for the affair rather than my dad or the other woman… After that, no matter what I did, I couldn't ever feel the same about the church, its leadership, or the priesthood without being reminded of how angry I was or how much I hated them for what they did to my mom.* (#25)

The daughter of a seminary teacher, a self-initiated apostate and staunch atheist, a divorced mother of four children who has given full custody of her kids to her LDS ex-husband who resides in Zion, and a successful attorney who has built a satisfying life for herself outside of Utah says of her father:

> *My dad was a bear of a Mormon man, while I was growing up everyone in the ward respected him and respected our family. He was a 'loving' father and husband though I remember he was incredibly strict; he never budged on any issues whatsoever, lived his life firmly according to the scriptures, and followed the words of the prophet to a 'T'… I think what really bothered me the most about my childhood was that he never tried to hide or candy-coat his belief that a woman's place is in the home.* (#36)

She says of her mother:

> *My mom was a perfect Latter-day Saint woman; she was meek and obedient; I remember she never really yelled or argued much… My mom respected the priesthood and supported my father without question. Looking back I can honestly say that she always tried hard to make my brothers and sisters and I feel loved… and mother always made sure that the gospel was the center of our lives. She had been a member of the relief society presidency for as long as I can remember… no matter what kind of problems were going at home, she always fulfilled her church duties and responsibilities with a smile.* [Stating in reflective amazement] *I actually believe that underneath it all she really did love the church.* (#36)

It is unsurprising to discover that issues surrounding ecclesiastical, cultural, and familial patriarchy also dominate the narrative of thirty-nine year old participant #36's antecedent process.[111] Indeed she has forwarded several experiences that have served to create significant amounts of unhappiness and distance between herself and the LDS religion. Such accounts are largely punctuated by the several dissonances which

[111] Respondent #36 has been quoted in relation to warm memories associated with family home evening in ch 4, p. 171; she is also quoted in ch 4, p. 172 regarding the decision to abstain from pursuing her patriarchal blessing, which was not received because she had been married in an LDS temple within a year of graduating from high school.

have been reported by #36 to have followed from the submittal of her own judgment and personal desires to the denominationally established male authority system. #36's movement away from the Mormon Church formally began subsequent to acquiring a baccalaureate degree in philosophy from the University of Utah, after which graduate school then became the focus of her attention. However, her husband who had not acquired any higher educational credentials together with the support of her father had prohibited the prospect and instead demanded that they now start a family of their own. Three children and eight years later #36 had begun to resent her husband, her father, and her role as a Mormon woman, wife, and mother. Without divulging the plan to anyone in the family, she applied and was accepted to the J. Reuben Clark School of Law at BYU. Rather than expressing pride or optimism, her husband lambasted the choice and said her attendance would be allowed only if she maintained the children and the household. #36 worked hard to complete her education, which also became a source of anger, frustration, and conflict due to the patriarchal nature of BYU's educational and theological value system. Subsequent to her academic achievement #36 reports being physically and emotionally exhausted, and despite receiving two offers of employment from local firms (both with excellent salaries) her husband and father again insisted that she remain at home with their children. Like before, she placed her own aspirations aside and outwardly agreed to their request.

Remaining within the 'patriarchy' element of the antecedent process yet representing a slightly different aspect, the faith of forty-nine year old male respondent #37 had been shaken by several incidents which framed the mechanism of 'patriarchal authority' as realistically impotent when it came to the many plea's extended to his wife in order to convince her that their marriage and family was worth saving. Throughout the interview #37 maintained it was her career pursuits, her occupational successes, a series of sexual infidelities, and ultimately her disregard for the principles of the gospel that "caused the break-up of our family and the dissolution of our temple marriage." Indeed he further stated: "I was willing to forgive her for everything if she'd just come back." I believe it is important to clarify a point regarding the characterization of participant #37; to describe this carpenter and single custodial father of five children as previously embodying an exemplary dedication to Mormonism would unfortunately fail to convey the deep love for the Latter-day Saint religion that had earlier defined his life and provided the impetus for every activity in which he and his family had ever engaged. As a young man he

fulfilled callings as president of both his Aaronic and Melchizadek priesthood quorums, throughout high school he was the president of his seminary class, and while serving a mission in Japan his commendable responsibility and devotion to the proselytizing effort was recognized and he was appointed to the highly respected position of 'assistant to the president' or AP.[112] As an adult he has directed the church's young men's program, has taught several gospel doctrine classes, has been the president of the elder's quorum, and has been called as both second and first counselor in the bishopric of his local ward, he has also served the LDS faith in the very important capacity of bishop.[113] It is because of these reasons that he remains schizophrenically committed to the LDS religion, though of course does so with an incredible degree of attendant confusion, dissonance, and discord.[114] Driving his primary crisis of belief and overall bewilderment within the antecedent episode is the question: "Why, if I have done everything that God has asked of me, did my wife consistently go against all that we had believed in? I just can't understand why she'd throw it all away."

Issues concerning racism within the church had formally spawned the development of negative views for four participants. Indeed ethnic bigotry or racial prejudice, as existing both prior and subsequent to the 1978 revelation allowing the descendants of Cain to receive the keys of heaven relevant to practicing and commanding the authority indicative of the higher priesthood,[115] constitutes an extremely important and highly repeated element which has furnished ample grist to the antecedent episode for the sample collectively.[116] Participant #2 who was just

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[112] A mission president, who is charged by the LDS Church to effectively and efficiently manage an entire geographic region, assigns 'missionary leaders' to help him direct the work and to help other missionaries successfully fulfill their purpose. Among the leadership assignments in the mission are trainers, senior companions, district leaders, zone leaders, and assistants to the president. All young men who fulfill such tasks are taught that they must never act nor think of their assignment as a way to obtain personal recognition or advancement, but rather should view their calling as an opportunity to serve others, to develop greater love, and to learn. Furthermore, those individuals who have been called to serve as a 'missionary leader' are also believed to hold a sacred trust which has been extended to them by the Lord: *Missionary Handbook* (2010: 55).

[113] Additionally, respondent #37 has been quoted in ch 4, p. 176 in relation to earning and saving money for his mission.

[114] See table 5c above, p. 202.

[115] See ch 4, p. 144; also see ft. 102 above, p. 239.

[116] Racism within the LDS Church is categorized here as primarily relevant to the antecedent episode for four respondents. However in actuality several participants within the sample have anecdotally implicated this topic in a tertiary or quaternary manner as they have

mentioned above on page 242 relays the importance of the race variable as well as intimating its interrelationship with other experiences in her life quite eloquently:

> *I have been shocked in ways that I could not quite articulate throughout primary, Sunday school, the young women's program, and seminary. I'd listen to the lessons, read the texts and scriptures and I'd always come to class ready with questions, ready to talk about the things that interested me like 'Where were the Golden Plates?' 'Why did a woman have to be married in order to go to heaven?' 'Anglo-Europeans, Mexicans, and Asians could go to heaven, but why not Africans or black people?'… It didn't matter how intelligent my enquiries were; I was always shut down. It seemed to me that no one wanted think, no one wanted to do anything but to say "yes" and to blindly 'turn pages'. BUT, despite my curiosity and natural sensibilities… I wanted to be a happy person, I really wanted to do what God wanted me to do, and I wanted to be part of the community that I felt I belonged to… so I took Neil A. Maxwell's admonition very, very seriously: "If you say it often enough, you'll come to know it's true."*
>
> *After finishing high school I decided to attend Utah State University, I finished with a bachelor's degree in English Literature, and then decided to go on a mission.*
>
> *I already knew that I was really disturbed by the church's inability to accept differentiation or diversity, but while serving a mission between Macon, Georgia and Jackson, Mississippi I became horrified at the racial inequality that defines life in the southern United States. Even more terrible was that the Mormon Church was part of the problem, not the solution. It seemed like they always had some way of saying in a politically safe manner: "We believe that some races are better than others, and that one gender is more dominant and right than the other;" but then they'd turn around and say "but not really, we believe in equality and in the right of all men to choose for themselves." Rhetoric about equality, inequality, right and wrong, heaven and hell, eternity, and so on and so forth all began to sound like garbage, it started to kill me off.*
>
> *The real breaking point for me on my mission was when I started to realize that I was in the deep south where slavery was still very much in the minds of everyone who lived there… here I wasn't just an LDS missionary, I actually represented 'whiteness', 'privilege', and 'superiority'. It made me sick to my stomach; I was so disturbed by my role there… the things I had said about the church and about its beliefs to poor black families who lived in the projects within the cities, or who lived in shacks out in the country were not only completely irrelevant to their lives, but were also just utterly absurd… But I hung in and finished my work; I gave it everything I had, and when I came home I got married.* (#2)

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attempted to put into words the many distasteful elements that contributed to their own narrative descriptions of engagement with stages 1, 2, and 3.

Reflecting upon a sense of youthful enlightenment regarding the realization that people of color had not been treated equally within the church's history respondent #7 states:[117]

> *I think I had a minor light-bulb moment during my childhood. I remember when the prophet Spencer W. Kimball had announced that blacks could now be allowed to hold the priesthood… black men? I didn't quite understand what that meant, and not that I questioned it at all; I didn't even know a black person, none lived in my neighborhood and there were no black kids at my school. I never really realized that they couldn't have the priesthood. Perhaps even more telling, I had no idea why?* (#7)

While serving his mission in South Carolina, participant #32 became aware not only of the opinion that polygamy was an issue which he found quite unsavory, but he had also observed that the church seemed to "treat black families quite a bit differently." And finally respondent #40 shares a very mature sentiment on the topic:

> *It wasn't that the prohibition of the priesthood from blacks bothered me all that much; don't get me wrong, I mean it did cause some anxiety, obviously to place limitations upon people because of the color of their skin is morally and ethically ignorant… but my mom and dad had always taught us kids that it was alright now, that if we did what we were supposed to do then we would be blessed despite our being African. I think my real problem with racism in the LDS church was actually about my own experiences. As I grew up, I didn't even realize it, I became more and more uncomfortable around members of my own religion… because if they didn't know me, they always treated me differently. I guess it's okay because I was different; I was always different. My African heritage is alive in my name, my skin, my eyes, my hair, my height, my body; everything about me is different from the dominant Anglo-Euro-Scandinavian traits and characteristics of nearly everyone else in Utah.* (#40)

The doctrine of celestial attainment as well as the theology surrounding eternal families has been confirmed as troubling for male respondents #8, #18, #21, and #35. It is interesting to note that with the exception of respondent #8 who has referred to himself as an "impassioned seeker" all others have been classified as 'confused' in terms of current spirituality or religious inclinations and are therefore labeled as 'discordant' disaffiliates.[118] The following sentiment frames concerns shared by all four subjects regarding the variable at hand:

> *I simply don't think, and therefore refuse to believe, that those Mormons who carry a country-club membership, along with those who have been married in an LDS temple, are the only ones that will be enjoying the*

[117] See ft. 103 above, p. 240 for additional information regarding respondent #7.
[118] Recall table 5c above, p. 202.

greatest blessings of heaven. There are just too many other good people. (#8)

I have treated the six variables of 'the Joseph Smith story', 'discrepancies in church history and doctrine', 'polygamy/forced polyandry', 'patriarchy', 'racism/black people's access to the priesthood', and 'the celestial/eternal doctrine of families' as systematically distinct because each respective element yields a deeper understanding of the specific details which have caused my respondents to feel a mild or abrasive sense of initial offence with the Mormon Church. Despite the heuristic separation of the variables, which have allowed a clearer presentation of the several individual psychological processes at play in this manuscript, they are nonetheless intimately related with one another regarding the teachings, theology, and culture which undergird the Latter-day Saint way of life within the Rocky Mountain corridor. Indeed more than a few of the historical, doctrinal, traditional, and ecclesiastical elements represented above can be seen as undeniably dependent upon one another in terms of their relationship concerning both an individual and a collective sense of Mormon being. Returning to the point at which I broke with the chronology depicted in table 5e, I will now briefly address 'feelings of being different'. Subsequent to the analysis of all forty narratives, I have found that every individual within the sample has maintained – to some degree or another, or at some point or another – the theme or statement that 'being different or feeling different' from expectations associated with LDS idealism had played an important role in their journey away from the fold. I have identified six ex-members or 15% of the sample who have explicitly stated with tremendous passion or with deliberate conviction that their testimonies of the gospel and thereby their LDS self-esteem had been mildly affected by sensitivities indicating to them that they had always been very different from other members of the LDS faith with whom they regularly interacted. As has already been discussed above on pages 231-234 male participants #23, #30, #31, and #32 have identified their sense of separation from others as following from an innate homosexual identity or disposition. However, respondent #39 the only transsexual in the sample has related her several realizations of peculiarity as stemming not only from homosexual feelings and tendencies but also from the utter resentment and disgust regarding her male body generally and her penis specifically; she states of her years as a man: "I hated looking at myself… nothing made me sadder than being me." And participant #40 reaffirms what has already been stated above on page 248: "I am different, I'm black." Feelings

such as those expressed here commonly resulted in subjective perceptions of contradistinction, which often left participants with the idea "… I just wasn't like everybody else"[119] and therefore solidified various thoughts of themselves as "extremely unusual."[120] These self-apprehensions further took shape within the minds of the six ex-members as they began to adopt self-identifying labels such as 'unwholesome' or otherwise 'un-Mormon'.

Another set of circumstances or series of events that can be seen to initiate a Mormon's sense of doubt regarding an absolute conviction of LDS truth is the process of acquiring a higher education. Five ex-members[121] have stated while pursuing their undergraduate and/or graduate degrees that they had in turn grew increasingly uneasy concerning myriad religio-cultural issues such as equality, history, gender, and the veracity of a religiously centered worldview. Indeed more than a few respondents have also forwarded several statements leading to the conclusion that as they learned more about the outside world through an engagement with academics, they likewise began to entertain ideas about reality which were far different from those purported by an ardent LDS belief system. Receiving what he has called a "revelation in reverse", which occurred while studying for his doctorate degree, respondent #1,[122] in a single moment, became aware that he could not believe in a sense of Latter-day Saint certainty any longer. Despite such an overwhelming disillusionment with Mormon theology, the following excerpt frames this respondent as exemplifying Bahr and Albrecht's (1989) conception of a cultural saint.[123] Members who personify this type of adherent are described as no longer retaining faith in divine principles nor trusting in religious doctrine, yet they continue to exercise high levels of communal involvement while resiliently maintaining a sense of identification with LDS progenitors and their LDS network; participant #1 states:

> *I was raised a Mormon, went to BYU for my bachelor's degree, did my master's there, got married to a woman I loved, started a family, and then went to get my doctorate from Yale so that we could come back to Provo and I could become a professor at BYU; what was I to do with this strange miracle of sudden knowledge? Was I to choose a different pattern by which to live my life? No, I chose to stake my future on the pattern and habits that*

[119] Respondent #40.
[120] Respondent #39.
[121] Respondents #1, #2, #5, #36, and #40.
[122] Respondent #1 has been mentioned above on p. 230 in relation to the manner in which the church had treated his homosexual brother.
[123] Recall ch 1, p. 85.

> *had proven to be so beneficial and productive thus far… I refused to believe those decades of volunteer work, thousands and thousands of dollars paid to tithing, and raising my children as Mormons had been hypocritical acts or actions which inevitably meant nothing… I remained diligent, finished my PhD, taught at Yale for two years then at Duke in Durham, North Carolina for seven; then I accepted a position at BYU.* (#1)

Expressing a sense of excitement, twenty-seven year old participant #5 who has been mentioned earlier in relation to several antecedent experiences which had taken place while serving a mission in Russia states:[124]

> *I attended the University of Utah after my mission, while there I majored in politics. I remember a specific undergraduate class, it was just a basic philosophy course, but it had a profound impact upon the way I began to think about things. It was taught by a fantastic instructor who discussed the enlightenment, independent thought, the social contract, Machiavelli, Marx, John Locke, and Hobbes – you know, all those different philosophers and their opinions about what's going on in the world. Very soon it started to make a lot of sense to me. When I learned that 'religion is the opiate of the masses', I thought to myself: 'Yes, that's completely right, religion is the opiate of the masses!' It just dawned on me during that class, and it made perfect sense.* (#5)

Respondent #2 claims:

> *During my undergraduate studies in literature I found that there were much richer and more powerful ways to engage in moral reasoning, to judge a person's character, and to respond to reality and ethical dilemmas than by simply and ignorantly depending upon the 'blanket doctrine morality' of Mormonism.* (#2)

Similarly, participant #36 who has been discussed above on page 244-245 states:

> *To be quite honest, I think the die was cast while I was still very young. My father was a terribly dominant man, my mother an incredibly subservient woman, a characteristic that made her an ideal Mormon wife and mother. But for me, I never identified with that type of femininity. It seems that my majoring in philosophy while at the University of Utah, gravitating toward thinkers like Simone de Beauvoir, Carol Gilligan, and others, gave me a special kind of motivation to become my own person. Though it wasn't just that, it was also learning about math, science, history, and literature; as well as subjugation, equality, and patriarchy in a broad sense that fueled my feminist personality.* (#36)

Rather than reflecting upon a series of shocking or enlightening experiences which served to frame a growing sense of disconnection or animosity between Mormon conviction and academic knowledge, participant #40 instead told me throughout his

[124] See p. 228 above; also see ft. 79, p. 228.

engagement in law school at the University of California in Los Angeles he just didn't think that maintaining a fervent allegiance to LDS tenets was of any significant importance.[125]

Instances of clinical depression and loneliness have been reported by two members of the sample to cause a manifest degree of personal distress and anxiety. Likewise the observation of chronic sadness and social isolation regarding a person's loved ones have also provided fertile grounds for irritation and anger with the church, its members, or its leadership to take root for an additional two participants. As previously discussed, respondent #25 had revealed her resentment toward the local bishopric when she told me the story of her father's adultery.[126] However equally if not significantly more detrimental to her perception of the LDS Church and its patriarchal order was the devastating psychological impact that the entire affair/ecclesiastical court process had upon her mother. Such strong emotions are made rather obvious when #25 had said:

> *I was so angry because the bishop told my mom that my dad's adultery was her fault. The bishop is supposed to be a man of God, so she believed him, she honestly thought it was her fault! I was old enough to watch her kill herself with guilt and depression... I just don't know how to think about it without becoming so mad… my dad was supposed to be her best friend… anyway, because she loved the gospel, didn't believe in divorce, and wanted to do the right thing she stayed with him. It ruined her; it literally killed her to stay with him and to see the same people every Sunday for the rest of her life that blamed her for his sin.* (#25)

Similarly, respondent #28 continues to emphasize his father's depression as an important element within the narrative provided which ultimately results in his excommunication from the Mormon religion.[127] As has been mentioned above, #28 was significantly impacted by the treatment that his father and their family had suffered subsequent to his 'coming out as a homosexual'. Differently however, within the rubric of this variable, I'd like to stress that the feelings of #28 are solely concerned with watching his father endure the pain, drama, and tumult of wrestling with his own existential conflict, NOT with the issue of his family's nor his father's maltreatment at the hands of the Mormon community or local leadership. Despite the

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[125] Participant #40 has been discussed at several points throughout the manuscript; see p. 199, 204, 237, 240, 248, and 249.

[126] Recall pp. 243-244.

[127] Thirty-seven year old divorcé, pharmacist, and 'confused' apostate respondent #28 has been mentioned several times in the manuscript, recall ft. 97 and 98, ch 4, p. 148; also see ch 4, p. 172. #28's views are also represented above on p. 209, 210, 230, and 236. However for the sharpest reminder of his narrative experiences see ft. 85, p.230.

fact that #28 (at the time of his father's religio-sexual crisis) was not purposively questioning the Mormon faith, his sensitivity to his father's plight nonetheless has indelibly impacted his view of the LDS world.

In addition to her distaste for the doctrine of plural marriage and notwithstanding the various issues that had been made evident to her consciousness while attending seminary,[128] forty-seven year old respondent #26's antecedent episode also consists of several accounts whereby loneliness can be seen as proving quite detrimental to her sense of LDS stability. The eldest daughter of a career soldier who had fought in both the Korean War and in Vietnam, #26 had spent the entirety of her youth taking care of her three younger sisters. Subsequent to the divorce of her parents at age sixteen, she felt even more pressure to fulfill a primary maternal role within the home because her mother was constantly away. Yearning for a sense of self-affirmation and psychological freedom she states: "I just wanted my own life, I wanted to make my own decisions." Within two years of graduating from high school #26 met and civilly married an LDS gentleman, who like her father, was also focused upon a career in the US military. Two weeks after the marriage they moved to Europe. Rather than living under the requirements of the US Army as her mother had, #26 would instead embark upon a life dictated by the United States Air Force. The young couple's first child was born while serving a two-year duty period in Italy; #26 conveys:

> *My husband Stephen was always gone… and there was no Mormon Church for me to attend. I tried to get involved and make friends with some of the other wives on the base but never really got along with anyone… I was very lonely; I didn't like living there at all.* (#26)

After returning to the United States for their next station in New Mexico, they had taken the opportunity to become eternally sealed in the Salt Lake City temple. Shortly thereafter daughter number two arrived. Despite feeling lonely due to Stephen's busy work schedule #26 reported being fully active regarding church attendance, responsibilities, and callings. One year later their third daughter was born while moving to the air base in Las Vegas. During the first year in Nevada #26 remained highly involved with the relief society program and continued to fulfill her visiting

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[128] Respondent #26 has been mentioned in relation to baptism in ch 4, p. 162; in relation to education above on p. 196; her sexual orientation has been identified above in table 5c on p. 202, and her views regarding seminary are represented above on p. 236. It is important to note that #26 has self-identified as an 'agnostic' and I have classified her as an 'integrated' disaffiliate; see table 5c, p. 202.

teacher assignments – though still desperately desired the camaraderie and friendship associated with a loving husband who would be present in day to day activities rather than being "gone all the time." It was here, amid the arid heat of the Mojave Desert, that she also grew progressively more forlorn as a product of her husband's continual engagement with his occupation. The stress of persistent relocation coupled with the emotional pain of feeling alone would eventually cause respondent #26 to grapple with 'extreme, even debilitating loneliness'. Indeed what she called "simple unhappiness" soon turned into 'dark, severe sadness', which resulted in a clinical diagnosis of depression. After her release from three months of inpatient psychiatric treatment #26 resumed her dedication to church, relief society, and family.

Respondent #30's several experiences which have led to religious distanciation encompass feelings, aspects, and dynamics that are related to the comprehension of his own homosexuality.[129] Following from occurrences discussed on page 233-234, he further affirms that the sentiments associated with being different, lonely, and never receiving positive validations of himself had caused his attempted suicide because once the clandestinely formed relationship at BYU had dissolved, it was believed that a rewarding connection with another person would be impossible to find again. However, it is neither the suicide attempt nor his psychiatric incarceration that I am attempting to punctuate here as lying within the antecedent episode. Indeed both experiences have served to function within the second stage of movement away from the church for this participant. Here, the issue at hand is #30's self-reflection upon matters of sadness, severe depression, and extreme loneliness which occurred early in his adolescent and adult life; he reports: "even though I didn't know it at the time, I really just wanted to get better… I can totally recognize that the whole ordeal with trying to figure out what the fuck was going on in my life and in my head was an incredibly important part of my struggle to become who I am today."

Heterosexual masturbation is unremittingly taught throughout the young adult programs of the church to represent filth, disgrace, and a lack of self-control. Indeed the highly personal act is a persistent topic addressed at every ecclesiastical interview regardless of age and is capable of preventing a person's access into the sacred temple. Respondent #7, a professor of dance and theater, reports finding the subject matter and particularly the manner in which it was discussed by her teachers

[129] Thirty year old respondent #30 has been mentioned several times throughout the manuscript; see ch 4, p. 151; also see p. 207; ft. 90, p. 233; and p. 249.

throughout the seminary curriculum to be extremely distasteful;[130] respondent #16 relayed after he had approached the bishop to begin a repentance process for masturbating at age fourteen, that he soon came to be ridiculed by other members of the ward.[131] And finally respondent #15 states:[132]

> *I remember my first uncomfortable experience with the church; it was a bishop's interview. I remember that he had asked me about masturbation. I hadn't the slightest idea of what he was talking about, so he began to tell to me exactly what it was. Throughout the explanation I remained dumbfounded and had absolutely no clue regarding his description. I felt like this was an extreme invasion of my person and felt violated. I felt very ashamed leaving his office, even being driven to tears. The interrogation left me feeling dirty and tainted. Looking back, that was an entirely inappropriate conversation to have with a twelve year old girl.* (#15)

For the forty members of the sample there are in fact many further supplementary features to this primarily passive yet highly influential antecedent stage. Among the several issues which will not be treated at length, we can see in table 5e that some participants have reported a fundamental distaste for the honour code at BYU as well as expressing disquiet with the university's ecclesiastical endorsement which is required for studentship.[133] Other respondents have voiced feeling 'turned-off' by their dealings with countless Latter-day Saints who exude a sense of arrogance or elitism, members of the sample claim such a turgid attitude is derived from the conviction that Mormons 'know' they are the only true religion on earth.[134] The occasion of marital infidelity,[135] and being exposed to a physically or sexually abusive familial environment[136] have also aided in ego's ability to initially

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[130] Respondent #7 has been discussed several times, see ft. 103 above, p. 240.
[131] Participant #16 has been quoted in relation to his tattoo in ch 4, p. 149. For additional details regarding respondent #16 see p. 204, 206, 209, and 210, also see table 5c, p. 202.
[132] A sixty year old professor of English Literature, mother of three grown children, and self-reported 'agnostic', respondent #15 has been quoted on p. 237 in relation to feelings associated with the temple ceremony, also see ft. 96 on the same page.
[133] BYU's honour code and ecclesiastical endorsement are discussed in ch 4, pp. 181-182. Also see Davies (2003: 170).
[134] The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is believed by its membership to be 'the one and only true church on earth'; recall ch 4, p. 140. Also remember the important element of the first vision whereby Jesus Christ had told young Joseph that 'all religions were wrong', and thereby enabled him to end the period of the great apostasy by providing Smith with sacred golden plates which he then used to restore the fullness of Christ's gospel in this final dispensation; see ch 4, pp. 141-143. Also see Davies (2003).
[135] The ideal of sexual and marital purity in Mormonism is mentioned in ch 4, p. 150. Also see Davies (2003: 86).
[136] Davies (2003: 188) provides a clear picture regarding traditional LDS values when he tells us that 'those who abuse spouse or children are accountable to God'… and furthermore

doubt or question a steadfast allegiance to an LDS lifestyle. Beyond the cursory mention of these four variables I would emphasize the benefit of taking another look at the additional seventeen factors included in table 5e on page 227 which are not addressed in the preceding discussion in order to add further clarity and understanding to the overall aspect of the antecedent scene before moving on to examine the active phase of steps contained within the triunitarian model of LDS disaffiliation.

Stage 2: Steps

It is important to recognize the mutuality and interconnectedness of the above treated situations, contexts, and emotions. Indeed throughout the coverage of the antecedent process it has been discovered that several features occur in relation to the foundational elements which constitute the backbone of the saintmaking endeavour. Moreover, certain variables effecting the initial inception of dissonance are dependent upon other kindred variables; this is to say that meaning, identity, biography, and value are perpetually interpreted and re-interpreted in a continuous or cumulative manner as people negotiate internal ideals and expectations with external realities.[137] Thus it should be noted that the various events, sentiments, or forms of knowledge which had originally cast a degree of precipitating doubt onto a Mormon sense of certainty for the respondents in the sample, are often seen to create more potent and sophisticated irritations within the second phase of LDS distanciation. For these reasons many of the above discussed elements and experiences, which have

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persons who commit such sins 'will bring about the calamities foretold by ancient and modern prophets'.

[137] In other words reality is not directly nor objectively perceived (Berger & Luckmann: 1966), it is incontrovertibly apprehended through the cognitive categories, lens, or filtration system of the particular culture to which a person belongs (Obeyesekere: 1990). In this way the singular or various dimensions of reality experienced by ego both results from and continues to produce allied versions of a collectively validated and socially constructed *habitus* which serves as the platform for a persons cogito-activity-belief schema – such a construct is inextricable from the cultural parameters dictating individual judgment, preference, and taste (Bourdieu: [1977] 1999; [1979] 2002). Indeed reality is a conceptual map by which the constant flow of sensory data is organized, made meaningful, and is then negotiated by individuals in their attempt to maintain a collectively appropriate and perhaps personally rewarding sense of self (Allport: 1955; Parsons: 1964; Holzner: 1968). Otherwise stated, people learn to see what their society and its institutions, organizations, and values will allow. Thus – when thinking about open vs. closed cultures, as they relate or remain foreign to one another within a state of pluralism – in a very real sense it is difficult for some individuals who derive from certain social and cultural conditions to perceive environmental phenomena that may disconfirm or cast into doubt cherished definitions or understandings of reality without a link of some type that can provide the modicum of knowledge necessary to facilitate a real recognition of such differential or oppositional information.

contributed to the antecedent stage, are also found to incite a degree of noticeable or active dissonance within the analysis of the second tranche as well.

In accounting for the most compelling rationale offered by respondents citing subjective justification for their active distanciation away from the faith four distinct patterns emerged: i) questions, disagreements, and doubts concerning LDS doctrine and history; ii) severe instances of marginalization; iii) mission experiences; and finally, iv) control issues at BYU. Though fervent followers at the time, members of the sample could not justify in their minds that certain espoused actions, policies, scripture, revelation, and interpersonal or inter-organizational morality could ever have been the product of divine inspiration, or otherwise congruent with ethical Christian living. Additionally, the perpetual reconciliation of impossible, unlikely, contrived, and selectively manufactured LDS historicism with the actuality and veracity of archaeological record, political evidence, and common sense has been stated to become "exhausting and pointless."[138] Categorized below are the reported reasons for the phenomenological process of effectively experiencing the intermediary decomposition of Mormon conviction. Such coverage will follow suit with the abovementioned four emergent patterns and will thereafter convene with the inclusion of an additional fifth category labeled v) other steps.

Table 5f. Doctrinal and Historical Steps for Disaffiliation among Respondents

Doctrinal Steps	N	%
Church history	9	23
Polygamy	8	20
Racism	6	15
Temple ritual/ceremony	4	10
Celestiality	4	10
Patriarchy/sexism (husband and/or church)	3	8
Word of wisdom (substance use = abuse, drinking = alcoholism)	3	8
Chastity (sexual promiscuity or adultery (self or spouse))	3	8
Plagiarism of temple rites, scripture etc…	3	8
Scriptural/canonical validity/truth	1	3
Joseph Smith story	1	3
Succession of Church authority	1	3

[138] This quote was taken from the narrative of respondent #8, though also fully represents the sentiments of participants #1, #3, #4, #10, #22, #29, and #33. It is quite interesting to note that these six members are all males. Stated otherwise, it would seem that women within the sample might be less bothered by canonical discrepancies and inconsistencies than men.

Nine individuals have identified that extant historical irregularity, chronological contradictions, and historico-moral questionability should in fact be seen objectively and exactly for what such issues actually are – namely dubious stories at best, completely spurious lies at worst, though to be sure, morally reprehensible.[139] Many members of the sample have cited some of the more secretive and violent actions indicative of the Mormon Militia[140] – also known as the Nauvoo Legion[141] – as among the first and most potent incidents illustrating the commencement of their purposive or active skepticism. Also quite troubling to respondents were the clandestine activities of the later formed LDS retaliatory group known as the Danites[142], the Avenging Angels, [143] or the Destroying Angels.[144] These ecclesiastically sanctioned vigilantes are alleged to have executed such atrocities as divinely ordained thievery, wreckage, torture, rape, and murder in the name of the Mormon movement throughout the course of its westward exodus. Further solidifying an incredibly significant degree of hatred for the history of their religion, several participants have made reference to the cold and vicious event – taking place on September 11, 1857 – of which most devoted Mormons deny ever actually occurred, the Mountain Meadows Massacre.[145] Furthermore the church sanctioned destruction of the non-LDS newspaper The Expositor,[146] and the brazen fraudulence of certain financial and banking ventures committed by Joseph Smith also prove severely bitter upon the palates of some contemporary Saints.[147] Other issues of note are the numerous canonical indications and dogmatic assertions that various flora and fauna, certain types of metallurgical technology, and specific lineages of absconding Hebrew people had existed upon the pre-Columbian American continent. Interestingly, secularly and scientifically accepted archaeological, anthropological, historical, and DNA based genetic data from a multiplicity of sources and universities not only bring such pronouncements and attestations to possible heel, but has also in effect disproven

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[139] Respondents #1, #3, #6, #8, #10, #17, #22, #29, and #33; again all are men.
[140] Arrington (1986: 103); Bushman (2005: 361-362).
[141] Arrington (1986: 103); Bushman (2005: 413); Turner (2012: 119-120)
[142] Hill (1977: 399); Turner (2012: 56-58).
[143] Ostling & Ostling (2000: 12, 34).
[144] Arrington (1986: 250).
[145] Brooks (1950); Denton (2003); Walker et al. (2008); Turner (2012: 275-282).
[146] Hill (1977: 2, 387-418); Bushman (2005: 539-541); Turner (2012: 107).
[147] For a non-hagiographic treatment of Joseph Smith's more caustic actions see Brodie (1945).

or nullified several of Mormonism's pious claims.[148] Participant #1, whose antecedent episode includes being upset by the manner in which the LDS Church had treated his homosexual brother and the claim of receiving a "revelation in reverse",[149] brings attention to the 'feeling' or 'intuition' method utilized in his apprehension of Mormon history and reality:

> *Mormons have heavily rewritten their history. So it's an interesting, even difficult process to try and get a grip on what the history really was. For me, and I think for anyone, the only solution available is to read everything that there is – absolutely everything, and trust me, there is a lot – and then to distill all the information yourself. Then you can decide what logically and truthfully feels right.* (#1)

Despite serving a mission and graduating from seminary, twenty-eight year old participant #17 is now an avowed atheist who had requested his name be removed from official records associated with the LDS Church.[150] He received a baccalaureate in economics from BYU and subsequently a master's degree in public policy before becoming employed by a non-profit organization in Salt Lake City. Additionally #17 has 'never been married', and seemed to be among the most exceptionally 'integrated' of all respondents at the time of the interview. After extensive study of LDS actions and practices associated with the westward trek, various attempts at colonization within the eastern and Midwestern US, and the Mormon's settlement of Utah territory he states:

> *Their coercive, revisionist approach to history is as obvious as the nose on your face. They only print what they like, they say and testify to all sorts of*

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[148] Copious, if not monumental amounts of LDS apologetics exist regarding the 'truth' of their canonical claims. For a detailed overview of such I would first refer the reader to extend their effort toward the examination of literature following from the endeavour of FARMS (the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies) located within the 'Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship' at Brigham Young University. Unfortunately a clear, cohesive, unified body or compilation of archaeological and anthropological literature concerning the falsity of these piously specific assertions are indeed difficult to locate. Instead an absolute wealth of materials, findings, and conclusions, which invalidate the position professed by the Mormons, happens to reside within the purview of a broad distribution of academically relevant sources. For a brief, yet robust statement, see page two of the letter issued by the Smithsonian Institution regarding archaeological, historical, and anthropological evidence in relation to claims forwarded by members of the LDS faith in *Statements Regarding The Book of Mormon* (1996).

[149] Participant #1's feeling regarding the church's treatment of his homosexual brother is discussed above on p. 230 and 236; his claim of receiving a "revelation in reverse" is treated on p. 250.

[150] See table 5c, p. 202. Respondent #17 has been quoted in ch 4, p. 150 in relation to "growing up in Utah." In addition, his thoughts concerning "blind obedience" are mentioned above on p. 235, and I cite his distaste for the doctrine of plural marriage in ft. 107, p. 241.

> *preposterous nonsense, and they suppress incessantly. There are so many examples of years, decades, and events in which they wont allow any historians to do any research in the Mormon archives. These are essentially closed periods of time, time and things that never really happened.* (#17)

Respondent #22 who has been mentioned several times throughout the manuscript reports suffering a degree of separation from loved ones and social others as a result of his interest in attempting to gain an increased understanding of Mormon history:[151]

> *My family, my ward, my coworkers, my friends, and my neighbors, they all suffer from historical amnesia regarding anything that might cause any problems for them or their religion. I used to suffer from it, but no more. It seems I'm the only one who's been cured – it's very lonely on this side of the fence.* (#22)

Eight ex-members or 20% of the sample report being motivated toward exiting their faith due to an inherent aversion for the revelation and practice of plural marriage. Here we find male respondent #22 and female participant #24 repeating sentiments associated with their initial 'hot' emotions regarding polygamy or forced polyandry, which can be found above on p. 241. In addition, male respondents #29 and #33 imply a staunch belief that 'plural marriage is just not right', and following from her bitter feelings associated with patriarchy, which has been discussed above on p. 242-243, participant #2 states an opinion that is shared by female respondents #15, #25, and #36:

> *Frankly, any church which claims that complete subservience to my husband is 'God's will', is quite mistaken. Polygamy and plural wives – I find it more revealing of perversion and dominance than of divine revelation.* (#2)

Six male subjects or 15% maintain that racism within the church has been integral to their disenchantment. The views of participants #40 and #32 in relation to this element have already been discussed above on page 248 and have remained relatively unchanged. It can be seen that respondent #40's claim of 'feeling different' from other Mormons with whom he interacted as a product of his African heritage,

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[151] Recall #22 is the school psychologist who felt stigmatized by his neighbors for the decision to abstain from having children (p. 236). The temple ritual (p. 238), the subordination of Jesus Christ and the Bible to the superiority of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon (p. 240), and the doctrine of plural marriage or forced polyandry (ft. 107, p. 241) also figure quite prominently in #22's antecedent scene.

which is addressed on page 249, largely frames the ongoing sentiments of this thirty-eight year old 'never married' attorney:

> *It took my entire life to understand that I really was different from everyone else I grew up with in Utah. I always knew I was black, but despite the obvious stereotypes assuming that I was supposed to be better at sports than most everyone else, I didn't really know what being black meant. After all, I was a Mormon boy, from a Mormon family, raised in Provo during the 80s and 90s. The best thing I ever did for myself was to leave.* (#40)

Respondent #17, who had just divulged (on the previous page) his feelings regarding Mormonism's 'coercive, revisionist, and selective' tendencies toward representing their various dealings relays that the unequal treatment of black people throughout Latter-day Saint history is an issue which "I just cannot support." Similarly, participant #33 told me that the recognition of both historical and contemporary maltreatment of minorities within the church, which he had witnessed first hand throughout his mission in southern Arizona and Mexico as well as facing it squarely during his tenure as the bishop of his home ward in Orem, Utah, had "definitely been a factor in leading me to the conclusion that the LDS Church was not run according to inspiration from God, but instead was governed by the interests of men." Participant #19's specific relationship with this element is linked to an experience that occurred during his mission; therefore it will be discussed below on pp. 275-276. Finally, the fifty-nine year old professor of botany who had served a full term during the Vietnam War, whose original temple marriage has remained intact, and who can be described as nothing less than a stalwart atheist states:

> *Within the Mormon Church men of black African descent, their wives, and their children were only given equal rights to the priesthood and to celestial glory in 1978. That's not just wrong on so many levels, its racist. The whole 'mark of Cain thing' is nothing but dirty, ugly, racist bullshit. I've seen it, and I won't tolerate it.* (#14)

Four ex-members harbour an apprehensive distaste toward temple rites and ceremonies. All participants have relayed that their extended experiences within the temple had served to stabilize a degree of animosity toward the Mormon Church as well as framing the various internal sacred rites as "absolutely stupid" or "… completely evil,"[152] "hilarious,"[153] and "mindless beyond belief."[154] Indeed

[152] Respondent #8.
[153] Respondent #9.
[154] Respondent #14.

respondent #14 says ashamedly: "I cannot stand the fact that I attended the temple for so long… I can't believe that at certain points in my life I actually thought I found inspiration there… If you really want to know what goes on in the temple I'll tell you, its really simple: 'everyone in there behaves like a fool'." Female participants #9 and #24 have repeated 'problems with the temple' as continuing to impact their disaffiliation process as was already mentioned in stage 1;[155] #24 remains as angry and distraught as before while #9 now imposes a feeling that "the temple, but really the church as a whole, is really just a cult." And lastly, male participant #8 who has also been discussed in relation to the temple rite throughout his antecedent process[156] states:

> *My wife and I both thought it was beyond weird. At that time they still had the bloody oaths as part of the temple rites. They're the symbolic gestures of ways to kill and be killed. I finally got to a point; probably around the age of forty-five where I thought to myself: This is just way too much, it's too bizarre, and it's just way too grotesque. There certainly was no possible way I could imagine that God was involved in such brutal and gruesome stuff as what we were required to go through and sustain. At that time I sort of hoped I'd never have to see the inside of a Mormon temple again.* (#8)

As discussed above within the antecedent episode on page 248-249, another 10% or four subjects echo sentiments which assert that a person's access to the interminable bounty of celestial heaven should not be contingent upon the constraints and trappings exclusive to the LDS Church. Here we again find participant #8 voicing a continued issue with the doctrine of celestiality; though new opinions regarding the injustice of this one-sided element have been forwarded by respondent #3 the Buddhist bus driver, respondent #5 one of the 'confused' members of the sample who had come to believe throughout his engagement with a philosophy course at the University of Utah that "religion is the opiate of the masses!" and respondent #10 the agnostic stock trader who has reported severe problems with the Joseph Smith story as well as many other facets of LDS history and doctrine.

Beyond the five most frequently cited variables described above several ex-members affirmed seven additional factors, which when present, also fulfill significant key functions within the idiographic historico-doctrinal component. i) Patriarchy and sexism as practiced by either one's husband, father, or the church in

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[155] Recall p. 237-238.
[156] Recall p. 238.

general – including various accounts of both formally prescribed and conventionally normative occurrences that promote the subordination and subversion of women – have been voiced as particularly eye-opening for female respondents #9 and #15. Such awareness is said to have prompted an "awakening sensation"[157] quite akin to that of a "sobering experience."[158] Participant #2, who has been discussed thoroughly in relation to patriarchal issues throughout stage one, continues to share her antipathy for the overall male-dominated LDS system. Also stated by three members of the sample is a growing objection to various amounts of control exercised by the organization upon its constituency through the doctrine of ii) the word of wisdom. The 'all or nothing' attitude commonly exemplified by ardent members associated with such a principle is reported by female participants #24 and #34 along with male respondent #28 to have become intolerable. According to the three individuals characterized here: "Drinking coffee or tea, smoking, or enjoying a drink responsibly does not automatically classify someone as a drug addict, a substance abuser, nor as an alcoholic."[159] iii) Chastity as it relates to sexual promiscuity and adultery has proven a difficult issue for female participant #24 and male participant #28. Both ex-members report committing a series of transgressions while attending BYU for their undergraduate degrees, and both admitted to engaging in multiple episodes of infidelity throughout their first marriages. Constituting the third individual in this sub-category, respondent #25 continues to be tormented by the earlier discussed painful experiences arising from the effects of her priesthood bearing father's affair with another LDS woman who had lived in their home ward.[160] Taken together, problems with the doctrine of chastity can be seen to have taken an incredible toll upon the solidity of a previously embraced Mormon worldview for these three respondents.

Among the most integral factors to forming a thorough academic understanding of the breakdown of a primary LDS identity are issues associated with the allegation that Joseph Smith had committed plagiarism when 'translating' the Book of Mormon. It is widely argued by individuals who adhere to an anti-Mormon perspective that the founding prophet essentially copied a manuscript entitled *View of the Hebrews* ([1823] 1825), which was written and published seven years earlier by

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[157] Respondent #9.
[158] Respondent #15.
[159] Respondent #34.
[160] Recall pp. 243-244.

Pastor Ethan Smith who had ministered to his own congregation in nearby Poultney, Vermont. Many contemporary Latter-day Saints are oblivious to the existence of the manuscript and therefore are also completely unaware that Joseph's dear friend Oliver Cowdery, his stepmother, and three of his half-sisters were members of Smith's flock. Indeed Ostling and Ostling (2000: 275) state: "It is probably safe to assume that Joseph Smith was familiar with [Ethan Smith's] book." Despite the perspective held by several Mormon apologists who claim that the authenticity of the Book of Mormon is 'beyond question'; it cannot be disputed that in fact the similarities between the two texts are rather accurately described by respondent #22 as "beyond coincidence."[161] Another set of absolutely astonishing resemblances exist between the Mormon temple rites, LDS sacred clothing, and its internal symbolism, and the attire, tokens, signs, and secret language manifested in association with ceremonies practiced and values espoused by the Freemasons.[162] Evidence linked to Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* as well as the recognition that Masonic ritual has set the tone for various actions and chants occurring within the Mormon temple suggests that Mormonism is not 'the one and only true religion on earth'. Constituting an incredible shock to the consciousness of loyal Mormons, the realization that the Latter-day Saint religion may in fact be a counterfeit belief system has been reported to have caused a tremendous amount of turmoil, dissonance, and stress for male participants #22, #29, and #32. Finally, questioning the comprehensive veracity of LDS scripture or doubting the validity of the Mormon canon, voicing problems with the organization's normatively accepted method of prophetic succession, and finding the Joseph Smith story or the first vision to be fictitious and offensive are elements which continue to stir feelings of deep skepticism for respondents #22 and #29.

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[161] See the eighteen page summary of the parallels found between Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* and Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon in B.H. Roberts' *Studies of the Book of Mormon* (1992) first published unmolested in the 1920s then subsequently revised by members of the LDS faith and re-released in a 2nd edition version.

[162] In addition to disputes arguing against the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, debates also rage in the realm of treating Mormonism's relationship to Freemasonry. For a quick statement see Davies (2003: 17-20), though in reality there is much more to be understood.

Table 5g. Marginalization Steps for Disaffiliation among Respondents

Marginalization Steps	N	%
Marginalization/ostracization by family or church authorities for non-conformity to the faith, leaders requests, or other reasons…	8	20
Marginalization due to unattractiveness; wife and husband were thought to be too ugly to have children	1	3

Extremely important to the recognition of stabilized forms of humanity as well as being quite requisite to the generally positive emotional state of any person, is the overwhelming desire to belong.[163] Individual reactions by secondary or otherwise oblique citizens to instances of marginalization originating from communally accepted or revered others can be variously felt as frustrating or hurtful. When considered from an increasingly complex perspective, the experience of subordination may very likely be internalized by ego and result in a person feeling isolated and unappreciated. Indeed alienating treatment from others will often be interpreted as rather malicious. Additionally, familiarity following from iterated exposure to denigrating elements will expectedly foster the development of negative feelings toward the self. Frequently this type of pessimism is galvanized within the psyche as people endure both the onset and progression of extreme forms of loneliness, depression, anger, and hatred. However when allowed to coalesce with maturity, further experience, and perhaps contact with alternative sources of information such animosity previously aimed in the direction of one's own character and person – while not dissipating entirely – is generally mitigated to a degree by ego's action of turning negatively held opinions against those who had originally caused the loathing state of self-deprecating despair.

Five participants have conveyed that feelings associated with being marginalized resulted from their non-conformity to standards linked with an ideal representation of an LDS identity. Both formal and informal sanctioning enacted upon the subjects were typically reported to have stemmed from other LDS members in the neighborhood or from their local ecclesiastical authorities. Professor of dance and theater respondent #7 had felt "stared at", indeed "gawked at" in the women's locker room for months while changing her clothes at the local fitness center. Such spiteful gazing had later turned into overt questioning by several other women who wanted to

[163] Fiske (2004); Baumeister & Leary (1995).

know why she wasn't wearing the sacred temple garment underneath her regular clothes. After explaining to them that she was a Latter-Saint who was married civilly and therefore did not hold a temple recommend, #7 reports being asked nastily: "Well why wouldn't you want to get married in the temple?" Anticipating a never-ending series of self-defense maneuvers and explanations which would result in the accomplishment of nothing, #7 instead calmly dismissed herself from the confrontation and decided to patronize a different gym. After serving in the local primary presidency for eight years respondent #9 states:

> *I began to notice all the 'behind the scenes' conformity issues, and then I started to think of every woman in the ward as a 'Stepford wife' rather than as a person capable of forming their own opinions and making decisions for themselves.* (#9)

Subsequent to this realization #9 began to 'back off' from zealous involvement due to a desire to be her own person, interestingly she then reports:

> *As I 'slowed down' I began to feel like people at church were treating me differently. I guess it didn't matter that I had known these people for decades, my kids had played with their kids, I would even say many of us were friends… it just seemed more and more like they didn't want me around.* (#9)

Responding to the query: *When did you first question your faith in the Mormon Church?* sixty year old participant #15, a professor of English Literature who had expressed feelings of trauma and offence associated with the temple ceremony and a bishop's interview in which the conversation centered around masturbation,[164] recalls an instance occurring at age twenty-eight after which she felt as though her church leaders never treated her equally again:

> *I guess I really never questioned anything in the church until I was married, had children, a family, and a very strong testimony – I mean things had bothered me before, but I never really doubted the truthfulness of the church. The first time I remember intentionally questioning the validity of my faith was when I was denied my temple recommend because I answered a question my bishop had asked. I answered: "Yes, I am using birth control."*
>
> *I was a temple-married woman who had fulfilled everything ever asked of me. My husband, with whom I had a beautiful and trusting relationship, was an honest man, and together we had two children. Using birth control was a decision we had both agreed upon. I thought to myself: How could this kind of control, this type of interference into people's private lives be*

[164] Recall p. 237, 255.

> *considered appropriate? And even more: What does birth control have to do with the truthfulness of the gospel, with Christianity, with Christian behaviour, with Christian living, or with Christian theology?*
>
> *This experience was a real turning point for me, because once you start to question the authority, the truthfulness of the doctrine, and the leadership you begin to see things you've never seen before. For me, I began asking more questions, which inevitably required more answers. Answers which ultimately led me to a place very, very far from where the church wanted me to be.* (#15)

Similarly male respondent #16 claims to have received unfair or dissenting treatment from others in his ward as the product of the political opinions voiced by his father; and upon returning from his mission a year early with a 'dishonorable discharge' participant #27 states without hesitation: "I was treated like an outsider from the moment I got home." Lastly, fifty-eight year old respondent #38, who has described herself as an 'agnostic' and who I have categorized as an 'integrated' disaffiliate, had been marginalized and made to feel like a pariah by an organizationally and institutionally sanctioned means of patriarchal authority and domination nearly her entire adult life. Beginning with what could be argued as a relatively benign series of intrusions made by many male professors regarding the academic and career goals she had set for herself while studying biology as an undergraduate student at BYU during the early 70s, she further suffered through one failed temple marriage to a heavy-handed authoritative husband that yielded two children. A second civil union to an LDS man who she met while socializing at a mixer for single Mormons had molested her younger daughter during their two years of marriage. These unfortunate series of events – dropping out of BYU because her professors had told her that she was "too pretty to be a student", her physically abusive first husband, and her sexually abusive second husband – have proven to discolor the otherwise vibrant life she thought she could have had "if only things were different." Finally, after a life of genuine financial and emotional adversity, #38 made the pro-active choice to return to BYU at the age of thirty-four – as a single mother – in order to complete the valued education that she had started so many years earlier. However, such was not to be. Respondent #38, being a very attractive woman with a clever wit and warm smile, was seduced by one of her temple-married professors. The liaison resulted in the premature cessation of her education, but also produced her third child. Not only conceived and born out of wedlock, he was also riddled with

physical and mental birth defects. Needless to say, due to the unbearable amount of guilt and shame which #38 continuously feels, she has never divulged the identity of her son's father to BYU nor to the church. Essentially #38 believes the burden is hers alone to bear, her *Weltschmerz* or world-pain.[165] Feeling berated, utterly alone, and abandoned throughout her entire life, support or civility from the church, from neighbors, or even from her own parents and siblings has indisputably been – in every respect – absent.

Another constituent of the sample, a fifty-three year old professor of public health whose original temple marriage has remained intact, had been involved in the scouting program for years as a ward scout leader while his son was of that age. After he had grown up and left home, respondent #18 decided that it would be a worthwhile project to help those few young men in the surrounding area who were not members of the LDS Church by forming a new non-denominational community troop:

> *I didn't care what faith they were; I didn't even know what religion they came from. The fact of the matter was that they needed help and guidance just as much as anyone else. Most of them didn't even have fathers to teach them how to grow up. I was interested in helping young boys become good young men; after all, I was involved in the Boy Scouts of America, not 'the Boy Scouts of the Latter-day Saints'.* (#18)

Quickly both he and his wife were accused of heresy. Their loyalties and their testimonies were called into serious question by neighbors, the local bishopric, and the regional stake presidency. As a result of his unbiased stance on equality within the ranks of the BSA, his truck was pelted late one evening with mashed potatoes and rocks. On another occasion property of his was both micturated and defecated upon, his garage was later burgled and yard furniture was set ablaze. It was at this point that his wife had taken all that she could bear, so she decided to abstain from further LDS involvement of any kind. Unfortunately her disengagement had prompted yet another retaliatory act from the members of their community. When returning home one evening from enjoying dinner out, they were shocked to find that their house had been vandalized yet again. After receiving scant assistance from the local police, they decided it was time to move away. Several years later, after having procured a new

[165] Blackburn (2005: 387). *Weltschmerz* – the psychological pain following from sadness, which results from one's own weakness in relation to the cruelty inherent within the world – is said to cause depression, resignation, and escapism. Beyond anything else which could be said regarding the current existential state of respondent #38, it can be forwarded with certainty – despite her being categorized as an 'integrated' disaffiliate – that she is in fact a very sad, very lonely, and quite reclusive woman.

career, in a new locale – though religious allegiances, family loyalties, and small-town tastes dictated their continuing to reside within a more rural area indicative of the Mormon corridor – #18 comments upon an experience concerning political preferences and partisanship:

> *My wife and I were always politically aware, and now that the kids had grown up we thought we'd become more active in the Democratic Party. At the time, we really didn't know just how much of a 'no-no' that is in Utah. It was an electoral year so we decided to put up yard signs supporting the Democratic candidacy. Our 'so-called' friends soon informed us that the signs needed to be taken down.*
>
> *After about a week or so some members of our local ward finally came over – dressed in their Sunday best – and asked us to: "Please take them down." Apparently they felt the signs were a disruption to the community and that 'happy valley' was after all 'happy valley' and they'd like to keep it that way. They said: "Please don't bring your liberal democratic ideas into our town." After that discussion, which took place at MY house, in MY front yard… they took down MY yard signs. So I got two more and stuck them back up.*
>
> *Shortly thereafter we had chlorine poured all over our front lawn and the door of my truck was spray painted. Now one could say: Well that's just a coincidence. But why us, why not one of our neighbors? Why our block? Why my house, my truck, and my front lawn?* (#18)

Despite the fact that participant #25's father had committed adultery thereby destroying her mother's psychological and spiritual wellbeing while still a teenager,[166] it would be at the age of twenty-six, three years after returning home from her mission, when #25 would begin a period of attenuated religious activity whereby she began to examine her own feelings and relationship with the Mormon Church. Later that same year #25's sister and her family visited Utah from their home in North Dakota; they planned on staying at #25's home. Before the end of the second day a series of heated arguments broke out between the two sisters regarding #25's faltering testimony and her decision to temporarily abstain from active adherence. Without settling any negative feelings amongst themselves, her sister refused to remain 'anywhere near a heretic'; she hastily packed up her family's things and left to stay elsewhere for the duration of their vacation. She says of the exchange: "It left me exhausted and terribly sad, I couldn't believe my own sister would react in such a way… I couldn't believe she could hate me so quickly and so totally for something

[166] Recall pp. 243-244 and p. 252.

that really was none of her business." Soon #25 was requested to attend a meeting with the local bishopric to discuss her dilemmas. After what "seemed like an eternity of listening to three men talk about faith and obedience" the council ended by making #25 feel as though her own perspectives, sufferings, and questions were unimportant when compared to the overarching concerns of the church.

Feelings of marginalization, alienation, and general cruelty based upon other peoples' judgments of attractiveness had been stated three distinct times as a significant sequence of steps in the direction of religious exit for participant #20. Currently identifying as a pagan who had self-initiated the removal of his name from official church records, this forty-three year old electrical engineer and divorcé states:

> *The way my wife and I were treated by our home ward was a breaking point for me. Ours was predominantly a young group with several young families and many young couples. Most everyone else in our ward was successful and attractive, which my wife and I were clearly not.*
>
> *There was only one other unattractive, overweight couple in the ward. And just guess who my wife and I were paired up with for every single ward activity, responsibility, and calling? Yep, the other ugly couple. After some time it became painfully obvious that no one else wanted to be around us, it hurt us badly to be so completely excluded from the affairs of everyone else. My wife and I, along with the other couple, felt like the most appropriate ward motto was: If we keep the ugly people together, than they wont be able to contaminate the rest of us.* (#20)

Within two years #20 and his wife had opted to attend another ward. They did not move house nor alter their places of employment, they simply sought to worship with a different crowd, hoping that perhaps a new environment would be warmer, friendlier, and more inviting. Again #20 felt ruthlessly scorned and his wife devastated, for while she was pregnant an incredibly callous and particularly poisonous bit of gossip found its way to both his and his wife's ears. Apparently more than a few members of their new congregation had decided amongst themselves that #20 and his wife were far too unattractive to procreate, and asked in baleful jest: "How could such an ugly couple dare to have children?"

It is clearly acknowledged within academia that the motivation of an individual's striving to belong, to gain acceptance, to love, to be loved, to garner the appreciation and respect of others, and to feel that one's own efforts in attendance to group solidarity are valued – is subordinate only to the paradigmatic conceptions

associated with material necessity and physical safety.[167] However, the innate compulsion aimed in the direction of satisfying the requirements indicative of compliance and belonging has been empirically shown to supersede the otherwise accepted antecedent requirement of corporeal security interior to the theoretical framework of self actualization.[168] Such is made clearly identifiable in cases exemplifying battered persons syndrome, anorexia nervosa, various types of substance abuse, and the numerous classifications indicative of self-harm injuries.[169] Additionally supporting the proposition that people will at times subordinate their own physical well-being in order to satisfy ideals associated with collective expectation, cultural identity, or structural determinism is the empirical reality of any number of seemingly contradictory or pathological social behaviours such as conduct associated with extreme deviance or criminal activity.[170] Contributing further validity to this assertion, one need only appreciate those scores of diverse existential consequences following from the axiomatic recognition of both the *Thomas theorem*[171] and that of the *self-fulfilling prophecy*.[172]

I close this particular marginalization component with the preceding paragraph in order to underscore the unmistakably imperative function that a contextually affirmed identity fulfils within an individual's maximization of their 'human condition'. It is my contention that social rejection will often determine a person's experience with any number of chaotic or destabilizing elements or states. For it can be seen that multiple internalizations associated with inadequacy, deficiency, or

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[167] Maslow (1943; 1954: 15-31).
[168] Ibid
[169] DSM IV-TR.
[170] Thomas & Thomas (1928); Thomas (1951).
[171] Thomas & Thomas (1928: 572) state: "If men define situations as real, then they are real in their consequences." Furthermore they suggest that subsequent to a life-long series of iterated affirmations regarding a person's situations and contexts, both macro and micro influences will have decidedly fulfilled their respective roles within the entire *life-policy* and *personality* formation of the individual ego; see Thomas (1967: 42), and also see Merton (1968: 475; 1995).
[172] The theory, or rather the concept of the *self-fulfilling prophecy* cogently articulates a seldom treated link existing at times – either at the macro or micro level – between belief, behaviour, and outcome or result. Specifically, the misattribution – regarding the 'state' – of various phenomena or singular phenomenon – despite the incorrectness of such – will inevitably promote the occurrence within reality of that which was mistakenly asserted. Stated differently; a false definition, belief, or delusion, which then evokes a new or otherwise unanticipated behaviour, will – to some degree or another – manifest itself as 'true' to those who subscribe to such a definition; Merton (1948; 1968: 477).

failure, in fact progressively and permanently shape the cognitive processes of individuals who simply 'do not belong'.

Table 5h. Mission Steps for Disaffiliation among Respondents

Mission Steps	N	%
Questioned validity of faith (world construct) while on, or upon return home from, mission	3	8
Witnessed extreme prejudicial racism by church while on mission	2	5
Exposure to, or embrace of new ideology/soteriology	2	5
Homosexuality (others)	2	5
Murder or death during mission	1	3
Missionary learned that members are 'Mormon' first and everything else second (role hierarchy)	1	3

Mission experiences have already been introduced as an integral factor within the antecedent process for several respondents.[173] However, within the second stage of the disaffiliation schema I have found certain bits of knowledge as well as different types of information to cause significant degrees of psychic or existential unrest for some respondents. It would seem that many elements to which young missionaries are exposed might contradict or call into question much of what Latter-day Saints had been taught throughout their primary socialization process. In fact it can be seen in the following excerpts that oppositional or non-reifying information had taken root within one's consciousness while serving an LDS mission. Rather than being eliminated from an individual's worldview by denial, rationalization, faith or other dissonance reducing mechanisms, such awareness or elements have instead created a dire need for several respondents to purposively question or examine with intent the basis of their feelings about the LDS Church. Recalling a particularly illuminating sequence of realizations thirty-two year old participant #4, who holds no higher education qualifications, was excommunicated three years after returning home from his mission, and who currently reports being an avowed atheist states:[174]

[173] Recall pp. 227-230.

[174] Respondent #4 had been excommunicated through formal ecclesiastical proceedings three years after returning home 'with honor' from serving a mission in France. Rather than leaving the church as a product of his excommunication, #4 instead attended to a one-year process of repentance. Upon the satisfactory completion of his penitence, #4 would be re-baptized and welcomed again into the LDS fold. Incidentally, participant #4 would fully renounce his loyalty to the Mormon Church four years later. Participant #4 has been quoted in relation to his CTR ring, and saving for his mission in ch 4, p. 161 and p. 172; see p. 200 for information

When I was on my mission I asked myself: If I came up with a story similar to the one that Joseph Smith had come up with, would anyone believe me? The answer I was forced to admit was: Absolutely not; no one, or at least nobody in his or her right mind would ever believe such a story. That's the first time I started to seriously look into my conscience about Mormonism and the truthfulness of the entire system.

I distinctly remember trying very hard throughout my mission to find answers to my questions. I soon reached a point where I'd had enough of being told by my companions and my mission presidency: "We just don't know, you just need to have faith." To me, the never ending response of 'having faith' was simply becoming an unacceptable answer. Because if something exists, like God or the truthfulness of the gospel, there has to be a reason for it. We can and should be able to find out why something is. If something is real it can be studied, you can observe it, and test it; then you can understand it.

I wanted desperately to know: Who's going to give me an answer to the questions I had? Which then led me to another even more serious reservation: How will I know whether or not the answer I find is real or genuine? That was another point of total and complete frustration for me. I didn't quite know exactly what to do, or who to approach for help. I continued to doubt my testimony… and I wrestled non-stop with my faith in the very things that I was telling people on my mission were 'true' beyond question.

Later, still on my mission, I proselytized and tried to convert a French atheist. After he had listened to our discussions for a few weeks, he turned the table on my companion and I. This resulted in a few days of some very long, very deep conversations. I came away realizing that there are two ways in which humans may claim to obtain information; first by reason, and second by revelation. If you base your reality on faith, which is an improvable proposition, than you can make pretty much any claim you want. I went home that night and rephrased the scripture in Hebrews stating that 'faith is the evidence of things not seen'[175] *using his words. "Faith is an absolute irrational assurance of things that are invisible, and that cannot otherwise be proven." I sat there looking at the sentence I had just written, and I cried. It was then; at that very moment, that I honestly had no idea of what the hell I was doing on an LDS mission.* (#4)

Several mission factors that had contributed to respondent #5's antecedent phase continue to deeply affect both his thoughts and spiritual certainty.[176] Upon returning

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regarding his second wife, and see ft. 99, p. 239 for his thoughts concerning the Joseph Smith story.

[175] Hebrews 11:1; also see Acts 17:11.

[176] Recall the murder of his missionary companion, his severe reprimand for being both friendly and casual with investigators, and his lack of a "God defining experience" which are addressed above on p. 228. See page 251 for information regarding his philosophical realizations about religion, and refer to p. 262 for a short review concerning his distaste for

home from an honorable mission in Russia, #5 could not help but to enter a profound episode of self-reflection whereby he states:

> *I wanted to know whether the church was true or not… I wanted to know so badly it hurt me every single day. I was supposed to have learned about the truth while on my mission, but if I really think about it, I mean really… all I did was become more confused.* (#5)

Quite a few passive statements about racism, sexism, conservative politics, and Latter-day Saint arrogance dominated the antecedent episode of 'never married' business consultant participant #13.[177] Additionally he voiced a particular distaste for the temple rites and also conveyed several negative opinions related to various church and mission leaders as causing a degree of annoyance with the organization. However within the second tranche of the distanciation process respondent #13's manner has changed a bit from blasé or indifferent to a character more indicative of sincerity or interest, despite the slightly discordant representation, he states:

> *I had an incredible mission experience! It was fantastic! Serving in Belgium was one of the greatest opportunities I've ever had. During the final two months of my mission I was transferred from the countryside to a Dutch-speaking college town where my companion and I were enjoying ourselves conversing with students our own age about the church, our beliefs, our doctrine, and our prophets. The first time I doubted the church in any serious manner was during one of those discussions.*
>
> *We were sharing truths about the strength and power of the priesthood and about the divinity of our modern day prophet, seer, and revelator. One kid looked at me straight in the eyes and said: "You're telling me that if I broke my arm right now, got into a plane and flew to Salt Lake City and sat down with your prophet, that he could wave his arms, place sacred oil on my head, and the broken bone in my arm would be miraculously healed." I said: "Yes." Then he said: "I don't speak English, so your prophet would also have to understand Flemish, even though he's never spoken it before." Again I said: "Yes." He then pressed: "So you're saying that not only could my arm be healed, but he would also be able to understand my language." To the final statement, I also said: "Yes."*

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the Mormon doctrine of celestiality. Despite his faltering conviction in the truth of the LDS Church respondent #5 continues to pay tithing, an artifact which has led me to categorize his current spiritual/religious status as 'confused' as well as illustrating his disaffiliate type as 'discordant'; recall ft. 122, ch 4, p. 153; also see table 5c above on p. 202.

[177] Respondent #13 holds a baccalaureate degree from the University of Utah and has been quoted in relation to baptism in ch 4, p. 162; he has also been mentioned in association with the patriarchal blessing in ch 4, p. 172. Furthermore, #13 currently describes himself as an 'agnostic' and I have classified him as an 'integrated' disaffiliate, indeed I am able to say that throughout the interview process he has given me the impression that he is among the more mature and generally 'together' or 'composed' members of the sample.

> *I said "yes" because it was the right answer to give. I knew I lied, I knew the prophet couldn't heal a broken arm, and I knew he couldn't speak a foreign language which he didn't understand. And honestly, I knew the students with whom we were talking, knew that my companion and I were completely incorrect. The gravity of that whole realization really stuck with me.* (#13)

Thirty-one year old participant #19 is the son of a thrice called bishop and a two-time regional stake president, his father had also served the faith by directing the affairs of both the Texas and Finland mission programs while his mother had steadfastly been involved in the relief society and its local presidency for "as long as I can remember."[178] Upon his return from serving an honorable mission in California, participant #19 had completed his education by acquiring a PhD in biochemistry from the University of Utah. #19 has 'never been married', instead he currently cohabitates with his companion of nearly two years and is happy to report being part of "a rewarding and fulfilling homosexual relationship." He describes himself as an 'agnostic' and is also a self-initiated apostate, I would not hesitate to categorize #19 as among the most psychologically healthy respondents within the sample, he shares an experience that occurred while on his mission:

> *The biggest heartbreak I've ever experienced in my life occurred while on my mission. The first baptism I had was a poor single black woman with three children. Her conversion was just amazing; it was inspirational, and very spiritual. I was truly grateful to be a part of it.*
>
> *I was transferred shortly after her baptism and while attending a district conference I ran into an old companion who was still there and asked him: "How was she doing?" He got kind of quiet and said: "Well she's not in the church anymore, she left". I just couldn't understand how and why she would've left; I had to know what happened.*
>
> *After some asking around, and even talking with my mission president, I was able to put some things together. Apparently a new bishop had been appointed in her area and he wanted to clean up the ward records. He heard that the father of two of her three children had recently been released from jail after a few years of incarceration and was back home with his family.*
>
> *The bishop had brought her into his office and gave her a choice, he said: "You must demand that he leave your house; if not, you can either willfully have your name removed from the church or you will be excommunicated." And that was that.*

[178] See p. 229 for participant #19's thoughts regarding the allocation of leadership roles within his mission.

> *That a bishop called of God could be so backward, so bullheaded about her situation, her kids, and especially about her husband, made me sick. If ours is 'The True Church', than shouldn't we be doing everything we can possibly do to help and to hold on to people?*
>
> *I struggled trying to reconcile this terrible event with what I knew to be true for a really long time. Rather than letting it break me to pieces during my mission, I instead prayed harder, fasted more, and continued to faithfully minister the gospel.* (#19)

The ninth child of twelve, participant #21 has been discussed several times in relation to many points made throughout the dissertation.[179] Like others represented in the sample, his father was also exceedingly occupied with fulfilling roles associated with the higher echelons of church government, education, and bureaucracy. Also similar to many other accounts, #21 told me that his father ruled the home in a heavy-handed manner always in accordance to strict rules associated with patriarchal authority. He says of his mother: "she was always there, she was always taking care of us kids." Explaining a lesson learned while serving a mission in China:

> *I learned a lot about other cultures, other people, and other ways of seeing the world. I found out for myself that they weren't all evil, all wrong, all bastards, and all going to go to hell like I was taught as a child. In fact, 'other people' taught me an awful lot more about simple truths and peace than I had ever learned as a kid. Live and let live, regardless of differences; that's really what I learned on my mission.* (#21)

Another enlightening series of experiences have been relayed by respondent #22:[180]

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[179] Respondent #21 was among the few who had experimented with alcohol, smoking cigarettes, and sexuality during adolescence; in addition to being bothered by the doctrine of celestiality, he had also identified his experiences at the MTC or missionary training center as more like "brainwashing" than learning about the gospel. Participant #21 had not achieved any higher educational credentials and has described himself as an 'occultist Mormon', therefore I have labeled him as both 'confused' and 'discordant'; see table 5c above on p. 202. Also see p. 248 for his views regarding celestiality and the doctrine of eternal families.

[180] Respondent #22 has been quoted in ch 4, p. 177 in connection to the church offering to pay for his mission. He is also discussed on p. 236 in relation to feeling stigmatized, pp. 233-234 conveys his distaste for the temple rites, and his opinions concerning the superiority of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon when compared to Jesus Christ and the Bible are expressed on p. 240; this represents an issue which has caused respondent #22 a significant degree of dissonance and confusion. See p. 241 for his feelings about polygamy/forced polyandry; p. 260 (also see ft. 138 and 138, pp. 257-268) illustrates his disdain for some elements of Mormon history; and p. 263-264 frame his thoughts associated with Joseph Smith's alleged plagiarism of both the Book of Mormon and the LDS temple rites.

> *Serving my mission in upstate New York became very interesting for a number of reasons. One curious issue for me consisted of the fact that since I was in the very area where Joseph Smith had grown up and translated the Book of Mormon, I was able to physically see and feel many places, areas, and even streets and homes where he had done much of his work. What actually struck me as so odd was recognizing that many cities and towns written about in the Book of Mormon also just happen to be in upstate New York. I mean, you could easily see the connections if you were open to noticing them. Joseph would just manipulate the spelling a little bit, or add an 'i' to the end of the word or something like that. It kind of blew my mind.*
>
> *My eyes continued to be opened when I really began reading the New Testament. I became completely enthralled with its teachings and history, and totally fell in love with it. Once I began sincerely studying and taking it to heart, I started to dismiss – just a little – the truthfulness and omnipotence of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon. Instead, I couldn't help but to identify with and to appreciate Jesus much more. I also became more relaxed as a missionary, it felt great; not necessarily about the rules and standards, but mostly I decided that proselytizing was not about the numbers, the amount of baptisms or discussions, or how many copies of the Book of Mormon I handed out each week. I felt like if I just spent a good day sharing the Lord with others than that was all I needed, I quickly became very, very happy.*
>
> *I guess you could say that the experience I had out in the mission field after I really started reading the New Testament was comparable to what evangelical Christians call 'being born again'. I was born again, born again in Christ; I had finally found the Lord in Gloversville, New York!* (#22)

Two former saints report that a subtle disagreement between their own emerging personal constitutions and the church's orthodox stance regarding homosexuality was becoming troublesome while on their missions. Largely this realization becomes apparent – despite the heterosexual orientations of the young men themselves – when missionaries who are otherwise disposed to a humanistic pose had found themselves *tracting*[181] a potential convert who was judged to be sincere and genuine. In cases such as this, due to nothing more than their sexual orientation, such *investigators*[182]

[181] A term much used by Mormons to describe the efforts extended by missionaries to procure potential converts. Mechanisms inclusive of *tracting* include: greeting people in public places, solicitation by knocking on the doors of private homes, and dispersing pamphlets and scriptures which frame the LDS position as proprietarily holding answers to a myriad of vexing questions.

[182] Mormons refer to *investigators* as those who are learning about the LDS Church. It is the hope of the LDS constituency that all worthy investigators will accept the Lord's teachings and commandments by internalizing the truth of the LDS gospel, and thereby will choose to be baptized into its covenant.

were of course unable to be considered viable candidates for baptism and therefore they could never be welcomed as a member of 'The One True Church of Jesus Christ'. Such an understanding of exclusion has been stated to be at odds with 'the way things should be' for respondents #10 and #17.

Finally, participant #23 expressed his complete incomprehension, indeed his total astonishment when he was exposed to, and therefore had been forced to admit that violence, sickness, death, and even murder befall some of those young men and women called by God and the prophet to spread the word and truth of the LDS Church.[183] I'd like to state that this realization is quite similar to the experience relayed by participant #5 regarding the murder of his mission companion in Russia;[184] however for #23 the incident did not directly involve a specific companion.[185] The acknowledgement of anything that might be considered terribly negative occurring to one of God's chosen or the introduction of any element or trend that differs from their own constitutes an interesting point in which I would urge the reader to recognize, and to afford credence in the direction toward the incredible presence of confidence that exists within the psychodynamic structure of an ardent Mormon mindset. Such primacy of principle or centrality of conviction can often be tested while young adults are serving their faith as missionaries far from the comforts and security associated with the simplicity, familiarity, and camaraderie emblematic to the *mechanically oriented*[186] *Gemeinschaft*[187] of Zion or the broader MCR. For again, as intimated previously on page 187, it is easy to see that the socio-enculturated poise or given-ness indicative of homegrown Latter-day Saint identity may indeed falter in the face of competing diversities.

[183] Respondent #23 has been discussed at length on p. 231-232, also see p. 249.
[184] Recall p. 228.
[185] The event that elicited #23's astonishment is explained below in ft. 191.
[186] Durkheim ([1893] 1984: 31-67).
[187] Tonnies ([1887] 2001: 22-51).

Table 5i. BYU Steps for Disaffiliation among Respondents

BYU Steps	N	%
BYU's unnecessary firing of professors	4	10
Ecclesiastical endorsement requirement for BYU employment	4	10
The founding of the AAUP chapter,[188] and suing of BYU for academic freedom issues	2	5
Hypocrisy at BYU (un-Christian like treatment of individuals)	2	5
BYU was too intellectually controlling/conformist (Professor)	2	5
Homosexuality (others)	2	5
Ecclesiastical endorsement requirement for BYU students	2	5

Participants #1, #8, #14, and #15 have stated that when BYU unnecessarily fired several scholars for no other reason than to simply "shut them up",[189] they were again forced to seriously consider their allegiance to Mormonism. In 1993 Brigham Young University had terminated the faculty career of then English professor Cecilia Konchar Farr due to her political views regarding feminism as well as for her declared pro-choice stance on the issue of abortion. Professor of anthropology David Knowlton also encountered termination at the same time for presenting his ideas at a Sunstone Symposium[190] that proffered an explanation to what were called 'terrorist attacks' against Latter-day Saints in Latin America.[191] In addition to his content and conclusions being found to be quite displeasing to the LDS hierarchy, Knowlton's politico-anthropological interpretation of the events which took place in Bolivia were ultimately deemed 'disapproved' by the Mormon authority structure. Later that same year the elimination of six other BYU faculty members would come to be known in Mormon historical infamy as the 'September Six'.[192] The 'Six', which was comprised of feminists and intellectuals, were variously convicted by church courts as either

[188] Founded in 1915, the general mission of the 'American Association of University Professors' is to defend and advance the ideals of academic freedom, shared governance, and professional values within the institution of higher education.
[189] Respondent #14.
[190] Sunstone is a formal venue comprised of both publications and a symposium whereby the liberal voice of Mormonism may be heard regarding Latter-day Saint issues concerning experience, scholarship, and art.
[191] Unfortunately the episode had resulted in the death of two missionaries. Todd R. Wilson and Jeffrey B. Ball, both twenty years old and both from Utah, were gunned down on May 24, 1989 in La Paz, Bolivia.
[192] Lavina Fielding Anderson, Avraham Gileadi, Maxine Hanks, Lynne Kanavel Whitesides, Paul Toscano, and D. Michael Quinn: see 'Exiles in Zion' (August 16, 2003), *Salt Lake Tribune*; 'Six Intellectuals Disciplined for Apostasy' (1993), *Sunstone* 16: 6.

apostates or outcasts for sharing opinions, presenting historical research, or publishing academic or theological texts that contradicted or called into question the images, ideals, history, dogma, politics, directions, or thought processes otherwise deemed appropriate for members of the faith.[193] Indeed beyond the conflict associated with Konchar Farr, Knowlton, and the 'Six' several other faculty members of BYU as well as other Latter-day Saints have been removed from employment or have suffered various forms of church discipline or excommunication as a product of similar views or from their refusal to obey LDS Church 'orders'.[194] A former professor of philosophy at BYU and outspoken champion of academic freedom describes the climate of control and chaos at the LDS owned university, participant #1 states:

> *Around 1993 when things seriously started going south, BYU fired two tenure track faculty members at their third year review* (Cecilia Konchar Farr and David Knowlton). *At first, the activities were shrouded in mystery and secrecy due to BYU's lying about the reality surrounding why they had ended the careers of these professors. Being quite concerned, several of us* (current BYU professors at the time) *formed a chapter of the 'American Association of University Professors'*[195] *in order to address the rising problematic issue of academic freedom at BYU.*
>
> *Our AAUP chapter procured the CVs of twenty other professors who had passed their third year review and who had subsequently received tenure. We not only compared the fired professor's CVs to those twenty, but we also compared the quality and quantity of their publication records as well. We found the two who were let go were easily placed among the top best five percent of the comparison group. It was curious to actually see that the others had achieved tenure while the two under scrutiny had not. Anyway, in light of our comparison, BYU was forced to back off their assertion that it was academic laziness and admit the real reasons for firing two good faculty members. The truth of it was that BYU didn't like one professor's feminist views, and they didn't like what the other had to say about Mormon missionaries getting shot in South America.*
>
> *At the same time, the Apostle Elder Boyd K. Packer had ordered the academic vice president of BYU to fire Cecilia Farr; he refused because he had felt there was no reason to do so. As a result of his insubordination, the academic vice president was fired and subsequently had three separate stake presidents go after him in attempts at excommunication. Seeing and being a part of that kind of activity, knowing that an apostle of the church*

[193] For an introduction to the academic issues befalling BYU regarding the intellectual freedom of its professors in 1993, see Ostling & Ostling (2000: ch 21) and Givens (2007: ch 11). Much exists in contemporary Mormon lore regarding the antecedents and consequences of individuals comprising the September Six; however, for an adjunctive academic resource on the subject see Toscano (1994, 2008), who was himself a member of the Six.
[194] Ostling & Ostling (2000: 357-359).
[195] See ft. 188 above.

> *could engage in such nasty behaviour, caused me to disbelieve that he was a real apostle at all. I thought to myself: This is the structure, culture, and religion that I love? When these types of issues had started to damage people who I know and value, I had to start to wonder: Do I really want to be part of this? These events definitely had something to do with my disaffection.* (#1)

Former BYU faculty members respondents #1 and #15, as well as a former member of staff respondent #8, share the views of participant #14 (also a former BYU professor)[196] regarding the ecclesiastical endorsement[197] requisite for continued employment at Brigham Young University:

> *When I considered all the stuff going on at BYU in the early nineties, and then combined it with the new requirement that all faculty members – just like students – must go through a yearly interview with their bishop or stake president and receive a statement saying that each employee is spiritually worthy to teach; I really had no other option but to think: This is all really just preposterous.*
>
> *Here I'd been a practicing and devoted Mormon my entire life. I obeyed it all, the word of wisdom, tithing, all that stuff. And then there comes a time when, to keep my job at BYU, my bishop has to tell them that I'm a good Mormon? I think: Well screw that! I'm at BYU because I want to be here, because I belong here. But now they're going to force me to do something that I've already been doing, something that I am already complying with out of my own volition?*
>
> *I decided right then and there that I wouldn't do it. The moment I was forced, I just couldn't, not anymore. The moment I was forced, it was over. My free agency is much more important to me than my professorship at BYU.* (#14)

In addition to several employees of BYU feeling a sense of anger due to the ecclesiastical endorsement, students of Brigham Young University have also felt personally offended or maligned by the constraint as well. Female participants #7 and #24 had voiced the endorsement and the requirement to uphold the university's honour code as noteworthy issues when describing reasons which ultimately led to their decision to exit the faith.

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[196] Fifty-nine year old Vietnam veteran and professor of botany, Respondent #14 has been quoted above on p. 261 in relation to black individuals and their access to the LDS priesthood, he says: "The whole 'mark of Cain thing' is nothing but dirty, ugly, racist bullshit. I've seen it, and I won't tolerate it." Additionally found on p. 261 is his opinion that the temple ritual is "mindless beyond belief."

[197] The ecclesiastical endorsement is discussed in ch 4, pp. 181-182.

Respondent #8, who had been employed by Brigham Young University in 1970 and remained there until his retirement in 2002, discusses some of the 'un-Christian like' occurrences and hypocrisies which had taken place within the confines of the LDS owned university, he recalls:

> *I think most of what I saw regarding the treatment of people while I was at BYU was nothing short of disgusting. The cruelty in which BYU treated and dealt with their personnel who fell short of the standard, the constant scrutinizing over rules and regulations, the constant judging and spite, seemed to be completely inconsistent with Christian love and forgiveness. They never seemed to realize that they were dealing with real people with real feelings.*
>
> *At times I thought BYU's interference into the lives of its employees was downright brutal, especially when things got so far as having to be dealt with by the church disciplinary system. You know, when people got caught with their zippers undone, caught up in some sort of moral or sexual transgression.*
>
> *Without question, BYU is a device for supporting and propagating Mormon validations and legitimations. It perpetuates fear, pain, and harshness for those students and employees who are merely human beings.* (#8)

And last, quite similar to the feelings reported above by other respondents on pages 230-231 and 277, female participant #7 and male participant #17 state that while at BYU their witnessing the abuse, alienation, and overall depraving treatment suffered by LDS homosexuals at the hands of both the university and the church itself quickly and passionately became intolerable. This concern for the well-being of a previously marginalized group, reflects the same type of sentiments expressed by some saints during the sixties and seventies who were deeply bothered – in fact still are today – by the LDS organization's vehement opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which effectively brought a legal end to racial segregation in the US.

Table 5j. Other Steps for Disaffiliation among Respondents

Other Steps	N	%
Disengagement/disidentification and/or identification w/ another religion/belief system (ebb and flow of commitment = inactivity)	12	30
Homosexuality (self)	9	23
Clinical/severe depression/suicidal due to conflict between church and self causing self-hatred, loathing, and a destructively low self esteem	8	20
Dissolution of temple marriage	6	15
Ecclesiastical discipline	6	15
Church and culture too controlling/dictatorial/conformist	5	13
Feelings of abandonment/betrayal from God, church, family etc…	5	13
Mormon elitism/arrogance ("The one and only true church etc…")	4	10
Drift	4	10
Acquisition of higher education	3	8
Political differences, including conscientious objection to Vietnam war	3	8
The Civil Rights Act of 1964	3	8
Sexual/ physical/ mental abuse/molestation	3	8
Offenses by church leaders and authorities	3	8
Homosexuality (others)	2	5
Consider the LDS Church 'a cult'	2	5
High demands on time and money	2	5
Exposure to non-LDS significant 'other' (therapist, doctor etc…)	2	5
Exposure to anti-LDS material	2	5
Requested 'release' from LDS calling	2	5
Temple recommend interview viewed as "ritual humiliation"	1	3
LDS marriage (home life context)	1	3
Parenthood	1	3
Arrested, jailed, or incarcerated	1	3
Career took priority over religious involvement	1	3
Story of the 'drowned child'	1	3
Role hierarchy (love of a parent)	1	3

In representing my sample as thoroughly and as exhaustively as possible, I include yet another category of steps which symbolize additional experiences leading to further distanciation among my participants. Most of the variables have already been treated, discussed, or mentioned throughout the manuscript, however I have judged that some will benefit from further description and explanation. Regarding the several concepts or factors that have been previously examined and are not represented here in any stark differences from the manner in which I have dealt with them or in the ways which the variables have been experienced by the respondents in sample as I have conveyed above, I will not cover them again. Moreover, many of the elements listed in table 5j are self-explanatory and therefore will not specifically be addressed in a comprehensive fashion in order to reduce the proliferation of redundancies.

Table 5j introduces a variety of factors, which for some reason or another were inapplicable to the four earlier formed categories of 'doctrinal and historical', 'marginalization', 'mission', or 'Brigham Young University' thematically oriented steps. As shown above we can see – as distinguished from mere religious drift[198] – that periods of Latter-day Saint disidentification, that is self-meaningful disengagement from Mormonism or a person's identification with another religion or belief system account for the most robustly reported steps resulting in pious exit regarding this fifth grouping of elements. The respondents' various experiences with decreasing degrees of Mormon activity or testimonial dormancy or stagnation – resulting in the attenuation of respective commitment and zeal toward the LDS organization – best explains this type of movement away from the faith. Indeed it has been stated by male participants #3, #8, #20, #21, and #22 that several mental travels have included experimentation with 'trying out' or 'trying on' a new identity, first within imagination and secondly in the realm of external theatrics[199] and cueing.[200] Buddhism, Hare Krishna, Paganism, interest in the occult and Alistair Crowley, Evangelicalism and general Christianity as well as the more frequently reported exploration into atheism, humanism, or agnosticism from participants #7, #6, #13, #26, #29, #39, and #40 constitute such identities. Oftentimes members of the sample, and in fact wayward Mormons in general, will return to their faith of 'certainty and truth'.[201] However, when identity-disconnection is paired or amalgamated with exposure to salient and plausible alternative worldviews, many individuals stand bare to the temporal realization of the fact that 'other people indeed believe different things and behave in different ways, and are not struck down by the hand of God for doing so'.

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[198] A term often utilized in the literature associated with disaffiliation and commitment to describe or characterize lethargy, boredom, or simple disinterest.

[199] Lyman & Scott (1975).

[200] Both Ebaugh (1977) and SanGiovanni (1978) have discussed the importance of signaling as a way of communicating intent either consciously or unconsciously, purposively or otherwise to social others in their study of ex-nuns; though perhaps the sharpest review of cueing behaviour in relation to the process of role exit is to be found in Ebaugh (1988: 69-74, 96-97, and 151-154). Another interesting treatment on the subject is the work of Gambetta and Hamill (2005). In this important manuscript the authors have utilized the signaling and cueing framework to shed light upon issues of interpersonal trust and judgment transactions among taxi drivers and their respective customers.

[201] Albrecht et al. (1988: 65-66) report 'rates of return' among disengaging Latter-day Saints as 56%.

Representing a considerable degree of drama within the totality of my qualitative enquiry, nine self-identified homosexual respondents or 23% of the sample have graciously granted me access to several passionate experiences related to their struggle with sexuality, identity, and Mormonism.[202] Such accounts clearly frame the myriad emotions connected to the 'activity' associated with this second stage of identity negotiation or disaffiliation from the Latter-day Saint faith. Participant #2 reports being treated unfairly by her family when they found out about her secret:[203]

> *When my parents and siblings found out I that was a lesbian, neither my fifteen years of marriage, nor my four children counted for anything. I was cut off completely. Still to this day I have very little if any contact with them. I'm not Mormon anymore and my lifestyle is at odds with their beliefs, so we've absolutely nothing to say to one another.* (#2)

Participant #26,[204] the wife of a U.S. Air Force engineer recalls while residing at the military base in Las Vegas:

> *Stephen was gone a lot; he was working on the stealth fighter program back when it was still a secret. He'd leave on Monday and come back home on Thursday night, so I was always alone with our three children. His actually being gone didn't really bother me all that much, I was used to it from almost a decade of marriage; but I was restless, lonely, and very unhappy. It was that year that I met another Air Force wife at church – I was her visiting teacher, she also had kids and her husband was also always gone. We became great friends over the following two years.*

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[202] All nine respondents within the sample who have claimed a homosexual identity are represented in table 5c, p. 202; also see ft. 22, p. 204. However, in conjunction with the coverage of various issues related to homosexuality which I have included in several sections above, I would like to provide the reader with a clear list and reminder of all nine homosexual participants contained within the study: female participant #2 is an intellectual feminist and professor of English Literature; male respondent #19 holds a PhD in biochemistry and is an agnostic who had self-initiated the removal of his name from official church records; male respondent #23 had achieved a baccalaureate in Spanish and a master's degree in linguistics, though is currently employed as salesperson, additionally he was excommunicated as an apostate after holding many respectable positions of authority and responsibility within the church. Female participant #26 married a young man who was involved in the US Air Force and is now divorced; male respondent #27 hold no higher educational qualifications and is currently an unemployed journalist who is also an atheist and a self-initiated apostate; male participant #30 also lacks any higher educational degrees though is gainfully employed and claims to be a 'general Christian'. Male respondent #31 holds a baccalaureate degree in the culinary arts and was employed at BYU before being fired due to his apostasy as a result of his sexual orientation; an avowed atheist, male participant #32 has a baccalaureate degree in English and teaches at a high school in Salt Lake City; finally, female respondent #34 is an 'irreligious agnostic', holds a bachelor's degree in communication from Utah State University, and currently earns a salary well above the local average as a personal consultant.

[203] Respondent #2 is represented on p. 231, 234, 236, 242-243, 246-247, 251, and 260.

[204] Respondent #26 has been discussed on p. 234, 236, and 253-254.

Once while her husband was away, she had decided to bring another male friend of hers over to visit. He began coming over and staying with her a lot. Soon I found myself becoming very jealous of him and all the time they were spending together. It was a really strange reaction, and I remember thinking: Why am I feeling this way? (#26)

Hoping for the best but experiencing something quite different, respondent #27 states:[205]

I just wanted it to go away. I thought that if I did everything right and did everything I was told, than it would be taken away. So I continued to pour myself into the church, into scripture study, into prayer, and into my mission; always having faith that God would take care of it for me if I were diligent.

After one year in the mission field I couldn't take it, I felt I needed to be honest to myself and stand on my own two feet. The problem was, I didn't know where 'my own two feet' actually were. I was lost and becoming depressed, so I told my mission president everything: all my feelings, all the lies, and all the problems I had going on inside. He said that I could either work through my issues here on the mission, or return home and fix them there. I decided to leave my mission a year early and go home.

My parents wanted me to go to the residential in-patient sexual reparative therapy program at the BYU psych center so I could be cured of my homosexuality. On top of being clinically diagnosed as mentally ill and having to go through countless hours of useless group and individual therapy, I also spent six long months with electrodes and clamps hooked up to my head, my penis, and my testicles. It was there – in response to my reactions to different pictures, stories, sentences, inkblots, and other stimulations – that I experienced the most pain I've ever imagined.[206] (#27)

Speaking of the most excruciating sadness and loneliness, former BYU employee participant #31 shares:[207]

Coming out to my wife and my four kids absolutely destroyed me; I lost my friends, my family, my career, my home; everything. All the church courts, the disciplinary action, the probation, the interviews, the judging, and the guilt – I couldn't take any of it anymore. I had been beaten down, humiliated by those who I thought were my friends, and had been sexually abused while spending time in jail because no one would bail me out for just letting it all go one evening and getting drunk. I felt like dying – please God, just kill me.[208] (#31)

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[205] Respondent #27 has been mentioned on p. 234 and 267.
[206] This particular event took place in 1993.
[207] For additional information about participant #31 see p. 205, 234, and 249.
[208] I learned much later that within a year of the interview #31 had ended his life.

Commenting on variously related elements indicative of his process, respondent #32 conveys:[209]

> *At a young age I knew there was something very strange going on inside of me. I knew it, I knew it without question; I was different. I felt like I was broken. I knew I had this thing in me, I didn't know what it was, and at the time I certainly didn't know I was gay, but I knew that I was definitely attracted to other boys. I remember thinking to myself that I'd rather die than sin against God.*
>
> *I began masturbating when I became a deacon. It always happened as I thought about other guys, and it always made me feel terribly guilty. The older I got, the more I masturbated. I couldn't stop, I couldn't help but to give in to temptation; and every time I did, I just knew I was scum, a horribly evil person.*
>
> *During high school I became completely aware that I was physically attracted to men, though I refused to acknowledge it to myself. Instead I just kept on hanging out with my girlfriends and tried to show people that I was normal.*
>
> *I saved all the money I needed for my mission, everyone in my family and in my ward was so proud of me. I thought the most important reason for me to go was so that God would see that I was doing what was expected of me and in return he would take away this evil thing inside of me, he would take away my gayness. Despite working very hard on my mission, I remember being on the plane coming home. I silently broke down in tears, because I'd done everything I could possibly have done, and didn't feel any different. I knew it was still in me, I knew I wasn't fixed. I knew I wouldn't be able to resist it, in fact the more I held it in, the more I could feel it building, growing – like a monster inside me.* (#32)

After returning home from his mission, while a junior at BYU, #32 eventually broke down. He drove from Provo to Salt Lake City with the intent of engaging in sexual intercourse with a woman to see if he could: "force the evil from my body." Such an effort resulted instead in a homosexual encounter that took place in another man's car. "We didn't have full on sex… but it was touching, kissing, and everything else. Afterward, I felt as though I had confined myself to eternal damnation and torment… I hated myself. Yet at the same time I immediately wanted it again." Physically and emotionally depleted after grappling with severe depression, shame, pain, and turmoil for so many years #32 surrendered to his sexuality and began regularly engaging in clandestine homosexual intercourse with other LDS men who he would meet or 'hook up' with at a local park. These behaviours, combined with a potent sense of self-

[209] Respondent #32 has been discussed on p. 228, 234, 238, 248, 249, and 264.

disgust and hatred, ultimately provided ample grist for the development of his unique psychological coping mechanism of 'cutting' or self-mutilation; stating: "I deserved to be punished, I deserved the lashings… I felt I should die."

After struggling through high school and college with same-sex attraction, though abstaining from any homosexual exploration, participant #34 admitted to herself that she would never be able to adapt to the expectations and duties required of a normal Mormon woman who finds happiness and joy in fulfilling her callings as both a wife in Zion and a domestically talented mother:[210]

> *My career was proceeding well and I had just purchased my first home. I thought to myself: I've got to at least try it, I have to give it a shot, I need to see what happens.*
>
> *I finally acted on my feelings, and it felt good. It actually felt great; it felt right. It wasn't just the sex, it was a kind of emotional satisfaction and high I'd never experienced before. So I knew at that point, I could never go back.* (#34)

Eight members of the sample have relayed stories associated with psychiatric incarceration, intense psychological therapy, severe depression, chronic self-harm or self-injury, and suicidal tendencies as a result of their efforts at "living two lives"[211] or "trying so hard to reconcile my sexuality with being Mormon."[212] Here we see an interesting distribution of respondents. Five accounts derive from male homosexual participants #23, #27, #30, #31, and #32. Two cases originate from the pool of heterosexual women with respondent #24 expressing extreme resentment regarding her role as a Mormon mother though is adamant to stress her love and dedication to her four children, while participant #38 thinks of motherhood without the help of a husband as her *Weltshmerz* or life-pain.[213] Lastly, transsexual female participant #39 cautiously, regrettably, quite dissociatively, yet with a surprising degree of maturity conveys attempting to remove her own male genitalia on several occasions:

> *When I was thirteen or so I started cutting on my scrotum and my penis… throughout high school I continued to slice and began bashing them with books, pots, baseball bats, and even a hammer… I remember trying (more than once) to get my testicles out of me, but it was too hard… every time I'd*

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[210] Respondent #34 has been mentioned on page 199, 234, and 263.
[211] The quote was derived from the narrative of female respondent #24 regarding her complete unhappiness with Mormon life, though such a sentiment is absolutely congruent if not relatively identical to several statements given by all five males represented and participant #39.
[212] Respondent #27.
[213] Recall ft. 165, p. 268.

> *look at my body I was just disgusted…* [Saying of her male genitalia] *I hated them; I just wanted them off of me.* (#39)

Despite the confusing relationship with herself and her environment at that time, #39 would bury all emotions regarding the unorthodox and innermost aspects of her identity. She stated, regardless of the pain and disorientation of dealing with her plight: "I continued to fast and pray for strength to be the kind of person the Lord wanted me to be." Upon turning nineteen years old she served an honorable mission, married in the LDS temple, and began a career as a seminary teacher before divorcing after six years of marriage at age thirty-three. It would be two more years before divulging her true identity and desires to the church at age thirty-five.

Time and again the dissolution of a secular or civil marriage can cause excruciating grief and bewilderment, not to mention its tendency toward promoting feelings of both temporal and existential vertigo.[214] A new divorcé is challenged with the task of half-heartedly reconstructing a social and psychological identity often from nothing more than the emotional and psychosomatic rubble that is found to have been left behind. Not infrequently the successful emergence from such an ordeal can be hindered – indeed altogether negated – by the presence of obstacles and insurmountable barriers associated with the negotiation of various impending elements such as time, finances, children, property, career, proximity, and a myriad of both lost hopes and forgone expectations.[215] However – as subjectively apprehended as it may be – a Mormon divorcé is additionally yoked, in fact plagued by enormous amounts of guilt as well as several cultural and pious issues relating to the failure of maintaining both their celestial covenant and quintessential apotheotic capability.[216] The *eternalities*[217] following from a celebrated and revered LDS sealing, as well as

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[214] Wright (1991).

[215] Recall the primary function which hope (Davies: 2011) and expectation fulfill within the matrix of individual action; see ch 3, pp. 112-113 and p. 127. Further, I have attempted to operationalize the term 'expectationism' because I believe it may capture a bit more of the emphasis regarding various actions and choices taking place within a devout Mormon mindset; see ft. 76, ch 1, p. 24. Additionally, the heavy influence of a person's association with expectation is a key tenet with status and role theory; see ch 1, pp. 25-33.

[216] The supreme importance of the temple marriage for ardent Latter-day Saints has been discussed thoroughly within the manuscript; however for a quick recall of its centrality to Mormon community life and LDS theology please refer back to ch 4, pp. 184-185. Also, the paramount significance of the temple marriage is represented in table 4 on p. 191 which conveys the 'ideal' system of Mormon socialization or the saintmaking process.

[217] This term is to be understood in relation to the economic ideas associated with *externalities*, also known as either i) manifest or latent *implications*, or ii) intended or

taking into consideration its locally stigmatized counterpart the temple divorce or annulment, places an incredible degree of constructed pressure upon Mormon individuals. Hence male respondents #3, #11, #16, #20, #28, and #37 stated without reservation that the cessation of their organizationally sanctioned and everlastingly recognized pledge to both God and partner provided 'the surest' stepping stone leading in the direction of disaffection from their faith. The reality of a failed temple marriage invariably falsifies both the teachings of St. Matthew and the knowledge contained within the Doctrine and Covenants, which assures Latter-day Saints that "whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven."[218] Oftentimes members of the study initially apprehended this particular mechanism when the divorcé had no other recourse but to acknowledge – despite the fact of their steadfast commitment to righteousness, obedience, and fervency – that the timeless spiritual blessings of unending joy and eternal solace erstwhile promised, had in fact eluded them. Inevitably such experiences and realizations resulted in their asking themselves, God, and everyone significant who exists within the LDS cosmological order of things – "Why?"[219]

Stage 3: Galvanizing Issues

Despite the experiences manifested variously throughout the passively oriented antecedent stage, as well as having engaged directly with the increasingly active and cumulative character associated with processual steps, members of the sample nonetheless remain both tenebrous and ambivalent regarding a firm commitment toward dispossessing themselves of their valued LDS identity and belief structure. As stated earlier, galvanizers are the adhesive of disaffiliation,[220] they can also be thought of as akin to the proverbial *straw that broke the camels back*. This implies the existence of a qualifiedly real threshold or limit associated with a person's cognitive and emotional tolerance or endurance. Thus within the constitution of all members of humanity there indeed resides a breaking point where defiance to one's

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unintended *consequences*. Economic notions of externalities are engaged to describe any number of various 'effects', which occur as 'products' following from any given market activity. The concept of an externality does not however broach the parameters indicative of objectivity or empirical verification. Be that as it may, *eternalities* when understood in this context, serves the same explanatory function as an externality; though for the religious individual an eternality is manifested in situations which lie beyond the temporality and constraints of 'this world'.

[218] St. Matthew 16:19; Smith ([1835] 1981: ch.128, 132); also see Ephesians 1:13-14.

[219] Respondent #37.

[220] Recall p. 221.

self – based upon a subjectively expected repertoire of structurally instigated emotions or sensitivities[221] – is rendered impotent.[222] Thus galvanizers may be understood as symbols which reflect an individual's private psychological *Rubicon*, whereby no viable alternate action exists other than to push onward in hopes of realizing some sort of salvation or recovery. Alternately, galvanizers may likewise epitomize the situation at which an individual will simply endure the impending environmental onslaught because one's determination or strength to resist has been thoroughly depleted.[223]

In this sense galvanizing issues represent the final emotional considerations that – within the individually narrated existential contexts of my participants – operate to provide compulsory, evidentiary, sentimental, and experiential motivation for surmounting subjectively defined identity conflicts, thereby fostering a possible apprehension of consonance or rest. In effect, galvanizers allow a conflicted mind to make amends with the struggle toward an impractical unification of competing identities. Moreover – to some degree or another – galvanizers endow ego with the incentive, inspiration, and power to reduce the apparent mental and emotional tension between their former (Mormon) and current (non-Mormon) selves. As such the occasionally painful, sometimes quietly accepted, and for others still the possibly anticipated embrace of knowledge occurring part and parcel with galvanizing experiences will foster the development of the type of individual who my respondents – either consciously or unconsciously – seek to become. This is to say with absolute certainty; subsequent to the galvanizing episode members of the sample will have shed a significant measure, if not the entirety, of their Latter-day Saint convictions

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[221] A unique emotional repertoire based upon collectively affirmed sensitivities and moods learned throughout the process of socialization might be referred to as contributing to an individual's *sensorium*, which is a term representing the apparatus and matrix by which perception following from the senses and from feelings may be generally apprehended; see Colman (2006: 687).

[222] This point is also the moment at which a person's resistance to the caustic effects of cognitive dissonance is unequivocally superseded by their need or drive to reduce felt existential discord. Festinger (1957: 28) states: "The maximum dissonance that can possibly exist between any two elements is equal to the resistance to change of the less resistant element." The topic of dissonance management in relation to change is integral to the manner in which I think about human action and identity; see ch 3, pp. 128-130.

[223] Davies (2011: ch 3).

and beliefs thus resulting in a monumental and irreversible change in the ways in which they perceive the world and their existence within it.[224]

Table 5k. Galvanizing issues for Disaffiliation among Respondents

Galvanizing issues	N	%
Churches position on blacks in the priesthood (Racism)	5	13
Severe/clinical depression, sadness, loneliness	5	13
Feelings of betrayal by church, spouse, or friends	5	13
Offended by church leaders	4	10
Churches position on the subordination of women (Sexism)	3	8
Church's history/doctrine of polygamy	3	8
Psychological therapy (not associated w/hmsx)	3	8
Occurrences of disidentification	3	8
Ecclesiastical discipline	3	8
Dissolution of, or dissatisfying temple marriage	3	8
Leaving Utah county, proximal relocation	3	8
Exposure to, attainment of Higher education	2	5
Church's position and treatment of homosexuality	2	5
Periods of inactivity	2	5
Church history/doctrine	2	5
Joseph Smith story	1	3
Temple ritual/ceremony	1	3
Word of Wisdom	1	3
Culture of control	1	3
Support of a loved one (spouse)	1	3
Death of a loved one	1	3
Loss of career	1	3
Mormon 'knowledge'/elitism/arrogance	1	3
Church's exclusive social welfare beliefs/policy	1	3

Despite the 1978 revelation received by Prophet Spencer W. Kimball which brought an end to the formal exclusion of members who possess any black African ancestry from practicing the holy Melchizadek priesthood,[225] five respondents nonetheless cite 'racism within the church' as standing firmly among their conclusive reasons for exit. Here we find the voices of male participants #8, #10, and #11 expressing an initial distaste for this variable, however for female participant #2 as well as for male respondent #14 this historico-doctrinal issue remains of enigmatic

[224] Bruce (2002; 2011); Carrette (2007); Ferguson (2009); Krishnamurti (1969); Harper (1948).

[225] The 'Declaration of Negro Ordination' is discussed within ft. 102, p. 239. Several respondents' issues that concern 'racism within the church' have been treated in both the antecedent and steps sections; see pp. 246-248 and pp. 260-261. The doctrinal basis for the unequal distribution of access to eternal glory is mentioned in ch 4, p. 144; also see Smith ([1835] 1981: ch.131: v.1-3).

concern as they have both shared their disdain for the subject in earlier analyses.[226] Interestingly respondent #40 did not state having any problems with 'blacks and the priesthood' beyond those already discussed.[227] Instead, the only African-American in the sample attributes his final movement away from Mormonism as a product of disengagement due to his attending law school in Los Angeles, California; subsequent to which he reports simply 'drifting away from religion' when he moved to Seattle, Washington.

An equal proportion of participants have made quite clear that destructive episodes of depression, sadness, and loneliness associated with a burgeoning homosexual identity definitively explain a great deal of their leaving the LDS organization. Following nearly forty years of laboriously steadfast service within the capacities of several venerated organizational roles indicating both regional and global positions of LDS leadership, authority, power, and trust; having fought many personal battles with multiple tests of faith arriving in the form of homosexual temptation and practice, temporal and existential chaos, human mortality, family disintegration, and other conflicts with conscience and context bearing heavily upon his shoulders; indeed after twenty-eight years of marriage, six children, and a highly successful career within the bureaucracy of the church #23 shares several precipitating events which led ultimately to a suicidal state of depression and to his excommunication from the church:

> *I was summoned into the office of one of the high-ranking elders at church headquarters in Salt Lake City. Standing there were my home stake president and the young LDS missionary with whom I had both fallen in love with and engaged in sexual relations with while serving as his mission president.*
>
> *About a year had gone by, and against my better judgment, I found that I still needed this young man, so I contacted him. For whatever reasons… he didn't feel the same way about me anymore… he reported what we had done to the church hierarchy and told them that I was still bothering him despite his intentions to repent.*
>
> *I was ripped open from top to bottom during that meeting; both the presiding elder and my stake president didn't hold anything back. I couldn't defend myself at all; I didn't even want to, I didn't have the energy or the desire. I burst into an uncontrollable show of tears and left the office. I decided at that point – I'm done.*

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[226] See p. 247 and p. 261.
[227] Recall page 237, 248, 249, and 261.

> *Soon I wrote a letter to my wife leaving it on the bed saying: "I can't do this anymore." I was done; for reasons of my own, I decided that I could not continue to be in the church... I wanted to be whole so I left for Phoenix, Arizona to stay with a cousin where I'd hoped I could figure out who I was and what being gay was all about.*
>
> *Quickly I became more depressed, completely suicidal, and amidst it all, I missed my children very, very much. After two months I couldn't tolerate the loneliness and the isolation from my past and I returned to Utah for a visit. When I arrived home, the stake president found out. He called and asked me to come in for a meeting, of course I agreed. Surprised, the meeting was in fact a church disciplinary court. I was treated quite badly, and with my wife present I was excommunicated on the spot.*
>
> *I knew that was the end, the real end. I knew it was the end for me; I could never, ever come back to the church.* (#23)

Like the participant just quoted, respondents #30, #31, and #32 also derive from the male category who currently claim a homosexual identity; furthermore all have previously reported the feelings of sadness, depression, and loneliness as primary motifs within their overall narratives.[228] Respondent #39, though classified as a female, shares the same sentiments and can be seen as having dealt with as much or more instances of physical and emotional drama throughout her LDS life.[229]

Five male participants report being deceived or forsaken by the church, its authority structure, friends, or family. In fact feelings of betrayal resulting from the actions of a beloved spouse are not uncommon as respondent #23 who was just quoted above also told me he was devastated by the fact that his wife had known the church court was immanent though had not told him of the ordeal; instead she silently allowed him to see the children days earlier without so much as a warning of the storm to come. Such subjectively apprehended notions of perfidy have decisively impacted the choice of many respondents within the sample to abscond from their LDS origins. Respondent #3 who is currently a very pleasant and contented city bus driver shares his feelings regarding the dissolution of his first marriage:

> *My first marriage of course was a temple marriage; is there any other way? Despite both my wife's and my best efforts and intentions to stay together, our marriage ended in divorce. This caused me to fall into a dark*

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[228] See p. 288. It is also important to acknowledge that respondent #30 had stated sadness, loneliness, and depression as elements which impacted his antecedent experience as well; see p. 254.

[229] See pp. 288-289.

> *depression. Throughout it all I felt betrayed by my ex-wife, by the church, by God, and by the gospel.* (#3)

Expecting a warm conversation to take place between himself and his loyal friend of many years, participant #4 instead found that he was judged harshly and felt betrayed by the fact that his dear friend was not available to engage in a dialogue whereby his primary convictions might be called into question, even if by a trusted lifelong friend who 'needed help'. Excommunicated apostate participant #4 currently claims an atheist identity and is involved in his second marriage, he conveys:

> *I had to talk to someone, somebody, someone who I could trust. I was dying; I had to talk about what I was feeling. I knew I could never approach my family or my bishop, so I decided to confide in my oldest and closest friend. We were childhood pals, we grew up together, and we even served in the same mission. Over lunch I began to share my thoughts and questions with him, he quickly and absolutely freaked out, he went nuts, accusing me of all sorts of evil and blasphemy. He honestly thought that I was possessed by a demon.*
>
> *For faithful followers, the possibility that any member could ever question the Mormon Church is the deepest and most wretched form of heresy. Simply asking a few questions about the reality or truthfulness of the church was enough to set my very best friend off, way off. So I thought: No, I can't share these ideas with anyone, I'll just keep them to myself.* (#4)

Five years subsequent to his temple marriage and two years after the terrible statements were made about he and his wife's decision to start a family,[230] #20 at age twenty-eight had become organizationally inactive though began reading and studying the entirety of the LDS canon with extreme intent. It was during this period of self-reflection – whereby he sincerely attempted to find answers to the numerous questions which had manifested themselves as a product of intense social exclusion – that he related feeling betrayed by his faith in the church and gospel; he expresses sadly: "How could all these mean, negative things happen to me? Everywhere I turn it seems I'm shut down. I've served a mission, I've always been a true and faithful follower, and I have always loved and respected the gospel… I just don't understand." Acting on sentiments connected to being unwelcome within the LDS social scene, indeed having been rejected by social others on several occasions #20, together with his spouse, began to explore other styles of spirituality and fulfillment within the ideologies of the Hare Krishna movement, the beliefs of contemporary paganism, and

[230] Recall p. 270.

the practices of witchcraft. Despite their deviant sojourns he states: "I still believed in Mormonism… in fact I still do." It is clear regarding the narrative of participant #20 that despite the consequences of the various experiences tolerated which proved to whittle away many of his Latter-day Saint attachments, he nonetheless remained tethered to the religion in some manner or another. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, throughout it all he felt comforted by the abiding strength, love, and support provided by his wife. However, after seven years of marriage she dolefully revealed she was gay and was now ready to move on, he shares: "I felt betrayed beyond words… there is no way I could possibly express how ruined I was. To hear that she didn't want me anymore was worse than death." As incredible as it is, please refer back to table 5c above on page 202 and notice that the original temple marriage of respondent #20 remains intact. He and his lesbian wife (who has been engaged in a meaningful cohabitating relationship with another woman for over six years) have been living in two separate homes in the same town for nearly a decade. They remain 'best friends', yet socialize on very few occasions, as 'she prefers keeping to herself'. Since their divergence they have had two additional children together and amicably share custody of the three. Negotiating a fairly unique sense of balance which enables #20 to live his life, he ultimately has apostatized from the church for reasons associated with Mormonism's opposition to a proposal for equal marriage legislation for same-sex partners in California,[231] he states: "I just couldn't be part of an organization that despised my wife so badly that they would want to rob her of her human rights."

Also expressing a deep sense of betrayal by God, gospel, church, and spouse respondent #37, who has perhaps been discussed most fully on page 241-242, conveys after being exposed to the knowledge of his wife's affair he was "completely shattered… I didn't know what to do... I had no idea how to handle that kind of information." In an emotional, spiritual, and existential state of total confusion participant #37 requested to be 'released' from his calling as the leader of his home ward, indeed dealing with the responsibilities of being a bishop and shepherd of his own congregation quickly became secondary to the several burgeoning problems which became very apparent within heart and home, he reports: "I needed to gain some sort of perspective regarding what was going on, and I definitely needed to

[231] Proposition 8; see ch 6, p. 347.

make sure my kids were alright." Within six months his wife had filed for divorce and hastily left Utah to live in Los Angeles. Participant #37 told me the only blessing amidst all the chaos was that she didn't want to take their five children with her; in fact he relays: "She doesn't maintain much of a relationship with them at all now that she's gone… and I guess that's okay by me." At the time of the interview the marriage had been over for six years, however respondent #37 continued to express sadness and regret tinged with anger when remembering the actions of his ex-wife and still conveys bewilderment concerning the truth of Mormonism though repeatedly asks himself the question: "What did I ever do to deserve such a terrible turn of events?" Currently participant #37 attends church regularly for family reasons and may even be considered by those who are unaware of his plight to be a 'strong' member.[232] However, something has been taken away from the newly formed consciousness of this individual, no longer does he fully trust in the firm conviction that Latter-day Saint certainty is infallible.

Four individuals describe their experiences of being severely affronted or belittled by members of their local ministerial leadership as contributing to their final decision to exit Mormonism. As stated earlier on page 226 participant #1's disaffiliation process essentially began as a response to the despicable manner in which the Latter-day Saint Church had treated his homosexual brother. Following from this initial emergence of dissonance in terms of 'feeling' the pain experienced by his sibling, #1 had proceeded to live an expected Latter-day Saint life for several decades with the notable exception of his highly prestigious academic accomplishments. Acknowledging the several additional antecedents and steps associated with #1's narrative, two galvanizing issues are of indispensable value when attempting to understand the particular structure of his unique decision-making process. Despite the copious amounts of dissonance introduced and developed within the consciousness of this participant as a product of the academic inequality and control issues occurring at BYU during the early nineties,[233] respondent #1 would ultimately attribute his conclusive exit from the faith as the result of two highly disturbing events. First, his brother's death in 1991 of AIDS prompted the local and

[232] Like respondent #1 represented above on page 250, participant #37 can also be seen as a living example of Bahr and Albrecht's (1989) conception of a 'cultural saint'; recall ch 1, p. 85.
[233] Recall pp. 279-281.

regional LDS hierarchy to use the demise in order to validate their position that homosexuality was an abomination to God; such rhetoric, preaching, and community whisperings regarding "my beautiful, intelligent, loving brother who would never hurt a soul" would from then on stand as a reminder to #1 that indeed the Mormon Church had damaged both himself and a dear loved one beyond the degree of apology. Secondly, the dissolution of his temple marriage in 2000 would swiftly be met with a resignation from his tenured position at BYU as well as a resolute choice to "walk away from the LDS church," he further states:

> *There was really no reason at all to stay at BYU or to try and reconcile my thoughts, feelings, and political differences with the Mormon religion. It finally became clear to me after years and years of experience that my values were different from theirs and they were not going to change.* (#1)

Despite the conflict occurring on #18's lawn regarding political partisanship, which had followed another ugly series of events, he found it impossible to reject the LDS faith.[234] Thus both he and his wife eventually resumed regular church attendance and cultural involvement, though always with a degree of unease and self-protection. After three years of relative consonance between the elderly couple and their local ward members, such an achieved quietude would not serve to be a strong enough bond to garner the domestic assistance of the relief society when #18's wife had undergone surgery as the result of a heart attack.[235] Regardless of their lacking social zeal #18 reports: "We were temple recommend holders, we always paid our tithing, we never missed a fast offering, we went to church every Sunday and my wife attended relief society regularly… why weren't they helping us out?" Puzzled and angry he went straight to the bishop for an explanation and was told: "The brethren and I had discussed your issue, we decided not to offer any help because it seems well within your ability to take care of your own." Furious though speechless, indeed completely aghast participant #18 left the chapel and expresses while walking home he was unable to place this sort of statement within any type of context that made any sense to him; he thought: "The church exists to help its members… the relief society exists for this very purpose… to help members when they need it." Since the 2004 incident that had taken place in the bishop's office #18 refuses to attend Mormon Church meetings. Indeed even the simple actions and everyday conduct associated

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[234] Recall pp. 268-269.
[235] Recall the role and function of the relief society; see ch 4, p. 178-179.

with normal community behaviour is now reduced to an extreme minimum. When grocery shopping and other forms of social commerce or collective exchange become necessary, such interactions are always executed in silence and shrouded in fear. Embodying Bahr and Albrecht's (1989) conception of the splinter saint,[236] he states quite certainly: "I'll always believe in Latter-day Saint doctrine because I know its true, I'll never stop paying my tithing or reading my scriptures… [he unclasps the top two buttons of his shirt revealing the LDS sacred garment underneath] and I'll never take these off." Sometimes he "sneaks away" and mingles with the Presbyterians in the next town saying: "I think it's pretty good over there and the people are friendly, but it's hard because I'm always afraid that someone will find out."

After being made to believe that her own perspectives and sufferings were unimportant when compared to the overarching concerns of the church during an interview with the local bishopric,[237] respondent #25 left the meeting with an acute sense of disdain for what had just transpired. Six months later, once more at their request, another bishop's council was attended regarding her continued inactivity. Throughout the conversation, again dominated by themes of obedience and faith,[238] #25 grew increasingly irritated because none of the presiding patriarchy would allow her opinions or concerns to be fully developed or thoroughly articulated. Feeling as though her problems were not being addressed in any productive capacity she finally interrupted and asked: "So what you're saying is that it truly doesn't matter whether or not my involvement in the church is what I want to do… you're telling me it is something I must do?" Her bishop answered arrogantly: "If you'd like to gain eternal exaltation then yes, that is what we are saying." Already emotionally and spiritually detached from Mormonism, the decision to abruptly exit the bishop's office was a simple feat; indeed she reports: "It felt great to get the hell away from them." Within only a few days #25 had written a formal letter to the hierarchy requesting her name be removed from official LDS records; it did not occur.

The focus of respondent #26's visiting teaching endeavour while in Las Vegas, Nevada was another young LDS woman in the ward who had a young family of her own and whose Air Force husband was also frequently gone for extended

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[236] Splinter saints refuse group involvement though claim a high degree of faith in doctrine and theology (Bahr and Albrecht 1989), also recall ch 1, p. 84.
[237] Recall pp. 269-270.
[238] Ibid.

periods. Their friendship grew significantly over the following year as both women had found in one another somebody with whom to share their lives and concerns; #26 states: "it was great having someone to do things with, our kids got along well and we always had a lot of fun." Following from a curious attack of jealousy which occurred in relation to Nancy having a 'male friend' over while her husband was away on a three week training course,[239] #26 quickly disclosed such feelings to her dear friend and was ecstatic to hear her reply: "I feel the same way about you." While maintaining involvement in church and at the same time continuing to support their husbands when they were home, the friendship evolved into a sexually rewarding, though clandestine relationship; #26 shares: "It felt so good to be loved and to be important to someone." Throughout the next year she relays:

> *It was quite obvious to everyone around us that something was going on, I mean people could definitely see that we were becoming very, very close to one another. Nancy and I knew that eventually the judging would start, but we didn't care; we loved each other.* (#26)

Gossip, backbiting, hazing, and ill treatment of their children at school from members of the church functioned to make the women feel like outsiders. Indeed as a result they both stopped attending church meetings, #26 states: "It didn't really matter, we were happy to simply be ourselves." Due to rumors and ward whisperings #26 was requested by the bishopric to attend a private meeting. After opening up in an honest manner and telling the brethren exactly what they wanted to know she was castigated for her choices, actions, and behaviours. However, like #25 discussed above, by the time the interrogation took place she had also emotionally and spiritually separated from the church. Remaining throughout the scolding until the patriarchy was done, she stoutly decided: "so was I."

Throughout the manuscript many issues concerning women have been strenuously voiced as problematic. The two most significant elements within the model are similar due to mores associated with both context and tradition, yet have been experienced quite differently within the narratives of several respondents. The Latter-day Saint perspective that a woman's foremost responsibility is to her priesthood bearing husband and subsequently to her family can take many forms. Indeed such a cultural norm of obedience may be expressed, lived, and legitimized as LDS sisters – however joyously, ambivalently, or ignorantly – satisfy their

[239] Recall pp. 285-286.

theologically celebrated roles of wife, mother, daughter of heaven, and guardians of the hearth.[240] On the other hand in today's political, global, increasingly individualized, and ever more secular climate, LDS women – with the support of both husbands and the LDS organization – have negotiated, expanded, and redefined their place within the Mormon milieu.[241] In addition to the aforementioned feminine endeavours, Latter-day Saint women are now permitted (and at times encouraged) to fully enjoy and embrace the several possibilities of seeking rewarding employment outside the home, gaining higher educational credentials, and to engage in entrepreneurial enterprise. Notwithstanding these impressive advances in dynamics associated with gender equity and structural possibilities, it can still be stated without counter argument that Mormon women continue to live under the thumb of Mormon men. The cultural acceptance and propagation of the subordination or asymmetrical treatment of women within the Mormon faith stands as a decisive factor which has led female respondents #2 and #15 to exit the LDS religion.[242] Forty-eight year old male participant #11, who has previously been discussed in relation to the temple ritual, racism, and the cessation of his original temple marriage,[243] reveals the practice of sexism within the church as severely bothersome to his sense of happiness, humanity, and equality:

> *Honestly my problems with the church have never really seemed so huge that I couldn't deal with them. Tons of stuff within Mormonism is certainly fucking weird… and really rubs a lot of people the wrong way, but for me I just recognize that I think it's crazy and then move on. But a few things have really caused me to be upset with the church; the way my dad treated my mom growing up wasn't terrible, it just wasn't fair. Every time I think about the dreams my mom might have had when she was young but never got to go after them, never got the opportunity to do what she wanted to do… really makes me sad.*
>
> *And my brother – he's a whole fucking other kind of guy – he's what you'd call a 'Peter Priesthood', you know… he's perfect in every way; he has a great job, a beautiful family, he's always called as elders quorum president or to be a member of the bishopric or something like that... everybody just loves him… but his biggest problem is that he treats his wife the same way my dad treated my mom. I like her a lot she's a great gal, but I can see it in*

[240] See ch 4, pp. 167-170 and p. 178.
[241] Cornwall (2001), Iannaccone and Miles (2001).
[242] Both participants are university professors of English Literature, each individual teaches at a different university, however both are within Utah. Participant #2, an atheist and self-initiated apostate has earned a PhD while respondent #15, an 'integrated agnostic' holds a master's degree.
[243] Recall p. 238, 290, and 292.

> *her eyes, especially when she's with my wife who is not Mormon, who went to college, and who experiences the world in such a different way… despite all the smiles, all the kids, the fucking useless meetings, dinners, lunches, parties, days at the salon, and regardless of the fact that they do pretty well for themselves – she is nowhere near happy.* (#11)

The second issue affecting members of the sample that concerns women is neither cultural nor normative; it is instead both historical and doctrinal. As the topic of racism continues to plague modern Mormonism, so too does the archival practice of polygamy. Male participants #8, #10, and #11 have told me that the revelation of plural marriage "is intolerable… it never could have happened the way we were told, it's something I just can't believe in",[244] "it's just bullshit."[245] The only seeker in the sample shares his opinion:

> *I don't know what else to say about it, it's our history. A gigantic piece of Mormon theology and doctrine is directly related to the so-called 'revelation' of plural wives. I tried desperately to avoid it altogether, but in the end, these polygamist Mormons were my immediate ancestors, my great grandparents. So to deny that it ever existed, like so many people here in 'happy valley' tend to do, or to 'candy coat' it with labels or excuses such as 'doctrine', 'truth', or as 'God's will', is as far as I'm concerned a blatant lie.*
>
> *I think there are some very strange points in LDS history like polygamy and racism. There is just so much exclusion, and so much hatred. I think honestly that it's all about as goofball as it can get. But make no mistake; it's all part of the Mormon doctrine. I think it's mostly quite vile. I guess in the end everyone who has ever had a question about anything has to decide for themselves whether to take it or leave it.* (#8)

Psychological 'therapy' and one's relationship with such a process has come up in numerous narratives apart from the accounts given by those represented in the sample who have claimed a homosexual or otherwise sexually conflicted identity. Indeed many more instances of an individual spending time, energy, and money to see a psychologist, psychiatrist, psychotherapist, clinical social worker, or other type of counselor in order to help them deal with life's problems and questions has occurred far beyond those explicitly manifested in the manuscript. In each case – without exception – either the Latter-day Saint social services or a private counselor whose

[244] Respondent #10.
[245] Respondent #11.

primary allegiance was to Mormonism provided the initial therapy.[246] In fact according to several members of the sample, church sanctioned mental health care constituted their only available option. After years of attempting to develop a sense of psychic stability following from several experiences of abuse in one's family of origin, alcohol or substance abuse and addiction, and engaging in chronic episodes of promiscuity male participants #3 and #21, as well as female respondent #24 attribute their final movement away from the LDS religion as the result of their engagement with a non-LDS counselor or psychologist.

Seventeen additional elements identified as galvanizers are itemized in table 5k. Most of those that remain un-discussed here revolve around subject matter which has been thoroughly treated in preceding sections; however, more than a few reflect a degree of individuality and personal relevance which has yielded them as outlying to the central themes represented throughout. Ego's flirtation with occurrences of disidentification ultimately transformed into a sure movement away from LDS ideals for male respondents #4, #5, and #35.[247] Formal ecclesiastical discipline resulting in excommunication mandated the removal of male respondents #4, #23, and #28 from official church rosters and proceedings, while divorce or despondency regarding a failed or unsatisfying temple marriage had been stated by male respondents #3 and #31 as well as by female participant #24 to have promoted their deliberate considerations toward religious exit. We can further see in table 5k that a person's proximal relocation provided the necessary separation from consolidated Mormonism

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[246] LDS Family Services is a worldwide network of mental health care professionals who are employed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The spiritual, psychological, and emotional aid provided is intended only for members of the faith and is typically administered free of charge. However, when monetary compensation must be levied it is typically far below what a private non-affiliated mental health care or family therapy professional would request for similar treatment. With over fifty locations across the United States LDS Family Services offer several resources to the Mormon corpus including methods for strengthening marriages and families, counseling for pornography use and addiction, life-skill advice and enhancement for single parents, expectant parent counseling, substance addiction recovery programs, and adoption services; see: www.providentliving.org/lds-family-services?lang=eng. The Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists (AMCAP) also provide Latter-day Saint centric counseling and therapeutic service for members of the church. It is interesting to note that the organization's four-fold mission statement includes 'research, theory, and publication' as the fourth and final element after its number one priority is given to 'spiritual focus'; see: http://ldscouselors.net

[247] Respondent #4 was born in 1973 and lacks any higher educational qualifications. Respondent #5 was born in 1978 and had earned a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Utah. Finally participant #35 was born in 1976, he earned two bachelor's degrees and a master's in computer engineering all from the University of Utah.

which ultimately enabled three members of the sample to free themselves of their LDS burdens.[248] Thirty year old male homosexual participant #30 found solace in nearby Salt Lake City, he reports:

> *I'm not sure if I'd have ever had the strength to leave the church if I didn't move to Salt Lake; things are really different here, it might sound a little funny since I can drive home in only forty-five minutes… but I feel like I can be myself and not be bothered by always watching my back or wondering what people are saying about me…* [stating with absolute conviction] *if I stayed back home around Provo or Orem I am pretty sure I would've eventually killed myself.* (#30)

Thirty-eight year old male attorney #40 discovered independence from the church in Seattle, Washington, and thirty-nine year old feminist respondent #36 built peace for herself in Phoenix, Arizona.

Supplying further empirical data male participant #5 and homosexual male participant #32 stated that an essential tool utilized in removing themselves from the mental and spiritual milieu associated with Mormonism were the various types of information which each had learned while acquiring a higher education. As stated in footnote 247 above respondent #5 had earned a bachelor's degree in political science, and respondent #32 received his in English composition from Brigham Young University. Intolerance for the church's stance concerning homosexuality continued to offend male participants #4 and #8; and female respondents #7 and #12 attribute 'seemingly benign' periods of religious inactivity as providing a smooth transition away from Mormon allegiances. The eldest and most affluent member of the sample, participant #12 has not been represented much throughout the dissertation. She was quoted in relation to church attendance in chapter 4, page 151 and her voice is discernible on page 203 regarding the decision 'never to remarry'. Indeed the reason for her apparent absence is because reports of boredom, lethargy, and disinterest in Mormon theology and life-style define her entire disaffiliation process – an opinion or perspective which is barely shared, if at all, by any other members of the sample – with the exception of one statement that identifies the doctrine of celestiality as "disturbingly unfair to everyone else in the world." Regardless of the monotony and tedium which she had attributed to her membership within the church #12 nonetheless attended to her LDS duties and responsibilities faithfully throughout childhood,

[248] The concept of consolidation has been mentioned in ft. 29, ch 4, p. 136 and further in ft. 181, p. 68. Consolidation is also discussed with a bit more depth several times in ch 6, see ft. 28, p. 339; p. 342; ft. 39, p.343.

adolescence, and most of her early adult life. However upon the passing of her husband she states: "After he died the church held nothing of value for me at all." Finally male participants #4 and #14 have expressed fully that the entire corpus of LDS history and doctrine is flatly unacceptable to their senses of reality, equity, and objectivity.

The concluding nine factors were stated by only one individual (for each variable) to cause active, life-changing discord within this tranche of the disaffiliation process. I will not address the issues of the Joseph Smith story, the temple ritual, or the word of wisdom as these elements of Latter-day Saint life have been reviewed several times elsewhere; however, a few final field observations are in order before moving on. The LDS culture may accurately be described as one which places a tremendous amount of value upon the continual obedience of its constituency to the demands of the organization; thus I agree completely with Perl and Olson's (2000) contention that Mormonism is a very strict church in its beliefs, intensity, and lifestyle. The following three excerpts are not elements that have been stated to belong in the galvanizing phase of the respondents represented. Instead I have simply judged their feelings on the subject of control and conformity to be useful at this point in the manuscript. Indeed through ardent compliance to Mormonism it is expressed by male respondent #8 and female respondents #9 and #24 that a sense of individuality or personal identity is somehow felt to have been sacrificed, our seeker who had retired from BYU shares:

> *The unyielding pressure to conform always rankled me horrendously. I think the most unstated ethos behind Mormonism is: conform or die. Mostly I think it's dreadfully suffocating. There is very little validation for anyone who is not testifying to what everyone else is saying. Honestly, it's really quite terrifying to see people turned into actors or robots that are unable to utter a single word or sound that had not been rehearsed from a centrally approved or authoritative script.* (#8)

And #9, who has been mentioned several times throughout the manuscript in relation to the temple ritual, patriarchy and sexism, and marginalization[249] shares her thoughts on the subject:

> *The Mormon way of doing things is just like a cult; it really, really bothered me. I felt as though they were always trying to turn people into some sort of clones, drones, or zombies. It's always: "Do this" or "Do that", "Believe this" or "Believe that", "Behave this way" or "Don't*

[249] Recall pp. 203-204, 237, 262, 263, and 266.

> *behave that way". If anyone ever goes against the church, against what they want, guess what? You're shit out of luck.* (#9)

Thirdly #24 states:[250]

> *I conformed to everything. I never spoke out of line. I would always do the 'church thing': I would talk about it, say it was great, say it was special, say it was true; I'd sit there smiling, and I'd agree with everyone. What a waste of so many years.* (#24)

Expressing a realization regarding the otherwise unrecognizable control which the LDS belief system had imposed upon the moral consciousness of respondent #10, he states of 'lost love':

> *After coming home from my mission I became involved with a fantastic girl, she wanted so very much to marry me, and I loved her tremendously. She was almost everything I ever wanted. I was quite hesitant to marry her due to the fact that she wasn't a virgin. I was madly in love with her and cared about her a great deal, but was unable to find her acceptable because of that one particular issue. I just couldn't get over the fact that she had previously engaged in sex out of wedlock, with someone else. She knew it was a big problem for me, a problem that I could never quite verbalize nor forgive her for. I ended up destroying her because of that; destroying myself as well.*
>
> *I've often reflected: What was I thinking? Why was her past, something which she had done and had repented for, such an incredibly painful and immovable factor as to whether or not I was able to judge her as a good person worthy to be my wife? I remember what my seminary teachers and other church leaders used to say to us when I was young: "Who wants the rose upon the hill that's been covered with dust and trodden upon by the feet of many travelers?" The point was, that I as a faithful servant of God, and as a worthy returned missionary, deserved a rose unspoiled by the dirt of others. What bullshit! The fact of the entire matter is that I gave up my rose, a woman who I genuinely loved, due to someone else's standards.*
>
> *It took a bit of time and it was really, really tough – but eventually the doctrine, the covenants, the history, Joseph Smith, all of it; it just started to sound like, and I don't mean to be corny; but the church, its leaders, the prophet, and its members; they all just started to sound like the man behind the curtain saying: "I am the great and powerful Oz."* (#10)

It cannot be disputed that the concept of social interaction defines a person's notion of stability, morality, situation, context, emotion, choice,

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[250] Single mother, unemployed, and quite animated in many of her representations participant #24 has been mentioned in relation to several points throughout the dissertation; for a quick reminder of her narrative refer to pp. 237-238.

preference, and knowledge.[251] Furthermore collective intentionality and ethos presents to an individual's consciousness which (if any) elements or alternatives are available for the subjective endeavour of personal fulfillment.[252] Ebaugh 1988a touches on the magnitude of such dialogue, dealings, relations, or communications when she discusses the importance of *reality testing* and *assessing the response of social others* within her phase of *first doubts* or *initial questions*.[253] According to Ebaugh, when a nun who is taking into consideration the possibility of leaving her Catholic convent experiences a positive reaction from a significant other regarding doubts and other deviant inquiries, thoughts, or private sentiments she will in turn develop a strengthened conviction toward exit. This short statement frames the essence of 'the social construction of reality' or 'social constructionism' at its most powerful or explanatory point. Otherwise stated: people are profoundly influenced by the perspectives, actions, and opinions of social others; moreover the directionality or form of such consequence is often quite predictable.[254] Illustrating the moment when respondent #22 had decided that the church was no longer a factor in the further consideration of his life he states:

> *My wife and I were watching a church fireside on TV one evening when we suddenly turned to one another and asked: "How can we believe this anymore?" We had both deceived our families and ourselves for so long, we had taken all that we could handle and just couldn't live as frauds any longer. She was having a much harder time than I was and wanted out very badly. It was actually pretty great, we agreed that we had something stronger than the church; we had each other.* (#22)

Demonstrating a relentless annoyance with a central tenet of Mormonism, thirty-three year old participant #35 admits:

> *I have never felt comfortable saying: "I know." Like when bearing my testimony, giving blessings, saying prayers, and especially while serving on my mission. That's what all Mormons say: "I know the church is true," "I know my Heavenly Father lives," "I know Joseph Smith is the true prophet," "I know the Book of Mormon is the truest form of God's word on the earth today," "I know Jesus Christ is my big brother," "I know the Holy Ghost whispers to me," and on, and on, and on, and on.*

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[251] Recall ch 3 and ch 4.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Recall ch 1, pp. 46.
[254] Cialdini (1984).

> *Not only did this kind of 'knowing' make me feel uncomfortable, but I always wondered: Do the other people saying these things really know? I thought to myself: They just must have a less restrictive definition of things. It's my opinion that most people really just say and do the things they are told, which leaves me to conclude that we are all expected to say: "I know" when in fact we really don't. If I were ever to refuse to say: "I know" it would surely prompt many questions from members of my family and my friends about my faith. What does it mean anyway, 'I know'? I tried, but just couldn't get over the question of: Do they really have so strong a testimony that they really know? Because if I 'knew' anything for sure, it was that I didn't 'know' anything at all.*
>
> *Mormons always talk about the church being 'true'. Everything in the church is 'true': The Book of Mormon, the prophet, and the doctrine. Again, what does that mean? 'True' according to what?* (#35)

It might have been noticed that more than a few respondents' voices are not included in any dramatic fashion within the above discussion of galvanizing factors. The explanation for this absence is simple. For many ex-members the passive antecedents that had caused an original apprehension of cognitive dissonance, as well as those active factors which had taken place within the narrative accounts of the second stage indeed constitute the entirety of elements necessary to separate them from the religion of their birth. This is not to say that those who have refrained from identifying additional factors as essential to their decision-making matrix have not fully experienced the subjective emotionality of the galvanizing tranche; nor would it be accurate to assume that 'less' had been required in terms of their acquisition of disconfirming information which ultimately justified a decision to exit the faith. Rather, the omitted individuals have instead experienced many (sometimes more, sometimes less) of the same questions, dilemmas, dramas, and sentiments that define the triadic model for the rest of the sample. In fact the experience of the galvanizing effect for those of whom I speak can be stated to be quite potent, and in many cases frame several years of pondering a series of very important psychosocial, existential, and cultural problems that can be seen to have provided the path by which many have left the Mormon Church.[255]

[255] Those who have not explicitly stated any additional factors to influence their galvanizing episode are female respondents #9, #34, and #38 and male participants #6, #13, #16, #17, #19, #27, #29, and #33.

Stuart Wright (1987) discusses covert or surreptitious and overt or openhearted forms of departure or 'getaways';[256] I have found neither as applicable to the conclusions within this research. The final decisions to sever ties with the LDS religion for most members of the sample had occurred subsequent to extreme emotional depletion resulting from years sometimes decades of attempting to integrate conflicting information with Mormon theology and history, or likewise had developed as a consequence of seeking to square a deviant identity with that of an ardent LDS sense of self. Often, if not intimated in all forty narratives, participants have stated in several different ways an incredibly similar sentiment regarding the definitive abandonment of their LDS convictions: 'I just didn't have anymore energy to fight', 'I had taken all that I could endure', or 'There was simply no point in trying any longer', and lastly 'I was done'. As a result of such an observation I would like to suggest that the final moment of Mormon egress, disaffiliation, or exit is often a decision made in solitude, alone with ones thoughts and feelings.[257] Participant #29 states:

> *The great crashing down of my world didn't occur quickly. I spent years reworking, retooling, and refitting so many issues related to doctrine and history. I tried desperately and prayerfully to find a way that I could live with what I was coming to know. However, in order to remain a believer, some things – in fact many things – had to be avoided completely, just totally denied.*
>
> *Like The Book of Mormon – it wasn't exactly what we were all taught it was. Was it a revelation from the Lord? Or was it a translation from some other source? Was it a copy of another man's book? Or was it a concoction written from the Kinderhook plates? Were the golden plates real? If so, where were they?*
>
> *Was the book of Abraham real? Where did it originate? Was it a metaphor? Or is it just, nothing?*
>
> *When Joseph Smith presented the temple endowment to the members of the early church, was it really a divine revelation from God? Or was it just the stuff he'd experienced as a Freemason?*
>
> *Why does the modern church discount so heavily the Journal of the Discourses?*

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[256] See ch 1, p. 60.

[257] Exceptions to this statement are obvious in cases of ecclesiastical excommunication where many individuals are involved in the fate of the member who is being judged. However, even in such a situation, the individual may contemplate his or her own desires at a later date and ask for a repentance process whereby they will be re-accepted as a Member of the church.

> *Why does the church rewrite history and attempt to reinvent archaeological fact?*
>
> *Not only did I have specific problems with prophetic succession; but I also took massive issue with, and was quite offended by, the many character flaws of Joseph Smith. And what is the deal, why do people in the church separate Joseph Smith the person from Joseph Smith the prophet?*
>
> *Why were the previous temple endowments so very different from the one that I had experienced in 2003? Why has it all changed so much?*
>
> *After more and more study, I found out for myself that so many past prophets of the church had said so many things; revelations and mandates, which are not only contradictory or at odds with one another, but are also incredibly and starkly different from the Mormonism of today. Why, if it is all so divine, are there so many questions and so many variations?* (#29)

Driving across the country for the fourth time during the course of a two-year period, pathologically searching for yet another possible location where inner peace may be found, #32 divulges:

> *I stopped the car in the middle of the desert, jumped out angry as hell and just started screaming: "FUCK!" "FUCK!" "FUCK!" over and over again, louder and louder, until I started to cry. I yelled at the top of my lungs until I became exhausted, then gathering all the strength left in me I yelled: "FUCK MY FAMILY!" "FUCK YOU GOD!" and "FUCK EVERYTHING!" I don't want to, and can't care about any of these things anymore. I just wanted to live!* (#32)

5d. OVERARCHNG THEMES: TOWARD A DEEPER CONSIDERATION OF GENDER, CONTEXT, DEVELOPMENT, AND SECULARIZATION

Following from the composition of biographical experience, continuity, individuality, affinity, and social awareness – as well as having thoroughly portrayed the relationship abiding between a Latter-day Saint worldview and the socio-moral and micro-ethical clarity that has been espoused by members of the sample within all three stages of my triunitarian model, I now offer an important generalized overview constructed from the saturation of antecedents, steps, and galvanizers. It is my intention through the presentation of *overarching themes* to provide the reader simultaneously with a description and an abbreviation of the prevailing and most influential mechanisms which ultimately result in the cessation of Mormon involvement and the rejection of an LDS identity. It has been shown within the manuscript that an individual's engagement with uncertainty, their selective abandonment of ideas, and ultimately the decision or imperative to change one's

existential perspective is a process neither to be underestimated nor to be treated lightly. However, if anything stands out from the vitally crucial recognition of drama, choice, and action associated with all forty participants it must be the several experiences, contrasts, emotions, and resemblances associated with gender and sexuality.[258] In addition, the catalog of educational credentials and qualifications depicted herein again warrants comment if for no other reason than to remind the reader that 83% of men and 75% of women within the sample hold higher educational qualifications.[259]

Many participants report that their subjective knowledge had been altered in a manner fully congruent with several other studies which suggest that education, with its emphasis on scientific, rational, and empirical thought is damaging – indeed antithetical – to religion and religiosity.[260] Such perceived mutual exclusivity has been stated by many to reduce or negate the probability of holding a scholarly or intellectual orientation to the world while maintaining a religious point of reference which is often grounded in faith, obedience, and custom. Adding relevance to a contemporary discussion of secularizing experiences in relation to educational exposure and attainment, Caplovitz and Sherrow (1977: 108) suggest while in college "… students are exposed to ideas which seriously question fundamentalistic religious beliefs…" The authors' further propose "… college represents a departure from the family and [necessitates a person's] incorporation into a peer culture." Shorn of daily or routine contact with familial ties and influences, which fulfill important functions in the sustaining of religious allegiances, a young adult's pious identity is likely to wane when they are away at university.[261] Undeniably the college peer group may be seen as a 'breeding ground' for new ideas, new styles of thought, and new modes of behaviour when compared to a person's family of origin that will often provide a

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[258] Gender distinction is mentioned on p. 194 in relation to the distribution of my sample and its congruence with wider secondary data statistics.

[259] See pp. 195-196 as well as table 5a, p. 193. Also see table 5l, p. 314 and 5m, p. 325 below. In addition it is quite important to acknowledge the two findings of Albrecht & Heaton (1998: 302, 293) in which they state i) members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have attained a standard of educational achievement which is significantly higher than the [American] national average, and ii) that "higher education does not have a secularizing influence on Mormons."

[260] Lazarsfeld & Thielens (1958); Eliade (1963); Shiner (1967); Campbell (1971); Lehman (1972); Caplovitz & Sherrow (1977); Wilson (1978).

[261] Cornwall (1985; 1987; 1988; 1989) follows Greely & Rossi (1966); Greely et al. (1976); Fee et al. (1981); and Himmelfarb (1979) in stating the three most powerful agents of religious socialization are the family, the church, and one's peers.

sense of exhilaration, liberation, advancement, and independence from home, origin, and tradition. Indeed Albrecht and Heaton (1998: 297) conclude a short review of Caplovitz and Sherrow by summarizing their findings: "… the higher the education level [attained], the greater the probability [or likelihood] of apostasy." Such a correlation unequivocally supports findings reported by Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi (1975) when they conclude there is a consistent decrease in church attendance, religious beliefs, and pious attitudes when squared against increases in academic achievements. This implies that the higher one's level of education, the less likely a person is to be orthodox or fundamental in their religious convictions. Otherwise stated, the more education or intellectual knowledge acquired the less likely a person will believe in God, the less favorable one will be toward the church, and finally, religious values and ecclesiastical principles will increasingly come to be judged as irrelevant.[262]

Table 5l and 5m below provide a thematic generalization regarding all males and females within the sample. Several bits of information, attributes, and detail – despite being thoroughly reviewed in earlier sections such as case number, educational qualifications, sexual orientation, current beliefs, and each respondent's disaffiliate type – are included to aid the reader in grasping their relationship and relevance to the three categories of overarching themes. In addition to personal data, many variables contributing to this final statement have also been treated at length throughout the manuscript and will not be further defined nor discussed. A few of the following labels are new amalgamations that consist of several factors of interrelated aspects and components represented throughout stages 1, 2, and 3 and therefore should not confuse nor complicate but instead serve to present consistent information concerning the task at hand in a manner more aligned with parsimony and brevity rather than emotion and texture. I'd like to suggest that overarching themes be thought of as primary, secondary, and supportive drivers of disaffiliation because – as

[262] It is not my aim to strictly assert a causal or dependent relationship to exist among education and apostasy for all people; my data does not necessarily address such an argument nor am I concerned with the topic. However, the idea that an individual who is otherwise disposed to irreligion, atheism, agnosticism, apostasy, or individualism might find fulfillment within an intellectual context, which then subsequently results in that person's rejection of their religious roots, is a completely valid contention. For perspectives on the debate of directionality between intellectualism and irreligion where apostasy is treated either as the independent variable or as a neutrally occurring factor see Zelan (1960); Stark (1963); Greely (1964); and Lehman (1972).

I have stated elsewhere – no singular reason, no discrete experience, nor any isolated instance of doubt, disorder, or pain creates or maintains sufficient dissonance or motivation within the consciousness of an ardent LDS mindset to warrant the purposive consideration of egress or alternation.[263] I understand this may be judged as relatively equivalent to my tripartite conceptualization of antecedents, steps, and galvanizers which are necessary to the decision-making process associated with the abandonment of a Latter-day Saint distinction; however, it would be a mistake to think of the saintbreaking process and the report of overarching themes as indistinguishable constructs. Of course both represent the same phenomenon of change; that is, the secularization of Mormon individuals or Mormon consciousness – or to put it a different way, the experiences that instigate, maintain, and validate an LDS person's choice to question and ultimately leave a prime identity behind. Despite a strong degree of abiding similarities, variables associated with the three drivers illustrate i) the most important factors, ii) issues that are abrasive, and finally, iii) legitimating or rationalizing elements which – loosely comparable to the galvanizers – are utilized by ego to 'make sense' of an overwhelming amount of information regarding one's place within the world.[264]

Within table 5l the category of 'doctrine and history' encompasses all elements related to the male respondents' skepticism regarding the authenticity and veracity of formal church history and doctrine. Feeling as though the Joseph Smith Story is a fairy tale, believing both LDS scripture and/or the Mormon temple rites to have been plagiarized, disagreeing with theology associated with plural wives or polygamy, and judging the concept of celestiality and apotheosis as a farce constitute powerful obstacles to maintaining a strict sense of faith, obedience, and commitment. Additionally, taking issue with the bureaucratized form of prophetic succession, disbelieving in modern-day revelation, holding the original decree of banning blacks from the priesthood as improper, and expressing concerns about Joseph Smith's and the Book of Mormon's superiority to Jesus Christ and the Bible are also elements included within the variable. Such matters have spawned significant realizations of dubiety and conflict amidst the growing awareness of fourteen men within the sample

[263] Festinger (1957); Berger & Luckmann (1966).
[264] Berger & Luckmann's (1966: 92-128) discussion of legitimation as a second-order objectivator of meaning is entirely relevant here; also the importance of Festinger's (1957: 18-29) theoretical concepts associated with reducing cognitive disparity and discomfort cannot be underestimated.

and therefore can be seen as fulfilling a decisive role in their choice to cease trusting in the certainty espoused by the Latter-day Saint system.

Table 5l. Overarching Themes Leading to Disaffiliation for Male respondents

Case No.	Higher Ed Qual	Sexual Orientation	Primary	Secondary	Supportive	Current Beliefs / Disaffiliate Type
1	PhD/Phil	Hetero	Equality	Control	Education	Spiritual/Int
3	BA/PSci	Hetero	Abuse	Doc & Hist	Exp to Alt	Buddhist/Ap:I
4	None	Hetero	Doc & Hist	Intellectualization	Reloc/Renounce	Atheist/Ap: II
5	BA/PSci	Hetero	Disc Exp	Pol & Phil Diff	Education	Cnfsd/Dsc
6	BA/PSci	Hetero	Control	Pol & Phil Diff	Exp to Alt	Spiritual/Int
8	MS/LSci	Hetero	Marginalization	Doc & Hist	Control	Seeker/Int
10	BS/Econ	Hetero	Doc & Hist	Education	Control	Agnostic/Int
11	BS/IntRlt	Hetero	Temple Rites	Doc & Hist	Equality	Cnfsd/Dsc
13	BA/Engl	Hetero	Disc Exp	Control	Relocation/Drift	Agnostic/Int
14	PhD/Bot	Hetero	Control	Doc & Hist	Equality	Atheist/Int
16	BA/Engl	Hetero	Offense	Control (Sep 6)	Depression	Cnfsd/Ap:I
17	MS/PbPy	Hetero	Doc & Hist	Education	Equality	Atheist/Ap:I
18	PhD/PbH	Hetero	Marginalization	Pol & Phil Diff	Offense	Cnfsd/Dsc
19	PhD/Bio	HMSX	HMSX	Equality	Doc & Hist	Agnostic/Ap:I
20	BS/Elec	Hetero	Marginalization	Loneliness	Equality	Pagan/Ap:I
21	None	Hetero	Control	Exp to Alt	Depression	Cnfsd/Dsc
22	MA/SCo	Hetero	Doc & Hist	Marginalization	Wife's Support	Spiritual/Ap:I
23	MA/Ling	HMSX	HMSX	Depression	Excomm	Spiritual/Ap:II
27	None	HMSX	HMSX	Depression	Rep Therapy	Atheist/Ap:I
28	DPharm	Hetero	Control	Father's HMSX	Lifestyle	Cnfsd/Ap:II
29	BS/CpS	Hetero	Doc & Hist	Pol & Phil Diff	Disidentification	Sec. Hum./Int
30	None	HMSX	HMSX	Depression	Relocation/Exit	Christian/Int
31	BA/Cul	HMSX	HMSX	Depression	Fatalism	Agnostic/Ap:I
32	BA/Engl	HMSX	HMSX	Depression	Doc & Hist	Atheist/Int
33	MA/Ed	Hetero	Control	Doc & Hist	Equality	Christian/Int
35	MA/CpE	Hetero	Control	Doc & Hist	Equality	Cnfsd/Dsc
37	None	Hetero	Wife's Adultery	Betrayal	Lost Faith	Cnfsd/Dsc
40	JD/Law	Hetero	Marginalization	Doc & Hist	Relocation/Drift	Agnostic/Int
N=28	**PhD=4 Other Doc=2 Bac or Mas=17 None=5**	**Hetero=22 HMSX=6**	**HMSX=6 Control=6 Doc & Hist=5 Marg=4 Disconfirming Experience=2 Other=5**	**Doc & Hist=7 Depression=5 Pol & Phil Diff=4 Control=3 Ed/Int=3 Other=6**	**Equality=6 Relocation=4 Control=2 Doc & Hist=2 Depression=2 Education=2 Exp to Alt=2 Other=8**	**Confused=8 Agnostic=5 Atheist=5 Spiritual=4 Christian=2 Other=4**

Broadly/Frequently Occurring Factors: Doctrine & History=14, Control=11, Depression=7, Equality=7, HMSX=6, Marginalization=6, Education/Intellectualization=5, Political/Philosophical Differences=4, Proximal Relocation=4

The church's demand for adoration, respect, legitimation, compliance, conformity, order, and submission from its followers has proven severely acrid to the palate for eleven male participants. Indeed in reflecting back upon many experiences several have stated that their allegiance to Mormonism and their earlier held love for

its central beliefs had robbed them of precious time and life-potential. Elements contributing to the 'control' variable here include members' feelings associated with primary, the young men's program, the seminary endeavour, serving a mission, preparing for a temple marriage, and the fulfillment of various callings. In addition, a tremendous disdain for the BYU ecclesiastical endorsement, which unpleasantly binds both students and employees to their faith, as well as the myriad issues related to censorship and academic and intellectual freedom, along with the termination of several professors' careers at BYU have served to frame the LDS religion as oppressive rather than 'true' for more than a few respondents. Further, we can see the variables of 'depression' and 'equality' to have affected the lives of seven participants respectively. Here equality represents the members' distaste for cultural expressions of sexism, racism, the manner in which the church treats homosexual others, and the church's position regarding the civil rights amendment of 1964.

Discovering one's sexual individuality has been conveyed throughout the manuscript as notoriously difficult for those whose appetites or inclinations were interpreted to be 'out of the ordinary', 'abnormal', or against 'the laws of God'. For men who claim a homosexual identity, the issue is one that has shaped the entirety of their lives. Therefore it should not be surprising that the primary driver of disaffiliation for such individuals is in fact their own homosexuality. This variable includes feeling different from others at a young age due to sex or gender confusion. Additionally it contains the several reports of physical, mental, emotional, or masturbatory experimentation with homosexuality as a youth, adolescent, missionary, or adult. Lastly the 'HMSX' category also consists of the several other episodes reported herein of chaos and upheaval associated with possessing a sexual predisposition or preference which is held to be unacceptable or deviant within the constraints, ideals, expectations, and theology of Mormonism. Of the six men who have self-indentified as homosexuals only participant #19 has not reported destructive periods of depression as integral to his process of withdrawal. Rather, he attributes issues of equality and problems with various elements of doctrine and history to have furnished the additional energy needed for his decision to apostatize from the faith.

Feelings of 'marginalization' following from independent thought, accusations of heresy resulting in vandalism and neglect due to political partisanship and tepid religious involvement, social rejection and ridicule based upon collective judgments of attractiveness, being treated as an outsider because of the choice to abstain from

having children, and 'not fitting in' for reasons associated with racial differences constitute important realizations for six men within the sample. The acquisition of higher education qualifications along with an intellectual awakening are seen to be quite relevant for five participants, which in turn supports the finding that four respondents (all have achieved higher education degrees) ardently maintain that they simply do not politically nor philosophically agree with the Mormon perspective. And finally, proximal or geographic relocation had resulted in two cases of drift, one instance of conscious exit, and one male respondent reports finding the power within himself to deliberately renounce his belief in LDS tenets and claim an identity aligned with atheism as a product of leaving Utah County.

Several additional accounts contribute valuable defining qualities to various narratives when attempting to understand the interplay of structure, context, lives, experiences, and choices. Please take a moment to see within table 5l the location of 'disconfirming experiences' – here we are mainly speaking of coming face to face with another's untimely death which had occurred at home, on missions, or elsewhere – and a person's 'exposure to alternatives' – in terms of witnessing different ways of thinking or modes of being that had transpired in the face of fulfilling a mission, contact with other forms of religion or spirituality, and serving in the US military during the Vietnam War – before moving on. In addition there are also a few 'other' or individualized reasons that had incited religious exit for male members of the sample; among these are: physical abuse experienced during childhood in one's family of origin, an absolute revulsion for the temple ritual, personal offence, being exposed to a father's life of homosexuality, the pain and humiliation of receiving 'reparative therapy' from a church sanctioned psychological program for the 'mental illness' of homosexuality, fatalism,[265] and lastly the adultery of a spouse which then spawned feelings of betrayal by God and church.

To repeat, nearly all elements of an LDS lifestyle interconnect and interrelate. Such a nexus provides precious internal legitimation to members through emotional validation, faith-based celebration, reverence to family and heavenly ideals, existential consolidation, and communal solidarity. Therefore no single occurrence of any factor discussed in this manuscript is represented to fully explain nor exhaustively answer the question: *Why do fully socialized Latter-day Saints leave the religion of*

[265] Here defined as the total depletion of energy resulting in a complete sense of one's inevitable failure and worthlessness.

their birth? However, in my attempts to loosen the tangled morass of an ardent LDS existence and to shed light upon a person's journey away from its claims, it is astounding to note that men exhibit either a certain tinge or an overwhelming sense of regret, lament, sadness, and loss when discussing their relationship with earlier senses of Latter-day Saint fulfillment and conviction. I have observed this issuance of emotion on several occasions within more than a few interviews and can attest to its effects regardless of the many reasons that any respective participant may have stated to promote their disaffiliation from the faith. This is not to say that all twenty-eight men in the sample look back upon their time as passionate and enthusiastic Mormons with a particular nostalgia, indeed participants #22 and #40 are both positively content with their current lives away from Mormonism and do not regret in any manner leaving it behind; further, respondents #6, #14, and #17 report being quite happy even elated to be rid of the gospel.

Without difficulty it can be said that men and women – not merely within Mormonism but also within a broader range of religions as well – experience religious socialization, religious role fulfillment, structural phenomena, the effects of cultural protocol, personal religiosity, generalized notions of piety, as well as the myriad forces and influences associated with modernization, urbanism or societalization, industrialization, pluralism, differentiation, individualism, and the rise of alternative ways of thinking and feeling about oneself in relation to the contemporary world in quite distinct ways.[266] Callum Brown (2001; 2006) proffers the secularization of women in Britain as the product of the liberalization of sexual attitudes and behaviour following from the feminine revolution. He further suggests as resources available to women for the construction of personal identity changed drastically during the 1960s from religiously held ideals to values more aligned with paid employment outside the home, increased egalitarianism in the public sphere, and the right to exercise higher degrees of autonomy regarding the details of life including sexual relationships that collective notions of gender became increasingly challenged. To be sure, Brown's thesis can be powerfully brought to mind by recognizing that as women refuse to submit to cultural notions of femininity, their involvement with Christianity in fact subsides.[267]

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[266] Parsons & Bales (1955); Goffman (1977); Smith (1987); West & Zimmerman (1987); Coser (1989); Duke & Johnson (1998); Witz (2000); Brereton & Bendroth (2001).
[267] Woodhead (2008: 188).

Rather than leveling the playing field however, liberation from domestic scripts, conventional schema, and conservative morality has instead placed the modern woman, says Hochschild and Machung (1989), within the precarious state of a 'stalled gender revolution' whereby rules and conceptions linked with 'the second shift' continue to bind women to long-established behavioural roles. This is to say that women are generally (to some degree or another) "trapped between two incompatible sets of demands. On the one hand they are expected to tend to the bodily needs of others without expectation of pay or reward. They are to be loving mothers and devoted wives… On the other hand… women are now entering into the workplace alongside men."[268] In spite of the rhetoric associated with social and occupational parity, women do not simply enter the historically male dominated labour, employment, or intellectual fields in the same capacities, with the same opportunities, and enjoying the same degrees of internal tolerance as those afforded men.[269] This unfortunate state of affairs undoubtedly promotes an interesting duality within the consciousness of women as lives, emotions, and satisfactions are increasingly defined by the subjective enterprise of maintaining cognitive balance among and amidst the inestimable binary aspects of individualization and achievement AND home, family, and tradition.[270] Indeed Woodhead (2008: 189) notes: "Those [women] who take the route into traditionally masculine space find themselves having to negotiate a very different form of identity from that conventionally regarded as feminine – an identity which values confidence, assertion, individuality, competitiveness and ambition rather than care, compassion and thinking of others before self."

Generally satisfied with the idea that secularization provides an adequate description of the vast changes which have been perceived in institutional religion's relationship to culture, society, and individual consciousness throughout the twentieth century, Brereton and Bendroth (2001) nonetheless suggest that the project of articulating the connections among women, religion, secularization, industrial capitalism, and religious innovation can prove to be a "dauntingly complex" endeavour. Additionally the authors' forward the opinion "that religion is unlikely to

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[268] Ibid p. 189.
[269] Chafetz (1988); Ridgeway (2011).
[270] Klein (1946); Myrdal & Klein (1968); Bowles & Klein (1988); Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002).

disappear altogether… and that secularization – whatever it is precisely – is not a straight-line phenomena but rather operates at different rates and takes different forms in various parts of the culture."[271] Thus following Fenn's (1978) important contribution to the theory,[272] Brereton and Bendroth view secularization "not as something to be precisely defined let alone proved or disproved, but rather as a framework for a series of questions for discussion and inquiry."[273]

Despite the multidimensionality involved in the development of a gendered approach to understanding secularization theory – which at its base includes a firm intellectual grasp of the traditional (often still cherished as conservative, conventional, or moral) segregation of women into 'private' spheres of existence and function, thus banning them from the 'public' square, and thereby enabling men to solidify a sense of both social and economic control over dominant forms of culture[274] – Brereton and Bendroth make clear several critical points of which I'd like to point out only a few that can be seen as exceedingly relevant to either the narratives provided by ex-LDS women within my sample or the broader constitution of my thesis. First, speaking historically (though remaining relevant to many members belonging to strict religions), it has been propagated that the responsibility of the patriarchal system is to protect those women whose essential function was to obtain within the private order of things. In maintaining such 'security' the patriarchal constraints of morality fused notions of home, hearth, religion, and woman into virtually identical or at least transposable concepts. Second, throughout the processes of industrialization, individualism, increased literacy, relativism, and the proliferation of broader forms of consciousness women would come to demand an equality which would be closer to the structural autonomy enjoyed by men. However in reality to gain 'true or truer equality' women must increase their ideological and physical distance from the 'private' notions of religion and domestic servitude which are securely tied to values associated with family, maternity, femininity, and womanhood. Thus to claim the

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[271] Brereton & Bendroth (2001: 210). Also see Lyon (1985); Hadden (1987); and Tschannen (1993).

[272] Fenn (1978: 27) suggests, "… it is important to recognize that an adequate theory of secularization will articulate rather than remove the contradictions… [associated with] modern societies… [as well as the informal, formal, latent, and manifest] aspects of social life."

[273] Brereton & Bendroth (2001: 211).

[274] A process and phenomenon which Lerner (1986) has referred to as producing and sustaining patriarchy.

spoils of a hard fought structural battle – that is, to embrace the opportunity to compete or to be taken seriously on a relatively equal social, economic, and political platform with men within the public environ – "women became more secular beings – indeed *had* to become more secular beings."[275] In this way, despite its association with second-wave feminism – which the authors' do not directly nor necessarily champion – we can view a woman's liberation from her "domestic role as a thoroughly secularizing experience."[276] Third and finally, in their case study of renowned feminist, Pulitzer Prize winner, essayist, writer, and novelist Ellen Glasgow, Brereton and Bendroth tender the notion that modern identity is neither the rejection of, nor a totalistic reverence for, any singular set of standards or principles. Rather, accommodation, resistance, reciprocity, complexity, and negotiation construct, define, and affirm a person's understanding of individual distinction.[277] In accomplishing the clarity of their message the authors' mention, thereby inadvertently framing, Glasgow's primary socialization process as an enduring mechanism for her comprehension of self, reality, cruelty, possibility, and truth.[278]

Working to promote a 'gendered perspective' from which to view devotion, variation, and defection Woodhead (2008) urges scholars working within the sociology of religion, and more specifically within the secularization paradigm, to consider her tripartite typology of women's religiosity. The three categories can be seen to develop in relation to contemporary expressions of labour-based identity that engage several public/private or progressive/traditional notions associated with experience, equality, expectation, solidarity, and ability. First, women may continue to provide domestic work within the conventional and time-honored roles of wife, mother, and caregiver. Such adherence to customary or institutionalized femininity,[279] which Vincett et al. (2008: 9) refer to as 'the home-centered woman', are the least likely to disaffiliate from organized religion because membership "validates and reinforces their position… agency… choice… [and] authenticity."[280] Differently,

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[275] Brereton & Bendroth (2001: 213).
[276] Ibid p. 214.
[277] Ammerman (1987); Scheff (1990); Davidman (1991); Griffith (1997); Burr (2003); Jenkins (2008); Burke & Stets (2009); Ferguson (2009); Davies (2011).
[278] Brereton & Bendroth (2001: 218-219). In addition, Stolz (2007: 9) suggests socialization along with education and ethnicity to be primary sociological variables in understanding gender and secularization.
[279] Connell (1987); Lorber (1994); Riseman (2004).
[280] Vincett et al. (2008: 9-10).

others might prefer to pursue a career. Value conceptions linked to marital and familial talent AND professional aptitude and competence are poles apart, therefore women taking this path are "to a far greater extent than men… under pressure to abandon domestic commitments in favour of commitments to colleagues, employer and, above all, self, self-development and success in the job."[281] Woodhead suggests that traditional religion, under such individual conditions, is much more likely to impede rather than assist the modern woman in her journey toward self-sufficiency. Thus those who would place a premium upon public oriented achievement and practice or self-fulfillment in comparison or relation to private senses of moral satisfaction or pride are much more likely to reject a pious lifestyle. Lastly, 'jugglers' attempt to integrate two sets of obligations by associating themselves with both paid employment outside the home and domestic care within it. In this case, the manifestations and latencies for religion, religiosity, alternative expressions of spirituality and community, as well as disaffiliation remain obscure. However, it may be that continued involvement with faith, piety, or supernatural or holistic beliefs will provide important psycho-social or compensatory resources for those 'adapters'[282] who find something missing from their otherwise busy lives.

Vincett et al. (2008) follow Woodhead (2001; 2008) in her movement from the apparent 'gender-blindness' indicative of a male dominated secularization theory toward a consideration of 'gendered differences' within the several trends of religious change, transition, and alternative spiritualities. The authors' treat the paradigm as a contemporary phenomenon that represents the numerous ways in which events and thinking associated with modern life converge. Indeed their underlying assumption is "that secularization exists… and all individuals in the West must engage with that backdrop." In this sense, we can take the process as a fact which takes place on or within societal, organizational, and individual levels of analysis.[283] However, Vincett et al. do not view modernization as necessarily leading to the diminution of religion or the cessation of belief in God. Instead they utilize the forces of pluralism and individualization to pave the way for people to choose truth depending upon where they stand in relation to a variety of competing claims. Thus we are able to comprehend exactly what Stolz (2007: 5) had intended when he said that Woodhead's

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[281] Woodhead (2008: 191).
[282] Vincett et al. (2008: 9).
[283] Ibid p. 1; also see Dobbelaere (2004) and Casanova (2006).

paper (mentioned above) is "… a programmatic call for a different kind of secularization theory." For it can be seen that Woodhead, Vincett, Sharma, Aune, and others[284] are broadening – indeed breathing a degree of new life into the definition and idea of secularization by including gender, women's experience, and the host of social and personal negotiations involved in acquiring and maintaining an identity as primary components within the overall understanding of its effects and sophistication.

Many of the authors referenced above are chiefly concerned (to some extent or another) with using the contemporary phenomena of religious change, individualized forms of spirituality and worship, sacralization and resacralazation, deprivatization, various examples of religious growth through conversion, the persistence of religious questions, as well as religious intensification and radicalization to modify traditional secularization theory in order to include such within its wide ranging orbit. Despite their penchant toward treating emerging expressions of religiosity rather than irreligion, atheism, or religious defection all nonetheless imply that women's disaffiliation from religion is an important social phenomenon and constitutes an area where more work and research is needed. When a thorough academic comprehension of the differentiating processes of primary, secondary, and tertiary socialization experienced by Latter-day Saint women compared to that of LDS men is achieved, there is but one force which may be overwhelmingly identified as responsible for the shaping of females within the religion to grow and develop in harmony with its truth claims of morality, order, nature, and celestial apotheosis.[285] The institutionalization of the feminine role[286] within Mormonism subordinates, suppresses – indeed subjugates – women through the mechanisms of hierarchy and divine sexism promulgated by male superiority.[287] However, fervent adherents view such theologico-cultural control and relegation simply as obedience to the Mormon priesthood – a patriarchal system that defines and dictates all aspects associated with Latter-day Saint existence, hope, and transcendence.

Table 5m below identifies the issue of 'control' within Mormonism as the most prominent explanatory factor in accounting for the disaffiliation of eight women. Indeed for seven individuals it can be seen to have provided not merely an initial, but

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[284] Aune et al. (2008).
[285] Cornwall (2001).
[286] Connell (1987); Lorber (1994); Riseman (2004).
[287] Cornwall (2001); Sumerau & Cragun (2014).

in fact their most sustained motivation regarding the choice to leave the faith. Various experiences related to the primary and Sunday school programs, the young women's course of events, the seminary process, a person's fulfillment of their sacred calling, as well as the temple endowment and the celestial marriage had presented theological and cultural 'facts' linking eternal salvation with patriarchal preeminence which have come to represent oppression rather than exaltation for several women in the sample. The exposure to and recognition of such Mormon realities had prompted many to tell me, in several different, though related ways, that 'the male superiority espoused in song, scripture, ritual, and by church leaders (both males and females) just didn't seem right'. In addition when husbands, fathers, and bishops demanded ideological or behavioural obedience from wives and daughters *in the name of the gospel*, many participants eventually came to judge their application of force to be at odds with what they held to be 'fair or true'. A range of incidents taking place either while studying or employed at Brigham Young University has also served to cast the topic of control or conformity as intolerably problematic; not least of which is BYU's ecclesiastical endorsement as well as the exercise of absolute authority regarding the firing of several professors during the 1990s for their unorthodox opinions of otherwise unilateral matters. Occurring not as the principal initiator for respondent #25, but instead arising in the capacity of a supportive driver, we can see the problem of control is manifested subsequent to her father's sin of adultery and the depression felt by her mother following the affair.

Regarding 'homosexuality' among females, there is a striking difference between their experiences of sexuality and that of men within the sample. As already discussed, for males, coming to terms with a homosexual identity was largely an endeavour which had caused a great degree of pain, torment, and alienation from childhood onward. However, for the three women who claim a lesbian identity only one respondent, #34, had even mentioned feeling different from others while she was a young girl as a product of sexual confusion. For participant #26 the discovery or preference toward same-sex attraction occurred after years of loneliness and depression resulting from her marriage to an absentee husband. Rather than remaining at home to assist with parenting, thereby fulfilling many of her cultural, social, and psychological expectations, he was instead typically away tending to his career obligations as a United States Air Force servicemen throughout their twenty-one years of being together. Concerning the outspoken, highly educated, and incredibly

communicative participant #2, not only were all references to homosexuality or same-sex attraction absent from her narrative, but she had in fact adopted a lesbian identity seven years after apostatizing from the church for reasons much more aligned with control, education/intellectualization, and her intolerance for the manner in which the Latter-day Saint religion treated racial minorities. Finally, fifty year old transsexual respondent #39, who had abandoned Utah, Mormonism, and her entire family in order to fully find herself has described the early years of her life as 'gender dysphoric' – a term describing the 'chronic aversion to one's own sex or gender',[288] which in turn gives rise to various emotional distresses stemming from the feeling of being 'trapped in the wrong body'.[289] After returning home from serving an LDS mission, being married in the LDS temple, graduating with two degrees from BYU, starting a career as a seminary teacher, and fathering a child who was born under the covenant #39 found a degree of reprieve from his psycho-biological conflict by engaging in a series of clandestine homosexual behaviours along with constructing several obsessive/compulsive coping mechanisms.[290] However, reconciliation of private notions associated with self and identity AND public or cultural ideals of gendered expectation would remain out of reach as #39 reports: "I wasn't really gay, I was a woman… after years of suicidal depression, self-hatred, and trying to become a homosexual man I finally, once and for all, figured that out."

[288] Colman (2006: 309).
[289] Barlow & Durand (1999: 304).
[290] It is relevant to impart a quick note regarding ethics. Throughout the interview with respondent #39 I had come to face an incredible story – indeed one that I could never have imagined on my own. Just over two hours into our conversation we began to discuss various coping mechanisms as well as some very specific psychological disorders. Participant #39 had said that no one knew about her 'secret' behaviours – not her previous spouse, not any of her psychologists or doctors, neither had she trusted such with her current partner who is – astoundingly – also an ex-LDS transsexual. In fact she admitted that it was quite in opposition to the normal way in which she preferred to represent herself to have shared any of her earlier practices or habits with me. After candidly speaking of several techniques, which were stated to provide a sense of self-control and assurance during times of exceptional personal chaos, I was asked to refrain from describing or discussing the more aberrant methods in my research, I agreed.

Table 5m. Overarching Themes Leading to Disaffiliation for Female Respondents

Case No.	Higher Ed Qualification	Sexual Orientation	Primary	Secondary	Supportive	Current Beliefs / Disaffiliate Type
2	PhD English Lit.	HMSX	Control	Education and Intellectualization	Equality	Atheist Apostate: I
7	MA Performing Arts	Hetero	Control	Marginalization	Exposure to Alt	Atheist Apostate :I
9	BA Marketing	Hetero	Control	Temple Rites	Marginal-ization	Agnostic Integrated
12	None	Hetero	Boredom	Death of Spouse	Drift	Agnostic/Integrated
15	MA English Lit.	Hetero	Control	Temple Rites	Doctrine and History	Agnostic Integrated
24	BA Marketing	Hetero	Control	Doctrine and History	Lifestyle	Spiritual Integrated
25	None	Hetero	Father's Affair	Mother's Depression	Control	Spiritual Integrated
26	BSc Nursing	HMSX	Loneliness	Depression	HMSX	Agnostic Integrated
34	BA Communication	HMSX	HMSX	Doctrine and History	Lifestyle	Agnostic Integrated
36	JD Law School	Hetero	Control	Education	Proximal Relocation	Atheist Apostate: I
38	None	Hetero	Control	Children Abused	Stigma	Agnostic/Integrated
39	PhD Education	Transsexual	Gender Dysphoria	HMSX	Depression	Agnostic Apostate: II
N=12	**PhD=2 JD=1 BA/BSc/MA=6 None=3**	**Hetero=8 HMSX=3 Trans=1**	**Control=7 Other=5**	**Doc & Hist=2 Temple Rites=2 Education=2 Other=6**	**Lifestyle=2 Marg or Stigma=2 Other=8**	**Agnostic=7 Atheist=3 Spiritual=2**

Broadly/Frequently Occurring Factors: Control=8, HMSX/Gender Dysphoria=4, Doctrine & History=3, Marginalization/Stigmatization=3, Temple Rites=2, Education/Intellectualization=2, Lifestyle=2

As shown in table 5m, we can see that problems with 'doctrine and history' have also affected the Latter-day Saint lives of women. Here the truth and reality of LDS teachings have been brought into question by one's disagreement with or disbelief of the Joseph Smith story, the historical occurrence of banning blacks from the priesthood, the doctrine of celestiality, and above all the revelation and practice of polygamy. 'Marginalization and stigmatization' have either significantly bothered or had unfortunately wreaked havoc upon a convicted sense of Mormon righteousness for three people. Participant #7 felt impugned when other Latter-day Saint sisters had negatively judged her for lacking the sacred garment which all temple married members are to wear underneath their regular clothes. Since #7 had engaged only in a civil marriage, her access or ability to utilize the blessings associated with the

garment was not granted. Respondent #9 stated of several Mormon neighbors and friends in relation to her reduced zeal: "As I slowed down I began to feel like people at church were treating me differently… it just seemed more and more like they didn't want me around." And finally, participant #29's stigmatization resulted from a series of events that had placed her and her young children securely outside the embrace and warmth of the LDS Church. Additionally, the temple ritual in terms of feeling 'like a cult'[291] and the experience of aversion at the prospect of "having to surrender all that I am to the patriarchal discretion of my husband"[292] has also functioned to push women away from seeing the faith as wholesome. Further, an individual's enlightening experiences with acquiring an education or becoming intellectually aware has broadened the consciousness of thirty-three members of the sample, both men and women alike, with thirty-two earning various higher education qualifications. However, in the above table we may discern that two women have specifically stated their academic/intellectual acumen or knowledge as a central theme within their overarching explanations of why they left the Mormon Church behind. Finally, 'lifestyle' differences – treated here as a person's choice to drink coffee, tea, wine, or beer as well as engaging in sexual conduct outside the bonds of marriage – has provided supportive motivation for an additional two women's decision to fully exit the LDS faith.

There are many supplementary elements that contribute to the experiences represented in table 5m. Upon a second look we can identify participant #2's supportive or rationalizing reasons accounting for her exit are profoundly associated with the racial discrimination that she had witnessed while serving a mission in the southern states of Mississippi and Georgia. Reinforcing #2's animosity toward Mormonism is her intense abhorrence for the position taken by the LDS Church regarding the civil rights amendment of 1964. Categorized in the same manner as above in table 5l, both issues constitute problems with 'equality'. Respondent #7 – through extensive involvement with dance, theater, music, and travel – reports being exposed to and ultimately embracing several alternative means by which to understand existence, sexuality, culture, open-mindedness, friendship, and humanity. Such non-Mormon methods for attaining happiness were much more adept at satisfying her senses and ideas of community, identity, and value than were the

[291] Respondent #9.
[292] Respondent #15.

rewards associated with an ardent LDS worldview. Regarding respondent #12's agnosticism, it is clear that such is the product of drift that had resulted from both boredom and the death of her husband. Finally, the proximal relocation of #36 to Arizona after she had completed Law School, and the sexual abuse of #38's daughter by her second husband complete the catalog of overarching themes for women in the sample.

Men and women indeed express drastically different, yet at times similar views regarding the LDS faith; they profess distinctively unique experiences, but also retain a variety of both comparable and disparate sentiments concerning Mormon membership and one's disaffiliation from its ethos. As stated above on page 317, twenty-five men (or 82% of all males) have allowed me to see, whether intentionally or not, a degree of unhappiness which plagues them in relation to their leaving the Mormon way of life behind.[293] However, for women represented there has been little regret expressed regarding exit from the theological aspects of the Latter-day Saint faith whatsoever. If the feminine element has mourned anything at all, it has been the sad acknowledgement of losing precious family and friendship ties which have been severed or sacrificed as the result of 'believing differently' from those who had once comprised a person's intimate network. Given these observations it would most certainly be inattentive, if not completely negligent, to refrain from stating that the LDS culture is for many members irredeemably patriarchal. This of course bodes well for men who live under such pretenses as kings and masters of their households, and therefore is potentially explanatory when it comes to understanding why males may look back upon their time as Mormons with shine. Simultaneously however, the dominance of the patriarchal structure is exactly what allows women within the sample to move away from its oppressive style without a sense of lament or dissonance. For men, to leave the faith is to put away one's divinely granted authority and enter the broader world of human interaction, competition, evolution, character, and conflict. For women, abandoning the religion symbolizes the freedom to make one's own choices according to one's own abilities, aptitudes, and desires – in effect, yielding an extremely more satisfying sense of agency than can be had by simply fulfilling principles associated with 'God's eternal plan'.

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[293] Recall the discussion of disaffiliate/apostate types who are spiritually or religiously confused on pp. 206-207. Of additional interest is my differentiation of an integrated vis-à-vis a discordant sense of self which is discussed on p. 208.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this explorative project has been to offer some resolution to the consideration of at least three clear desiderata. **First**, derived from several contextually stipulated mechanisms, I have operationalized an empirically based definition to the question: *What is a real Mormon?* Such clarification to my mind was motivated in part by the extreme poverty of any in-depth working depiction or categorization of LDS membership, involvement or, most importantly personal commitment within the previously published treatments of Latter-day Saint disaffiliation.[1] For this reason I have contributed a desperately needed *emic* perspective – in conjunction with the otherwise classical orientation of academically informed *etic* analyses of cultural conditions – concerning the primary formation of an LDS identity. In providing sufficient illumination to the reader in hopes of fostering their contemplation of this development – in the form of articulating an adequate answer to the above enquiry – a vast amount of the Mormon socio-enculturation schema has come to the fore. Saintmaking, whether taking place within Utah's sacred canopy, the Mormon corridor, or contained within the wider parameters indicative of the Mormon culture region is clearly a psychologically intricate, socially and culturally sophisticated religio-political course of events. It can be seen that the crucial objective of the Mormonization process is to solidify the numerous internalizations requisite for the individual, communitarian, and bureaucratic realization of the ideally prescribed Mormon mindset within both the micro and macro psyche of the LDS constituency. I believe my representation and comprehensive treatment of the saintmaking system as an indispensible component of the equally complex LDS exit process is of absolute importance when discussing or evaluating the contribution of this thesis to the broader social scientific or humanistic endeavours regarding Mormon studies, religious identity, disaffiliation, and secularization at the individual level. To my knowledge nowhere else in scholarly discourse has either the modus operandi whereby an LDS self is produced, or the

[1] Albrecht & Bahr (1983); Bahr & Albrecht (1989).

evolution of experiences leading to its deterioration been epitomized as cohesively and candidly as is represented here.[2]

Second, I have sought to consider the question: *Why do people act, and by extension, behave the way they do?* Overwhelmingly people engage in repertory, routine, or stock modes of conduct according to three rudimentary principles. First and foremost, subjective action is governed by an individual's primary identity, which – throughout at least the sophomoric phases of *becoming* – is itself a product of an inherited and thereby initially internalized world construct. Thus a hereditary or principally acquired self may also be seen as an accretion that takes its shape from the precepts and forces of both socialization and enculturation. Such an individually acquired – though socially specified – value system may be abridged of course and referred to as *lebenswelt*, *lebensanschauung*, or simply as *einstelluung*, which is 'a person's attitude toward life and toward the world'.[3] Further determining the arc of discretionary behaviour at this point of theoretical and practical consideration are the myriad *interests*[4] a person exhibits toward the *desire*[5] or drive – which subsequently initiates the *obligation*[6] – to abide within a state of existential harmony, peace, and balance.[7]

Next, it can be stated that any individual's comportment or orientation in relation to the world in which they live is to some degree or another bound by the characteristic attributes of *homo economicus*. This is to say that people will behave invariably according to rules and expectations associated with their particular subjective judgments linked to an ideal maximization of utility.[8] This implies that players will execute decisions in the form of both choices and preferences based upon

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[2] This is not to imply that rigorous accounts of Mormonism as belief, religion, culture, experience, and its various social and structural phenomena do not exist. In fact, they most certainly do. For a list of texts that I have found most useful, please see relevant material included in my bibliography.
[3] Schutz ([1932] 1967).
[4] Elster (2009: 11-12).
[5] Ibid pp. 16-17, 45).
[6] Mauss ([1925] 1967: 37-41); Fournier (2006: 3).
[7] I am referring here as to whether or not ego develops a socially congruent apprehension of the concept of *conformity*. If so, compliance – indeed allegiance – will prompt ego to reduce dissonance and discord as well as to eliminate chaotic life elements whenever possible according to the expectations and channels which society has impressed upon the mind as acceptable. Such actions or attempts – whether executed judiciously, consciously, or not – will likely bolster or increase experiences indicating both personal and social symmetry, accord, or equilibrium.
[8] Becker (1976; 1992).

context specific, or otherwise stated, an environmentally limited rational assessment of costs and benefits.[9] Furthermore, such action is initiated in ways that if at all possible may increase subjective net advantage or profit while simultaneously decreasing expenses.[10] My application of the classic rational model of human agency is not limited to an individual's performance based upon merely logical, organizational, bureaucratic, or what some may refer to as 'sterile' or 'objective' definitions of value or gain.[11] To be clear, the manner in which I prefer to think about *homo economicus* is in fact entangled within and therefore is inextricable from the conceptual representation indicating its often thought arch enemy, *homo emotionalis*. Rather than symbolizing oppositional ends to a long-standing debate over the principle motivation regarding individual proficiency, I instead see the two perspectives as altogether dependent upon one another in explaining a person's ability to fully realize one's goals, imperatives, and desires.

Finally, I suggest that the functional role of sentimentality within society is in fact to sculpt, indeed to dictate definitions of both private and culturally specific expressions of instrumentality.[12] For it is the emotional nexus following from personalized conceptions and practices of maximization, taken together with ego's need to belong, which provides scholars with the several keys to thoroughly comprehending the dependent concepts of sentimentality and subjectivity AND reason and rationality.[13] I believe it is an error to fortify a paradigmatic view in the direction of holding the elements of emotionality and economic optimization; rationality and irrationality; expression and instrumentality; or spontaneity and calculation at mutually exclusive poles of an axiomatically held heuristic continuum. Beyond the obvious forces of general determinative structures and powers at play within the objective world which in essence cause or correlate to a succession or cascade of individual events and circumstances,[14] it is the intrinsic and variegated 'feelings' emerging from the pleasant, poignant, or tragic experiences of people that provide the multiplex components for a framework *par excellence* by which 'emotion' may be identified and understood in its most complete and potent

[9] Polacheck (1981); Ben-Porath (1967); Becker (1964).
[10] Goldthorpe (2000).
[11] Becker (1992).
[12] Properzi (2010).
[13] Berlin (1960); Becker (1964; 1992); Turner (2007).
[14] DiMaggio & Powell (1991).

repertoire.[15] Drama, whether experienced as elation or despair, pervades every aspect of human relations. This universal affectivity, regardless of definition or shape of internalized significance, renders possible the manner by which humanity i) bonds to one another; ii) generates firm commitments to self and structure; and iii) validates and maintains symbolic systems reflective of constructed meaning. Conversely, it is the concern for general welfare which provides incentive to challenge cultural convention; it is human sensitivity which promotes ideological refinement; it is passion that tears people apart from both their kin and from themselves; and it is hope, spawned from possibility, which drives the *Dasein* animal toward seeking and attaining something 'different'.

Progressing beyond several thoughts associated with primary socialization, economic agency and optimization, and the importance of emotionality in terms of satisfaction, indecision, and misery – all tempered within a thorough comprehension of cognitive dissonance theory – which I take to constitute a person's range of repertory, routine, or stock modes of conduct, I now pose an additional dilemma: *From whence do concepts of 'something different' emerge?* Incorporating extensive insights derived from Berger (1967b), DiMaggio and Powell (1991), Ammerman (1987), Bruce (2002; 2006; 2011), as well as from Dobbelaere (2004) I believe the answer to this query is quite valuable in my attempts to appreciate and potentially to lend insight into explaining 'why people act, and by extension, behave the way they do'.[16] To comprehend the origin from which contemporary ideas come to fly in the

[15] Davies (2002; 2011).

[16] Indeed many other scholars have augmented my thoughts on the subject. It would be remiss if I did not mention Hervieu-Léger's (2000; 2006) use of individualization, which I see as a micro example of functional differentiation, as well as her (1995: 159-161) reference to ideological 'recomposition' as interestingly influential. In addition, Luckmann's (1967; 1979) introduction of the term 'bricolage' (borrowed from Claude Levi-Strauss (1966: 21-25)) to the scene of the secularization debate, which essentially indicates that people's choices or options for belief are being broadened by the process of modernization, is also highly relevant to the construction of self within contemporary contexts. Finally, perhaps most importantly, Wilson's (1966: 63-73, 1982: 154) often underestimated thoughts associated with societalization captures the evolution of Mormon drama better than any other singular explanatory mechanism or social force; also relevant to Mormonism's experience of social transition are Phillips (1999) and Mauss (1994). Nonetheless it is Berger's (1967b: 4-9) mention of the secularization of consciousness; DiMaggio and Powell's (1991: 35) treatment of cognition as referring to several types of production systems, as well as their assertion that *individual action is social* and therefore it is a mistake to attribute the idea of 'behaviour' as ultimately springing from theories or perspectives who's laurels rest upon 'individual reductionism'; as well as Ammerman's (1987: 188-212) recognition of flexibility, accommodation, cooperation, and negotiation as requisite characteristics to the survival of her

face of tradition (or that which is considered stable), we must first understand the movement of an individual's consciousness from an initial location of constraint, confinement, limitation, and myopia to a vantage whereby an entire vista of erstwhile unknown or unfamiliar possibilities and opportunities present themselves as real options to be utilized in defining one's notion of self. Such newly apprehended prospects become known or recognized by ego as a product of increased social awareness which results in a person's adoption or implementation of various forms and definitions of alterity. However more importantly, individual awareness is often extended only in conjunction with the effects of powerful forces indicating social change within the wider culture. Thus the ability to engage in differential modes of behaviour and agency is dependent upon dynamics associated with fluidity of social, cultural, individual, and psychic contexts. In this sense I am suggesting that the sweeping influence of social change, the constant flux,[17] or the processes of modernization and (one of its effects) secularization in fact provide people with myriad means to negotiate, modify, abandon, or construct a range of personal identities in relation to structural and cultural variations of value, acceptance, approval, and tolerance. This is to say – rather than coming to a person's mind wholly as a consequence of internal drives or sensitivities – that an individual's ability to perceive differences and subsequently to develop increasingly complex ideas regarding the nature of one's existence or reality, can only occur in accordance with the dynamic properties and tendencies that obtain within society itself.[18]

'Southsiders' or 'Bible believers' that mainly informs my opinions here. However, of even more significance to my views are Bruce's (2002; 2006; 2011) overarching themes of 'change' and 'availability' (which of course are quite distinct from theories associated with supply-side economics or the market model of religious vitality) and Dobbelaere's (2004: 153) suggestion that the changes indicating individual secularization are in fact very often the same processes and dynamics that promote the secularization of society. I agree wholeheartedly with Dobbelaere (2004) and furthermore recognize his contention, which is in agreement with Berger (1999: 3), that "secularization on the societal level is not necessarily linked to secularization on the level of individual consciousness." Despite such an opinion, I see the relationship between societal and individual secularization and the secularization of personal consciousness as apparent. I believe the secularization of consciousness can be fruitfully pursued by integrating the experiential element of gender differences which has recently been brought to the fore by Brereton & Bendroth (2001), Aune et al. (2008), and Woodhead (2008). In addition, I also see Collins' (1981) concept of 'micro-translation' and Lamine's (2014) prospect of 'micro-believing' as potentially beneficial to such an endeavour.

[17] Recall ft. 53, ch 3, p. 126.

[18] This idea is in line with Lévi-Strauss' (1966: 16-33) bricoleur or 'handyman' who engages the technique of bricolage to create solutions to novel dilemmas by utilizing social or conscious resources that already exist. Also relevant is Wilson's (1966: 36) suggestion that

Third, and serving as the original impetus for this dissertation is the question: *Why do fully socialized Mormons disaffiliate from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints?* In addressing this issue I carried out an intense qualitative field project whereby I conducted forty semi-structured open-ended narrative interviews within the geographic locale constituting the LDS kingdom of Zion. My goal was to collect rich, relevant, and real information by utilizing the tools of observation, interaction, dialogue, and listening. Authentic accounts of LDS exit, as told from viable respondents who had spent many years successfully gaining purchase of their treasured Mormon identities, have served as an invaluable commodity toward my own grasp of the phenomenon at hand.[19] Methodologically I have maintained and sought to maximize the provision and distribution of validity within my inductively grounded results. Among the greatest strengths of this exercise has been the melding of several diverse paradigms, theories, and concepts, as well as gaining a degree of expertise concerning various models of social interaction and personal motivation. I can say quite unequivocally that this endeavour has allowed for an interesting focus upon, as well as a thorough description of both the LDS tribe and its singular

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throughout the increasingly dynamic social context of secularization "it would be impossible to ignore the growth of new channels for man's emotional expression, [it would likewise be difficult to avoid the recognition of several] new prospects for the realization of his wishes..."

[19] The opportunities, flexibility, and wide ranging essences indicative of the qualitative endeavour has imbued my own primary, elaborate, epistemological, and mundane thought processes in a quite unexpected, though profound manner. Through my engagement with this topic I have undergone a type of intellectual awakening which I am well aware will prove impossible to convey throughout the body of this manuscript. Indeed the magnitude of ethnographic versatility as both manufacturer and product of intellectual and philosophical structure, orientation, and method has led me to consider a multitude of certainly diverse, occasionally antagonistic, yet always fulfilling treatments of the qualitative process within the theatre of cerebral debate, methodological position, and academic commerce. Framing an introduction to my current stance, one needs only to acknowledge the historical and contemporary inclusion of ethnography as 'technique' within the methodological treatises emerging from the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and psychology – to name but a few. Furthermore it would be remiss if I neglected to punctuate the integral function that ethnography fulfills within such sub-methodological specialties as narrative research, grounded theory, case studies, or basic assumptions associated with the crude social scientific apprehension of phenomenology as also validating its breadth of purpose. It is however the broad epistemic consideration of the values lying behind the ethnographic/qualitative/*Verstehen* enterprise – as I embrace it – which has led me to see its particular distinction and force regarding my intention toward attaining some command of Husserl's concepts of phenomenological *reduction* and *epoche*. For a relatively accessible clarification of Husserl's method, see Moustakas (1994: 84-97). For an increasingly complex review, see Moran (2000: 124-163). For a genuinely eclectic, yet quite lovely treatment of the artistry associated with the ethnographic method and its effects upon context, development, and epistemology, see Jessor et al. (1996).

constituent the Mormon person. In addition, narrative analysis has provided a mechanism for identifying emergent patterns; consistencies and inconsistencies; manifest and latent consequences of action and belief; self-disclosed successes and failures associated with both meaning systems and desires; notions of dependability and frailty; variable versions of similar cultural assumptions; fixed socio-spiritual expectations; as well as a broad array of experiences leading to shared sentiments of dissatisfaction. All have facilitated a vantage point from which to view, triangulate, and potentially to define the process of losing one's faith.

Data analyzed according to logic associated with chronology, categorization, course of action, perspective, context, and reflection have allowed for the emergence and validation of a formal, yet substantive articulation of an extremely important processual or cumulative typology. The systematic recognition of psychologically salient issues stemming from each respondent can be seen as central to the creative theoretical development of all three relevant stages – antecedents, steps, and galvanizers – which contribute to the formalization of my triunitarian model of LDS withdrawal.[20] My goal was to describe the dynamics indicative of the three tranches with heavy consideration placed upon the multiplicity of incompatibilities, which had existed at various times throughout the LDS lives of my participants. This is to say that the pain associated with ego's attempt to reduce stress is clearly observed when individual sensitivities and expectations are squared against the socio-cultural plexus of the Latter-day Saint world. Inconsistencies suffered by ego, as characterized in this research, supply a capacious spectrum of outwardly apparent mechanisms resulting in

[20] The findings presented here are considered indicative of *stage theory* precisely because I have identified and defined the individual disaffiliation experience in terms of causality, process, structure, organization, and bureaucracy. Thus my conclusions are not exclusively tethered to either a purely macro nor to a micro axiomatic or ontological orientation. Rather, I present an understanding of the interaction indicative of a person's engagement with the phenomenological principles of *Erfahrung*, meaning most simply 'experience', and *Erlebnisse* which points to the consciousness associated with life. Indeed Alfred Schutz ([1932] 1967: 45-96) proffers *Erlebnisse* as constituting the very essence of a 'lived-experience'. When treated as a phenomenon involving the totality of person, emotion, and situation *Erlebnisse*, in contrast to *Erfahrung*, takes place within the 'internality' of the individual. Thus *Erlebnisse* engages the existential propensities associated with both sentimentality and intention. I believe we can take much from its mundane translation from German into English, which means quite literally, *adventure*. Thereby implying that life (in its fullest form or expression) does not simply occur, but instead is made. For further clarification see Moran (2000: 114, 232).

organizational disengagement.[21] Such a meticulous summarization thusly establishes an empirically solid base from which to evaluate the *Dasein* dynamics concerning not only Mormon exit specifically, but also represents a significant contribution toward the broader academic comprehension of identity transition in general.

With careful consideration paid to: i) narrative portraiture; ii) the construction of an analytical model of the LDS *habitus*;[22] and iii) in holding to a recognized distinction between correlation, causality, and *generative mechanisms*,[23] I offer new insights into the processes associated with the depletion or deterioration of an LDS

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[21] The theoretical, practical, and empirical considerations associated with the formulation and utility of *middle range theory* has been the foundation of prominent social thinkers Robert Merton (1967: 39-72; 1968: 39-72; 1996: 41-50) and James Coleman (1986: 1322; 1994: 1-26, 769-780, 856-868, 941-950); however as of late Peter Hedstrom (Hedstrom & Swedberg: 1998; Hedstrom & Bearman: 2009; Hedstrom & Ylikoski: 2010) has assumed their mantle regarding the importance of its development. In addition, Hedstrom has also championed the analytical, operational, and philosophical debate concerning the formal idea of *social mechanisms* as contributing most fruitfully to the sociological equation, arguing that the integration of mechanism conceptualizations and rhetoric will ultimately yield a fuller, more robust understanding of the abiding relationship between events, observations, and explanations. To be certain, Hedstrom's focus lies primarily upon quantification analyses, strict models of rational choice, and network structures. While this dominant perspective and application is venerable indeed, my particular interests in middle range theory as well as my recognition of the relevance of social mechanisms as sociologically valuable essentially obtains within the supple contention that human emotion, personal experience, and cultural embodiment – in conjunction with structure and context – are in fact 'social mechanisms' – in both their concrete and abstracted senses. The treatment of sentimental mechanisms derived from a socio-enculturated identity is currently appreciated within the contemporary discourse of the more 'human' and thereby 'open' or interpretive studies indicative of anthropology. However, I see such effort and articulation as possessing rich applicability – within an ideal framework providing an operationalized sense of structure – toward a differentiated epistemic orientation regarding Weber's *Verstehen Soziologie* (Herva: 1988).

[22] It is my hope that the model of the LDS life-world contained in this thesis includes all likely elements which are essential in order to address the broader issue at hand. Regarding this construct, my intent is to have correctly employed – in fact maximized – tenets associated with Weber's methodological 'ideal type'. I believe an ideal representation of the Mormon context is crucial in order to convey a certain degree of modular realism, thus reflecting a significant amount of the social, individual, temporal, spiritual, and eternal realities impinging upon the rationality of members indicative of my sample.

[23] I understand *generative mechanisms* to be: particular components (Bower, 1975: 33), social processes (Merton, 1968: 43), elementary building blocks (Hedstrom & Swedberg, 1998: 6), or bits of theory about entities (Stinchcombe, 1991: 367) that serve to extend the litheness, accuracy, and generality of higher-level propositions. Jon Elster (1989: 3; 1998) refers to such as 'nuts and bolts, or cogs and wheels' that illuminate varying relationships, and consequently herald them into existence. Similarly, Harré (1970), Schelling (1998), and Hernes (1998) all see *generative mechanisms* as systematic sets of statements or analytical constructs, which provide both plausible as well as germane connections to discernable phenomena. If there is anything to be said regarding the general function of the *generative mechanism*, I believe it would be to encourage a deeper, increasingly direct, and ever more recherché depiction and understanding of 'things'.

identity. Proper mechanism-based investigation should yield generous, malleable, operationally definitive, and descriptively rich strings of codification. The highest attainment of such objectives, while realistically making sense of individual behaviour, will ultimately enhance current explanations and theories associated with determination, choice, and action. Throughout the course of data acquisition, and with regard to the construction of my triunitarian model of Mormon departure, I have primarily maintained a committed though NOT ironclad epistemic position of methodological individualism. In addition to satisfying the purposes inherent to executing and reporting mechanism research, the resulting causal architecture advocated here accomplishes the further ambition of promoting multiple insights into a relatively unknown social phenomenon. Beyond supplying an empirically grounded answer to the primary question driving this thesis, I have also provided significant material toward the concepts of: i) primary identity formation; ii) intrapersonal expectation and interaction; iii) individual and collective ideals of utility and reciprocity; iv) aggregate methods of maintaining social solidarity; v) exposure to, or contact with competing forms of information; vi) micro and macro examples of dissonance and reduction; and finally, vii) awareness, change, and revolution.[24]

Theoretically located upon both the initial macro-micro and succeeding micro-micro legs of Coleman's three tiered classification of social variation,[25] as well as resting quiescently among Hedstrom's corresponding type I situational and type II action-formation mechanisms,[26] my emergent three stage idiographic route toward the dissolution of an LDS identity has been effectively delineated. Derived from the saturation of several categories originating from extensive narrative analysis, this process first begins with ego's passive acquisition of antecedents or unsettling information. Such predominantly negligible concerns often found an original purchase within the psyche of respondents as a result of some sort of uncontrolled external situation. That is, once divested of a certain degree of social, psychological, or culturally constructed protection, insulation, or security a threatening state of denudation has been shown within the data to take root. However, it must also be acknowledged that in addition to outwardly perceived stimuli, several participants likewise report their antecedents to have stemmed from internal feelings associated

[24] Berger & Luckmann (1966: 157-1630); Krishnamurti (1969); Carrette (2007).
[25] Coleman (1986).
[26] Hedstrom & Swedberg (1998: 23), Hedstrom (2005), Hedstrom & Ylikoski (2010).

with being 'different' or believing that they were – in an objective sense – unable to 'fit in' or to 'belong'.

Despite their locus of origin, antecedents may be considered – however benign or unrecognized by the individual agents themselves – as first doubts. Therefore they can be seen as both theoretically and plausibly contributory toward the emergence of curiosity and skepticism regarding a learned or inherited constitution. The identification of antecedents within the model both symbolize and characterize the emergence of dissonance, and were most frequently linked to i) issues surrounding LDS missionary experiences, both while serving in the mission field and while being trained at the MTC. Equally likely, subjects further report ii) having problems with the acrimonious relationship existing between their church and the burgeoning social and political issues surrounding homosexuality. The realization of iii) immense amounts of control within both the church seminary education system and the Mormon Sunday school programs; iv) confronting subjective feelings associated with marginalization and stigmatization; v) viewing the LDS temple rituals as severely distasteful or bothersome; vi) doubting the narrative of the founding prophet, also referred to as 'the Joseph Smith story'; vii) retaining either a civil rights, or a theological position against racism as historically and dogmatically practiced within the Mormon faith; as well as iix) depression and loneliness, ix) discrepancies recognized within church history and doctrine, and x) the acquisition of a higher education degree, have also been noted as significantly potent elements when considering the inception of dichotomizing ideas leading to the breakdown of an otherwise hale and hearty LDS *Einstellung*.

Next, the second phase or steps, consists of ego's active seeking for information which promotes illumination and clarification into issues or provides answers to serious questions that my respondents simply could not 'get over' regarding their faith or their church. Indicative of steps is the presentation of, or the effective searching for, either 'situation' or 'knowledge' that serves to foster purposive hesitation or distrust regarding a total commitment to an LDS construct.[27] Following from the antecedent logic provided above, steps are understood as emblematic to the further emergence and solidification of multiple states signifying

[27] This idea resonates quite well with Wilson's (1966: 44) suggestion regarding the latent effects that science exercises upon society; he states: "science is concerned with means and "how" questions, which leaves the field free for consideration of ends and "why" questions."

various types of dissonances. However, throughout its full multi-elemental course of development and contextual consideration, the recognition of steps is more appropriately aligned with ego's attempts to assuage, moderate, or eliminate an elevated or increasingly frustrating sense of cognitive chaos. Of course such ideological effort has – within the confines of this sample – resulted only in a marked series of rising states of unease, tension, and existential discomfort. For ultimately my respondents were presented with the realization that despite the labour and energy invested in the direction of hoping to gain a sense of psycho-spiritual-somatic reprieve or absolution, such effort had in fact unfortunately only served to compound the experience of pain and suffering.

The categorization of steps were found to be predicated by five significant points: i) issues regarding inconsistencies associated with LDS history, doctrine, and theology such as polygamy, racism, access to (or the concept of) celestiality, variously held opinions regarding the content of LDS temple rites, normatively sanctioned sexism with its attendant subordination of women, and the 'word of wisdom' provide the most frequently cited grounds for the solidification of doubt. ii) Salient instances of severe marginalization where most often the former Mormons were ostracized for a range of reasons stemming from remedial displays of disobedience, physical unattractiveness, or political affiliation and partisanship are also to be found among the several causes which account for egress. iii) Mission experiences whereby young adults were confronted with a myriad of both alternative lifestyles and diverse cultures forced some respondents' to re-evaluate their primary Mormon mindset amidst new, different, and possibly competing forms of belief, being, tastes, preferences, and habits. iv) Experiences and control issues at BYU such as censorship, dismissal, excommunication, and the ecclesiastical endorsement required for both students and employees can be seen as exercising a caustic effect for more than a few members of the sample.

Last, concerning steps which were both overwhelmingly given by respondents and for reasons indicating an incompatibility from inclusion into the above four themes v) other reasons afforded by participants resulting in various expressions and states of discontent include a) temporary, though salient periods of spiritual or organizational inactivity, as well as b) the 'progressive' sensitivity toward the delicate issue of homosexuality within the LDS Church. Predominantly this particular variable has been seen as most potent in the narratives of men who currently claim such as

their prime identity. However the homosexuality of a loved one – typically a sibling, parent, ex-spouse, or friend had been reported several times by both men and women alike as problematic regarding a stable devotion to their highly judgmental, and therefore decidedly exclusive LDS faith. c) Clinical depression, d) severe sadness and guilt, e) feelings associated with and attempts to commit suicide following from conflict existing between church and self, and f) the dissolution of a temple marriage, are also heavily present within this research. Additionally promoting separation from Mormonism is g) one's exposure to the ecclesiastical judiciary system. h) Viewing the LDS Church and its culture as excessively tyrannical, as well as i) feeling abandoned or betrayed by God, church, or family have also played their part resulting in further distanciation. Finally, j) the rhetorical maxim asserted incessantly by Mormons testifying to themselves and to others that 'the LDS Church is the one and only true church on earth' – a formula which psychologically promotes, collectively validates, and spiritually confirms the *emic* belief toward the manifestation of LDS arrogance, superiority, and eminence in the face of all other cultures, religious persuasions, and differential ways of being – is thoroughly present within the narratives of many participants. Importantly, it is *other steps* in conjunction with the aforementioned four steps – along with their respective specific or internal reasons – which have led members of my sample to experience a significant level of discord when faced with the prospect of social, spiritual, religious, or self examination.

Despite the individual drama that has taken place thus far in the lives of my participants, the abrogation of their LDS worldview remains an alternative which eludes them entirely. It must be rightly acknowledged, due to the tremendously convincing Mormon socio-enculturation system orchestrated within the canopy,[28] that

[28] The strength of the saintmaking system is attributable to the monumental presence of near all-consuming *consolidation* existing between sacred and secular worlds. The incorporation of not only an incredibly unique totalistic theology, but also the sheer repetition and cognitive primacy placed upon the affirmation of LDS structure within the week, month, and year in terms of requisite *time*, are both quite effective at galvanizing a life-long dedication to the LDS ethos among members of its constituency. Additionally, it is clearly recognizable that to an absolutely incomparable degree, the LDS Church and its faculties constitute an impressively well oiled, fully functioning, and full-service *lifestyle*. The experience of the Mormon way of life within Zion, in all its consolidated glory, effectively reduces – in some cases negates entirely – the need or desire for its members to search outside of its parameters for many resources. In other words, Mormons who reside within their sacred canopy have little reason to search for much of anything beyond its borders. This type of ideological segregation from elements indicative of 'others' – or as the LDS membership would prefer,

the combined stages of antecedents and steps are not considered powerful enough to either push or pull a previously impassioned homegrown member of the LDS faith away from the truth of their former testimonies. Regardless of the magnitude or extent of anxiety or misery previously endured, to experience change, members of the sample required the effects of yet an additional psychological installment.

It is my argument that galvanizing issues are thought of as the adhesive of distanciation. They provide the finishing touch and stand metaphorically for the concepts of crescendo and climax. Indeed the elements indicative of stage 3 represent the final stroke of the maestro's baton in terms of bringing to an end ego's previously internalized faith-based expectations associated with Mormonism. Oftentimes a person's various accounts of galvanizers are simply an extension of factors or feelings previously experienced within stages 1 or 2. Nonetheless, the act of self-reflection upon one's unhappiness, apathy, and dissatisfaction can be seen as a necessary phase in the process of clearly recognizing the several varieties of incongruity abiding between an individualized sense of direction and judgment AND the drive to maintain a gratifying sense of allegiance to one's religious origins. In this way, I would like to suggest that galvanizers – when understood to function at the point of convergence between personal impulses, escalating emotionality, constitutional turbulence, existential fatigue and confusion, and at times cultural and spiritual lethargy AND the social, external, or macro processes of modernization which include the forces of societalization, individualization, pluralism, education, and possibilities for further states of awareness – serve to mobilize the necessary courage, provide adequate motivation, and furnish sufficient anger to force saints who are seriously assessing the merits of an LDS way of life beyond their extant conceptual frontiers. Despite the fact that ego's engagement with stage 3 may occur in dramatic fashion or in quiet solitude, it is apparent that galvanizers solidify, make real, and necessitate agentive pro-activity regarding ambiguity of choice between devotion to the LDS structure and the desire for broader and perhaps more rewarding senses of freedom and potential.

Features or characteristics within the LDS nexus that participants have identified to have galvanized or tempered conceptions of themselves as no longer Mormon include: i) racism within the faith, specifically as it had existed prior to 1978; ii) experiences with depression, sadness, and loneliness; iii) feelings of

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self sufficiency – in fact fosters an interesting type of myopic codependence, which can be seen to flourish between the LDS corporation and the Mormon agent.

betrayal, rejection, and neglect; as well as iv) culturally normative and theologically sanctioned sexism. In addition: v) sexual and marital plurality embodied in the historically revealed doctrine of polygamy; vi) personal offence; vii) flirtations with disengagement and disidentification; iix) involvement with ecclesiastical discipline; ix) the cessation of an eternal marriage; and finally x) proximal relocation, are also understood as noteworthy when considering issues or burdens which had led to the breakdown of a Latter-day Saint identity in the face of a secularizing consciousness.

Throughout the entirety of the disaffiliation process the overpowering majority of statements, sentiments, reasons, or problems leading to distress and ultimately to an exit from the LDS faith are summarized according to gender within the preceding chapter as overarching themes.[29] Despite their omnipresence to some degree or another within all three stages, and regardless of the fact that they have also previously been addressed in relation to several other points of discussion, these general areas of issue stand as vital to the comprehension of the evolution from the origin of homegrown saint TO the destination of LDS apostate or ex-Mormon. Therefore their reiteration is warranted. The themes of: i) control, conformity, and forced obedience; ii) problems with LDS doctrine and history; iii) homosexuality; iv) severe or clinical episodes of depression; v) feelings associated with marginalization and stigmatization; vi) one's acquisition of higher educational qualifications and intellectualization; vii) political and philosophical differences including both partisanship and a convicted belief in human equality; as well as viii) an aversion to the sacred temple rites, ix) proximal relocation, and x) lifestyle differences in terms of enjoying wine, alcohol, and sexual relations outside of marriage have all contributed quite forcefully to the stories represented herein. In the end, the narratives of my participants amply reflect a significant, in some cases a lifelong conflict with rudiments inextricably connected to person, place, self, faith, family, tradition, knowledge, truth, and growth. It has become quite clear to me throughout this research that the impetus behind such struggle was simply to satisfy a deep yearning for a cohesive and moral sense of extant well-being in reaction or response to wider apprehensions and occurrences of social and ethical change.

[29] Recall pp. 310-327. For a short review of the differences found to exist between men and women in the sample see table 5l on p. 314 and table 5m on p. 325.

6a. IMPLICATIONS

Following largely from Iannacconne's[30] development of Kelley's[31] conservative church thesis and to a lesser degree from Kanter's work regarding stringent communal movements and commitment mechanisms,[32] Sherkat and Ellison discuss the sociological-economic notion of *consolidation* within the framework of appreciating differential value elements indicative of various strict religious organizations.[33] Sharing much with other new generation sociologists of religion who also utilize a rational choice perspective,[34] Sherkat further provides a brilliant review and continuation of individual preference and corporate commodity formation, cultural embededdness, collective influence, personal choice, and change,[35] which is philosophically in line with Elster[36] and theoretically congruent with Iannacconne's human capital perspective.[37] Without argument, consolidation in both its micro and macro senses recognizes the interconnectedness of such factors or variables as piety, family, employment, leisure, social and cultural norms, opportunity, community, government, education, reciprocity, and solidarity. Further, a model of human choice embedded within contexts indicating high degrees of individual and social consolidation suggests that a decision executed in one area will most certainly produce a great effect upon the stability of others.[38] Moreover, given the consequences of densely constructed and highly incorporated networks – such as many of those found within the LDS community – I would like to advance an understanding of Mormonism as both supremely important and remarkably relevant for members of the faith residing beneath its canopy. Additionally, due to the extant disproportionate influence of LDS religio-political views and an attendant surfeit of Mormon network systems within the MCR, we can see that the ethos of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in fact pervades and exercises influence upon every aspect of life in Zion, thus constituting itself as the leading source of knowledge comprising a homegrown *Lebensanschauung*.

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[30] Iannacconne (1992; 1994).
[31] Kelley (1972; 1978).
[32] Kanter (1972).
[33] Sherkat & Ellison (1999).
[34] For an excellent introduction see Young (1997).
[35] Sherkat (1997).
[36] Elster (1983).
[37] Iannacconne (1990).
[38] Strengthening, weakening, or maintaining – manifest or latent.

Regarding the monolithic nature of life and belief within Mormonism, it is clear that the overwhelming preponderance of peers within the *emically* valued constraints of the LDS gospel will be fellow Mormons themselves. Hence we may become familiar with the notion that social others are indeed not really 'others' at all. Rather, they are simply reflections of one's own LDS self. Essentially these kindred others internalize and embody the same relative views, logic, and principles as does any Mormon agent. Indeed they have emerged from the same pattern of existence, leaving little if any exception for starkly differentiated public, private, or imaginary exposure to eclectic lifestyles or various behaviours or beliefs that do not support primary Latter-day Saint standards and values.

If the unified processes of LDS socialization and enculturation, here referred to as saintmaking or Mormonization, can be addressed as a form of indoctrination or inculcation, then it is devastatingly obvious that such a successful project[39] would itself constitute the single most significant catalyst for the disruption of psychological, cultural, and social homeostasis among susceptible, vulnerable, or inquisitive Latter-day Saints. For it would seem quite reasonable to infer that contact with any information whatsoever which is not consistent with an idealized Mormon reality would in fact elicit dissonance, tension, or anxiety simply as a result of mere exposure[40] to decentralizing elements.

The saintmaking process and its strength of embodied identity is nurtured and developed slowly, incrementally, and successively. The result of this enterprise ultimately yields a steady and tenacious bond between self, environment, and belief system. Thus in the case of an attenuation or eventual dissolution of this attachment, a relatively proportionate amount of time, sophistication, and undoing should be anticipated. In the deliberation of leaving the LDS Church, Mormons stand to lose, sacrifice, or in some way or another give-up literally everything which has provided both existential meaning and theological structure to their lives. Devotion to faith, testimony, and expectations grounded in sacred covenants, as well as allegiances to family, spouse, children, career, health, property, and financial stability all serve as formidable barriers to religious egress. It comes as no surprise that within my data,

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[39] I am speaking here of the Mormon culture's ability to effectively manufacture a narrow range of stable identities within their comparatively established religio-socio-cultural environment through maximizing the concept of consolidation (Sherkat & Ellison: 1999) or totalism (Lifton: 1963; Winn: 1983).

[40] Zajonc (1968).

when faced with such an immense dilemma, many of the respondents have suffered multiple courses of severe insecurity, fear, and clinical depression. This is not to overshadow the fewer cases in which suicide was believed by ego to be the last source or mechanism available in hopes of finding repose from psycho-emotional torment, nor to detract from those who had surrendered to dangerous acts of self-denial or deprecation. Even more astonishing are the situations wherein ego had resorted to self-mutilation in an attempt to regain some sense of individual control or jurisdictive power over their destabilizing world. Of enormous significance is the *etic* recognition that these personal dysfunctions had in fact resulted from the experience of various participants simply *feeling* the phenomenological and social ramifications of merely being unhappy or dissatisfied with the undivided, celestially privileged schema specified by the Mormon agenda. Indeed such contradistinctive occasions; that is, those belying the culturally prescribed, and therefore individually galvanized anticipations associated with living a life filled with joy, contentment, truth, and security ensuing from obedience, ardency, and devotion – had instead conjured conceptions of damnation, worthlessness, and inherent evil.

It certainly behooves the observer to recognize that all such aforementioned *Sturm und Drang*[41] had existed prior to the actual decision of ego to decidedly walk away from their faith. RCT practitioners consider individual rational evaluation to be a relatively objective, and therefore a reasonably accessible ambition. Regarding issues of an intellectual, temporal, or financial nature this may be the case. However to preserve clarity of thought, mind, person, and situation under emotively volatile conditions, compounded by the duress and tectonic pressures associated with the contemplation of eternal consequences would – to my mind – most certainly prove a much more difficult proposition. I would argue that for most, such a prospect lies nearer to the point of impossibility. In fact narrative data sheds light upon the incredible lengths and depths of individual investment, as well as the exorbitant quantities of time and contemplation which participants allocated to the resolution of their respective crises and in their desperate efforts to hold on to a cherished past.

Mormons dispose of their personal attempts at successfully realizing a sense of capitulation or acquiescence to the demands and dogmatic requirements of their

[41] Garland (1952); Arnett (1999).

faith for a variety of reasons.[42] However, in direct contradiction to prior studies of exiting saints,[43] as well as standing in empirical opposition to rhetoric associated with organizationally internal discourse concerning factors which cause members to stray, my research yields that Latter-day Saints who have lived through the saintmaking process had executed choices resulting in their disaffiliation due to issues specific to the Mormon belief system. Beginning with curiosity leading to uncertainty; then proceeding from disenfranchisement to disidentification; and ultimately resulting in ego's renunciation or abjuration of LDS tenets, we are able to distinguish the process of extricating the self from the constraints or morass of Mormonism as both affecting and effecting countless nodes, elements, and internalizations concerning a taken-for-granted reality.

Given that a Mormon identity typically reciprocates or fosters a firm, comprehensive, zealous, and overall fairly undeniable apprehension of self; a serious LDS questioner would find it difficult to remain happily married to an ardent LDS spouse, work for a Mormon employer, preserve a satisfying sense of favor with LDS friends and neighbors, or maintain a healthy social life within a Mormon community. Indeed the psychological burden of heretical anomalism proves too heavy a load to bear. Because theological, political, or other reasons acrimoniously agitating one's relationship with the environment are intensely tied to the totality of an LDS person's apperception of self – that is, to the overall structure of internalized Mormon elements – dissentient or acerbic feelings must inevitably be aimed not only in the direction of the particular details which originally caused offense within the faith, but in fact toward the entirety of the system.

The ambivalent ego is likely to remember, and therefore is quite prone to re-experience disturbing feelings linked with unsettling dissonance each time it is exposed to differing expressions originating from, or connected to Mormonism. Therefore in a theoretical sense it would be crucial, in order to effectively bolster an ideal pursuit of psycho-cognate consonance and freedom, to detach – as well as one may – from all LDS facets. For if discord is not successfully quelled at the time of its original inception through organizationally approved methods, the otherwise neutral or positive characteristics associated with an LDS identity can slowly wane. Indeed a homegrown Mormon's origin itself may ultimately come to symbolize and represent

[42] Harty (1995); Goodman (1997); Beek (2001); Payne (2008).
[43] Albrecht & Bahr (1983); Bahr & Albrecht (1989).

an incredibly uncomfortable place, if not being attributed as outright caustic, for those who throughout life cannot remain fully congruent with its ethos. As such, the heavy demands required for revered membership would come to feel meaningless, futile, and certainly unprofitable when removed from a convicted faith in eternal compensation. Moreover without the prospect of immediate, temporal, or psychological gratification such senselessness stands to be judged by LDS agents who are considering egress as not only irrational, but anti-rational.

Therefore it is entirely cogent to choose disaffiliation in the face of formidable agglomerations of frustration, anger, friction, conflict, and desperation. Indeed I would argue that it is not only a sound judgment on the part of ego to exit the faith of its origin and discard a previously cherished Mormon identity, but also to invest deeply in beliefs which express the falsity of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In so doing, ego would effectively foster the engagement of every resource at its disposal to arrive at a new, cooperative, socially integrated, culturally aware, and psychologically robust apprehension of self.

6b. SUBSTANTIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Throughout the present effort a veritable tide of issues concerning Latter-day Saint disaffiliation has emerged. In my attempts to deliver empirically solid, methodologically sound, theoretically grounded, and conceptually relevant information to the best of my ability I have produced an exceedingly sensitive processual model. The formation of antecedents, steps, and galvanizers contained within my architecture has taken shape as a product of the specific data procured, and subsequently, from my own judgment concerning the variables most appropriate to the overarching enquiry. I believe it can be stated without hesitation that the triunitarian model will contribute significantly to a variety of avenues concerning Mormon studies specifically and religious exit generally. In addition, because I have framed an appreciably different type of LDS treatment within a specific set of both theoretical and normative design, I further suggest that this study has much to offer toward a number of conceptions regarding capital acquisition and transposability. Social control, exclusion, sanctioning, inclusion, and maintaining a satisfactory sense of equilibrium within the organizational, institutional, and personal parameters of experience are also treated very well. Last, by utilizing applicable information brought to light in the narratives of my respondents, future researchers could

productively illuminate cognitive dissonance and individuation studies concerning religious belief, its transformation, and its diminution.

Perhaps of chief comparative interest would be to replicate the study in order to empirically ascertain why Latter-day Saints exit their faith when residing outside of the sacred canopy, the Mormon corridor, or the MCR. An investigation of this type need not be confined to the continental United States. I believe that since the LDS Church has established itself as a financially, politically, theologically, and ideologically global player, an exploration of reasons given by members which may account for both retention and disaffection both at home and abroad would be of immense executive and intellectual consequence. Also highly profitable would be the reproduction of qualitative comparative studies that focus upon the socialization, enculturation, and disaffiliation experiences of members claiming a previous commitment to the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Seventh-day Adventists, and to Islam.

As Charlotte Hardman stated of her own labours: "in one sense this fieldwork is now history."[44] Such is clearly the case regarding my work as well. Four specific events have transpired since the conclusion of this research that bears profoundly upon the countenance of the LDS politico-belief structure, and therefore has undeniably impacted the Mormon *Weltanschauung* to some degree or another. First, the considerably volatile issues surrounding Proposition 8 – California's 2008 constitutional amendment, and the role in which the LDS Church fulfilled leading to its ratification – has proven severely acrid to many Latter-day Saints.[45] Essentially the Mormon organization had provided necessary financial support in terms of lobbying efforts which effectively served to deny legal marriage rights to same-sex couples. Thousands of ardent saints have interpreted this action as a crime against civil rights. Additionally, hundreds of progressive Mormons have mobilized themselves in defense against that of which they believe to be ethically archaic and morally wrong. Second, following from these emotionally charged convictions, various pro-homosexual voices within Mormondom have organized and made their opinions known. In association with both the BYU based coalition of the USGA[46] and

[44] Hardman (2000: xviii).
[45] *8: The Mormon Proposition* (2010). As is the case with LDS apologetics, several heated rebuttals can be found by both the LDS organization and its adherents, which negate the many claims and statements made within the film.
[46] Understanding Same-Gender Attraction. See [www.affirmation.org/byu/].

alongside the 'It Gets Better Project',[47] the LGBT[48] Mormon youth of Brigham Young University (in both Provo and Idaho) has achieved what was previously thought to be an utter impossibility with regard to ecclesiastical reform concerning homosexuality. When taken together with the social and political successes realized by the movement 'Affirmation: Gay and Lesbian Mormons',[49] I believe the study of these events and groups could provide an incredibly rich source of information contributing to a current sociological and phenomenological treatment of the evolution and state of homosexuality within Mormonism. Third, in response to declining numbers of young adults wishing to serve missions, the LDS authority structure has reduced the age at which members may engage in organizationally sanctioned proselytization. During the October general conference of 2012, President Thomas S. Monson revealed that young men may commence missionary service at age eighteen, and young women may now be allowed to depart for missions at age nineteen. The immediate and extended implications of this amendment are staggering. Fourth and finally, feminism within the church, along with the serious sociological consideration of the concepts surrounding organizational accommodation, assimilation, and internal tension are begging for a contemporary treatment. This has been made extremely apparent by the recent collective mobilization occurring on December 16, 2012 whereby Mormon women across America engaged in 'Wear Pants to Church Day'.[50] Overtly challenging the extant patriarchal order, such an exercise was conceived by the LDS feminist group 'All Enlisted' in hopes of bringing attention to the role of women, and to current forms of gender disparity within the faith.[51]

In addition, the emerging literature concerning a formalized theology of LDS emotions stands to gain much regarding the nature and role of emotional experiences which transpire in both psychological and sociological senses as represented here. Without doubt my work contributes to an increased understanding of modernization processes and their broad impact upon traditional religious forms. As well, this research lends profound insight into the respective convergence, divergence, or interaction of such processes and religious expressions within the mind of

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[47] [www.itgetsbetter.org].
[48] LGBT is shorthand for 'lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual'.
[49] [www.affirmation.org].
[50] Brooks (2012).
[51] Ibid.

contemporary ego. In conjunction with Properzi,[52] I too believe there is certainly value to be had in developing an avant-garde LDS *emotionology*.[53] I would suggest that a cogently articulated treatment include the operationalisation of the intersection and potentiating impulses of such concepts as *confidence*, *faith*, *doubt*, *worry*, *despair*, *agony*, *anger*, *fury*, *indignation*, and *rage*… to name but a few central elements within his suggestions for continued augmentation.[54]

6c. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL DIRECTIONS FOR EXPANSION

Following along the lines of emotivity and its impact as both cause and consequence of various actions and expressions indicating humanity, composition, conduct, organization, order, chaos, and process, I would very much welcome the occasion to engage in an increasingly direct manner with literature surrounding the sociology and anthropology of emotions.[55] Within this capacity, I have found the work of Ferguson (2009) and Scheff (1990) to be particularly enticing. I would also be very pleased to engage in the articulation of a formal treatise regarding liberal notions associated with a rational choice, action, or preferential framework.[56] Such would allow the provision of an important series of conceptual elements for consideration toward the application of, or injection into, the still fledgling yet quite malleable field of post-modern behavioural economics, and to a lesser degree, cybernetic models of identity.[57] However of utmost personal interest would be the opportunity to treat the socio-psychic-cultural juncture whereby sensitivities, moods, preferences, bureaucracies, expectations, and structure – in the broadest sense of the terms – converge with literature treating the sociology of knowledge.[58] Moreover, providing an incredibly valuable contribution to the field, I would further propose an

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[52] Properzi (2010: 237).
[53] Stearns & Stearns (1985).
[54] For further clarification regarding a largely individualist or middling interpretation of human emotions, structure, culture, transaction, and change see Turner (2007).
[55] Hammond (1983); Lutz & White (1986); Mills & Kleinman (1988); Fisher & Chon (1989); Thoits (1989); Rosenburg (1990); Scheff (1990); Kemper (1978; 1981; 1991); Barbalet (1998); Lawler & Thye (1999); Turner & Stets (2005); Turner (2007).
[56] Warner (1993). To be certain, a significant degree of motivation for this type of suggestion follows from my interest in the 'anti-rationalist' orientation of seeing emotion, motivation, and tradition as elements or factors that ultimately negate the dominance of a purely militant view of rationality within the human sciences. An 'anti-rationalist' posture to rationality is not only 'rational', but is also fascinating to say the least – in that anti-rationalists largely proffer 'emotions' to be the primary mechanisms of social and individual function; see Durkheim ([1912] 2008); Hughes (1961); Wilson (1966).
[57] Burke & Stets (2009).
[58] Mannheim (1936); Maquet (1951); Simonds (1978).

undertaking of this type to include an in-depth, progressive coverage or reprise of Alfred Schutz' phenomenology.[59] Additionally contributing clarity to the work would be a heavy emphasis upon Berger and Luckmann's basic architecture which is utilized by ego in the creation, sustaining, and manipulation of both subjective and objective worlds.[60] Inevitably embedded within the project as I envisage, generative mechanisms;[61] *habitus*, *field*, and *practice* as method;[62] Luhman's treatment of social autopoiesis;[63] and Needham's notion of polythetics,[64] would come to occupy central roles in providing a firm purchase by which to pursue higher levels of intellectual *Verstehen*.

Abstaining from forwarding any additional grand statements, I will plainly state what I feel is well within my immediate grasp. With regard to the above mentioned, and with consideration being paid to my burgeoning interests, I would eagerly greet the opportunity to connect further with existing literature concerning contemporary identity formation,[65] negotiation,[66] and change.[67] Post-modernity, meaning making, and thresholds of cognitive tolerance would also rank highly on my list of prospective goals. Last, indeed most important, I will without doubt develop my work and thought to find a particular purchase and voice within the broad, often misunderstood, and sadly misapprehended intellectual field of secularization theory.[68]

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[59] Schutz ([1932] 1967).
[60] Berger & Luckmann (1966).
[61] See ft. 21 and 23 above on p. 335.
[62] Swartz (1997); Bourdieu ([1977] 1999; 1980).
[63] Bakken & Hernes (2003); Luhmann ([1984] 1995); Seidl (2004).
[64] Needham (1975).
[65] Burke & Stets (2009).
[66] Ammerman (1987), Jenkins (2008); Ferguson (2009).
[67] Carrette (2007).
[68] Though the literature related to the secularization thesis is undeniably vast I have found few sharper sources treating the subject than Wilson (1966), Glasner (1977), Fenn (1978), Bruce (2002; 2011), Dobbelaere (2004), and Martin (2005), the short reader compiled by Swatos and Olson (2000) is an excellent – though cursory – resource as well; further I must say that Young's (1997) reader which treats religion within a rational choice perspective has also greatly influenced my thoughts. My use of 'misunderstood' and 'misapprehended' as stated above, applies predominantly to the American rational choice coterie who often engages the supply-side logic of economics to understand the gross activity of religious behaviour. If forced to adopt a firm position concerning an allegiance toward either a supply-side or a demand-side explanation of religious choice within the ideological, nationalist, or moral parameters indicative of the United States, Britain, or Europe, I would in fact decline – for the process and effects of secularization are much more mosaic than a simple model of economic behaviour would assume. This is to assert fully that contemporary secularization is nothing if not complex and culturally specific. However, as most congruent with my particular opinions regarding the overall utility, viability, and reality of the secularization paradigm, its

To this end I see my contribution lying predominantly within the plexus of establishing a firm exposition addressing the secularization of individual consciousness within the United States. Otherwise stated, I see the concept of secularization not only as a real phenomenon, but also as a bona fide process which is experienced differently by men and women who occupy varying spaces within the social and ideological world. I believe that secularization at the individual level of analysis can be fruitfully and robustly operationalized to be understood as a course of events leading to personal fulfillment. Therefore when thinking of secularization at the micro level, we can see that in order to maximize its utility and explanatory power, a departure from continually being expressed in purely macro or sweepingly historical terms and systems is apparent. While conceiving the diminution of religious adherence or belief to be framed, indeed even made possible by notions and rhetoric moored to an axiomatic association with modernization, industrialization, and post-enlightenment, I nevertheless attribute the process of any individual who chooses to leave their religious ties behind them, as a step toward a more thoroughly actualized sense of self. Given these current views, I will sincerely hope that my future affords scholarship in this direction.

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antecedents and its implications, see Bruce (1992; 2002; 2006; 20011) and Wilson (1966). Additionally lending insight into my current posture, please reflect upon the many writings and ideas of Nietzsche, Durkheim, Freud, and Marx concerning the place, role, or function of religion within the nexus of society, commerce, politics, and the individual ego. I must further disclose that the exploration into human cooperation and *becoming* lies at the core of my academic motivations. Hence, I adhere equally to Allport's (1950) notion of mature religiosity, as well as to Cox's (1965) ideal conception of the secular city.

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