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The Structuration of Mormon Identity

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a theorizing on the constitution of social and individual realities and identities from a structurationist perspective.

Social theory claims the fragmentation of the self in late modernity, viewing life as a series of episodes and self-identity as a field with various identities. The dissertation theorizes on (1) what American Mormon identity is by using Gordon's model of American identity and by proposing a new model which I term consummate identity to define the nature of Latter-day Saint identity; and (2) how this identity is constituted by applying Jenkins' model of the internal-external dialectic of identification, which proposes that both individual and collective identities are routinely related, are intrinsically social, and are constituted through the very same practices. I propose to locate this dialectic of individual identity formation through an analysis of various specifically Mormon practices within the framework of Giddens' theory of structuration.

This theory introduces the notion of the duality of structure claiming that societies are constructed by and through social practices which bind agents and structure together in a permanent recursive interaction. Through an examination of the practices related to family life, education, and the constitution of history and memory, I have found Giddens' theory lacking in certain aspects, the most significant being that it does not delve into the

deeper realm of both the micro- and macro-level driving forces and, thus, lacks propositions as to why structure and agency develop and operate in a given manner.

I contend that in the Mormon community (1) ideology is the essence which informs and operates the structure; and (2) that agency is bound to individual realities which are rooted in personal identities, always in process, the constitution of which is marked by the interplay not only of realities embraced by the Self--along with its Other(s)--but also of the cognitive framework and process through which one constructs identity by monitoring these realities, that is, practices. I propose that the study of social practices as ideological constructs and of their discursive appearance in the narrated process of constituting self-identity proves a successful method in concurrently mapping self- and social identities.

Implied in this dissertation is also a critique of the methodologies applied in various sociological approaches to collective identities: I propose that the various classifications used to mark Mormon identity are imprecise and imposed by the culture of the Other. Through a critique of these, I--also an Other in at least two senses--propose a hopefully more appropriate identity model, developed with and through the assistance of the Saints themselves. With this I posit that the community, the Selves, must be involved in any theorizing about it/them by right of the duality through which all identities are constituted.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I. INTRODUCTION

From time immemorial mankind has made painstaking efforts to find ways to identify itself, and these struggles continue to this day. This quest has taken on numerous forms, points of view, and modes of argumentation and has, thus, resulted in various theories. My interest in social identity formation, a process rooted in and shaped by the social, was the driving force behind my dissertation. My other interest in the community of the American Latter-day Saints resulted in the application of the theorization about identity on this specific group, leading to the emergence of the central problem of the dissertation: what American Mormon identity is and how it is constituted.

The notion of social identity stems from the intellectual tradition of the Enlightenment,[1] which established as well as justified the emergence of boundaries which separate groups of people along various artificially created dividing lines, thus placing the construction of the other, the stranger, the foreigner in the center of the modern mindset, and, in turn, determining the direction and content of possible future power relations and struggles. In this mode of thinking we must suppose that humanity itself is constructed just like the communities it lives in. Concepts of Anderson's imagined

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[1] For further discussion, see, for example: Madan Sarup, *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998); or Werner Sollors ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

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communities,[2] Pickett's invented nations,[3] Hobsbawm's invented

traditions,[4] or Sollors' invented ethnicity can be taken as key

examples of the embodiment of this mode of perception. It holds

that the purpose of these constructs is to mark a difference and,

through them, either to maintain or challenge the hegemony and

power relations which have already developed in the social

structures.[5]

By identifying with these notions, I have taken the

epistemological position of regarding human communities as social

constructs. I have applied Giddens' theory of structuration[6] in

my attempt to grasp the nature and dynamics of the constitution

of societies[7] so that, through this process, I could also locate

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[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

[3] Terry Pickett, *Inventing Nations: Justifications of Authority in the Modern World* (London: Greenwood, 1996).

[4] Eric Hobsbawm ed., *The Invention of Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[5] In the nineteenth century, the Mormon faith represented a challenge to American society while by now it has become institutionalized and appears to focus on maintaining its present position in the world as well as actively expanding it.

[6] The most comprehensive presentation of this theory was published in: Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). The most thorough analyses and evaluation of this theory can be found in: Christopher Bryant and David Jary eds., *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: A Critical Appreciation* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Jon Clark, Celia Modgil and Sohan Modgil eds., *Anthony Giddens: Consensus and Controversy* (London: Falmer Press, 1990); Ira Cohen, *Structuration Theory: Anthony Giddens and the Constitution of Social Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); and Ian Craib, *Anthony Giddens* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[7] This study is also among the first attempts to put structuration theory into practice by applying it in an analysis of a specific social group and its practices. Thus, this work also contributes to the evaluation of Giddens' theory, rooted not only in theorization, but also application.

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social identity formation.   Structuration theory offers a theoretical framework which defines how societies are produced and reproduced in modern states.   Giddens proposes that it is through the duality of structure that social relations are formed across time and space by social practices.   Through this concept he is able to link acting individuals[8] and powerful structures by arguing for an interplay between them.   This interplay is the result of the social practices, i.e., regular actions, through which structures are constituted by the actors.   The regular, cyclical[9] repetition of these practices[10] results in the emergence of the structures, which then become restrictive; however, the actors' repetition of these practices is crucial to maintaining the structures--without them the structures would cease to exist.   In this way, the actors and structures merge into a constant dialectical interaction wherein both are the outcome of, as well as the condition for, the existence of the other.

I have regarded social practices as the basic mechanisms in and through which the social is constituted, and thus identities as well.   Therefore, I propose to locate Mormon self-identity formation within three sets of specifically Mormon practices, related to family life, education, and the constitution of

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[8] Giddens uses the terms *actors* and *agents* to signify acting individuals as opposed to subjects.

[9] The necessity of the cyclical nature of these practices was pointed out by Morrow in Raymond Morrow and David Brown, *Critical Theory and Methodology* (London: Sage, 1994).

[10] I believe these would be the closest to Bourdieu's notion of "habitus".   For more information, see Pierre Bourdieu, "Structures, Habitus, Practices," in *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 52-65.

history and memory. In mapping Mormon identity, I have found

Jenkins' model of the internal-external dialectic of

identification most applicable. Rooted in the theory of

structuration, this model maintains that both individual and

collective identities are routinely related, are intrinsically

social, and are constituted through the very same practices.

Therefore, an analysis of the sample practices also reflects upon

how Mormon collective identity is structured.

In order to define what American Mormon identity entails,

I first map the self-identification of the Saints by applying the

Gordon model and propose that their identification with their

faith is exceptionally strong. I predict that is the reason for

various scholarly views which claim that the Mormon community is

an ethnic group or a nation.[11] By theorizing about the nature

of ethnicity and ethnic identity, nations and national

consciousness as well as religious identity, I conclude that the

Latter-day Saint community is neither an ethnic group nor a

nation but offers more than what traditional religious groups do.

In pursuing this difference, I propose my own model and term it

consummate identity in order to capture the nature of Mormon

identification, one based within a faith which is an integration

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[11] The most exciting discussions of how and why the Mormons
may be viewed as a nation are in: Harold Bloom, *The American
Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York:
Simon and Schuster, 1992); Philip E. Hammond and Kee Warner, "
Religion and Ethnicity in Late-Twentieth-Century America," in *The
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*
527(May 1993), 55-67; Armand L. Mauss, "Refuge and Retrenchment:
The Mormon Quest for Identity," in Marie Cornwall, Tim Heaton and
Lawrence Young eds., *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science
Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 24-
43; and Thomas O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: The University of
Chicago Press, 1957).

of the traditional and sacred, on the one hand, with the modern and secular, on the other, which--although the former typically informs the latter--are intricately intertwined.

The method by which I wish to examine the manner in which actor and action contribute to the reproduction of Mormonism and Mormon identity is triangulation. This is a method most successfully applied by Roy Wallis in his study of Scientology.[12] As he is dealing with a closed, inward-turning, and, to some extent, secretive community and ideology, he is forced to use various approaches in order to form a clearer, more authentic picture of the group. Therefore, he bases his findings on information gleaned from publications,[13] personal interviews, questionnaires, and observations. The nature of the Mormon community is rather similar to that of the Scientologists; I, therefore, take the same approach, although I wish to rely primarily on written discourses by the Latter-day Saints as these pieces provide the most insight into the everyday lives and practices of active Mormons. I also include texts written by former Saints, as well as interviews I conducted with them. Their sacred texts will also be quoted and the findings of a survey I conducted among them will also be discussed.

The structure of the dissertation reflects the temporal development of my pursuit. Chapter II is devoted to the introduction of various theories regarding the nature of American and Mormon identities, along with that of ethnicity and nation.

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[12] Roy Wallis, *The Road to Total Freedom: A Sociological Analysis of Scientology* (London: Heinemann, 1976).

[13] These were written by, as well as about, the Church and by present as well as former members.

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I develop my critiques of these embedded in my theorizing on why Mormon identity is neither typically American nor ethnic. Chapter III outlines the theory of structuration, on the basis of which I present the sample Mormon practices I have selected for analysis in Chapter IV. The internal dynamics of this text is such that these three chapters may be read as independent units; however, Chapter V may not. Based on the findings presented in Chapter IV, the strings regarding the nature of the constitution of the social, and within that, identity, come together in Chapter V. Section V.1 is the logical continuation of Chapter III in that it contains my reflections on structuration theory in the light of its actual application. It points out some of the shortcomings of this theory, including the fact that Giddens does not reflect upon what constitutes agency and structure. I propose that in the Mormon community self-identity acts as the driving force behind agency and ideology operates structure(s). Section V.2 may be read as the closing part of Chapter II, which establishes what Mormon identity is not, but fails to address what it is. Section V.2 proposes the answer by introducing the model I term consummate identity and suggests what strategies contribute to its maintenance.

II. LATTER-DAY SAINT IDENTITY

Identities are constructions, permanently in process, reflecting the momentary cohesion of the interaction between people, institutions and social practices which bind them. Social identities may be bound to biological features, such as gender or race, as well as to other social groupings based on religion, family, or occupation, among others. The development of the market economy impacted on modern identity formation and made the phenomenon of the fetishization and marketization of identities possible.

An investigation of the nature of these modern identities in one of the modern states, the United States, may prove rather exciting and telling. This chapter is devoted to the introduction of various theories which conceptualize ethnic, national, racial, and religious identities within the North American context. In doing so, I hope to be able to outline certain aspects of the nature of Mormon identity, which has proven to be exceptional in many ways.

The first section offers an introduction to Mormonism, delineating certain aspects which I view as significantly contributing to the invention and constitution[14] of this faith and the corresponding collective with its identity. Through this section I wish to contextualize the Mormon faith and identity

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[14] By using these two terms I refer to my position in that I view Mormonism in its origin as an invention of Joseph Smith-- and not as God's working. However, I consider contemporary Mormonism a process in which it is constituted by the Saints, as is their identity.

with a focus on the process through which they have been constituted. Section 2 aims at locating this identity in relation to American identity through the findings of my research conducted among the Latter-day Saints, by making use of Gordon's model. Section 3 aims at problematizing about various terms used to describe the nature of Mormon identity and attempts to offer a critique of these, so that Section V.2 could develop from here by offering my model which would hopefully explain in a more complex manner what this identity entails.

1. Contextualizing Mormonism

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is likely one of the most controversial of the numerous congregations in the United States.[15] From its early existence it has been the object of endless criticism and persecution; nonetheless, it is today the largest and most powerful religious group among all those founded in the US. The Church's vast wealth includes real estate and corporations, insurance companies, retail chains, and hotels; it is represented not only on the local and state but also on the federal political scene; its membership is the fastest-growing, and its education system and missionary work is the most extensive of any denomination in the US.[16]

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[15] There are approximately 120 religious groups and congregations registered in the US.

[16] Although the Church refuses to disclose the exact value of its assets and its membership is in a constant state of flux, in 1978 the Church "wield[ed] more economic power effectively than the State of Israel or the Pope in Rome," as Walter Martin observed in *The New Cults* (Santa Ana, CA: Vision House, 1978), 20. Glenn A. Ingleheart in *Church Members and Nontraditional*

The Saints' strong commitment and loyalty to the Church surpass typical religious affiliation and extend to all walks of life, thus establishing a significant community with a distinct identity. They are often compared to the Jewish people or the Amish as an example of ethnic fusion wherein ethnicity equals religion.[17] The basis for this statement derives from the fact that being a Mormon does not only signify a mere theological and religious identification but a complex way of life--incorporating the realms of the secular--constituted through it.

The beginnings of this unusual group and faith[18] can be dated to the 1820s when a young man named Joseph Smith II established a religion based on the *Bible* and the *Book of Mormon*[19] and later supplemented by the *Doctrine and Covenants*[20]

Religious Groups (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1985) estimated the Church's income at $3 million per day in 1984. For the most detailed study of Mormon economic power and its growth, see Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: Jovanovich, 1986).

[17] A detailed discussion of whether the Saints may be viewed as an ethnic group follows in Section 3.

[18] The finest book on this era is Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

[19] This is a "holy scripture comparable to the Bible ... a record of God's dealings with the ancient inhabitants of the Americas and contains ... the fullness of everlasting gospel" written by Mormon upon plates, as translated by Joseph Smith (Introduction).

[20] This is a "collection of divine revelations and inspired declarations given for the establishment and regulation of the kingdom of God on the earth in the last days", most received by Joseph Smith, the rest by his successors in presidency (Introductory Note).

and the *Pearl of Great Price*,[21] which led to the establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on April 6, 1830. However, the roots date back much further: they can be traced not only to the early 19th-century American socio-cultural and religious turmoil of New York State's burned-over district but also to the cultural milieu of medieval and early modern Europe. Brook[22] claims that Mormon theology was shaped by occultism and hermeticism, magic, witchcraft, alchemy, treasure-hunting, freemasonry, counterfeiting, state formation, and the early sectarian tradition of Radical Reformationism. Smith, equally captivated by Judaism and Christianity, borrows various notions from them and develops these further: he claims that the inhabitants of North America were descendants of the lost tribe of Israel and that the true church would be restored in North America, in the Mormon Zion, where Jesus would appear at the end of all time.

"Smith's religion to Christianity was just like Christianity to Judaism--a reform and consummation," Ahlstrom states.[23] Arrington[24] also points out that Smith blends into this religious background numerous other exciting ideas of the era, such as

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[21] It is "a selection of choice materials touching many significant aspects of the faith and doctrine ... produced by the Prophet Joseph Smith" (Introductory Note).

[22] John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[23] Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 592.

[24] Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979).

Jefferson's rationalism in the material existence of God or angels and the notion of pluralism when expressing that there is an infinite number of gods as well as planets. But he is also a master at fusing the major issues of the day, specific to the American context, into his theory and providing them with explanations, such as the problems of slavery, blacks, and Indians, their pigmentation and history in North America, certain inexplicable archeological findings, and the righteousness and justification of white presence and leadership in the United States. He also manages to incorporate the most appealing features of the New Land, including the American dream, optimism, belief in financial well-being and development, individual progression to perfection, and social responsibility.

By noting these features we can see how and why Mormonism was so appealing around the time of its birth. But history moved on, and Mormonism had to conform to the changing world. The ability to change, which is generally held to be one of the more significant features of the church, making it an example of Bellah's modern religion,[25] is ensured by the understanding that the modern-day prophets, i.e., the presidents of the Church, may receive revelations from God regarding Church policy and belief. The first revelation which showed the inclination of the Church to change with, and conform to, American society came as early as the turn of the century, resulting in the banning of polygamy

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[25] For a discussion of the changing role and features of religion in relation to states and historical periods see Robert Bellah, "Religion and Legitimation in the American Republic," in Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony eds., *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America* (New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 1993), 411-26.

in 1890[26] and the separation of religious and state leadership. This tendency of metamorphosis continued, the second major revelation leading to the banning of racial segregation within the Church in 1976.[27]

Thus, we must recognize that Mormonism is a religion which, in its history, was not only deeply influenced but entirely shaped by American culture and society. It seems that by now it represents a distinct set of moral and ethical codes, confirmed and unified by a quasi-Christian theology complemented by secular images, embedded in an elaborate system of social practices. Godhood and eternal life have been transformed into a more comprehensible form for many individuals by bridging the gap between the earthly and celestial world through man's godhood: "As God once was, man now is. And as God is, man may become," as the Mormon saying goes. A worthy[28] Mormon man will become a god and rule a planet with his chosen wife, his goddess, who is destined to eternal pregnancy. The gods' human shape and features as well as family-centered lifestyle render the concept

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[26] In spite of the fact that the American government forced the Mormon Church to give up the practice of polygamy, an estimated 25 thousand fundamentalist Utah Mormons still live in this form of family establishment.

[27] The abolition of total racial discrimination was probably due to political pressure resulting from the Civil Rights Movement as well as to practical considerations, since as of the early 1970s the Mormon Church expanded the most in Central and South America as well as in Africa. However, we must bear in mind that blacks in the Church do not enjoy complete equality to whites: they can attain priesthood, but interracial marriages are still not encouraged.

[28] The worthiness of the members is measured by Church leaders in interviews, based on information given by the Saints. The list of the most frequently asked questions can be found in Appendix II.

of godhood comfortable and readily understandable for the ordinary person. The very idea of individuals becoming gods can be interpreted as a transformed version of the American success stories realized. The example of Franklin's diligence, hard work, self-reliance, and individualism embedded in their theology creates an opening for secular happiness as well: success and financial well-being interpreted as signs of spiritual worthiness which leads to eternal happiness.

The notion of eternal progression by which the world is full of spirit babies which may improve themselves in human form under the Church's wing on earth so that after death they could realize their full potential as gods in the afterlife   ffvczsas   ' is the basis for the Mormon plan of salvation. In this process, the individual is given the power and ability to make decisions regarding his own progress through the notion of free agency; thus, only the individual may be held responsible for his own salvation--no one else.

Earthly success in various walks of life, then, leads to eternal happiness, a shift in focus in Mormon theology from the afterlife to the earthly life. Besides encouraging individualism and success, the Saints emphasize the community aspect of their denomination. Church attendance, Sunday school, and the fulfillment of various callings, that is, duties, provide the Saints with the primary ties to their faith. Through their system of tithing and donations, they have been able to create a solid financial base, upon which an excellent welfare and missionary system rest. The Church owns various media, from television and radio stations to publishing houses. The Saints

organize regular, large-scale communal events and meetings, and various activities suited to various age groups, maintain designated places of pilgrimage, and have developed extensive research projects and educational activities as well. As many interviewees stated, all these add a sense of safety, clear directions in life and new dimensions of belonging for church members,[29] so crucial in alienated modern societies. But they also provide major platforms for the expression of authoritarianism and the application of various subtle forms of surveillance[30] on the part of the Church leadership, that is, the Saints would rarely brand these as means of control but view them as the "natural way" of doing things, as one interviewee put it.

The Saints' unity and identification with their faith and Church are further supported by a strong sense of group sentiment rooted in their history. This is not only a continuation of the history recorded in the *Book of Mormon* but an outgrowth of the persecution of the earlier Saints; their migration from the East Coast to the Western Salt Lake district in order to find the proper place to build up their Zion; their actual settlement; and their struggle for survival. In this respect they have been compared to the Puritan fathers, as Thomas O'Dea points out, among other scholars. In this process, O'Dea contends, the Mormon group was transformed from a "near-sect" to a "near-nation", which has several implications: their rapid increase in membership, their visibility and leadership as well as

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[29] An example often referred to is the fact that during the Great Depression, Utah was the least influenced by unemployment or bankruptcy and it introduced the first aid and work programs.

[30] A more detailed discussion of these follows in Chapter IV.

independence in the political, legal, and economic spheres of Utah supplemented by a strong sense of group sentiment and identity.

This group identity is clearly distinguishable in its structure from the multi-layered model of American identity. I believe Mormonism transcends ethnic or national boundaries. Extensive research in history and genealogy demarcates their community, marks the lines signifying their distinctness, and thus provides the Saints with a secure--and, in their view, objectively proved--identity, enhancing their primary identification with the Mormon Church and not with the American nation. We may conclude that their original form of existence in a "social incubator", as Zala[31] calls it, has expanded but not disappeared.

2. The Model of Mormon Identity

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been the subject of numerous studies, their theology and history being in the focus. The very first sociological study on this group was O'Dea's *The Mormons* in which the author points out that the nature of the Mormon community is similar to that of a nation. However, the first wave of anthropological and sociological scholarship analyzing various aspects of this collective has developed since the mid-1970s when the Mormon Church also

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[31] Zala Tamás, *Az aranytáblák népe: A mormonok* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985).

realized the importance of these fields.[32] Frequently discussed

questions in some of these studies are related to the nature of

the Mormon community: who these people really are, what they

stand for as a group, what their values are, how they really lead

their lives, what forces have influenced and shaped their

community development, and so on--all questions related to their

identity on the collective level.

Inherent in such questions are also certain dangers which

originate from the nature of the problem: identity does not have

numerical properties, and thus, its measurement may entail more

difficulty than properties with metric features. This might be

one of the reasons why all the previous works analyze only

various segments of Mormon culture and identity and are highly

theoretical, making no effort to measure Mormon identity in any

way. What follows summarizes the findings of my research project

aimed at defining an identity model of the American Latter-day

Saints, in relation to American identity as proposed by Gordon.

i. The Gordon Model of American Identity

In this investigation I rely on Gordon's theoretical

model,[33] which conceptualizes about American identity and its

various layers. Gordon claims that American identity may not be

classified as an ethnic identity through a theorization on what

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[32] As a response, the Mormon Church established a research
unit in 1976 and one year later the Society for the Sociological
Study of Mormon Life.

[33] Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of
Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University
Press, 1964).

ethnicity is. He concludes that American identity is not an ethnic identity as the US is a country with no major, dominant, ethnically united group but is comprised of immigrants and their descendants from a number of different ethnic groups, with religious and racial diversity contributing further to this exceptional position. He maintains that all the various factors contributing to the identity of an American must be considered when defining who an American is. He presents his model which incorporates these social factors; moreover, it also indicates the order of their significance. Therefore, the model proposes that the following social factors in the following order characterize an American: self, national origin, religion, race, and nationality.[34]

I propose that Gordon's concept of American identity termed nationality would be most similar to the European concept of national consciousness[35] which originated in the Enlightenment and developed as a result of a conscious political and ideological effort on the part of the official institutions in the given states. European national consciousness at its birth was closely linked to ethnicity and developed as a natural extension of ethnic identities under the transforming socio-political circumstances of the era. In the US, there is no American ethnic group to speak of in terms of the European concept of ethnicity in nation-states; however, the development

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[34] Gordon uses this term *national origin* to denote ethnic background, while nationality *refers* to one's identification with the US.

[35] The discussion of theories on national consciousness follows in Section 3.

of some sort of a national consciousness was even more crucial in order to land a unified, coherent shape and meaning to the diverse population, cultures and regions of the US.

But if there was no cohesive ethnic community and culture upon which American identity could have emerged, what groups and processes have constituted American identity? From the earliest days of the existence of the United States, theories have been formulated connecting Americanness to religious groups: assertions of the dominant influence of the Puritan fathers,[36] the expression of the importance of Protestant groups and values,[37] the acknowledgement of Catholic and Jewish contributions to mainstream American culture,[38] the recognition of how the Mormon Church along with the Southern Baptists reveal most completely the features of the real/typical American.[39] Approaches to finding an answer in a non-religious context include Crevecoeur's[40] and Turner's[41] works, identifying the essence of the new American in the American farmer or on the

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[36] Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975).

[37] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: C. Scribner, 1958), originally published in 1904-5.

[38] Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

[39] Bloom 1992.

[40] Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of 18th-century America* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), first published in 1782.

[41] Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Frontier and Section: Selected Essays on F. J. Turner* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1961), 37-62, a lecture given in 1893.

American frontier, while the first major theory of this century, that of the melting pot proposed by Zangwill[42] and embraced by Park,[43] states that the quintessential American person and nation will emerge in the large urban industrial centers, uniting the most noble features of all ethnicities.

As early as 1924, Horace M. Kallen[44] published his study entitled "Democracy versus the Melting Pot", in which he introduces the theory of cultural pluralism, demanding the freedom to express cultural preferences and backgrounds, considering it an essential feature of the American experience. This was later rediscovered and developed further into the theory of structural pluralism, first appearing in the works of Gordon, Glazer, and Moynihan. They find that ethnic or racial background determines one's position in the American socio-economic structure, often independent of the individual's abilities and credentials. This idea results in two major trends: one leads to Novak[45] and the return to Anglo-conformity which is modified to WASP-ification; the other is represented by Sollors[46] who, within a postmodern framework, questions the very existence of ethnicity as such, challenges the concept, and implies that it

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[42] Israel Zangwill, *The Melting Pot* (New York: MacMillan, 1910).

[43] Robert Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in Werner Sollors ed., *Theories of Ethnicity* (London: MacMillan, 1996), 156-67, originally published in 1928.

[44] Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy versus the Melting Pot: A Study of American Nationality," in Werner Sollors ed., *Theories of Ethnicity* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 67-92, written in 1915.

[45] Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

[46] Sollors 1989.

is an invention and an artificial creation mainly for political ends.

These conceptualizations frequently draw on religious and/or ethnic categories, which are also often claimed to be intertwined. This is also the case with the Latter-day Saints who are conceived by most Americans as a religious or ethnic group or both. Moore points out another, somewhat paradoxical feature of Mormon identification in relation to the American society in that "Mormons regard themselves, as they always have, as good and typical Americans. At the same time, they do not regard themselves as being like other Americans."[47]

However, all of these are theorizations of the Other, the non-Mormon academia, on who the Saints are and what Mormonism entails. Although I myself am an Other in at least two ways: being a non-Mormon and non-American, I recognize the necessity to invite the target group, the Selves, into any act of theorizing about their identity. Therefore, I have conducted a survey among them in order to assess the nature of their identity in a more authentic and accurate manner. I have applied the Gordon model as it offers the possibility for measuring the significance of the various social factors I am interested in regarding Mormon identity as such, namely: their identification with the self, religion, and the US.

In this survey, I have examined the following hypotheses: (1) in the identity model of the Latter-day Saints, identification with their religion is more important than

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[47] Laurence R. Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 45.

identification with the American people or their ethnic background; (2) this is possible because of a strong group sentiment and unity as well as the phenomenon that they consider essential American values related to secular life to be typical Mormon values as well; and (3) the Latter-day Saints' identification with their faith is stronger than typical religious identification would be.

ii. Data Collection and Analysis

The data originated from an individual survey conducted by mail and a sample of 40 sets of answers, all completed questionnaires.[48] Unfortunately, I could rely only on these brief questionnaires which provided only a limited amount of information and did not offer a platform for a more extensive, personal and explicit response. Also, there was not a larger number of questionnaires available, due to distance, time and the fact that only one out of four Mormon communities I had contacted was willing to participate in this pilot project.[49]

Data collection focused on adult intellectuals and university students; two-thirds of them were between the ages of

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[48] See Appendix 1.

[49] Two of the reasons given for not assisting in this project was that "there are no proper facilities [sic] to answer the questions" and that "it is a disguised Protestant attack" against them. I believe that the people I contacted were reluctant to expose themselves and their religion to outsiders, expecting attacks and, thus, are constantly on guard. I learned later that generally, research by anyone--Mormon or Gentile--among the Saints may be done only by the written permission of the General Authorities, and most communities keep to this practice--although none of those contacted actually told me about it.

20-35 while one-third were between the ages of 40-67. In the data analysis, no differentiation is made in terms of age since there was no significant difference between the answers given by the members of the two age groups. 75% of the Saints were from Utah, while 25% indicated their place of birth as being in the western and southwestern regions,[50] although at the time of the survey they all were residents of Utah. A total of 90% of the respondents were white; the remainder indicated partly Hispanic, partly Native American ancestry as well. While 85% of them were born into a Mormon family and brought up as Mormons, the rest converted as adults. The male-female ratio was 1:1.85.

For the purpose of extrapolation I must point out the significance of the fact that the survey was conducted in Utah, the land of the Saints, where over 70% of the population belongs to the Church. Although Mormon culture is the most concentrated here, I do not believe that the survey would have resulted in different findings had it been conducted in another state of the US, since the commitment and maintenance mechanisms of the Church seem to be equally strong everywhere and their social practices are performed the same way in other states as well--as I have concluded on the basis of the interviews with Saints from various parts of the US.

The fact that the majority of the Saints interviewed was born into a Mormon family is significant since their identity, then, is most likely the result of their natural socialization and acquired social practices, and not initiated by the conscious decision of conversion. This sample may be regarded as typical

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[50] In Texas, Hawaii, Oregon, and western provinces of Canada.

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in that Mormonism was a faith exclusively for whites; therefore, white dominance still prevails in the Church.

The data collected through random sampling have been processed through a cross-sectional analysis; the frequency distribution will be presented in tables. For the purpose of the paper, Mormonism will be treated as the independent variable and identity as the dependent variable.

It is apparent from the following table that the significance of the various backgrounds as maintained by the targeted Latter-day Saints is not identical with the order of importance Gordon suggested in his model. The most significant difference is that for the Saints religion is as key as the self, and the third most important factor is their identification with their nation: the American identity.

Table 2.1: Factors of identity in order of importance

Gordon model	Mormon Male	Mormon Female
1 self	religion	self
2 ethnic background	self	religion
3 religion	American identity	American identity
4 race	ethnic background	ethnic background
5 American identity	race	race, region
6 other	region	

The implications of this order are manifold: (1) given that the Gordon model properly describes the identity of who might be loosely referred to as an "average" American, the Mormons cannot be considered typically American since (2) their identification with the American nation is more crucial than that of the everyman in the US, and (3) this implies a stronger sense of

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nationalism, patriotism and conservatism among them. These features may generally be associated with members of conservative churches, especially if the birth and development of the particular church can specifically be connected to the nation or country in question, the US in this case.

In this sense Mormonism provides an excellent example: not only was it established in the US, it also provides a cohesive system in which all the major issues of the first half of the 19th century in the US are addressed and explained; the *Book of Mormon* also connects the North American continent to the history of this religion and to Christianity by establishing the notion that the North American continent was once inhabited by the ancestors of both white and Native Americans by relating their forebears to the nation of Israel in biblical times. This idea not only legitimized the presence of the white population on the North American continent and justified the notion of their superiority but also provided the Saints with proof that they were the real Americans. Thus, the fact that ethnic background and regional affiliation are practically viewed by the Saints as negligible comes as no surprise. As for racial background, since all the informants identified themselves as white, no special reference could be found in that regard.

Finally, (4) since their American identity is so closely tied to their beliefs, religion, and with it self-identification, takes priority over the national as well as ethnic backgrounds of the Saints.

It is also noteworthy that there exists a difference between men and women in relation to the top two most important areas of

identification. The differences are slight, and a probable explanation may derive from the nature of their faith. In the plan of eternal progression worthy men, who have conducted their lives properly on earth, become gods. As for women, if they are called by their husbands to be their partners in eternity, they will become goddesses, but, if they are not called, they will never reach the highest level of heaven. Other important factors not included in the Gordon model were also indicated, but each of them are mentioned only once: family, profession, friends and being a female.

Table 2.2: Major values identified with Mormon
and American backgrounds

	Mormon		American	
Percentage	Male	Female	Male	Female
above 50%	85% family	92% family 76% education	57%freedom, opportunity	
25-50%	42%personal goals 28% success education, Christian-ity, love	38% work ethic 30% faith, integrity, service	28% law, democracy	46%freedom material-ism

below 25%	14% faith, activities, relation- ships, hope, character, integrity, free agen- cy, unity, obedience, honesty, loyalty, understand- ing, work ethnic, self- improvement	23% free agency, love, joy, charity, kindness, 15% social life, obedience, peace, success, friends, morality, world view 7% team work, security, literacy, respect, sacrifice, goodness, standards, individual- ity, respon- sibility	14% work, security, fortune, patriotism, equality, self- reliance, education, individual- ism, mate- rialism, success, efficiency	23%success education, 15%indivi- dualism, appearance pride 7% law, opportuni- ty, work, democracy, patriotism defense, responsi- bility, mobility, unity, care diversity, social status, liberty, history, honesty, efficiency

When examining the list of values above we can find that the majority of values related to personal values and world view is listed as Mormon, while the ones connected to the secular and social aspects of individual life are defined as American values. The most highly valued personal characteristics for the Saints listed as Mormon indicate a strong unity among them as a cohesive group while they seem to maintain less cohesive views regarding American culture.

Another significant difference is that the Mormon values listed are exclusively positive human values while the section on the American features includes some undesirable features as well, such as materialism or pride. The most significant American value for everyone is freedom, the ever-present American notion, while among the Mormon features it is the family, the

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microcosm, a fact which comes as no surprise. Since the majority of the respondents came from Mormon families and the Church itself values family life above everything, it can only have been ranked as the major value for everyone. If we also accept that family plays a crucial role in identity formation, then the influence of the family interwoven with that of the Church must have been key to the initial development of their identities. In this respect, no distinction can be made between members who converted to Mormonism and those who were born into a Mormon family.

Other interesting findings regard the difference between genders. Education seems to be much more highly valued by women than men (76% versus 28%). This may be the result of the fact that education, which the Church holds so dear, may function as a possible means to modernizing the traditional role of women in the Church and is valued accordingly.[51] Another difference is that women, unlike men, ranked values related to emotions, e.g., joy, kindness, and charity, as quite important. From among all these religious values they were requested to identify which ones they also consider typically American.

Examining the following table one can easily find which values are considered typically American as well. The values of

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[51] The views among the Saints with regard to the role of women range from extreme conservatism to moderate feminism, as has been expressed by numerous interviewees, both men and women. However, "The Family: A Proclamation to the World" issued by President Hinckley in September 1995, reaffirms the traditional family structure in the Church, defining the role of the father as the patriarch, the provider for, as well as leader and defender of the family, while it singles out the mother as having the responsibility of bringing up children. I have found that many Saints accept this as it is the official Church policy--even if they are of a different opinion.

opportunity, democracy, law, materialism, appearance, pride, patriotism, efficiency, defense, care, fortune, equality, self-reliance, mobility, diversity, liberty, history, and social status are considered exclusively American.

Table 2.3: Typically American Mormon values

Percentage	Male	Female
above 25%	30% free agency	30% education 25% free agency
below 25%	7% security, education, law, religion, love, unity, loyalty, tradition, work ethic, family, individuality	20% family 15% work ethic 7% security, law, love, happiness, individuality, responsibility, diversity, peace, materialism, greed, social life, unity, success, heritage, loyalty, pride, honesty, kindness

We can also see that exclusive Mormon values the Saints listed include integrity, personal goals, relationships, character, integrity, charity, obedience, morality, sacrifice, and standards, among others. A look at Table 3 reveals that (1) the values listed as American are among the traditional American values; and (2) they refer to secular and social settings. That is, we can experience that values related to spiritual and private life are held to be typically and exclusively Mormon.

iii. Findings

Based on these results I conclude that the Latter-day

Saints' identification with their religion overrides their identification with the American nation.[52] When examining their list of values, one can easily see that their most cherished values are related to their faith. The values they named can be connected to (1) the individual microcosm: private life, including personality, spirituality and primary personal relations, such as family or friendship; and (2) the macrocosm: work-related issues and secondary-level social life.

The first group, which is connected to their faith, includes all the crucial human values, while the second group contains values, some of which are considered traditional American ones, connected to the spirit of capitalism, such as opportunity, materialism, law, and success. There are certain values, such as education, free agency, family, work ethic, which the respondents could connect to both Mormonism and Americanism, but they listed those as primarily Mormon values, also present in the American milieu. By examining the breakdown of their answers one notices that all the respondents expressed their primary affiliation as being with their Church rather than with the United States. This expression of unity indicates their presence as a separate cohesive group and culture within the American

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[52] The last question on the questionnaire was not evaluated in the study since in some cases the question was not applicable. But among the answers given, 80% indicated that cultural differences were detected between American missionaries and the natives they worked with, while only 26% indicated that there were any religious differences. This can be viewed as an indicator of religious unity being prioritized over cultural differences.

society, based on their faith.[53]

3. The Nature of Mormon Identity

The findings of the survey presented in the previous chapter call for a further analysis of the nature of Mormon identity. It is already apparent that the Saints consider themselves Americans but their identification lies primarily with their Church and faith. How can we define this type of group identity which transcends the limits of typical religious affiliation? Is it ethnic identity? Some sort of national consciousness? Or something utterly different and unique?

As already stated in the Introduction, various postmodern theories claim that modern social settings, communities, cultures, and traditions result from inventions; that is, they are artificial constructs created in order to mark a difference, draw dividing lines and borders, so that the separate communities could use their distinct positions in order to gain power, be it political, economic, or social. Their distinctiveness from the mainstream as well as their alikeness in being different often result from a position of isolation and/or refusal, branded as deviance or fear. The section to follow summarizes the various definitions and arguments regarding the constitution of modern ethnic communities as well as nations in order to gain a working

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[53] The expansion of the survey to a larger section of the Mormon population in terms of territorial and occupational differences would also be necessary to make the results more general, accurate, and valid. However, as a first step, the project was successful in showing how significant and exclusive the Saints' identification with their faith is.

definition and understanding of these categories, so that on the basis of that the nature of the American Latter-day Saints' identity could be located in the matrix of these, often overlapping concepts.

i. Theories of Nationality and Ethnicity

The works and approaches devoted to mapping the meaning of collective cultural identities,[54] including ethnic and national identities, are mainly related to postmodernism in their basic premises. I discuss the studies which conceptualize these terms within the context of the US, so that through their critique I could offer a classification of Mormon collective identity.

One of the more significant American ethnic theorists, Werner Sollors, in his "Introduction" to *The Invention of Ethnicity*, proposes that "the forces of modern life embodied by such terms as *ethnicity* or *nationalism* can indeed be meaningfully discussed as inventions."[55] He traces the origin of these inventions to the French and American revolutions which challenged the royal and aristocratic European order and replaced

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[54] Smith states that these may be castes, ethnic groups, religious denominations, or nations, among other things. In these cases the sense of community is based on five basic cultural elements, namely, symbols, values, memories, myths, and traditions, which contribute to the main dimensions of this sense: a sense of stability, rootedness, and unity; a sense of distinctiveness and difference; a sense of continuity; and a sense of destiny and mission, with its attendant hopes and aspirations. This sense of community is in opposition to other collective identities, such as gender groups, classes, or regions, which Smith sees rather as interest groups. Anthony Smith, "The Formation of National Identity," in Henry Harris ed., *Identity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 129-53.

[55] Sollors 1989, xi.

it with different national bourgeois systems. In this process
nationalism was the invention which laid a new foundation for
unity, thus replacing the previous system which was organized on
the basis of royal or religious affiliation.[56]

He considers the *Declaration of Independence* to be the
source of "popular slogans for the termination of aristocratic
systems, [then] new hierarchies immediately emerged, often in the
name of ethnicity."[57]   In this mode of perception, Benjamin
Franklin, writer and printer, is viewed as the founding father
who not only spurred the emergence of the print media in the US
but also united nationalism with literacy, the two prerequisites
for the new cohesion in the modern world.   In this sense,
literature printed in the vernacular served as the basis for the
invention of modern cultural communities as it could supply the
ideology, language, and cultural context with the neo-traditions
necessary for the new social constructs.   Thus, traditionally
place-defined groups were replaced by symbolically unified
communities, where information channelled through various forms
of the media could serve a dual purpose: to homogenize as well

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[56] Does this imply that every shift in the socio-political
and economic structure of a given society is a result of a new
invention and not a natural process?   And what is he referring
to when he mentions the national American bourgeois system of the
1770s?   What is the relationship between American nationalism
then and today?   Unfortunately, he fails to address any of these
issues.

[57] Sollors 1989, xii.   In his discussion of aristocracy and
emerging ethnicity in the context of the American Revolution and
the *Declaration of Independence*, he fails to elaborate on what
group he is referring to.

as differentiate among people and to maintain group formations.[58]

This leads up to the notion of boundary formation between the Self(ves) and the Other(s). The modern concept of the Other(s), also established by the French Revolution, has left its mark on the American Constitution as well. As Kristeva argues so convincingly, the *Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens* "shifts from the universal notion--'men'--to the 'political associations' that must preserve their rights, and encounters the historical reality of the 'essential political association', which turns out to be the *nation*."[59] Rights are granted to the members of the nation, that is, the citizens, but not to others, foreigners.[60] She concludes that the "spreading of the French Revolution's ideas over the continent triggered the demand for the national rights of peoples, not the universality of mankind."[61] We may, therefore, conclude that nations are actually imagined political communities with the purpose of granting rights to their members, the people included--and, thus, with the same action, excluding others.

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[58] For a more elaborate discussion of the role of the media in group and identity formation, see Thomas Fitzgerald, "Media, Ethnicity, Identity," in Paddy Scannell et al. eds., *Culture and Power* (London: Sage, 1994), 112-136.

[59] Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 148.

[60] I must note that in the US, race, gender and economic status also played a prominent role in the way rights were granted to the people. Thus, various dividing lines or boundaries were introduced and legalized, resulting in the development of seemingly natural group formations, already types of Others within the nation, although not foreigners in the legal sense of the word.

[61] Kristeva 1991, 151.

The term *nation* is discussed at length by Greenfeld[62] in a historical context, tracing the changes in the meanings of *nation* and *nationalism* through the ages. She discusses the transformation of the idea of the *nation* starting out from the original Latin form <u>natio</u>, meaning "a group of foreigners". At medieval universities, the word <u>nation</u> indicated "a community of opinion" while later in church councils the very same word referred to "an elite".[63] This term in the course of further developments in England came to be used as the expression for "a sovereign people", which, once borrowed by other countries and peoples by the modern age, indicated "a unique people." This "zig-zag pattern of semantic change" was always bound to specific locales, time periods, and situations. However, Greenfeld places the beginnings of modern nationalism at the English Revolution,[64] some 130 years before Kristeva or Sollors do.

The emerging nations claimed to be growing out of ethnic communities;[65] this was the realization of "ethnicity as a

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[62] Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992)

[63] Greenfeld 1992, 9.

[64] Greenfeld holds that the revolution showed how the English identified themselves as a special, elect nation, a notion rooted in the glorious Elizabethan era and resulting in the emergence of English patriotism, which entailed both "the idealistic commitment to the values of liberty, equality, and reason" as well as "the emotional attachment to the land, government, and ways of England" (1992, 401).

[65] This, of course, was not the case in the US, where the nation was bound to a state, established on the basis of economic and geo-political considerations, with its members being united by citizenship and residence, not by ethnic or cultural identification.

political principle".[66] The formal structures designed to host
these nations were the states which provided the legal,
political, and economic unity necessary to hold together nations-
-which constitute "a territorial community of shared history,
culture and legal rights"[67]--functioning through bureaucracy,
emerging systems of institutions and methods of surveillance,
relying on a "shared public, mass education-culture"[68] and the
ever-expanding media. Anderson[69] points out the significance of
printed language: he contends that it had laid the foundation
for national consciousness by creating "unified fields of
exchange and community below Latin and above the spoken
vernaculars", by giving "new fixity to the language" and by
establishing a "language-of-power" which differed from that of
the previous administrative era. As a result, members of these
modern nation-states are united psychologically[70] and
cognitively,[71] and the emerging national consciousness--with
which people may identify in varying degrees--"which jells around
a common descent, language and history, is itself mainly an

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[66] This phrase is used in Ernest Gellner, "The Coming of
Nationalism and Its Interpretation: The Myths of Nation and
Class," in Gopal Balakrishnan ed., *Mapping the Nation* (New York:
Verso, 1996), 98-145.

[67] Smith 1995, 136.

[68] Smith 1995, 135.

[69] 1991, 44.

[70] We should take into consideration emotional aspects of
group sentiment, loyalty, devotion, etc., upon which nationalism
rests.

[71] For example, knowledge channelled through education or the
media, the major means through which nationalism may operate.

artefact."[72]

However, none of these theorists suggest the feature I find most significant in nationalism: ideology. I identify with Calhoun[73] who approaches nationalism as a dominant ideology, typically rooted in various insurgent movements. He defines nationalism as "the rhetoric of identity and solidarity in which citizens of the modern world most readily deal with the problematic nature of state power and with the problems of inclusion and exclusion."[74] He claims that nationalism is constructed, is specific to the modern world system, and serves as "crucial basis for standing in world affairs, and potentially for autonomy, and in which claims to statehood can be justified most readily by professions of nationhood."[75] Basic tools used to achieve nationhood were already demarcated boundaries within which internal integration and homogenization were achieved through administrative integration and language standardization.[76]

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[72] Jürgen Habermas, "The European Nation-State--Its Achievements and Its Limits: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship" In Balakrishnan, Gopal ed. *Mapping the Nation* (New York: Verso, 1996), 281-94.

[73] Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Civil Society: Democracy, Diversity and Self-Determination," in Craig Calhoun ed., *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 304-35.

[74] Calhoun 1998, 305.

[75] Calhoun 1998, 314.

[76] By accepting Calhoun's definition I establish the basic premise that, as Mormonism is rooted in and operated by an ideology, that is, the Mormon faith, it maintains some resemblance to nationalism. For a further discussion see next chapter.

Kellas provides us with a typology of nationalism in contemporary societies. He distinguishes between three types of nationalism: ethnic, social and official. He states that

> *ethnic nationalism* ... define[s] ... nation in exclusive terms, mainly on the basis of common descent[;] ... *social nationalism* defines itself by social ties and culture rather than by common descent[;] ... *official nationalism* is the nationalism of the state, encompassing all those legally entitled to be citizens, irrespective of their ethnicity, national identity and culture.[77]

These seem to be in correlation with Smith's proposition of three patterns for state formation: a nation based on (1) a lateral-type of ethnie wherein culture is largely defined by the upper classes; (2) a vertical ethnie wherein culture permeates all sections of the society, created by cultural revolutions under the intelligentsia; and (3) an emigrant-colonist ethnie comprising various ethnic groups; in this case the "main agency for national transformation is utopian pioneering settlers who identify with their new environment and preach fulfillment in a promised land fashioned by their labors, often at the expense of indigenous peoples."[78]

Smith mentions the US as an example for this last category: a nation resting on the principles of Calvinism as channelled through by the English founding fathers. I argue that the War of Independence was a political act--based on consent[79] and not

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[77] James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (London: MacMillan, 1991), 51-52.

[78] 1995, 149.

[79] The role of consent and descent in the formation of states is discussed at length in Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford

descent--with the purpose of achieving economic goals for a particular group of people in a particular geographical region, but not for an ethnic community, as was the case generally in Europe. The sacralized documents establishing the new country, the *Declaration of Independence* and the *Constitution* express this by aiming to grant the basic liberties and human rights to everyone--in that particular group. US history has shown that the scope of who belongs to this particular group has been expanded from white, financially stable male citizen landowners, to women, Native Americans, and blacks, but the struggle to modify the hegemony and power relations is far from over.

The most urgent need after the revolution was to establish unity and peoplehood in the US. The war represented a political decolonization of the colonies that naturally followed an already established economic maturity, and once independence was gained, the time had come to establish American cultural and spiritual independence, integrity, and identity. In other words, a cohesive American nation and culture[80] had to be created.

The means through which this new nation could be achieved included the construction and planting of certain symbols, icons, values, traditions, and heroes as well as creating art and history with the notion of a unified past with shared sacrifice and suffering; and from all this a sense of identity and unity could emerge, providing the sentiment and the emotional ties

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University Press, 1986).

[80] I believe that this must have been rather difficult as the North and the South were separated at the time in terms of culture and economy; a third distinct region yet to be incorporated was the Western frontier.

which bind everyone involved.[81]   We can see how all of this

evolved by looking at various forces at work in the young US:

in political writing, the basic documents, such as the

Declaration of Independence and the *Constitution*, and pieces by

Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson,

established the values for the new nation and the direction of

the uniquely American political discourse rooted in the

Enlightenment.

Art also played a significant role in the constitution of

the new nation.   In literature, an emerging sense of Romanticism

was expressed in the poetry of Philip Freneau and William Bryant

and the prose of Washington Irving and James Fennimore Cooper,

filled with the love of the native son for his country, its

beauty, spirit, values, peoples, and history.   In painting,

outstanding artists such as John Copley, Benjamin West, and John

Trumbull depicted prominent figures[82] and significant scenes from

North American history, thus providing the icons and symbols for

the new nation.

In certain ways the Civil War was fought not only over

political and economic issues but also over the need to harmonize

the two very distinct social and cultural regions in which these

differences were rooted.   Steps have been taken in that

direction, but we still cannot view the US as a homogeneous

country, due in part to regional, racial, ethnic, and historical

differences.   However, we must be aware of the existence of a

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[81] Similar methods and steps may be observed in the
constitution of Mormon identity as well.

[82] The politician most often painted was George Washington.

distinct American identity, the ever-present rhetoric of this official nationalism speaking about the great American people and the great nation which has become a reality for many.

In his analysis of the American nation and political culture, Fuchs[83] makes use of Almond and Vebla's term *civic culture*.[84] Fuchs argues that American culture is built on three principles, also basic to republicanism: (1) people can govern themselves through their elected representatives, who are accountable to their constituents; (2) everyone is equally eligible to participate in public life; and (3) all good citizens are free to differ in various areas of their private lives. This last principle provided the basis for voluntary pluralism, which has allowed for large-scale intellectual and cultural diversity within the American nation--thus, for diverse ethnic cultures as well.

> This new invention of Americans--voluntary pluralism--
> in which individuals were free to express their
> ancestral affections and sensibilities, to choose to
> be ethnic, however and whenever they wished or not at
> all by moving across group boundaries easily, was
> sanctioned and protected by a unifying civic culture
> based on the American founding myth, its institutions,
> heroes, rules, and rhetoric.[85]

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[83] Lawrence Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1995).

[84] This was first used in 1965 to describe the American political culture in which "there is a substantial consensus on the legitimacy of political institutions and the direction and content of public policy, a widespread tolerance of a plurality of interests and beliefs in their reconcilability, and a widely distributed sense of political competence and mutual trust in the citizenry." Fuchs 1995, 5.

[85] Fuchs 1995, 5.

The debate over the meaning of ethnicity took on a renewed zeal in the 1970s, when primordialist and biological interpretations of group membership achieved renewed currency. According to these interpretations, framed by the understanding of ethnicity within the European historical context, ethnicity was viewed as a natural sociobiological force based on descent.[86] In order to overcome this outdated approach, Sollors[87] proposes the use of the consent and descent models as possible means to reach beyond the term *ethnicity* in the analysis of contemporary American groups commonly referred to as ethnic. Then, with an elegant turn, he illustrates how descent is culturally constructed--as, therefore, ethnicity may also be, as it is rooted in descent, according to sociobiology.

However, three years later he returns to a discussion of the meaning of ethnicity in his "Introduction" to *The Invention of Ethnicity*.[88] But here he does not distinguish between *ethnicity* and *nationalism*, nor therefore between *ethnic identity* and *national consciousness*--treating them as interchangeable--and also fails to define any of these terms. However, in a more recent piece, "Foreword: Theories of American Ethnicity"[89] he provides us with the following definition, borrowed from R. Schermerhorn:

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[86] For a more detailed discussion see Sollors 1986, 21-22.

[87] 1986.

[88] 1989, xii.

[89] Werner Sollors, "Foreword: Theories of American Ethnicity," in Werner Sollors ed., *Theories of Ethnicity* (London: MacMillan, 1996), x-xliv.

An ethnic group is ... a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypal features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.[90]

It is through a criticism of this definition that I hope to locate my understanding of the term *ethnicity*. I believe that this definition fails to reflect upon the process of ethnicization and treats the scope of the meaning of the term *ethnic group* in rather broad terms. I must point out that according to this definition (1) nationality may serve as the basis for ethnicity;[91] (2) religious groups may also be considered ethnic groups;[92] and (3) tribal cultures can also be viewed as ethnic communities--thus, no distinction is made with regard to the nature and structure of society[93] or to time,[94] shortcomings which I consider significant. The definition also fails to indicate that the nature of the sense of unity is also crucial: members must signify their relational position as an

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[90] xii.

[91] I believe it is the other way round. It is possible not to have a nation built around an ethnic group--as was the case in the US--but there is no claim to an American ethnic group as such.

[92] I argue that no ethnic group can be defined on the sole basis of faith. Religion may be a significant player in the constitution of ethnicity, but not the single base.

[93] Primordial or modern social structures.

[94] The pre- or post-Enlightenment era.

ethnic identity--and not as something else--with a collective name expressing it as such. If members do not consider their own community an ethnic group, may we insist on this terminology when defining them? I believe not: self-identification should be taken into consideration when classifying and mapping communities.[95]

Smith calls our attention to another criterion in defining the meaning of ethnicity which I also consider necessary: "an association with a historic territory, or homeland, even if most of the community no longer resides in it."[96] I see the notion of descent--whether real[97] or constructed--as key to ethnicity, which is always bound to time and space.[98]

Schermerhorn's definition also lacks any consideration of the fact that ethnic groups--especially in the US--are also interest groups, bound by common economic and political interests which they communicate to the outside world.[99] However, they

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[95] This is one significant aspect which theories claiming that Mormons comprise an ethnic group totally disregard: the Saints do not consider themselves an ethnic group.

[96] 1995, 133.

[97] I believe the idea that necessitates the inclusion of descent, blood lineage and historical identity in the notion of ethnicity derives from the sociobiologist approach.

[98] The notions of time and space are also crucial in the theory of structuration.

[99] Naturally, ethnic groups are not homogeneous either; various sub-groups may, therefore, emerge, as socio-economic diversification often leads to the emergence of newer interests. Also, other interest groups may undertake to represent individual interests: this need not be the exclusive purview of an ethnic group.

cannot be simply reduced to class, as Glazer and Moynihan's[100] or Gordon's[101] somewhat Marxist proposal suggests. They argue that based on ethnicity, one's position in the socio-economic stratum may be located. There are ethnic groups the members of which are typically represented in a given social stratum--e.g., Jews in the upper classes[102] or Puerto Ricans in the lower classes--but in most cases ethnic groups are not 100% class-bound, and typically various ethnic groups are represented in most layers of society.

Smith also contends that three types of ethnies may be distinguished on the basis of the primary principle along which they are organized: (1) ethno-linguistic, wherein members share "a common vernacular code and literature"; (2) ethno-religious, in which case religious aspects alongside linguistic ones figure as the most dominant feature in signifying an ethnic community; and (3) ethno-political, wherein the community defines itself "by historical memories and political traditions."[103] This classification sheds light upon why seemingly so many types of groups may be identified as ethnic in the US--including the Mormons.

Regarding the demarcation of ethnic groups, I would also

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[100] Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1963).

[101] 1964.

[102] I refer here to Gordon's contention that US society is divided into nine classes: three layers (lower, middle, and upper) can be found within each of the three standard strata (also lower, middle, and upper), each with its own features and characteristic eth-classes.

[103] 1995, 133-34.

argue for a modification of Barth's view,[104] which states that it is rather the boundary which defines an ethnic community, not so much the culture it encloses. I think both are necessary insofar as we consider the boundary "a point of reference"[105] that signifies the group's relation to the outside, the others, as well as the relation of the others to the group. The boundary is not permanently marked but may be in a state of flux as an effect of the permanently changing context of the cultures and the power relations within the group as well as with the others outside the group.

Therefore, I argue for the following working definition of ethnicity in relation to nationhood within the North American context: ethnicity is a construction, based on the descent model--which may or may not be real--in which peoplehood and the location of the group in space and time are assigned a central role: that is, a common homeland, shared ancestry and historical past out of which a common culture with traditions, customs, shared language, etc., developed. This results in a strong sense of identification, both psychological and cognitive, a self-definition and a cultural context,[106] the boundary of which may change. In the US, ethnicity often appears in power struggles, it may be valued in various ways depending on the period or the context, and, thus, people's identification with ethnicity may

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[104] Frederick Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," in Werner Sollors ed., *Theories of Ethnicity* (London: MacMillan, 1996), 294-324.

[105] A term used by Madan Sarup.

[106] In most cases, a separate language also marks the boundaries of an ethnic community.

weaken or strengthen. However, regardless of the ethnic identification, members identify with the United States as their home country.

Clearly, the American nation developed out of the citizenry of a young country and not out of an ethnic community. Nations are legal, political formations, and can thus be characterized by the consent model. National consciousness is based on the ideology--the extreme case of which is strong nationalism-- provided by the state in order to justify its existence, define its positions, maintain its citizens and their support of the affairs of the state. Nations, these modern constructions, are primarily bound to states. The citizens within a state are not merely united by emotional and cognitive ties but also by a highly developed system of administrative and other institutions along with various methods of surveillance, all operated by the state. As a result, the citizen is officially signified in the world on the basis of his nationality, and not his ethnicity. Nations, similarly to ethnic groups, also attempt to establish a common symbolic culture based on descent, disseminated through the media and the education system, and when possible, they do not hesitate to borrow from that of the dominant ethnic community.

ii. Mormon Identity

Mormonism was born in the course of the Second Great

Awakening,[107] in a movement which resulted not only in a renewed Protestant religious zeal to conquer the West and re-conquer the East but also in the establishment of numerous new religious movements in the US. McLoughlin posits that this was the era when an "overarching ideological [national] unity was clearly formulated and expressed [in the US]."[108] Among the religious denominations established at the time, the Mormon was the one which made the greatest effort to incorporate various aspects of this national unity.[109] It may, therefore, be stated that it is a very American religious group--but is it more than that? Is it also an ethnic group or a nation, as some scholars claim?

Numerous studies have noted the ethnic nature of the religious community of the Mormons. The very first study of crucial importance in this regard was that of O'Dea in 1957. In this work he states that Mormonism had developed from a near-sect to a near-nation or a quasi-ethnicity, as he calls it later.[110] This status of peculiar peoplehood began with the act of

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[107] It is difficult to give an exact date for the beginning of this awakening as several events were taking place concurrently in various places. However, two dates seem to be most commonly mentioned in the literature: 1800, when Presbyterian minister James McGready held his first one-week outdoor preaching event, leading to the method of camp meeting preaching so common in Kentucky by 1803; and 1801, when President Timothy Dwight's sermons at Yale shook the establishment to its foundation.

[108] William McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 106.

[109] McLoughlin names some of them, the most significant being the issue of free will, the responsibility to choose right from wrong, and the ability to view God as still being unlimited in power.

[110] Thomas O'Dea, *Sociology and the Study of Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 216.

conversion as this also represented an act of withdrawal from society, which was then reinforced by the strong sense of destiny and mission to build Zion "in circumstances of conflict and war ... that enhanced new identities and cultivated a new self-consciousness."[111] In his 1970 study, O'Dea defines the steps of Mormon identity development as follows: first, territorial isolation was achieved, which resulted in a territorial solidarity that presupposed dominance, thus leading to control of civic organizations as well, leaving an imprint on all aspects of society, until finally the new-found possibility to found an independent state presented itself, leading to the emergence of a sort of nationalism.

Shipps[112]--who also draws on Sollors'[113] concepts--uses the consent model to describe the early period in the last century as one in which "topography combined with time and distance allows the growth of a Mormon culture that encompasses a true diversity of persons, fusing them into an ethnic group."[114] I believe that approximately 50 years of undisturbed separation in time and space from the American culture[115] in present-day Utah

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[111] O'Dea 1957, 53.

[112] 1994.

[113] Sollors, 1986.

[114] Jan Shipps, "Making Saints: In the Early Days and the Latter Days," in Marie Cornwall, Tim Heaton and Lawrence Young eds., *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 71.

[115] This was the result of their exodus from New York State. Originally the Saints had no intention of leaving the territory of the US, but they were able to stay in one place only for a short time, as they were driven by the non-Mormon American population from each town they settled in. The reasons behind these hostilities were twofold: (1) the refusal of the Mormon

afforded the Mormons the chance to transform their originally alternative and challenging form of life and belief into a mainstream culture--branded as Mormon and Utahan--which then also had to incorporate and fulfill secular roles as well, thus repeating the church-state pattern established by the early Puritans in New England. Had Utah become an independent state,[116] the Mormons could have become a nation with churchly attributes, if not a theocracy, but under the actual circumstances it could only develop into a subculture within the American nation.

I disagree with Shipps' conclusion that after the establishment of consent in the 19th century, the 20th-century development of the Saints represents the descent model[117] and has resulted in a religio-ethnic community. Similarly, I reject Hammond and Warner's view that the Saints are a religion-based ethnic community, much like Harold Bloom's opinion, which goes

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faith along with its unusual practice of polygamy; and (2) the others' jealousy of the rapid economic growth and success of the Mormon community. However, Mormon history, full of negations of power relations with Others in the last century: the regular boundary drawing between themselves and the Others, the frequent persecution they experienced for being what they were, and their settlement in the Salt Lake district, where the notion of *we* could finally be fully expressed, realized, and perfected, greatly contributed to the development of a strong sense of we-identity among the Saints.

[116] There were steps taken in this direction, but it was clear that the Salt Lake district was part of the US sphere of interest; thus the US government had no intention if giving its consent to an independent state there.

[117] The history of the Saints in the 20th century was rather characterized by conformity to American culture--such as the two major changes, the ban on polygamy and allowing blacks to convert, illustrate--and by enormous missionary work, as a result of which membership grew rapidly, bringing in members of all sorts of ethnic groups and nations from all over the world. Thus, uniformity in areas of descent did not increase.

so far as to state that Mormons are a people and a nation established by the vision of Joseph Smith.

In discussing these theorizations of non-Mormon scholars, the question of the relationship between ethnic and religious communities arises: is it possible to identify a religious community as an ethnic one and vice versa? I propose that they may coexist in symbiosis but are never entirely identical and coterminous. In their study, Hammond and Warner propose three general trends regarding possible connections between ethnicity and religion: (1) religion is the major foundation of ethnicity, such as in the case of the Amish, Hutterites, Jews, or Mormons; (2) religion may be one of several foundations of ethnicity along with language and territorial origin, with the Greek Orthodox Church as an example; (3) an ethnic group may be linked to a religious tradition, along with other ethnic groups, such as Polish or Italian Catholics. As we can see, they do not propose equation between these two types of communities either. They note that religion and ethnicity differ culturally: ethnicity is inherited while religion is chosen, thus "religious loyalty will likely weaken before ethnic loyalty weakens."[118] They claim that one may leave a faith, as belonging to a church is essentially based on consent, even if one is born into a faith, as religion is not binding and not embodied, but one cannot leave ethnicity as it is of descent, often with embodied features. Thus, they reject the possibility of ethnicity being a social-cultural construct, which I argue for.

A religious community differs from an ethnic one in terms

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[118] Hammond 1993, 60.

of organization as well. Anderson[119] refers to the significance

of sacred texts in religion which may create a community through

signs and not necessarily a language. This sacred text with its

imagery, values, and teachings is bound to establish a

relationship between the earth and heaven, now and in the

afterlife, linked to a "superterrestial order of power." I would

argue that modern states also have texts canonized as their

founding documents; however, they are not sacred, only

sacralized, and outline the premises based on which societies may

operate.

Foucault[120] analyzes pastoral power, the religious technique

which has been integrated into modern states. He points out that

it differs from modern power in several ways: (1) it is

salvation-oriented; (2) it is oblative; (3) it is individualizing

in that it takes care of the individual throughout his life;

thus, (4) it is concurrent with life; and (5) it is linked to a

production of truth. Bax, in discussing the differences and

similarities between religious regimes and states, also points

out that "states have gained effective control over the means of

violence and taxation, whereas most religious regimes have lost

control over these vital power structures."[121] This he considers

the major difference between these two social organizations.

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[119] 1991.

[120] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in Hubert
Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism
and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983),
208-26.

[121] Mart Bax, "Religious Regimes and State-Formation: Toward
a Research Perspective," in Eric R. Wolf ed., *Religious Regimes
and State-Formation: Perspectives from European Ethnology* (New
York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 11.

Therefore, we can see that faith may play a significant role in ethnicity or nationhood, but cannot be considered identical to either type of community. Thus, we can return to the discussion of whether the Mormon community's identity can be considered ethnic or national. Based on my working definitions, it is neither, although Mormon and national identities may share some common features.

The Saints cannot be said to comprise an ethnic group for various reasons. In their group primacy is assigned not to peoplehood but to ideology[122] which is the ultimate organizing and driving force behind their formation. The Saints also do not define themselves as an ethnic group; indeed, their very name signifies not an ethnic but a religious community. Moreover, representatives of numerous ethnic groups may be found among their members.

Their strong sense of unity and group sentiment is bound to an ideology which is offered by their religion. This feature derives in part from the nature of religion: namely, that it is "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of the general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic", as Geertz put it.[123] This unique realism is applied in their case since the Latter-day Saints are driven to establish the new Zion and

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[122] I do not claim that ideology may not contribute to the formation of ethnicity.

[123] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretations of Cultures* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1993), 90.

to prepare for the Second Coming. Their emotional zeal and sense of destiny, channelled through a strong and charismatic leadership, a "religious regime", to use Bax's terminology, contributes to the constitution of their distinct identity.[124]

The "aura of factuality" Geertz refers to can be traced in the constitution of history, also characteristic for both ethnic groups and nations. This includes the establishment of their origin as the lost tribe of Israel, the *Book of Mormon* providing a description of their history since then, verifying and reconstructing it in a metanarrative, or the utilization of their verifiable history by lamenting the suffering of the first Saints, the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and his brother, or the Mormon exodus.

They have no independent state of their own nor any citizens. However, they have established an extensive system of institutions, also serving administrative purposes, as well as a subtle system of surveillance. They also maintain control over another state-specific feature: taxation, a specific form of material surveillance. Surveillance in general has been an inherent part of the empire-building process, as a result of their chance to establish themselves in the independent area of Utah--isolated in time and space for some fifty years, relatively undisturbed by non-Mormons.

I must note here that, unlike some of the other utopian communities established in the same period, the Church did not plan to establish a commune at a remote place with absolute

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[124] The combination of ideology and subsequent behavior in the formation and/or maintenance of a state was identified as nationalism by Kellas.

equality among its members in economic and political terms; on the contrary, it allowed its followers to pursue their own success and happiness. Thus, they embraced what Foucault calls the "modern matrix of individualization" in which individuals are incorporated into the new power structure and its very specific patterns. As a result, the Church institutionalized the tithing system which they had introduced long before the US government began collecting taxes.[125] Through tithing, the Mormon Church has been able to amass capital, which has not only covered the expenses of the Church but also allowed for large-scale investments, placing the Mormon Church among the top five most profitable corporations in the US.

The Church has also developed its own print and electronic media, as well as its own literature, games, painting and architecture. However, their elaborate system of education--which is not exclusively religious in context, but is always framed by religion--provides the major channel for the dissemination of knowledge--of their ideology.

Therefore, we can see how the Mormon community meets some of the criteria defined as ethnic or national or both, but is, in fact, neither. Thus, I must search further with regard to the nature and content of this identity in order to gain a fuller understanding of this social formation. With regard to the content, Sollors, based on Horowitz, suggests that the application of the notion of differentiation may be of use when describing Mormon identity formation. Within "the category

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[125] In 1913, the 16th Amendment empowered the federal government to collect taxes.

'differentiation' he distinguishes 'division' ('A-->B+C') and 'proliferation' ('A-->A+B' or 'A+B-->A+B+C')."[126]

It appears to me that the formula for proliferation should be modified in order to incorporate both nationality and religion. My proposed model capturing the essence of Mormon identity is A+d-->a+B(a+d+x) in which (1) the size of the letters signify the extent of affiliation; and (2) the letter *a* indicates national affiliation, that is, Americanness; (3) the letter following *a* refers to religious affiliation: the letter *d* signifies a number of various denominations, the letter *b* symbolizes Mormonism, and the letter *x* is a new, added factor. In this way we can visualize how Americans of diverse religious backgrounds once converted to Mormonism still maintained their American identity but primarily identified with their religious community, especially since it had incorporated the major aspects of their nation and of some other faiths as well, but at the same time provided the converts with something special and new.

However, in order to pursue the investigation of Mormon identity further, I would need to turn to their practices as the constitutive force of their identity, in which their reflexivity is also expressed, at the intersection of agency and structure. Therefore, an introduction to the theory of structuration is necessary to provide the intellectual framework within which these practices will be analyzed, so that in the last chapter the theorization on Mormon identity could bear fruit.

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[126] 1996, xxix.

III. THE THEORY OF STRUCTURATION

The theory of structuration locates my position in this research project with regard to my belief in how the social is to be conceptualized. I maintain that societies are constituted by social practices and all social phenomena are rooted in them. Giddens has taken a long journey till he finally proposed his own comprehensive theory regarding the constitution of societies. An outline of this venture may help to see the process in which this theory was shaped.

Giddens' first major book entitled *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*[127] expresses his interest in social theories in general. His analysis and criticism of such classics of sociology as Marx, Weber, and Durkheim evidences not only his extensive knowledge of the field but his dissatisfaction with the work of these earlier theorists. He believes that modern society has broken away from the old formulas provided by these scholars and that their systems can therefore no longer be used to describe late modernity. Ultimately, this implies that later on in his career he will have moved on to construct a theory which may satisfy these newer requirements, provided that universally applicable theories describing modern societies can exist at all.

Relying on Marx and conflict theory, in his next study, *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*,[128] Giddens analyzes

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[127] Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

[128] Anthony Giddens, *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies* (London: Hutchinson, 1973).

modern social change and the role of violence--a recurring theme for him as, for example, in *The Nation-State and Violence*.[129] These works have been concerned with more general societal changes, structures, and functions. He seems to turn away from empirical macro-analysis in society--a quintessentially British feature of sociology--to the realm of theoretical modelling, that is, the development of the theory of structuration, so that in his more recent works he can focus on the micro-analysis of the individual, the self, the most prominent of which is *Modernity and Self-Identity*.[130] This continuum seems to indicate his fascination with both of the classical trends: the dualities between voluntarism and determinism, action and structure, as well as individual and structure, having been expressed through structuralism-functionalism and conflict theory, on the one hand, and phenomenology and symbolic interaction on the other. His attraction to, as well as his partial refusal of, both of these major trends indicate that in some way they will both be present in his structuration theory.

> Social theory does not 'begin' either with the individual or with society, both of which are notions that need to be reconstructed through other concepts. In structuration theory, the core concern of the social sciences is with recurrent social practices and their transformations.[131]

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[129] Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Vol. 2: The Nation-State and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985).

[130] Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[131] Giddens 1991, 203.

It is through his criticism of the old classics which were at a loss to explain reality in a complex, exhaustive manner that he develops his theory during the second half of the 1970s and the first part of the 1980s. The first time he refers to it is in his *New Rules of Sociological Method*[132] in which he concentrates on interpretative sociology and searches for a satisfactory position to recognize the "centrality of the interpretation of meaning" in sociology. The next study toward the development of his theory is *Central Problems in Social Theory*,[133] which provides a criticism of structuralist and post-structuralist thought. A brief synopsis of his conception is introduced in *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism: Vol. 1*[134] while a complete presentation and exposition of his system is provided in *The Constitution of Society*, in which he outlines the social--and not sociological--theory he is proposing, shifting the focus in social research from epistemology to ontology.

In the "Introduction" to *The Constitution of Society*, Giddens points out that this theory is a social theory with a sociological bias, meaning that it addresses issues which are regarded by all the social sciences but with a concentration upon material especially of concern to modern states and societies. He proposes to break with the traditional orthodoxies of

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[132] Anthony Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method* (London: Hutchinson, 1976).

[133] Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

[134] Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Vol 1: Power, Property and State* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

assigning superiority either to actors or structures and to offer a comprehensive framework applicable to "the illumination of concrete processes of social life."[135] He introduces the concept of the duality of structure as the way to overcome the two major trends which bind subjects and objects, that is, actors and structures, in a dialectical manner.

These two classic trends have also provided some of the basic elements of his theory insofar as he has to consider the role of the acting agent in lieu of his relations to the structure(s) and institutions of modern societies. He also has to address the realm of social praxis, reproduction, and transformation with reference to the role of time and space resulting from various post-structuralist notions, which have appeared in recent decades. It is, therefore, important for him not to omit the issue of the positioning of the actors or the various time constraints involved, that is, the problem of enclosure and disclosure in social action. However, it is necessary to pair these various ontological issues with some epistemological ones, such as the ability of the actors to initiate, control, and monitor their actions as well as their knowledgeability.

The effort to address these issues could be built on the solid foundation laid by the results of recent psychological investigations, especially findings regarding cognitive processes, that is, how the mind, the conscious, and the unconscious work as well as what is commonly referred to in the literature as the linguistic turn in the social sciences which

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[135] Giddens 1984, xvii.

evokes the issues of verification and falsification as well as the intersection of acting and speaking. Various post-structuralist scholars[136] also raise the issue of the role and function of ideology, power, knowledge, structure, and institutions in the reproduction of society, questioning the agency position of the individual and treating him as a subject.

Since the appearance of *The Constitution of Society*, the theory of structuration has been the subject of fierce debates in sociology.[137] The concepts and ideas have been attacked vehemently by some scholars, such as Cohen, while others, such as Craib, have defended it, maintaining that it is one of the most original and comprehensive theories to overcome the classical dichotomy of sociology: the question of whether theory should grant priority to individual(s) or institution(s)/ structure(s) when examining the structuring and organization of modern societies.

Having examined the various arguments regarding this theory, I can isolate two major areas of criticism. The most common

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[136] Several authors, such as Boyne, Hekman, Wallace and Wolf, criticize Giddens for not taking post-structuralism and post-modernism seriously and for using only certain notions--at times with inappropriate interpretations--from the concepts of this trend. For the specifics see Roy Boyne, "Power-knowledge and social theory: The systematic misinterpretation of contemporary French social theory in the work of Anthony Giddens," in Christopher Bryant and David Jary eds., *Giddens' theory of structuration: A critical appreciation* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 52-73; Susan Hekman, "Hermeneutics and the Crisis of Social Theory: A Critique of Giddens' Epistemology," in Jon Clark et al. eds., *Anthony Giddens: Consensus and Controversy* (London: Falmer Press, 1990), 155-165; and Ruth Wallace and Alison Wolf, *Contemporary Sociological Theory: Continuing the Classical Tradition* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995).

[137] The more significant work regarding the debate over the theory of structuration includes: Cohen, 1989; Craib, 1992; Clark et al. eds., 1990; and Bryant and Jary eds., 1991.

reason for the attacks lies in the fact that Giddens has borrowed various ideas from various schools and scholars, thus (1) presenting a "theoretical omelette"[138] of some sort which was possible only by (2) misreading the works of these other scholars. The second frequent criticism is that there is a hole in this theory in certain areas, such as the key issue of how and why social change occurs, as this is not thoroughly developed by Giddens.

The chapter to follow is devoted to a presentation of the theory of structuration, basic terms, concepts, train of thought, and a possible method of application--which is even more important as this theory has not as yet been applied to any social phenomenon per se. Along with a presentation of Giddens' scheme, this part will also summarize criticism of this theory which has emerged over the last 14 years.

The ultimate purpose of this chapter is to provide a basic understanding of the theory of structuration, its background, principles and evaluation to the extent necessary to be able to use it as a framework for a future examination of the collective of the Latter-day Saints in the US. In order to do so, I will add my own observations and complement this theory with some other notions I consider crucial to gaining a fuller

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[138] This descriptive term was introduced by Craib. A summary of the roots of his theory can be found in Appendix 3. The main sources used in this analysis are Giddens 1981, 1984, Anthony Giddens, *Politics, Sociology and Social Theory: Encounters with Classical and Contemporary Social Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), Anthony Giddens, *Social Theory and Modern Sociology* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1987), Anthony Giddens "Structuration theory: past, present and future," in Christopher Bryant and David Jary eds., *Giddens' theory of structuration: A critical appreciation* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 201-221, Craib 1992 and Wallace and Wolf 1995.

understanding of this social formation. However, it must be stressed that the main purpose of the present study is not to theorize about this theory but to establish the essential theorems on the basis of which a religious community may be examined.

1. Actors and Actions

This section is devoted to an introduction of concepts micro-sociological in nature within the framework of Giddens' theory: that of the individual, defined as actor or agent, and that of his social encounters, or actions.

i. Actors

The human individual having been brought up and living in a modern society is granted the ability to act and can be defined as an actor or agent.[139] This term signifies "... the overall human subject located within the corporeal time-space of the living organism."[140] Human agency includes several factors: one's ability to perform actions,[141] one's intentions in acting, and one's ability to intervene and act otherwise. However, this is not identical with the *I/me* or the *self*. The *I* is a linguistic category which appears only through the "discourse of the other", i.e., through linguistic competence, and refers to

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[139] Giddens uses these terms as synonyms.

[140] Giddens 1984, 51.

[141] This ability is an indicator of individual power.

the subject, the one speaking. *Me* is also tied to linguistic

competence; however, it presumes a more complex conduct of the

language in which control of the body and knowledge of human

conduct in various social contexts are also expressed. The

'self', on the other hand, is the image of the agent as

constituted by the agent himself, and is, thus, closely related

to memory and body.

Upon introducing how the agent develops, Giddens borrows

from ego-psychology, mainly from the findings of Erikson. He

proposes three stages of personality development resulting in the

transformation of the body into an acting being. The first stage

represents the development of trust[142] in the infant, closely

bound to presence and absence and rooted in the infant's basic

bodily needs. To achieve trust in the infant, parents and other

social actors must display repetitive series of actions or

routines, using typified schemes,[143] resulting in predictability

and continuity as well as knowledge and certainty of how things

happen. This trust resulting in confidence is also a two-way

process, since, although a basic trust with all its mechanisms

develops in the infant, the social partners also need the

conviction that the infant has trust in them; they, thus, will

be able to act in accordance with the social dynamism of the

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[142] Wallace and Wolf (1995) consider Giddens' discussion of
trust and routine one of the strongest points of the theory of
structuration.

[143] Here he borrows from Alfred Schutz, who maintained that
the basic act of consciousness is typification, which is a
process whereby actors group together typical elements in their
series of experiences, thus building up typical models regarding
social interactions--actions, objects, as well as people
participating in them--which result in the construction of
knowledge and of our shared social world.

given milieu.[144]

The second stage is tied to projection and introjection built around the mechanisms of the personality, expressed in autonomy or certainty versus doubt or shame.[145] It is rooted in one's self-esteem and self-image and is traceable in all walks of life, from bodily appearance to performance and talk. However, if we accept Goffman's distinction between front and back regions, we must realize that a full understanding may be difficult to gain as some features, such as doubt or shame, are more commonly expressed in the back region, which may be rather problematic for social scientists to map.

The third, final stage coincides with the development of language skills and is centered around the appearance of initiative versus guilt. At this stage, the child comprehends the difference between the meanings of 'I' and 'me' and is able to locate himself not only in linguistic roles but also social ones. As initiative implies, the child is able to break away from close family dependence, often referred to as the Oedipal transition, and moves toward autonomy and outside relations. In this way, the foundation for the reflexive monitoring of action is laid and the child is transformed into an actor.

What constitutes the actor? Giddens considers two constituents: the mind/psyche and the body. Upon discussing cognitive factors, he borrows from Freud, who divides the psychic

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[144] The analysis of the Mormon community illustrates how trust--both psychological and cognitive--is key in adulthood as well, and how significant social milieu proves to be in its maintenance.

[145] The Mormon faith significantly contributes to a sense of security among the Saints.

organization of man into three parts: id, ego, and super-ego.

Giddens applies this threefold model and proposes the duality of

unconsciousness and consciousness, the latter being classified

further as consisting of two components: practical and

discursive consciousness, with no sharp dividing line between

them.[146]

Bodily mechanisms	Expression	Result
1. Oral Sensory	trust/ mistrust	ontological security
2. Muscular Anal	autonomy/ shame, doubt	bodily control
3. Locomotive Genital	initiative/ guilt	routine

Figure 3.1: The development of agency[147]

The unconscious provides the individual's "basic security

system".[148] One is not able to give verbal expression to the

unconscious; it can be understood only in terms of memory, that

is, the Heideggerian presencing, that draws on the past in the

present relying on a recall device to help us to remember.

Closely linked to memory, one finds perception, which is "the

medium whereby the past affects the future," which is "identical

with the underlying mechanisms of memory."[149] This is a flow of

activity, in the course of which the individual processes new

incoming information as well as mentally adjusting it to the

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[146] In the discussion of the Mormon practices, I rely on both
types of consciousness as the basis for my analysis.

[147] Modified from Giddens 1984, 57.

[148] Boyne criticizes Giddens for rejecting the notion that
the unconscious actually structures conscious life (1991, 69).

[149] Giddens 1984, 46, after Ulric Neisser.

already stored pieces, and locates it in the societal framework.

Here Giddens aims to overcome the difference between the traditional subjectivist approach, which states that the individual is the processor of perception, and the objectivist approach, which holds that the object-word organizes our perceptions. Perception, just like memory, is tied to time and presence, i.e., it represents spatial and temporal continuity and integrates the body with its various sensory systems. However, it is significant to emphasize that perception is also selective as it is impossible for one to observe each and every element of an interaction. This filtering is viewed as positive since it is an indicator of the individual's active engagement in the interaction.

"If memory refers to [the] temporal mastery so inherent in human experience, then discursive and practical consciousness refers to *psychological mechanisms of recall*, as utilized in contexts of action."[150] Practical consciousness, which is in the focus of structuration theory, is closely tied to the capacity of the actors to monitor social actions in their environment, which provides them with the knowledge they possess regarding what is done, and how and why it is done, in the flow of day-to-day conduct. Thus, practical consciousness is the major, though not exclusive, realm of the reflexive monitoring of action, as a result of which the human being becomes a knowledgeable agent,[151] possessing tacit knowledge of daily social conduct.

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[150] Giddens 1984, 49.

[151] Boyne in his criticism of Giddens finds it "hard if not impossible to speak of the 'knowledgeable social actor'" (1991, 55).

If this is the case, then regular, habitual actions, that is, routines, are also connected to this field; they are significant as they provide (1) social reproduction with a material grounding and (2) the agent with trust and ontological security, the key drives leading the agent when participating in the reproduction of social practices.

Knowledgeability and the ability to verbalize knowledge offer a platform for shifting to the introduction of discursive consciousness. These are a result of the agent's permanent reflexive monitoring of action and account for the agent's credibility criteria, i.e., both the agent's ability to provide reasons for his actions, thus also validating them, as well as his awareness of what is happening in the social environment, how and why. It relies not on tacit but discursively available knowledge and gives way to the rationalization of action.

Discursive consciousness indicates those types of recall which the agent can express verbally while practical consciousness connotes the forms which the agent is familiar with in his actions but cannot verbalize.[152] As noted previously, the two types of consciousness do not comprise strictly distinct categories and may overlap and supplement each other. The intersection of these two, that is, of saying and doing, placed in a spatial and temporal continuum, provides us with the notion of praxis, which will be discussed further in Section ii.

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[152] The unconscious also contains various modes of recall, but the agent has no access to them either because they are from the period when the agent could not speak and were connected to the basic security system or because they have been repressed.

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1. unconscious
2. consciousness      a. practical consciousness
                      b. discursive consciousness
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Figure 3.2: Cognitive model of the agent

The second factor to consider in constituting actors is the body, the "locus of the active self". Various issues, all related to the positioning of the body in time and space,[153] such as the division of the body into front and back regions or the consideration of presence, co-presence, and absence as well as bodily autonomy, control, and limitations, are crucial to elaborating on the role of the body in a social context.

Traditionally, social positioning has been connected to social roles: functionalist structuralists, such as Parsons, hold that it is tied to societal integration based upon value consensus, while the other school of thought, which includes Goffman and his dramaturgy, maintains that it is shaped by the individual and not structural properties--although allows that the sets, circumstances, and rules for role plays are determined by these. For Giddens, "[A]ctors are always positioned in respect to the three aspects of temporality around which the theory of structuration is built."[154] Thus, the positioning of the body refers to (1) the positioning of the body in relation

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[153] In Chapter IV we see that Mormonism assigns significance not only to the actual, but also to the conceptual positioning of the body--for example, in the framework of genealogical research and baptism for the dead, or in the plan of eternal progression. Through these virtual social contexts are created, incorporating the body in time before and after earthly existence. This aspect of the faith contributes largely to the social roles and positioning of the Saints.

[154] Giddens 1984, 84.

to others in co-presence; (2) one's relation to the seriality of actions across time and space;[155] and (3) the intersection of the two, i.e., the actor's positioning within the much longer life-span of institutions and structures.

Upon dividing the body structurally, in terms of the nature of action, Giddens relies again on the findings of Goffman. He maintains that agents play roles which are especially observable in the front region. This role play may be observed relatively freely in the area of public interaction. However, the actors also retire to their back region, which marks the most intimate, private realm where they may not play various roles or feel obligated to meet various social and behavioral expectations but are able to be themselves. By its very nature, this region is more difficult to map and is, therefore, less accessible to researchers.

Upon analyzing action in the front region, we must consider the question of absence,[156] presence, and co-presence, which concerns the spatiality and movements of the body, as oriented toward itself as well as others. Goffman's considerations of the body as a means of acting and Wittgenstein's philosophical

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[155] Everyone is positioned at the same time in (1) the duree of daily life; (2) in one's life-span; and (3) in the duration of institutional time. These are the three time-relations Giddens considers in his theory.

[156] An interesting manner of handling this notion can be found in the ritual of the baptism for the dead. In this, living Saints may stand in as proxies for dead people and be baptized on their behalves. This unusual substitution for absence, the conceptual handling and overcoming of not only actual absence but death, is one of the distinct features of Mormonism.

meditation over the issue of the context-dependence of action[157] entail closed, physical, face-to-face interactions, the group of which should be extended to situations in which not all of these conditions would necessarily apply, such as telephone conversations. Investigations regarding the significance of individual body parts, body language, the exhibition of presence as well as the autonomy of the body, its limitations, and one's ability to control it[158] may assist social scientists in clarifying the precise manner in which the body is a part of human interaction.

The actor's position as situated in time and space refers to his position not only in encounters and in the duree of daily activities but also in his life-cycle, including his position in the web of his social relations, which is closely bound to social identities[159] and system integration. It is, therefore, coherently interwoven with the third aspect, system reproduction. The intersection of the individual's position and that of institutions, which provides the locus for system reproduction through reproductive practices in routinized and situated interactions, regulated by various clusters of rules, is also identified as a frame. Naturally, one may not be fully aware of all these rules and may err, in which case 'situational

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[157] His question regarding the difference between one raising one's arm and one's arm simply going up is the example given to illustrate this point.

[158] Various forms of bodily control, such as eating habits or dressing, are discussed in Chapter IV.

[159] As Goffman points out, actors draw upon these identities in their daily interactions as they provide the pattern to be followed in actions.

improprieties' may occur, but in most cases actors do know the bulk of the rules, and, consequently, their engagement in encounters results in successful interaction.

And it is here that action connects to the knowledgeability of the agent,[160] the awareness of rules and tactics applied in a given social milieu, which is one of the necessary conditions for successful interaction.[161] Giddens identifies four factors which contribute to the production and content of knowledge which are of relevance for our purposes: "(1) the means of access actors have to knowledge in virtue of their social location; (2) the modes of articulation of this knowledge; (3) circumstances relating to the validity of the belief-claims taken as knowledge; and (4) factors to do with the dissemination of available knowledge."[162]

ii. Actions

"Action is a continuous process, a flow ... actors ordinarily sustain throughout their day-to-day lives"[163] and not simply a collection of discrete, independent acts. Giddens

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[160] We must note here that the knowledge Giddens refers to is not the Foucaultian knowledge applied in the constitution of subjects.

[161] With this gesture, Giddens presents the "dignity of capable human actors", says Richard Kilminster in his study entitled "Structuration theory as a world-view," in Christopher Bryant and David Jery eds., *Giddens' theory of structuration: A critical appreciation* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 79.

[162] Giddens 1984, 91.

[163] Giddens 1984, 9.

develops his stratification model, in correlation with his model of agency, to indicate the three major components of action related to agency. However, although action is performed by agents, it is closely bound to the superstructure and to the given temporal, that is, historical, and spatial circumstances since these influence one another as well as define the context in which actions occur. Further explication of these areas, therefore, would be very much called for.

The model of agency sheds light on and explains the components of action as a system parallel to it, as expressed in the figure below. The unconscious is responsible for shaping series of actions as expressed by the various drives, wants, and needs which motivate the actor into action. In Giddens' view, "[F]or the most part motives supply overall plans or programmes-- 'projects' in Schutz's term--within which a range of conduct is enacted.

Personality   **Action**

unconscious   --> motivation of action
practical consciousness   --> reflexive monitoring of action
discursive consciousness --> rationalization of action
          ↓   ↓
unacknowledged conditions   unintended consequences
     of action   of action
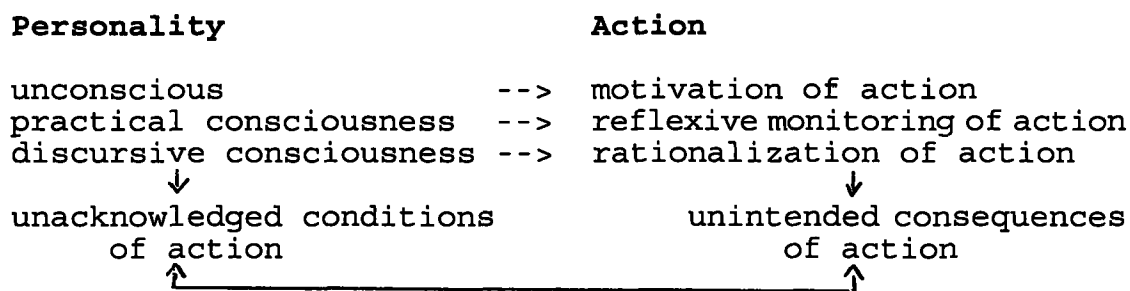   ⬆_____⬆

Figure 3.3: Stratification model[164]

Much of our day-to-day conduct is not directly motivated."[165] The actor may or may not be consciously aware of

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[164] Modified from Giddens 1984, 5, and John Scott, *Sociological Theory: Contemporary Debates* (Brookfield, VT: Elgar, 1995), 205.

[165] Giddens 1984, 6.

these motives just as he may or may not grasp the real motives underlying various series of actions.

Motives are sharply distinguished from reasons[166] for actions; the latter is an outgrowth of the reflexive monitoring of action,[167] which is the permanent involvement of the agent in the conduct as well as in the context of social action and interaction whereby he monitors not only himself but all other participants as well as that which preceded and that which will follow the interaction. It is through the reflexive monitoring of action that the agent locates himself in action and is able to see his actions not as a series of separated acts but as a flow, a continuous process. Similarly, the agent's monitoring is also a permanent process, performed as if routine, that is, the agent may engage in it completely unaware that he is doing so.

However, when asked about what he has performed, or how and why he has done so, the agent is usually able to explain the nature and steps in his action and his reasons/intentions as a result of reflexive monitoring. The ability to verbalize about action, embedded in discursive consciousness, is defined as the rationalization of action. Just as in the case of the two kinds of consciousness, no sharp distinction can be made between reflexive monitoring and the rationalization of action since these two areas may often overlap. Again, rationalization does

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[166] The reasons behind the various Mormon practices are given in each case. It comes as no surprise that all of them are rooted in the Mormon teachings.

[167] "This is rarely undertaken in a fully conscious way," according to Scott (1995, 205).

not mainly regard individual acts but rather refers to the notion of the agent's general theory and understanding of his activity, including his ability to locate discrete acts in the flow of action and support them with reasoning. However, it is possible to fail to predict all the possible conditions and consequences of action which, structuration theory maintains, may have a significant impact on change.

If we presume that the reflexive monitoring and the rationalization of action are interlaced, then we must ask how motivation is connected to these activities, or, in other words, how consciousness is connected to the unconscious in human action. If we accept Giddens' theorem that motives are clustered around the individual's drive to maintain ontological security resulting in trust through tact[168] in society, then we must consider two factors: one is related to the second field constituting the actor, namely the body; the other regards the type of action which may result in a feeling of safety.

The autonomy of the actor's bodily control is the first condition to achieve ontological security. Bodily autonomy is linked to the feeling of shame by Erikson; this is the basis for the division of personal front and back regions which became essential in Goffman's dramaturgy later. In the early stage of development, shame is associated with the back region or 'behind', where the child can hide until a proper action takes place in the vicinity re-establishing his confidence in the front region. With time it expands, as Goffman points out, and

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[168] Giddens viewed tact as the group of mechanisms through which actors are able to maintain the conditions of trust through their constant reproduction.

indicates the division between the public versus the private life and conduct of activity, similar to the difference in conduct in on- and off-stage performance. Sociology, by its nature, focuses on activities in the front region; however, investigations into the back region would also be necessary in order to gain a fuller understanding of human action, but, due to various obstacles, so far such research has proved obstacle-ridden and problematic.

Ontological security, the drive which motivates actors and in which the autonomy of bodily control is essential, is guaranteed and maintained in action; this is the second component in granting essential trust. In order to define what kind of action can provide this, we must present the typology of interaction which Giddens borrows from Goffman, who sets up the following classification:

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1. Informal: gatherings
              a. unfocused
              b. focused: encounters (--> routine)
2. Formal: social occasions
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Figure 3.4: Types of interaction

He explains gatherings as assemblages of two or more people in a non-formalized context[169] while he refers to social occasions as formalized social events with sharp temporal and spatial boundaries and a fixed environment. He differentiates between unfocused gatherings, in which the main reason for communication lies in the co-presence of actors, and focused

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[169] Most of the analyzed practices take place as gatherings, both focused and unfocused, some already functioning as routines, such as the patriarchal blessing, closely tied to ontological security.

gatherings, which denote co-ordinated, planned gatherings in an informal manner, which both Goffman and Giddens define as encounters, or face-to-face interactions.

However, Giddens adds that these encounters "typically occur as routines".[170]   And it is this type of interaction, that is, routine, which can bridge the gap between the unconscious and the conscious since, by creating a safe context in which the agent can relate to his social milieu, it provides the basis for his ontological security, provided that the agent is also given the autonomy of bodily control.[171]   As Giddens notes, routine grants the predictability contributing to the continuity of the personality of the actor as well as the reproduction of the institutions in society.   However, I must add that these are not independent processes but are intertwined; thus, routine must also be viewed as a key element in connecting the agent and the society.

As has been previously mentioned, autonomy of the body and control over it provide a major aspect to be considered in the presence of the body in interaction.   The other significant factor is front region and Giddens' understanding of the term. In contrast to Goffman, he argues that the front region of the body must be more than a mere facade where one can witness the agent playing various roles; thus, the difference between front and back regions is not identical to the difference between disclosure and enclosure of the individual self.   Front regional

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[170] Giddens 1984, 70.

[171] In this manner, we can see the unity of the triad of results as indicated in figure 1.1.

action is not experienced as a performance by most actors as their sense of ontological security is expressed in them.

In certain cases actors also often express their enclosed selves in the course of their interactions as they may rely on their back region as a type of resource while acting. There are also highly ritualized social practices which may have a lasting impact on the back region, which may be disclosed during an interaction. All these comments lead to two conclusions regarding regions: (1) that front and back regions cannot always be sharply distinguished; and (2) that in the operation of these two personal regions surveillance plays a major role as it is through the conduct of surveillance that outsiders are capable of seeing the interwoven nature of the two regions in interaction.[172]

In addition to agency with its cognitive, psychological, and corporeal aspects, the second major field contributing to action is superstructure. Without going into further detail about it at this point as it will be discussed in the following section, it should be noted that it is present, directly or indirectly, in the constitution of the actor as well as in the temporal and spatial dimensions of interaction, which is the third component to consider in analyzing action.

Upon discussing time-space relations in interaction, Giddens draws largely on the findings of time geography, relying on the works of Hagerstrand. The starting point of his theory rests on

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[172] The structuration of back and front regions and the dynamics between them, for example, in the case of the holy undergarment, proves exciting and telling in the evaluation of Giddens' theory in the last chapter.

the routinized nature of everyday[173] life, which is tied to the body of the actors, its limitations, and movements in time and space. He points out five limitations constraining the body in the daily routine: (1) the indivisibility of the human body limiting the capabilities of movement; (2) the limited nature of the agent's life-span; (3) the limitation that agents may not perform more than one task at a time and that each task has a duration; (4) movement in space is always bound to movement in time; and (5) that one body may occupy only one space at a given time. These five conditions comprise the material axes of human existence, both in daily and in longer activities, and can be visually illustrated in a set of coordinates where the possible time-space span, which is the volume with its constraints, is represented by a prism.[174]

Giddens supplements this notion with the idea of locales,[175] meaning the space which serves as the constrained setting of interaction but also contributes to making the interaction meaningful. These locales are typically grouped into regions[176] which express zones of activity in time-space relations as connected to routinized social practices. The most common zones would be tied to daily and weekly practices, but some may include

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[173] I argue that in the Mormon community the basic unit of routinized life is not so much the day, but the week.

[174] The prism can be best used to represent possible realms of daily activity, and the fields used express maximum volume.

[175] Locales may range from a room or a shop to cities or even nation-states.

[176] For example, modern houses are typically regionalized by floors: the ground floor provides the place for daylight activities, while the second floor with its bedrooms and bathrooms are tied to rest and are used at night.

one's entire life-span. Giddens offers four modes for regionalization: (1) form, meaning the boundaries, both physical and symbolic, of regions; (2) character, defining the arrangement of regions in the wider social system; (3) span or scale, indicating regional differentiations, often rooted in time or space but resulting in socio-economic and cultural differences; and (4) duration.[177] When a long duration of time is under consideration, a distinction may generally be made between central and peripheral regions: the former indicating the establishment, the latter locating the outsiders. This may refer not only to institutions but also to societies as well as the geopolitical system of the world.

Before proceeding any further, I must elucidate upon the nature of social context which unites these three aspects, binding them to the role of agency in action as well. Contextuality is "... the situated character of interaction in time-space, involving the setting of interaction, actors co-present and communication between them."[178] Contexts are positioned and, thus, inform the agents co-present about the frame of the conduct of the interaction. This implies that context is often routinized and it "...connects the most intimate and detailed components of interaction to much broader properties of the institutionalization of social life."[179] However, when this routinized nature is disturbed, a crisis situation may

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[177] In the analysis of Mormon practices, two regions will be considered: one between the Mormons and the non-Mormons, and the other is Utah, along with its symbolic significance.

[178] Giddens 1984, 373.

[179] Giddens 1984, 119.

arise, which may ultimately result in the emergence of a new set
of routines replacing the old one.

An outstanding example to illustrate this is Bettelheim's
study of the interaction in the Nazi concentration camps during
World War II. In his book he presents how some of the Jewish
prisoners had lost their old selves and became akin to the Nazi
soldiers, behaving, dressing, acting, and speaking the way the
Nazis did. The major causes for this traumatic and completely
unexpected change lay in the dramatic change in the context of
interaction: the formerly applied institutional routines were
destroyed in the camps and along with them the individuals. The
process of this change included the following features: resulting
from the lack of routine and the destruction of the autonomy of
bodily control, including the disappearance of back and front
regions, everything became unpredictable and senseless; the
original individual trust and ontological security had
disappeared. The only solution to this situation, which lasted
for a longer duree of time, was for the prisoners to identify
with the new representatives of authority, acquire new patterns
of action modelled on them in the new context, and re-establish
some sort of predictability and certainty through fresh rules
learned though re-socialization. We can, thus, see the
significance of context in socializing, that is, uniting the
actor with the institutionalized structures.

2. Structure(s) and Institutions

Having introduced the major ideas regarding actors and

actions, in this section I will turn to a discussion of the elements bound to macro-level analysis. The key terms to cover include societies and systems, structure and structures, as well as institutions and social collectivities.

i. Societies and Systems

Society is defined by Giddens as a marked unity of people with boundaries separating them from others. Society, however, cannot be regarded as a single, individual unit existing separately from other societies. Although, typically, societies are bound to locales, (1) they are open, that is, they are linked to other societies and may, therefore, impact each other; and (2) the way they are organized may not be solely characteristic of and integral to a single society but rather various types of societies. This is the basis for Giddens' conclusion that all societies must be viewed as part of an intersocietal system organized along time-space edges and are, thus, partly constituted by the intersection of the various social systems in this intersocietal context.

He distinguishes between three characteristic features of societies as follows: (1) they are bound to specific locales; (2) they maintain a legitimate claim on those locales as part of a whole set of normative elements around which a given society is organized; and (3) their members possess a shared feeling of common identity.[180] These social systems are patterned as the

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[180] All these features can be detected among the Saints. Their society is bound to Utah, with a legitimate claim to it embedded in their history, and identity, primarily rooted in

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outcome of reproduced social practices.

Societies exist in time and space[181] and are based on various mechanisms of societal integration, that is, on structural or organizational principles. Depending on the types of structural principles used, Giddens proposes the typology for societies as can be seen in the following figure.

Type of society	Structural principles	Dominant locale organization
Tribal society (oral culture)	tradition (communal moral practices) kinship group sanctions	band groups or villages no state
	existential contradictions	
Class-divided society (writing)	tradition kinship politics (military power) economic interdependence (low) formal codes of law symbolic co-ordination ---> state develops	symbiosis of country and town agric. state
	existential+structural contradictions	
Class society (capitalism)	routines kinship (family) surveillance politics (military power) economic interdependence (high) technology administrative power	city (created environment) nation-state
	structural contradictions	

Figure 3.5: Typology of societies[182]

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their faith.

[181] Gregor McLennan considered Giddens' emphasis on the significance of time and space inappropriate as, in his opinion, they do not play a central role in social theory, as he points out in his work "The Temporal and Temporizing in Structuration Theory," in Jon Clark et al. eds., *Anthony Giddens: Consensus and Controversy* (London: Falmer Press, 1990), 139.

[182] On the basis of Giddens 1981 and 1984.

These societies, especially in modernism, are not solely characteristic of a given age; even nowadays, all three types exist in various parts of the world. With the development of technology and expansion of politics and the economy, by now we cannot consider individual societies separately but as parts of intersocietal systems since different individual societies exist as part of a global existence, influencing as well as being influenced by other societies around them.

Societies are based on systems which indicate "[t]he patterning of social relations across time-space, understood as reproduced practices",[183] consisting of institutions and collectivities which are interdependent. They establish the relations between actors and are organized as regularly performed practices, that is, they are reproduced by means of reproduced social actions. Social systems are typically not in unity to the same extent that biological systems are, for example, and display a high degree of variety. They are organized hierarchically as well as laterally within societies, and institutions within them are viewed as "articulated ensembles".

Actors are placed into these by way of integration, which indicates reciprocity of practices, the relations of autonomy, and dependence between actors and collectivities. Depending on these as well as their temporal and spacial framework, Giddens distinguishes between social and system integrations. Social integration refers to the reciprocity of practices existing between actors in co-presence, thus uniting actors in face-to-

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[183] Giddens 1984, 377.

face interaction, while system integration binds the actor to collectivities over an extended period of time and space, thus uniting individual actors to groups of people in a more general sense and manner.[184]

ii. Structure and Structures

It is structure which contributes to the maintenance of the system, structure being defined as reproduced social practices embedded in time and space, always both enabling and constraining, derived from the relationship between structure and powerful agency.[185]   These two features, that is, enabling and constraining, comprise a whole and are in a dialectic unity which can be best grasped in terms of various social constraints.

Upon discussing constraints, Giddens relies a great deal on the writings of Durkheim.   He distinguishes between four types of constraints which, I believe, are essentially four aspects of the same notion.   Social constraint originates in the fact that the individual coexists with the given structure throughout his life-span and becomes involved in the life of institutions by means of socialization through which constraint and enablement of individuals as well as of institutions coexist and emerge in a dialectical unity.   In this, both agents and institutions

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[184]   The practices analyzed are examples of system integration.

[185] As Margaret Archer states, Giddens "never acknowledges that structure and agency work on different time intervals" in "Human Agency and Social Structure: A Critique of Giddens," in Jon Clark et al. eds., *Anthony Giddens: Consensus and Controversy* (London: Falmer Press, 1990), 81.

maintain their own constraints on the other.

Institutions cannot exist without human agency and the power associated with it to continue or change social praxis, which is essential to the maintenance of institutions. However, structure also exercises constraining power over agents, deriving from the fact that its existence is typically far longer than the life-span of an individual; it may, as such, be presented to the individual as objectively given, comprising a collection of duties or obligations to be fulfilled, thus essentially limiting the power of agents to act otherwise. We can, therefore, conclude that constraint appears at the crossing of structure and agents, representing not only limitations but various forms of power,[186] that is, enablement, as well.

In addition to social constraints, Giddens distinguishes between three other types: (1) material constraints; (2) constraints associated with sanctions; and (3) structural constraints.[187] I have previously touched upon material constraints, which include "the constraining aspects of the body

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[186] I see an important duality in Giddens' handling of the term *power*. In the structural context, it is used to indicate hegemonic power, while power granted to the individual to act otherwise may present power which is a threat to hegemony. On the basis of my investigation, I must admit to this duality, as I view structural power as hegemonic, which, through various techniques, is able to utilize the power of the actors for its own maintenance. However, the power to act in a structurally non-prefigured way, even to the extent of leaving the faith and community, cannot be denied. Thus, the dynamism and connection between these two, basically oppositional types of power illustrates well how identity formation is the effect of relations of power.

[187] All four types of constraints are present among the Saints, as we can see in Chapter IV.

and its location in contexts of the material world."[188] Sanctions, which are aspects of power which constrain and may be expressed and experienced in various ways and to varying degrees, ranging from disapproval to violence or death, typically entail the highest degree of asymmetries in power: they empower certain agents at the expense of limiting the power of others. Structural constraints[189] are rooted in the contextuality of the action, that is, in the structural properties of actors situated in interaction. These constraints are usually experienced as objective, given features[190] that the agents are unable to change; therefore, they place limitations on human agency as well.

Structure consists of rules and resources, implied in social practices, which can be traced back in human consciousness, i.e., it comprises a theoretical framework within the individual memory regarding how a system is organized and maintained. This makes it possible for a variety of social practices to coexist and binds them together in time and space. The term 'structures' is used to indicate the transformed, specific sets of rules and resources which appear in the "institutional articulation of social systems". However, Giddens fails to address the question

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[188] Giddens 1984, 174.

[189] Giddens relates reification to these constraints, which signify cases wherein social phenomena take on object-like properties which they actually do not have.

[190] This is achieved by presenting certain situations as inevitable; this, in turn, is achieved by leaving no or only few options open to the actor.

of what the origin of these rules[191] and resources are and what the consequence of changing them might be.

Rules are defined as "[t]echniques or generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices".[192] They can be formulated, that is, verbally expressed, and may, thus, result in a codified form,[193] which means only an interpretation of the rule and not the rule itself. These should be distinguished from exemplifying rules, which are not formulated, thus generally applicable rules in interactions. Knowing how these rules or formulae relate to practices is at the core of the actor's knowledgeability, located foremost in his practical consciousness. These rules are used in daily activities as typified schemes of action. They may also be classified as rules of normative sanctions/elements and rules which function as codes of signification, that is, the constitution of meaning. As for their characteristics, they can be described in terms of four further significant features which are summarized in the following figure.

intensive	tacit	informal	weakly sanctioned
:	:	:	
shallow	discursive	formalized	strongly sanctioned

Figure 3.6: The characteristic features of rules[194]

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[191] In the Mormon Church all the rules originate in the faith.

[192] Giddens 1984, 21.

[193] For example, laws, bureaucratic rules, and regulations.

[194] Giddens 1984, 22.

Resources, which form the other constituent of structure, can be divided into two groups: (1) authoritative resources which indicate non-material resources, rooted in the fact that some agents have power over others in a given society, and include: aspects of the organization of time and space relations and paths; the production and reproduction of the body, including human relations; and the organization of personal chances; as well as (2) allocative resources, which are material resources deriving from human dominance over nature, including not only raw materials and powers of the environment but also the means of material production, such as technology and machinery. We can see that both types of resources are the result of various powers and, therefore, are involved in the generation of power in the given society; authoritative resources refer to the capacity to generate command over people while allocative resources denote the same capacity with regard to objects.

It is also clear that various sociological schools emphasize the significance of certain resources over others, e.g., Marxism considered allocative resources as the generic/central force in the history of human development. However, Giddens maintains that these two types of resources are interdependent and work in unison in social systems. In modern nation-states, these resources are stored, recalled, and disseminated by the media, which is, therefore, of crucial significance as the container of all information, that is, knowledge. The most recent developments in technology have elevated the media to an even higher and more prominent level since the information which can be stored by the various existing technologies surpass the human

capacity of storage. Consequently, the media plays a key role in nation-states in treating knowledge and is, therefore, the most significant power container.

Structure may be described in terms of structural principles and properties. Structural principles, as illustrated in figure 3.5, refer to the principles or factors upon which societal totalities are organized, while properties indicate the already structured, institutionalized features of various social systems as they are reproduced across time and space.

In discussing structural principles one may find various contradictions, which can be classified as existential and structural. The first entails the essential contradiction between human existence in relation to nature and the material world while the second refers to differences between the various constitutive features existing in societies. Their pre-eminence may be linked to various types of societies: in tribal societies existential contradictions dominate, in class-divided societies both types of contradictions are present, while in nation-states structural contradictions prevail.

If structure is understood as a collection of rules and resources and, thus, provides the theoretical framework for social life, then structures should be interpreted as isolable sets of rules applied and resources used in interaction and in the articulation of social systems. To use a linguistic analogy, structure is like 'language' and structures are like 'speech', that is, language put into practice.

Structure and structures are organized around three major roles in societies, which correspond to the various rules and

resources structure entails: (1) signification, resulting from rules of signification applied in social interaction; (2) legitimation, based on rules of normative sanctions; and (3) domination, reflecting the structure and functioning of resources. Two types of domination may occur: political domination, which emerges as a result of managing authoritative resources, and economic domination, which is the outcome of the handling of allocative resources in societies. These three domains of structure(s) correspond to the appropriate types of institutions, which have developed in order to represent and maintain these domains, as well as different types of interaction, through which they may be at work.

iii. Institutions and Social Collectivities

Institutions can be defined as chronically reproduced rules and resources on the societal level. The two types of rules as well as resources, therefore, contributed to and stimulated the emergence of four types of institutions in modern societies. Signification results in the appearance of social symbolic orders and defines modes of discourse; legitimation leads to the development of legal institutions, which are organized around and in accordance with various aspects of domination bound to the political as well as the economic spheres.

Agents participate in the functioning and maintenance of these institutions through interactions which are shaped by various modules, which are: (1) communication, which establishes the agents' link to discourse and symbolic order through

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interpretative schemes; (2) sanctions, which assist in binding

actors to legal institutions by urging them to maintain certain

norms; and (3) power, which results in maintaining the structure

of domination through various facilities. In this manner, as

figure 3.7 illustrates, the basic structure(s) give way to the

development of appropriate institutions which are maintained by

the agents through interaction. However, the knowledgeable

agent, the one with the ability to monitor these interactions,

is also capable of modifying or altering these interactions and

so too these institutions. This interdependence between agents

and institutions is considered to be the key notion in

structuration theory, signified as the duality of structure,

which, in essence, describes the way social systems are

reproduced.

Structure(s)	Theoretical domain <- Rules and resources	Institutional order <- Interaction (modalities)
Signification (S-D-L)	Coding <-rules of signification	Symbolic orders/ modes of discourse <- Communication (interpretative schemes)
Domination (D-S-L)	- Authorization <-authoritative resources - Allocation <-allocative resources	Political institutions Economic institutions <- Power (facility)
Legitimation (L-S-D)	Normative regulation <-rules of normative sanctions	Legal institutions <- Sanctions (norms)

Figure 3.7: The structure of the superstructure[195]

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[195] Compiled from various sources in Giddens, 1984.

The duality of structure involves not only the reproduction of institutions but also of collectivities, that is, of collective actors. Depending on the type of relations holding the groups together, Giddens distinguishes between associations from organizations. In the case of associations, reproduction takes place through regularized conduct of the members, i.e., through routine encounters. Typically, they are reproduced on the basis of specific traditions, which legitimize the existence of these associations and act as the medium connecting the daily conduct of life to the longer duree of the institutional life of the associations.

Organizations, on the other hand, are reproduced mainly because of the conduct of daily lives, are not rooted in traditions, and are characteristically bound to some segments of society; as a consequence, their appearance may be bound to the existence of class-divided societies and social movements. Social movements are usually highly regulated, aim at achieving a new order of life, and, unlike organizations, are typically not bound to a specific locale but are applicable in more general terms.

3. The Duality of Structure

Key to the theory of structuration is the duality of structure, the notion which combines the actors and systems, binding them to structure in a dialectical interaction, and in the process making structure a property and feature of both. It refers to "structure as the medium and outcome of the conduct it

recursively organizes."[196] This structure, that is, the set of rules and resources outside of time and space, marked by the absence of actors, is recursively re-established through social systems, which are situated activities and reproduced relations between actors and collectivities, organized as social practices. The agents draw on the various rules and resources in their daily lives, and systems, grounded in these activities and also shaped by the same rules and resources, are re-constituted, just as the agents are, through the very same process. Thus, structure can be conceptualized as both restraining and enabling, both for the agents and the systems.

If we wish to present the notion of structuration in a set of coordinates, we must see that while structure is paradigmatic, containing various modes of structuring used recursively in social reproduction, systems provide the syntagmatic aspect and the actual patterning of social practices and relations in time and space.

Agents are able to monitor their actions and possess knowledge regarding what is done, as well as how and why it is. However, their understanding may not always be proper or full, and their actions under certain circumstances may have unintended or unacknowledged consequences, which may result in change. These unintended consequences, granted that they feed back into system reproduction, are called causal loops and lead to homeostatic system reproduction. However, agents can use their power to institute various changes in system reproduction; Giddens defines this notion as reflexive self-regulation.

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[196] Giddens 1984, 374.

Ideally, the workings of both agency and systems result in integration which, as has already been pointed out, may be of two kinds: (1) social integration, defining the reciprocity[197] between agents in co-presence; and (2) system integration, which signifies the same process but involves agents not present in time and space during the encounter.

System reproduction is automatically accompanied by social reproduction in which actors rely on four key factors: (1) mutual knowledge; (2) autonomy; (3) trust; and (4) routine. These result in typified schemes which agents use to get through various situations, having considered the general rules applicable as well as particular features of each given situation. However, if these schemes or rules are damaged, thus leading to the emergence of crisis situations, the old manner of acting should be re-adjusted in order to build up trust again. In case one is unable to do that, one will be found unfit to function in the given society and, as a result, treated as an outcast.

Routinized practices are the primary form of expression of the duality of structure. Routine or praxis, which are encounters performed without direct motivation in a seriality, connects agents and systems by granting (1) the continuity of the personalities of the actors, giving them a sense of ontological security; and (2) the continuity of social life and system by reproducing the institutions; thus, structure provides a

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[197] This is the reciprocity of autonomy and dependence in interaction.

"generalized motivational commitment",[198] whereas routine binds the actors to systems and vice versa. However, these practices may not simply be mechanistical repetitions: unacknowledged conditions, unintended consequences, or intentional modifications may all result in changes. We must, therefore, conclude that there is no determinism involved and that there are no *a priori* or absolute outcomes for actions.

Practices are often related to social positions and roles, with various rights, obligations, and sanctions as well as standardized markers, such as gender or age. In this sense, they are one of the essential contributors to social identities which help agents to locate themselves in the social web of institutions as well as to maintain their continual sense of trust and security in the given society.

Dimension of interaction	Structural modality	Structural property	Feature
Communication	semantic rule	signification	cultural/interpretative
Sanction	moral rule	legitimation	cultural/interpretative
Power	resource	domination	transformative/regulative

Figure 3.8: Dimensions of the duality of structure[199]

I have also touched upon the structuring of interaction which may occur in three ways, parallel to the three structural properties of social systems: (1) communication, that is, constituting meaning; (2) sanctions, meaning the constitution of norms and expectations; and (3) power. The first two are

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[198] This is Wolf's term.

[199] A modified and completed figure taken from Scott, 1995.

considered to be constitutive, cultural processes related to rules through which meaning and norms are standardized. However, power is regulative and transformative and regards the management of resources, allowing for control, change, and achievement.

Communication is bound to the reflexive monitoring of action: agents are able to view actions, including their contexts, temporal and spatial dimensions, as well as the behavior of other actors co-present. As a result, agents are able to make sense of what they have seen and to discuss it: they may offer accounts, reasons, evaluations, predictions, etc. The constitution of meaning is achieved through various interpretative, typified schemes incorporated in the stocks of knowledge of the actors.

Communication may take an oral or written form. The unit of oral communication, that is, talk, is conversation with definite opening and closing limits, strict rules regarding turn-taking and coordinating who is entitled to participate. In both oral and written communication the issue of time and space is crucial: conversations presume co-presence in time but not in space, while the written form typically appears in situations of absence, both in time and space.[200]

Sanctions are normative features, establishing norms, rights, and obligations. They are expressive of accountability: for what purpose and with what justification an action is performed. They may be formal or informal: laws or regulations usually are formal, written expressions of sanctions. They

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[200] This has led Giddens to the consideration of transportation and technical development--especially that of electronic signalling--in his discussion of communication.

usually entail constraints but may be enabling for some agents and are, therefore, closely linked to power.

Elemental to the duality of structure is the concept of power.[201] Giddens conceptualizes power as the capacity and means to perform tasks and "the freedom to act otherwise ... rooted in the very nature of human agency."[202] Based on this, it is clear that power may mean freedom and capability, but at the same time it may be constraining as well. However, we must not deny that it is always associated with domination and may be binding for all those who do not share in it. Power is expandable and those who possess it may change as a result of power struggles which develop for the purpose of gaining control. Power operates with both allocative and authoritative resources, and the capacity to store these resources--the most significant of which is information/knowledge regarding the second one--is central to the notion of power. Storage capacity serves as the basis for surveillance as stored resources are accessible only to certain selected people. Thus, the issue of knowledge, access to it, and its dissemination is key to power positions and struggles in modern states.

4. Mapping Giddens

One rather frequent comment on Giddens' theory of structuration is that it is rather complex and difficult to

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[201] Giddens points out that power must be separated from exploitation (1981, 5).

[202] Giddens 1981, 5.

follow and comprehend. Thus, I believe, some sort of a map leading the researcher, like myself, through this labyrinth may be of help not only in gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the various categories and processes analyzed but also in pinpointing possible gaps or inconsistencies in this theory. While mapping Giddens, I did not follow slavishly the structure of his book, *The Constitution of Society*, nor of any other study of the theory of structuration but took the liberty of reorganizing his train of thought so that it would follow a different system, perhaps easier to grasp. Naturally, this is only a map of his more essential theorems and categories; however, I hope it proves a useful guide for all those who wander into the realm of structuration.

1. ACTORS AND ACTION

1.1 **ACTOR**

A. Definition of actor + relation to *I/me* and *self*
B. The development of agency: Erikson

Bodily mechanisms	Expression	Result
a. Oral Sensory	trust/ mistrust	ontological security
b. Muscular Anal	autonomy/ shame, doubt	bodily control
c. Locomotive Genital	initiative/ guilt	routine

C. The constitution of actors:
    a. mind/psyche
        i. unconscious
        ii. consciousness   a. practical consciousness
                          b. discursive consciousness

    b. body - positioned in time and space (roles and rules)
        i. positioning of body in encounters
          (- front and back regions
           - presence/absence, co-presence
           - autonomy and limits of the body; control)
        ii. positioning of actors in social relations

iii. intersection of agent's positioning with
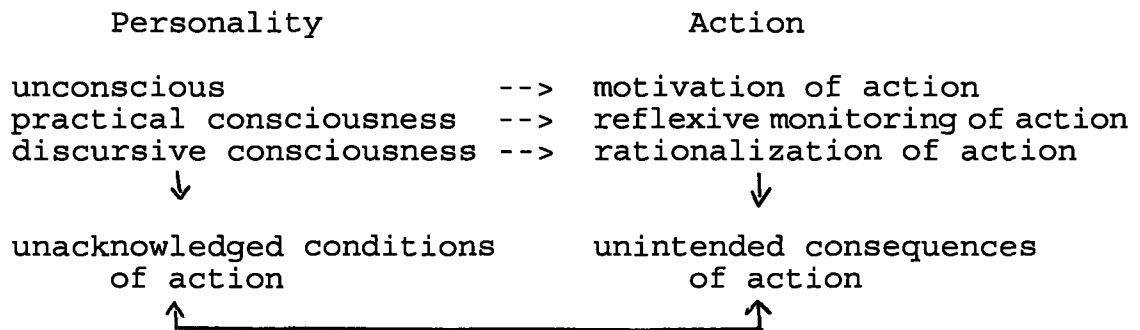   duree of life of institutions and structures

1.2 ACTION

A. Definition of action (as opposed to act)
B. How does action come about?
        a. agent
                i. cognitive/psychological aspect --> stratification
                                                              model

        Personality   Action

        unconscious   --> motivation of action
        practical consciousness --> reflexive monitoring of action
        discursive consciousness --> rationalization of action
                 ↓   ↓

        unacknowledged conditions   unintended consequences
              of action   of action
               ↑_____↑

                ii. corporeal aspects
                     - autonomy of bodily control
                     - overlapping of front and back regions

        b. superstructure

        c. time and space
                i. time-space geography
               ii. locales, zones, regions
                   (- form, character, span, duration
                    - central and peripheral regions)
              iii. context

C. Typology of interactions

        a. Informal: gatherings
                        i. unfocused
                       ii. focused: encounters (--> routine)
        b. Formal: social occasions

        Routine: with the autonomy of bodily control results in
ontological security (see fig. 1.1, results)

2. STRUCTURE(S) AND INSTITUTIONS

2.1. SOCIETY (social system, social totality)

A. Intersocietal context --> intersocietal systems
B. Features: i. bound to locales
                 ii. set of normative elements
                iii. sense of identity
C. Patterned <-- reproduced social practices

D. Agents <-- social integration (between agents in co-presence)
        <-- system integration (with collectives in time and
           space)

E. Typology of societies:

Type of society	Structural principles	Dominant locale organization
Tribal society (oral culture)	tradition (communal moral practices) kinship group sanctions existential contradictions	band groups or villages no state
Class-divided society (writing)	tradition kinship politics (military power) economic interdependence (low) formal codes of law symbolic co-ordination ---> state develops existential+structural contradictions	symbiosis of country and town agric. state
Class society (capitalism)	routines kinship (family) surveillance politics (military power) economic interdependence (high) technology administrative power structural contradictions	city (created environment) nation-state

2.2. STRUCTURE AND STRUCTURES

A. Structure:
     a. the societal theoretical framework consisting of
          - rules   - of signification
                     - of normative sanctions
          - resources   - allocative
                        - authoritative
     b. constraints - material
                    - structural
                    - sanctions
     c. structural - principles
                        with possible contradictions
                              - existential
                              - structural
                    - properties

B. Structures:
     a. definite sets of rules and resources based on structure

b. domains   - signification
                         - domination
                         - legitimation

2.3. INSTITUTIONS AND COLLECTIVITIES

A. Institutions: bound to structure(s)

Structure(s)	Theoretical domain <- Rules and resources	Institutional order <- Interaction (modalities)
Signification (S-D-L)	Coding <-rules of signification	Symbolic orders/ modes of discourse <- Communication (interpretative schemes)

Domination
(D-S-L)
	- Authorization
	<-authoritative resources
	- Allocation
	<-allocative resources
		Political
		    institutions
		Economic
		    institutions
		<- Power
		(facility)

Legitimation (L-S-D)	Normative regulation <-rules of normative sanctions	Legal institutions <- Sanctions (norms)

B. Collectivities:
   a. associations
   b. organizations
   c. social movements

3. THE DUALITY OF STRUCTURE

structure bound to agents through systems --> structuration
                                                of social relations
A. In the course of this:
   - reproduction
        if by unintended consequences(= causal loops)
                    --> homeostatic system reproduction
   - change
        if by intention --> reflexive self-regularization

B. Result: integration (social and system) achieved by
        routinized social practices
        - grant continuity for systems and agents
        - not deterministic
        - bound to social positions --> social identities

C. Social life = series of episodes: - small-scale
                                        - large-scale

D. The dimensions of the duality of structure

Dimension of interaction	Structural modality	Structural property	Feature
Communication	semantic rule	signification	cultural/
Sanction	moral rule	legitimation	interpretative
Power	resource	domination	transformative/ regulative

5. Structuration Theory in Practice

Giddens developed his theory of structuration without ever applying it empirically.[203] In his work he merely provides guidelines, offers ideas for consideration, and refers to studies done within the same intellectual framework; but--it should be noted--the authors of these studies did not apply the theory of structuration in their research.

The very fact that the theory of structuration has remained an isolated metatheory has provided his critics in the social sciences with yet another major point of attack. As a result, the notion of how the theory may be put into practice is a constantly recurring theme in most of the work on structuration. In *The Constitution of Society*, Giddens states that two possible types of social research can be distinguished which, in essence, derive from the core notion of the theory, the duality of structure: (1) institutional analysis; and (2) the analysis of individual actions and agents. Depending on which one is in the focus, two types of bracketing is required: in the case of

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[203] Giddens states that structuration theory is not a research program: it offers concepts which may be used as devices in analyzing various issues (1991, 213).

institutional analysis, the conduct of the agents must be bracketed while in the case of the analysis of agency, it is the institutions, structures, and structural properties which must be bracketed.

This is not to suggest that once bracketed these fields are rendered insignificant; on the contrary, only the totality of the fields allows for a duality of structure, so no complex analysis may be carried out without it. Bracketing is simply a matter of emphasis, the necessity of focusing on one side of this duality, while considering the other of merely secondary significance. Naturally, an analysis of the duality of structure itself is also possible; in such an endeavor, institutional analysis and that of strategic conduct are united through conceptual shifts from one toward the other, with spatial and temporal features considered as major crossing points.

Upon turning to examples of research wherein the theory of structuration may be a useful tool, Giddens mentions two areas. In micro-level analysis, he suggests: (1) the elucidation of frames of meaning, seeking answers to the 'why-questions': the reasons for action, in a wide context, involving the issue of the knowledgeability of the agents as well; and (2) the investigation of practical consciousness: its context, form, and expression. As for macro-level analysis, he proposes: (1) an investigation into the bounds of knowledgeability in the context of time and space, including unintended consequences and unacknowledged conditions of actions; and (2) the determination of institutional orders, involving the examination of social and system integration through an analysis of the major institutions of a

given social system.

Although no study has been published in which this theoretical framework was applied, Giddens finds some studies based on research written in the spirit of his theory, two of which I will mention. In the first, Paul Willis'[204] book entitled *Learning to Labour*,[205] exemplatory research is introduced focusing on how, through daily strategic conduct, students, as a result of the unintended consequences of their actions, contribute to the maintenance of the existing power relations and institutions and create a process at the end of which they are unable to move upward on the social ladder because of their own actions and behavior. Another work Giddens highly praises is R.W. Connell's *Gender and Power*, published in 1987. This study actually makes use of structuration theory as well as certain other theories but is also critical of Giddens. However, Giddens[206] maintains that this work is a good presentation of the duality of structure, the intersection of structure and social practice at work. Giddens is impressed by the author's discussion of the role gender plays in relation to both the individual and structure: this study illustrates how social practices constitute structures as well as individuals and how they contribute to the maintenance of gender-based social roles and classifications.

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[204] Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977). Giddens' discussion of this book can be found in Giddens 1984, 289-97.

[205] New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.

[206] For a discussion of this study, see Giddens in Bryant and Jerry eds., 1991, 215-6.

The study I propose by applying the theoretical framework of structuration theory focuses on the role the individual plays in the constitution of a religious community, that of the Latter-day Saints. The focus is on certain social practices of theirs: what is performed, as well as how and why it is. The analysis of these practices will rely on the discursive ability of the agents with regard to these practices and will attempt to map out their frame of meaning. In order to meet these objectives, structure(s) cannot be bracketed in the analysis but will occupy a secondary place in the research with regard to what institutional order is reflected in these practices, what is communicated to the agents, how and why, as it appears in the discursive consciousness of the Saints interviewed.

Through an analysis of their accounts of the various practices, I will attempt to grasp how Mormon society is constituted by the actors and how their distinct identity is constituted through these very same practices.

IV. LATTER-DAY SAINT PRACTICES

One possible way to identify a community and map its borders is to group the activities characteristic of that community which its members regularly engage in. These social practices are generally not bound to any specific time frame: they may be daily in their occurrence as well as annual, more frequent, or random and thus may be viewed as practices as long as they are performed by the members in a set way with a given regularity. What follows is an introduction to and analysis of some of the more characteristic Mormon practices as performed and explained by the Latter-day Saints themselves; these are based on my personal observations, interviews I have conducted with active Saints, a collection of interviews also with active Saints published by Taber, and writings by present and former members of the Church[207] along with Church publications, realia selected from Mormons' material culture, and their sacred writings.

I will attempt to present the knowledgeable position of the actors or the lack thereof, the field and extent of their practical consciousness, and the manner in which it functions in the process, constituting meaning, providing reasons and, at times, offering criticism. I would like to see the extent of

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[207] Susan Buhler Taber, *Mormon Lives: A Year in the Elkton Ward* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993). Laake, Scott and Decker present views of former Saints in Deborah Laake, *Secret Ceremonies* (New York: Dell, 1993); Latayne Scott, *The Mormon Mirage* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979) and *Why We Left Mormonism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1990); and Ed Decker, *The Godmakers* (Eugene, OR: Harvest, 1993).

autonomy enjoyed by them as they conduct their actions and the order of structure along with its power over the Saints as it appears in the conduct of their daily lives. By focusing on the actors, and on how their knowledge is expressed by their actions and discourse, I am making an attempt to bracket structure(s); however, I cannot totally exclude it/them from the investigation since their partial involvement is necessary, as it derives from the notion of the duality of the structure. It is also necessary to reflect upon the extent to which power--the power of autonomy, which enables one to act otherwise or to strengthen membership in, and to reproduce, the societal order--is enjoyed. Thus, it is essential in this application of the theory of structuration to include structure(s)--with its/their enabling as well as constraining features--as well as the implanting of the ideological framework provided by the Mormon faith, which I consider the ultimate cornerstone of this community and of their distinct identity.

Therefore, in the sections to follow, I elaborate on the various practices embedded in the faith and in its commandments from a historical perspective. Naturally, since it would be ineffectual to present all the practices of this community, I only discuss a selection of those I have found characteristic and representative of the Latter-day Saints. Toward a fuller understanding, I introduce them in various categories and sub-categories. The discussions also include a description of the practices, the agents' own reflections on their conduct of the actions involved as well as the reasons for and motivations behind them; I will complete these discussions with an analysis

of their responses.

In meeting these objectives, I hope to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of Giddens' theory of structuration with respect to the role and ability of the actors. Naturally, my conclusions will only be valid with reference to the Latter-day Saints and may not prove appropriate to an analysis of other communities. One major point of argument in defense of Giddens may appear at the outset: he proposes his theory as a way to conceptualize the workings of modern states and not religious communities.

However, I maintain that the Mormon community may be viewed as one similar to nation-states as it is not a community founded merely on the institutions of religion; their sphere of the sacred is also implemented by an extensive system of institutions typically designed to serve secular purposes. The intertwined secular and religious institutions, thus, are structured such that they are able to fulfill all the necessary functions modern nation-states would, except for one, that of the armed forces. However, new methods of surveillance and control developed by the Church have replaced this; thus, this function is also met, albeit in a different manner.

The other major purpose behind the analysis of these practices is to grasp the method of Mormon identity formation from the point of view of the individual. By mapping the practices through the agents' discursive knowledge of them and through my analysis of these, I hope to reveal how this collective identity is constructed.

Toward this end, my analysis of the three sets of practices

is preceded, first, by a theorization on how identity is constituted in order to establish the relation between social practices and the constitution of identity and, second, by a section designed to contextualize the specific practices discussed within the broader system of beliefs and corresponding practices of Mormonism.

1. The Constitution of Identity

In *Modernity and Self-identity*, Giddens shares his ideas on the self and self-identity. He claims that self-identity is a "reflexively organized project...[that] consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems."[208] He proposes that the central feature of modern self-identity is life planning[209] in which the self develops a trajectory of development from the past to the desired future.[210] This process takes place with the purpose of locating the self in a framework which provides it with the ontological security which has been lost in modernity, as it

> breaks down the protective framework of small
> community and tradition, replacing these with much

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[208] 1991, 5.

[209] Some Saints also claimed that their ties to Mormonism are strengthened by the fact that the faith is able to provide them with a cohesive world view and answers to all possible questions.

[210] He claims that language is the mediator, the "time machine" that makes the repetition of social practices possible over generations as well as allows for a differentiation between present, past, and future.

larger, impersonal organizations. The individual
feels left alone in a world in which she or he lacks
the psychological supports and the sense of
security.[211]

However, in modernity there are still structures which
represent more traditional authorities. He offers the example
of religious fundamentalism, which provides the individuals with
ready-made security by offering precise answers as for what they
should do and why.

> The more 'enclosing' a given religious order is, the
> more it 'resolves' the problem of how to live in a
> world of multiple options. More attenuated forms of
> religious belief, however, may clearly also offer
> significant support in shaping significant life
> decisions.[212]

As Solomon[213] points out, religions rely on sacred
narratives which "create meaning out of chaos by framing history
between the limits of a creative origin and apocalyptic end,"[214]
thus giving meaning to human life and mortality as well as
providing mankind with its strongest weapon against death. In
this way, religious ideology locates the individual in a
historical continuum, also providing him with the basic structure
of his life.

Giddens proposes that self-identity is routinely created and
sustained by the individual through continuous reflexive
activities. But how do collective identities, and in a more

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[211] Giddens 1991, 33.

[212] Giddens 1991, 142.

[213] Jack Solomon, *The Signs of Our Time: The Secret Meanings of Everyday Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990).

[214] 1990, 215.

general framework, how do all identities come about? I believe

that identity--our form of existence as social beings--is

constituted through the various social practices the individuals

as well as the collectivities participate in.   Therefore,

identities are interconnected, are always in process,[215] and are

never absolutely fixed as there is always some room for

negotiation and change.

Based on Giddens' theory of structuration and theorizing on

the late modern self, Jenkins proposes that, as identity is

constituted by the social which is "the field upon which the

individual and the collective meet and meld,"[216] all types of

identities must be viewed as social identities. Jenkins defines

social identity as the "systematic establishment and

signification between individuals, between collectivities, and

between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of

similarity and difference."[217]

He proposes that his model, capturing the internal-external

dialectic of identification, describes the process in which all

identities are shaped. It is "an understanding...of the 'self'

as an ongoing, and in practice simultaneous, synthesis of

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[215] For an excellent theorization on the nature of identity
construction see Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs
'Identity?" in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay eds., *Questions of
Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), 1-17. In this, Hall
argues that identities are "points of temporary attachment to the
subject positions which discursive practices construct for us"
(6).

[216] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London: Routledge,
1996), 17.

[217] Jenkins 1996, 4.

internal self-definition and external[218] definitions of oneself offered by the others."[219] He claims that both individual and social identities can be understood as constituted in one and the same process, which is the interplay between internal and external definition.

Identities are rooted in social practices;[220] it is, therefore, through an analysis of these practices that collective identity may be mapped. However, as Giddens proposes that identity is found "in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going,"[221] capturing the social practices in the individual narratives of members of a given collective--whether in the form of an independently structured or guided, written or oral narrative--may be a useful method to reveal the dynamics of both the constitution of communities and their collective identities.

This chapter is devoted to such a project; in it I will analyze narratives classified by Sommers and Gibson[222] as ontological narratives which "actors use to make sense of-- indeed, in order to act in--their lives."[223] They contend that it is through this self-reflexive act that identity is made; this

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[218] He relies on Mead's concept of the inner *I* and the outer *me*.

[219] Jenkins 1996, 20.

[220] In the course of participating in practices, the participants come to be positioned. These positions result from the relations of power.

[221] Giddens 1991, 54.

[222] Margaret Sommers and Gloria Gibson, "Reclaiming the Epistemological 'Other': Narrative and the Social Constitution of Identity," in Craig Calhoun ed., *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 37-99.

[223] 1998, 61.

type of narration is the actual process of "one becoming." However, before turning to these narratives and the practices revealed by them, I find it necessary to contextualize these practices within the wider system of those maintained by the Mormon Church.

2. The Structure of Sainthood

The task of outlining the manner in which the lives of active Mormons is structured is a rather difficult one as they form a community thoroughly controlled by their faith and Church.[224] The aspects of the structure I discuss include family life, financial obligations towards the Church, record keeping and history making as part of their rhetorical construction of the past, eating habits as well as dress and moral codes as means of symbolic display, a way of giving external form to narratives of self-identity, as well as various aspects of traditions and holidays, among other things. Throughout the investigation, I will approach these practices from the point of view of the agents and in the form they appear regularly. Naturally, this is not an exhaustive list of all Mormon practices, but I have found these the most telling with regard to what Mormonism entails on the level of regular social practices. The fact that these aspects were also singled out as most characteristic for Mormonism by the Saints themselves has also figured significantly

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[224] Their nomenclature is also very different from that of other Christian religious groups; a glossary at the end of this study, therefore, may assist the reader in fully understanding the scope of meaning of some of their key terms.

into the logic of the selection process.

The head of the Church is the president, who is also a modern prophet who presides over the Church based on the teachings of the faith as presented by the *Bible*, the *Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and the *Pearl of Great Price* as well as based on the type of divine revelation that regards the whole of the Latter-day Saint community.

Age	Event	Recognition
8 days	birth	blessing in sacrament meeting
8 yrs	childhood	baptism
12 yrs	adolescence	entrance into Aaronic priesthood
18-19 yrs	early adult-hood	endowments in temple entrance into Melchizedek priesthood missionary calling
22-25	adulthood	return from mission temple marriage

Figure 4.1: The rites of passage for Mormon men

Membership in the Church is initiated by baptism which is usually not performed under the age of 8. Shipps[225] offers a thorough chart in which she condenses the general steps through which male birthright Mormons become Saints. I would classify these as the Mormon men's rites of passage and would offer my own table, based on hers.

As only men can participate in the priesthood, phases in the lives of women are marked by only three of the above rites: at the age of 8 they are baptized and between the ages of 19-22 they usually receive their endowments in the temple before they take their marriage vows. Nowadays, it is also increasingly common

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[225] 1994, 75.

for women to serve on mission, but this is by far not as integrated into their progression in faith as it is for men. Temple marriage is also exclusive: it is only for those who marry another Saint, having received their endowments and recommend from their bishop. The temple is a sacred place for everyone: only Saints with a recommend from their bishop stating that they are worthy members of the Church may enter.

Marriage sealed in temple is of great significance in the plan of eternal progression, which defines each step on the road to salvation and, thus, to the highest level in heaven, the celestial kingdom, where God and Jesus reside. Men may reach this heavenly realm more easily than women as only women who marry in temple enjoy the possibility of entering. As holders of the priesthood, it is only men who enjoy the right to administer blessings, an important privilege in the Mormon community replete with special powers--the fact of which implies a gender-based distinction which many have found bothersome. These signs suggest that the Mormon Church embraces traditional, conservative family roles and a patriarchal structure with the father as head of the family by virtue of his current or potential membership in the priesthood and with the mother as child-rearing homemaker who should defer to her husband in most matters.

This has resulted in the emergence of much criticism within the Church regarding the unequal treatment of women. Some maintain that feminism is the "work of the devil" which encourages women to pretend to be men, while others believe that women should have more power and a greater say in how things are

run in the Church. An apparent distortion of this view is not to challenge the present structure by stating that men should run the Church as, if women were to run it, men would be "out of job [*sic*] in the Church." However, the Church expects women to receive an education--albeit, as one Saint made clear, not to pursue a career but to bring up educated children.

Family planning is rather conservative. The Church supports neither birth control nor abortion. It is apparently a constant source of stress for a family to decide how many children they should or can have; and in cases when difficulties arise and the wife does not become pregnant relatively soon after marriage, other Saints may ask why they have no children yet and imply that they are failing in their duty.

The Saints' week is rather full, as one interviewee said, they can easily spend 5-50 hours a week doing Church work. Each Saturday morning there is a condensed three-hour meeting in the meeting house which consists of Sunday school for everyone, the sacrament meeting/worship service, and meetings held for the various age groups. Depending on one's callings, one may also participate in the work of still other groups, and so attend choir practice or regular meetings of the bishopric, ward welfare, or priesthood executive committees. Usually, Monday evenings are reserved for family home evening. This is primarily designed to provide an opportunity for the members of the family to be together and use their time to discuss family matters, schedules, and work to be done, have a spiritual lesson and discussion, and, finally, relax. These evenings usually involve a common prayer as well.

The schedule for the rest of the week varies depending on the age group and the calling of each Saint. Various meetings during the week include Boy and Cub Scout meetings, scripture study class for the teens, and basketball. Men do home teaching, women visiting teaching, whereby they visit one of several assigned families at least once a month. During this they go to other Saints' homes to meet them, teach them the Scriptures, and help them in their daily needs. Women also have a homemaking evening once a month to provide them with good ideas about decorating, with time to try a new recipe and discuss various problems as well as socialize. Besides these, there are various social events: sporting events, dances, service projects, conferences, etc.

Everyone belongs to a group based on age and gender. Children aged three to eleven are in the Primary, which meets for Primary lessons each Sunday before sacrament meeting. The format and material for these lessons are provided by the General Primary Board in Salt Lake City. Primaries also have activity days for the children on other days. Then, until the age of 18, teens attend meetings of the Young Men's or Young Women's organizations. Adult men who hold the priesthood have priesthood meetings, while women are members of the Relief Society, which also meets on Sunday. For recent adult converts, the Gospel Essentials class is offered until they pass it and can join the appropriate standard organization within the Church.

Sainthood entails various financial obligations. Everyone is expected to pay a tithe, or 10% of their income. In addition to this, there is the fast offering on the first Sunday of each

month: on this day Saints fast and donate to the Church the price of two meals. Besides these regular offerings, the Church also makes occasional appeals for additional donations; with these as with all their other gifts to the Church, Saints may donate over the required amount if they see fit. A careful record of member donations is kept in each ward, and quarterly reports are submitted to headquarters in Salt Lake City. A portion of the money donated is used to maintain the bishop's storehouse, which is a warehouse of goods which can be distributed to the needy upon a bishop's request. The Saints must also store enough food as well as clothes and fuel for their own use, if possible, for one year, which they then donate and replace annually, so that everyone will be supplied in case of need or upon the Second Coming.

The Saints are also involved in record keeping. They make regular entries in their journals; these are the personal narratives of their lives. They are also deeply involved in genealogical research, which I view as a subtle form of missionary work: everyone may act as a proxy and receive baptism and endowments as well as be sealed to one's family in the name of a deceased person. This is a task from which other activities may develop: some people develop their own family newsletters, others organize family reunions, and still others are even inspired to make the long trip to connect the names of distant relatives they have found on microfiche to real-life people. Some Saints confess that this gives them a strong emotional tie to their relatives, dead or alive; by doing research on them they feel that they know them intimately and a strong link develops

between their present and past.

Accounts indicate that strong relationships may develop out of callings. These are the various duties the Saints are asked to perform by the Church. They may vary depending on the permanent and temporary projects of the Church: all bishops, teachers of the various classes, choir members, public communications directors, decorators, etc., perform these tasks because they were called to do them. It is also common to do volunteer work in addition to the callings; however, most often it seems to be enough of an effort to maintain a job, care for a family, and meet one's callings without anything extra, so the amount of volunteer work seems to be diminishing. Naturally, one may turn a calling down based on one's free agency, a choice, which is usually acceptable as long as there is a reasonable explanation given for the refusal; however, most of the time the Saints accept their callings as they believe they would not have been called if they were not able to take the calling.

Most Saints assign significance to taking and fulfilling these callings as these comprise one way to perfect themselves; each of these is viewed as a significant step in the continuum of the eternal progression, as with each calling they learn something new, something different, which will also help them in all aspects of their lives. Callings present the most obvious area where the dialectics of the two fundamental principles: free agency versus authority may be conceptualized, often leading to the permanent redefinition and reevaluation of one's self.

The features which mark Sainthood most clearly and noticeably can be found in their dress code and the Word of

Wisdom. The dress code codifies the Church's expectations of the Saints' outward appearance. This should be especially observed on special occasions, such as on Sundays or on missions, especially at institutes affiliated with the Church, such as at Brigham Young University or Ricks College. It requires the Saints to dress in a conservative and traditional manner: men are requested to keep their hair short, to wear tailored shirts and neat dress pants--not jeans or baggy t-shirts. Women are to wear neat, simple dresses or skirts, preferably below knee-length, with nice shoes. They are expected to wear their hair long, at least shoulder-length. The way the Saints describe the manner in which they dress and present themselves can be described in one word: modest.

Another part of their dressing culture is the holy undergarment with which one is presented when receiving his/her endowments. It comes in one piece and covers the whole body except for the legs and arms. The Saints, once they have received it, must never remove it entirely. It is thought to have protective power which is strengthened by the various symbols of Freemason origin embroidered over the more significant human organs. Another special garment is the one they wear in the temple: it is a very loose, pure white garment covering the whole body. The Word of Wisdom regards issues of health, including eating habits. It describes the healthy way to live, with warnings as well as certain restrictions the Saints must keep, such as abstinence from alcohol, drugs, tea, and coffee.

The Church has established traditions, holidays, and designated places of pilgrimage as well as a culture of drama

performances called pageants, literature, music, painting, architecture and urban design, rudimentary folklore, and educational institutions, among other areas. The most outstanding holiday is Pioneer Day, celebrated on July 24 each year to commemorate the landtaking of the Mormon pioneers in Utah. Numerous places along the trail from East to West have been designated historic sites and draw many visitors, among these the jail and meeting house in Carthage, New York, and Nauvoo, Illinois. The history of this exodus as well as that of earlier days as recorded in *The Book of Mormon* is often dramatized and performed in the form of road shows or pageants. The most well-known permanent venue for these pageants is Hill Cumorah where tens of thousands of Saints travel to see these exceptional performances each summer. Major anniversaries of outstanding historic events are also commemorated, the most recent one having been in 1997, marking the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the Mormon Pioneers in Utah. One of the more spectacular parts of this event was the opening of the Trail of Tears: thousands and thousands of Saints took the cross-country journey on foot and in wagons, as the pioneers had once done, all the way to the Salt Lake district, their present homeland.

In order to be able to organize, coordinate, and disseminate information on all these events and Church projects, the Saints have established a well-developed system of media: newspapers, periodicals, books, movies, tapes, radio stations, etc., help them to maintain their faith, and to improve themselves and learn more, providing them with ideas for self-improvement. The capital necessary to maintain these along with other Church

institutions is provided not only by the tithing system and various offerings, but also by Church income from its numerous investments. A whole Mormon subculture with tiny objects, such as special rings,[226] ties, bookmarks, board games, cookbooks, pins, reprints, folders, etc., acts as a reminder of their faith day after day.

3. Family Life

Family is treated as the most significant and basic unit of the Mormon Church. The Saints view families as the extension of the family of God, that is, the Church. "Everyone, before coming to this earth, lived with Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother, and each was loved and thought by them as a member of their eternal family."[227] Saints originally existed as spirit babies which unite with a physical body at birth in order to grow and develop on earth in order to reunite with Heavenly Father on the highest level of heaven after death: this is the essence of their teaching of the plan of eternal progression and salvation theory. This fundamental notion guides and motivates the Saints to take up various callings and to progress and study through them, by facing new challenges throughout their lives. In order to be able to live in heaven with God, one must prove himself

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[226] Such as the CTR ring ("Choose the Right") often given to men leaving for a mission or the "Time and Eternity" band for married couples.

[227] *Doctrine and Covenants* 93:33. I must add that the faith is rather vague on the role of the Heavenly Mother. One woman explained that the Heavenly Father has chosen not to reveal more about her, and He must have had His own reasons.

worthy and conduct a flawless life on earth as well as have all the temple endowments and be sealed to one's family through temple marriage and baptism for the dead. This way, family becomes an eternal unity.

The family structure the Church embraces is still very traditional and patriarchal. As one interviewee stated, the father who holds the priesthood has the greater authority, the mother the greater responsibility. As men are the leaders of the Church and the family by virtue of the fact that only they may be the holders of the priesthood, their work is often administrative and is connected to policymaking, both being authoritative at their core. They are also the breadwinners, the heads of their families, and the ones empowered to offer comfort in times of distress to everyone by administering the patriarchal blessing.

Most women interviewed declared that their main purpose in life is to be good homemakers: wives and mothers. This indicates that despite the fact that many Mormon women have criticized the Church for its stand on female roles, the Church has maintained its original position on gender roles, which women accept and observe. The tenet that even the worthiest Mormon woman may not reach the highest level in heaven unless married to a worthy Mormon man[228] in the temple, i.e., real salvation is available only through one's husband, places an enormous pressure on those who do not meet all these conditions, sometimes even resulting in divorce.

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[228] This is only one of the many ways in which women depend on men in the Church, even after death.

Mormons also act as if their Church were a family and, thus, often feel entitled to interfere in private matters if they find them not in line with the expectations. For example, several women indicated the pressure resulting from the fact that in case they are unable to or do not wish to have many children--that is, six or more--or cannot have any, they become constant targets of intrusive questions and hurtful comments on the parts of other Saints. Women also seem to do the bulk of the work not only at home but in Church as well. They are involved in all the aid and relief programs, organize and provide food and entertainment at most events and do most of the teaching as well.

Children must also live up to high expectations and lead highly regulated and structured, and, ultimately, exemplary lives. They have to show a high level of achievement at school, participate in various programs and classes offered by the Church and keep the very strict moral code which, according to my interviewees, is most difficult if one lives with non-Mormons, typically outside of Utah. One mother living on the East Coast said that she would love her children to go to Brigham Young University--not because of the quality of education, which happens to be overall high, but because they could finally be immersed in Mormon culture and surrounded only by Saints.

What follows is a selection of the most significant and common practices related to Mormon family life. I consider all these as prescribed for the members by their faith and Church and, in that sense, that they restrict their lives, although they themselves may find them enabling and empowering. In most cases, the Church uses selections from its Gospel when

institutionalizing these practices in order to demonstrate how they have been commanded or suggested by God, the final and never-questioned authority. However, I have encountered examples of differences of opinion and differences in the way these practices are performed among the interviewees, but they all agreed on their significance and value, and assured me they strived to observe them, but admitted they found them too much or too difficult to do at times.

i. Family Home Evening

Doctrine and Covenants commands the Saints to "bring up your children in light and truth" in verse 93:40 and to help them "to understand the doctrine of repentance, faith in Christ the Son of the living God, and of baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost" in verse 68:25. Based on these, in 1915 the Church Presidency urged the Saints to introduce the practice of home evenings during which parents would teach their children the principles of the Gospel as well as prepare them for adult life by discussing their future duties and obligations toward their families, homes, Church, society, and nation--in that order. Church historians claim that the onset of urbanization in Utah, contributing to the fear of alienation and devaluation of traditional social structures and values, necessitated a renewed focus on family and the introduction of this practice.

In that same year, the Church began publishing manuals for these home evenings, the one in current use being called *Family Home Evening Resource Book*. These are comprised of numerous

detailed, three- or four-page lesson plans. A member of the family chooses one of the topics from the manual, which s/he presents after the opening hymn and prayer. These teachings of the Gospel are often accompanied by examples regarding their possible application in real-life situations, to which they also devote time. Afterwards, the family may discuss weekly schedules, responsibilities, personal problems, etc. The Church also urges that playing with the children, singing, or other enjoyable activities also be included. A great variety of toys and games, such as various board games, designed by the Church are available to assist parents in spending the time allocated for fun in a religious context, teaching a bit more about the faith through play as well. These evenings are usually held on Monday, so neither the family nor the Church makes other plans then.

This practice seems to be one which everyone strives to uphold. It has become for many Saints the only means necessary to ensure that the family remains a cohesive unit. As one interviewee said:

> I think about whether or not we will be able to be a good Mormon family--have family home evening and teach our children like they say you should in the *Ensign*.[229] I want it. I think that if we don't have that, then our family would fall apart. In the United States it is easy to have children and not even know them. I want our family to be like the church has taught us.[230]

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[229] This is the monthly magazine published by the Church for adult readers. Among the various sections and articles there are always pieces devoted to materials and new ideas about how to improve one's family and conduct an enjoyable and instructive home evening.

[230] Taber 1993, 235.

The format of the family home evening along with its teachings about faith, family, leading a proper life, and appropriate gender roles, has become second nature for the Saints and even appears at times to be a basic need, having been impressed upon them at an early age. As family is the main platform for socializing children as well as providing a framework for not only future behavioral but also cognitive patterns, each practice which gives way to the expression of Mormon ideology in the home contributes greatly to faith and membership maintenance as well as to social role development and identity formation within the Mormon context. Home evening also acts both as a key membership-retaining mechanism and as a way to proselytize: the practice is observed even if there are non-Church members in the family, who are also invited to join in, and actually participate, as many of the cases indicate.

Therefore, this practice establishes a framework for a weekly missionary activity within the family with the purpose of eventually converting everyone to the faith. Its advantages are almost necessities: practically as--although never stated this way, this is an obvious conclusion from the teachings--true salvation can really be achieved in the unit of the family, and not alone. This form of communal salvation rests on intellectual and emotional manipulation and, as not keeping in line with the teachings and requirements of the Church may even result in a feeling of being threatened with the loss of family, friends, and even jobs at times, it may provide ontological security. And it is this safety which many interviewees named as one of the major appeals of the Mormon Church.

Besides family home evenings, adult Church members are also encouraged to organize special evenings or events regularly in order to spend more time with their children in general, or in smaller groups based on age or gender, or one on one. Depending on how these are organized, they are called "mom and the girls" or "dad and the boys" or "mom and me" or "dad and me." During these events they either go out to have lunch or dinner together, go camping or bowling, have a picnic or engage in some other enjoyable activity. Young adult interviewees all indicated that they enjoyed these activities the most as they felt they were truly about family members being together and having a good time, bonding, and enjoying one another's company with no formal ideological or instructional parts attached.

## ii. Private Prayers and Blessings

Family prayers every morning and evening are considered by the Church to be "a duty and a privilege." "Pray in your families unto the Father, always in my name, that your wives and your children may be blessed," said the Savior in 3 Nephi 18:21. Prayer is believed to build faith and loyalty within the family as members turn to God together with grateful hearts for all His blessings as well as with humble requests when in special need. It provides a fixed structure for the permanent presence of God and faith in the family as well as acting as a control mechanism, seemingly independent of the Church, as it is family members who overview the process and know which members do not participate. By obliging the Saints to have such frequent group prayers, the

Church introduced this easy-to-maintain, do-it-yourself system of membership and commitment control which for the Saints seems to be totally independent of the Church.

One of the most powerful institutions of the Church and sainthood is individual prayer. People are encouraged to pray regularly about all kinds of personal matters and ask Heavenly Father to provide guidelines or answers to their questions. Often, when in great need these prayers may be accompanied by fasting, which helps the soul to focus more on spiritual matters and God's response.

Another option is to request friends and family to pray along for strength and affirmation. The responses may take two forms. The interviewees who themselves had numerous experiences in this area described these as follows: when kneeling and praying intensely about something, all of a sudden a feeling may come over one which is an answer delivered by the Holy Ghost. This they call inspiration. Or an angel may appear and provide the answer, this being called a revelation or a vision.

The impact of this is enormous, both individually and socially. Numerous interviewees recounted experiences of revelations or inspirations--the latter being more common--when discussing individual praying. Praying provides strength and safety for the individual as the Saint knows that God will answer one's prayers. It is mentioned as a prime example of free agency and the lack of Church control. The Saints maintain that if they pray about something and receive an answer which may not be to the liking of the Church leaders, they have the right to follow
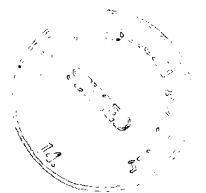
their revelation[231] and not what the church would expect them to do. One interviewee also added that this does not happen very often as the leaders and members alike pray to the same God, so it follows that the answers must be in harmony. However, this raises a key point in Church leadership: if a leader justifies something by saying that he received it in a revelation, no one may challenge it. This is an acceptable explanation in itself: that is, no rational explanation, no argumentation, no membership interference is accepted. This unegalitarian tendency among the Saints is a sign of authoritarianism and correlates with the same justification on the level of the individual which, as many claim, is the basis for the individualistic nature of the Church.

Everyone, regardless of gender, is able to pray to God, ask for relief in times of need, and receive revelations albeit it is only holders of the priesthood, that is, men, who are able to give blessings. The Mormon faith distinguishes between two types of blessings. One is the blessing of children which is done a few weeks after a child is born to a Latter-day Saint family, at the next fast and testimony meeting. "Every member of the church of Christ having children is to bring them unto the elders before the church, who are to lay their hands upon them in the name of

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[231] The Church observes that every Saint may receive revelations or inspirations regarding their own personal matters, but only leaders of the church may receive revelations regarding the work of the people they lead. Thus, it is only the President who may receive a revelation regarding Church doctrine and policy. This has happened twice so far: one was about the ban on polygamy, the other about the priesthood of people of color. This feature of the Mormon Church provides the flexibility many claim as a mark of modern religions, which are able to apply themselves and their faith to the changing world and society around them.

Jesus Christ, and bless them in his name."[232] This is also the time when the child "formally and officially" receives his/her name and when "the proper church records are made so that the necessary genealogical data will be preserved."[233] As the actual baptism does not take place before the child reaches the age of 8, this blessing is considered to be a symbolic act, a gesture towards the Church, but as it has no real significance in terms of salvation, it is viewed merely as a pleasant event.

However, the second type of blessing, called the patriarchal blessing, is of crucial significance and power. The Saints differentiate between ordained and natural patriarchal blessings: the first is administered usually only once in a lifetime by someone who is an ordained patriarch in the Church, while the second one may be given anytime by anyone who was married in the temple and, thus, has become a natural patriarch in his family.[234] The ordained patriarchal blessing is based on Genesis verse 49: "Jacob called his sons and said, 'Gather together that I may declare to you what lies before you in times to come'." As the Mormon Church maintains that the members of the Church are literal descendants of Jacob, they also claim that they inherited the ability and power to perform patriarchal blessings just as Jacob did. These are recorded[235] blessings contemplating an

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[232] *Doctrine and Covenants* 20:70.

[233] Bruce McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 91.

[234] Natural patriarchs may give their blessings to anyone in need outside of their family as well.

[235] The recorded tape is sent to Salt Lake City to the archives, and in time the receiver of the blessing is sent a typed copy which is usually kept in the book of remembrance.

"inspired declaration of the lineage" of the recipient which also may include prophetic statements regarding one's future life: blessings to come, errors and dangers to be wary of, the future of one's private and professional life, etc. It also contains statements regarding the significance of maintaining proper moral conduct and worthy membership in the Church throughout one's life.

This blessing had marked the path of the future for some of the interviewees. One of them said that he did not know what to do with his life and, as his patriarchal blessing "said something about business," he decided to pursue that direction. He was 28 at the time of the interview and owned his "own insurance agency, ... investment business, and ... financial planning company. I believe the Lord has led me,"[236] he concluded. Another woman recollected how for years she was not able to have a child, but in the end she did give birth to one and had known it would happen because of her patriarchal blessing.

Natural patriarchal blessings are usually requested at the time of great moments of happiness, challenge, or distress in life. The number of stories regarding the magical power of these blessings is endless. Most everyone was able to recollect a blessing which led to a miracle in one's life. Most of these were related to health: when adults or children unexpectedly and suddenly recovered from a serious illness after their blessing or women became pregnant after they had received a blessing. Other examples came from people from all walks of life: unexpectedly receiving money, food, or help when one was in

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[236] Taber 1993, 342.

desperate need. Accounts about the ability to know that someone

must give a blessing are also in abundance.

These miraculous events serve to strengthen the bond between

the Saints and the Church.

> A year later I got pregnant. I called my father when
> I found out and acknowledged him [sic] that I knew I
> was pregnant because of his blessing. I think it was
> the beginning of a lot of things for me. ... I was
> just thrilled to death to have the experience of being
> pregnant after ten years of marriage. We thought,
> "Well, this is a nice little family." Elizabeth was
> three, Stephen was two,[237] and Jane was a little baby.
> Then a year later I got pregnant again and had John.
> We had an instant family.[238]

The power and the impact of the blessing compares to nothing

else. "Thanks to the blessings, I had a lot of miracles happen

in my family,"[239] as one woman put it. For some it provides the

reason to stay with the faith and the strength to keep on taking

the callings. "In ... my patriarchal blessing I was promised to

be in the celestial kingdom. I think, 'He gave me this much.

It's the least I can do to try one more day'."[240] The mystical

power attributed to these blessings also results in the need to

have it available constantly, that is, the emergence of a kind

of dependence. "[W]hen Jonathan[241] hurt his foot, naturally the

first thing he wanted was a priesthood blessing."[242] One would

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[237] They were adopted by the couple.

[238] Taber 1993, 42.

[239] Taber 1993, 272.

[240] Taber 1993, 229.

[241] The young son of the interviewee.

[242] Taber 1993, 153.

suppose that the natural thing would have been for him to turn to his mother or father for comfort. The fact that it is a blessing which provides comfort and a sense of security and that it is considered to be natural indicates how deeply attached Mormon children may be to the faith already in their early years.

It also signifies how the Mormon hierarchy heavily relying on the superiority of men and their rank in the priesthood is reproduced by many of the young men as well as the women. Ultimately, it is the Church through its representative to whom the major mechanism of attachment is expressed in order to maintain safety and security in life. It also contributes to the freezing of time and traditional family structure and roles which turns into a merit of difference from the surrounding American non-Mormon society.

iii. Word of Wisdom

Another significant sign that marks the borders between the Saints and the rest of the American society is the Word of Wisdom. It was instituted in 1833 when Joseph Smith received a revelation regarding the use of wine, alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee,[243] as described in Section 89 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*. It commands the Saints to abstain from these substances and recommends that they also consume meat "sparingly." The Saints view this as an instruction regarding

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[243] Gary Shepherd and Gordon Shepherd in their *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984) call attention to the connection between the Word of Wisdom and the temperance and health reform movement in the last century in the US.

health matters and believe that by keeping the Word of Wisdom
they will have a stronger body and mind, as one interviewee said:
"physical and mental fitness." It also provides the basis for
the active sports life the Church supports. The Word of Wisdom
is something that is religiously observed by the vast majority
of Saints. This is more difficult in families where not every
member is a Saint, but everyone indicated that they do their
utmost to keep this command.

The role of the Word of Wisdom was summed up by one of the
interviewees as follows: "I like the Word of Wisdom because it
makes me different."[244] Davies[245] draws a similar conclusion in
her study of the origin and impact of this ban. She finds that
the prohibition of alcohol consumption and smoking and the
warning to have a limited meat intake can be considered
reasonable as they may result in serious illnesses, as more
recent medical findings bear out. However, she maintains that
tea and coffee are a separate category as "it is unlikely that
moderate consumption of them has any major detrimental effect on
health."[246] She proposes that this form of abstinence comprises
an aspect of Mormon collective identity in two ways. One, it
makes it relatively difficult for the Saints to socialize with
non-Mormons; they are, therefore, "more likely to form patterns

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[244] Taber 1993, 228.

[245] Christie Davies, "Coffee, tea and the ultra-protestant
and Jewish nature of the boundaries of Mormonism," in Douglas
Davies ed., *Mormon Identities in Transition* (New York: Cassell,
1996), 35-45.

[246] Davies 1996, 37.

of sociability restricted to members of their own group."[247]
Two, it is "a daily reminder that they are a peculiar people, a group set apart, who live in the world but are not of the world."[248] As these last words also imply, the Word of Wisdom may also contribute to their pride and to truly being a "Saint", as their name for self-identification also signifies.

Some of the interviewees also mentioned that the Word of Wisdom is also intertwined with various other aspects of their faith. One way they referred to is the plan of eternal progression: they maintain that abstinence is conducive to a healthy life which prepares them more for godhood. The other area they pointed out was the issue of finances: the Saints do not spend money on destructive substances, such as tea or coffee or cigarettes, and are, thus, better off financially and able to pay their tithes to the Church as well as to provide for their families. Only one interviewee who considered himself to be a Jack Mormon said that he does not keep the Word of Wisdom because it makes no sense not to drink tea or coffee, while another Saint said that it saved his life as he was sure he would be an alcoholic without it, with no family, job, house, etc. Thus, for him the Word of Wisdom enabled him to become a respectable member of society, bringing him pride, happiness, and satisfaction.

iv. Visual Symbolism and Moral Code

The Mormon moral code refers to the expectations of the

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[247] Davies 1996, 38.

[248] Davies 1996, 38.

Church with regard to the proper manner of dressing, behaving, and speaking.[249] It is conservative and calls for cleanliness, modesty, and simplicity. As previously discussed, the Church maintains that modest dressing reflects respect and commitment to the self, other fellow beings, and God. As the body is viewed as a temple, the manner of dressing should express that as well as guard against temptation. The Church requires the Saints especially to honor Sunday by dressing up neatly and properly.

The dress code is even more strict for students on the campus of Brigham Young University or for missionaries. Women should not wear pants, only longer dresses or skirts. They are to have at least shoulder-length hair, wear no jewelry and maintain modesty. Men are expected to look neat, well-groomed and serious: to wear simple, nice long pants and not shorts, with long-sleeved shirts. Their hair must be cut short and kept clean.

The interviewees seemed to approve of the dress code for various reasons. Some expressed the opinion that because of the code Saints outside of areas with large Mormon populations may identify each other rather easily. One interviewee said that he likes this code because it relaxes and frees one: one can focus on the inside, the mind, and the spiritual values in the other and not dwell on external features such as look or fashion. It also establishes a sense of equality and democracy, as one interviewee pointed out. Another person was of the opinion that the dress code has also contributed to the financial success of

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[249] Giddens points out that eating habits, health-care, and dress code, among others, are primary signs of social identity.

the Saints as they do not buy expensive and fashionable designer clothes so they can save more.

The Saints are not just instructed to keep these rules but are to some extent forced to maintain some of them because of the undergarments they wear which would prevent them from exposing too much of their bodies. This garment of the holy priesthood is presented to everyone regardless of gender the first time they visit the temple in a ritual.[250] Thus, this is a sacred garment which

> acts as a protection from evil and harm, but only insofar as it symbolically represents the power given by the endowment as one keeps the commandment of God. ... when anyone removes the garments or mutilates them or in any way disrespectfully uses them, he removes the power it represents.[251]

This one- or two-piece undergarment which is like a white cotton t-shirt and a pair of boxer shorts, is worn by the Saints all the time. Its magic power derives from various symbols embroidered on areas which cover certain of the organs: "a Masonic square over the right breast, a compass over the left breast, a Masonic gauge or rule over the navel, and another over the right knee."[252] Thus, the undergarment acts as a magic protective shield for worthy Saints. The aura of magic which surrounds it is supported further by the manner in which used

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[250] First, they are washed with water, then anointed with oil by temple workers of the same gender as the receiver, and then the garment is placed upon them while a sacred text is recited explaining the significance of the garment.

[251] Allen Barber, *Celestial Symbols* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon, 1989), 138-9.

[252] Ed Decker, *Decker's Complete Handbook on Mormonism* (Eugene, OR: Harvest, 1995), 386.

ones may be discarded: first, the symbols must be carefully cut out and burnt, and the rest of the garment may then be thrown out.

As this is a topic related to secret pieces of information--they must not discuss what these symbols are, their meaning, or the manner in which they dispose of them--Mormons must not expose too much about the symbols and their meaning nor share anything about the ceremonies during which they receive the undergarments, the Saints try to avoid the topic, except when they are specifically asked about it. In Mormon circles faith-promoting stories about the power of the garment, some of which are practically legends, are numerous; belief in its sacred and mystical power is widely held. The Saints become so accustomed to wearing it that they would feel naked without it, as one interviewee noted. It is also a permanent reminder of their faith and that they must remain faithful Saints in order to enjoy the magic protective power of the garment. It also functions as a control mechanism: as one interviewee offered, after she had converted, she went shopping for clothes with some other Mormon women who, when she wanted to try a particular dress, immediately disapproved saying: "Oh, but you can't wear that one with garments."[253]

Another significant set of garments is that worn in the temple. These are white clothes: white cotton shirt, pants or skirt, hat or headscarf,[254] and moccasins as well as an apron to

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[253] Taber 1993, 39.

[254] This is the Mormon term for a kerchief used as a head covering.

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symbolize the spiritual cleanliness of the Saints and their equal status in the sight of God and one another. This is the proper clothing for the temple--and nowhere else--during all the ceremonies and rituals. The uniform-like pieces are very simple and loose in cut and are worn with no jewelry.

Although wearing jewelry is not encouraged by the Church, there are three typically Mormon rings which are available in all Mormon stores and may also be ordered from catalogues. One of these is the CTR ring:[255] the letters stand for "Choose the Right." This ring is typically given as a present and another reminder of the faith and the proper manner of conduct and behavior. Most of the missionaries I met wore a CTR ring: they had received it either from a family member or their girlfriend. The basic structure is always identical: the letters are engraved in a shield-shaped area on the top of the ring. Naturally, there are certain variations, e.g., in one design a small teddy bear is holding the shield with the words, or the words are spelled out around a stone in the middle--this one is only for women.

The second ring is presented only to missionaries: the RWH ring which is the abbreviation for "Return with honor." This is by far not as widely used as the CTR ring, and the letters are simply engraved into the top of a band, in a rectangular area. Similarly, the third type of ring is also a simple band with the word "eternity" engraved into it. Marriages in the Mormon Church are "for time and eternity", and this is what this band

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[255] This ring is available in many other languages, the Hungarian version is VAJ: "Válaszd a jót!".

symbolizes. These rings not only symbolize church membership toward the rest of society but also the Mormon faith and the complex social, cultural, psychological, and spiritual milieu it evokes. They may also act as signs of social rank and status among the Saints, indicating marital status and missionary activity.

The Church instructs its members to be humble, respectful, polite, kind, and always ready to help the needy, regardless of faith or color. They are to observe the Sabbath and go to church, abstain from taking the Lord's name in vain and "bad language" in general as well as movies rated R. They are to read books which are void of descriptions of violence or explicit sex scenes.

Moderation is also the guiding principle in dating. It is recommended that young Mormons begin dating at the age of 16 or later. The Church tries to provide a number of activities for the young and for singles. Excellent youth programs " (including track meetings, road shows, supervised dances, cookouts, camps, sports activities, firesides, work and service projects, and much more) filled a gap in my life that might otherwise have been filled with early dating and associations in unsavory places."[256] Thus, the major platform for early socializing outside the family is mainly provided by the Church. It is, therefore, no surprise that the Saints intermarry and many interviewees, especially women, declared that it is better not to get married at all than to marry someone who is not a Latter-day Saint as their full salvation may only be reached through a Mormon husband. These

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[256] Lateyne Scott 1990, 80.

occasions are also key retain mechanisms and result in a learned pattern of social behavior as a result of which these young Saints do not even wish to socialize extensively with outsiders. Events, classes, and wards organized for singles also contribute to the same ends. This is how the Church attempts to maintain natural membership growth, and is able to refer to family history and the past within a religious framework.

The control mechanism functions in several ways: through the families of the young people, their visiting or home teachers, and other Church members. As single dating is ruled out, dating with a chaperon or double or group dating is encouraged. This way misbehavior, taking drugs, not observing the Word of Wisdom, or premarital sex can be ruled out. As we can see, this is really not a faith for privacy. This may be one of the reasons why people enter into marriage so rapidly. Several interviewees said that they got married within a few weeks or months of meeting their partner. The place where one is most likely to meet a partner is Brigham Young University. As one interviewee stated: "You're supposed to meet your wife at BYU and live happily ever after."[257] It is common knowledge that many young women go there to find a husband and, hopefully, even get a Bachelor's degree. The ideal candidates for a husband are the RMs, or returned missionaries, as they have completed one of the most crucial rites of passage and are in a higher position in the priesthood. RMs are also expected to have a firm grounding in the faith, to have learned about living with another person during their mission service, and to be ready to start a

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[257] Taber 1993, 341.

family.

v. Financial Obligations

The Saints also carry a heavy load of financial obligations toward their Church.[258] "A rough estimate of the amount that a faithful Mormon will give annually ... would average about twenty-six percent of his income."[259] The financial policy was initiated in 1838, when Smith received a revelation regarding church funds, which stated that the Saints "shall pay one-tenth of all their interest annually."[260] This revelation followed the one about the United Order, also known as the law of consecration which comprises Section 104 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*. This revelation contains instructions to the Saints for caring for others, especially the poor. The United Order was to be organized in accordance with these instructions; it ordered the Saints to hand over all their surplus to the Church which--as it was considered to be the property of God--was in turn given in stewardship to the leaders of the Church to manage and use in order to help the Church and needy Saints. It also promises that those who fulfill their financial obligations will be blessed and provided for. After the establishment of the United Order, various specific structures were also instituted to the same end, such as tithing, fast offering, the Emergency and Rescue Fund,

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[258] Although these are general aspects of Mormonism, I included them in this section, as usually they are met by the family as a unit.

[259] Latayne Scott 1979, 221.

[260] *Doctrine and Covenants* 119:4.

the Temple Patron Assisting Fund, and the welfare system.

At present, tithing is 10% of the total income of the members. It is taken very seriously and is viewed as the basic amount to be contributed for the maintenance and growth of the Church. It seems to be a commonly held view that the promise of God's blessing in Section 104 is regularly kept, and several interviewees claimed that once they started paying their tithes regularly, all their financial problems disappeared. Statements like "I never had to worry about cash flow after I started paying tithing"[261] are rather frequent. Thus, for many paying tithing is a voluntarily performed practice, a type of self-insurance whereby the very act of paying it grants one financial security, well-being, and blessing. Only one interviewee challenged this, stating that maybe it is just that paying tithing tends to give people more self-control and prevents them from overspending. Thus, it is a mechanism and way of life which emerges out of the payment of tithes which is, in the end, a requirement of the Church.

This becomes most apparent when one wishes to receive a temple recommend or wants to renew it and one of the first questions asked would be whether he paid tithing or not. The Church also keeps accurate and precise accounts regarding the amounts of tithing and other offerings. This involves an enormous amount of work, all done by the Saints as a calling. In each ward the clerk keeps the record of various offerings made each week, hands the money over to the bishop who deposits it in the bank and sends a letter to the donor acknowledging the

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[261] Taber 1993, 320.

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receipt of the money given. Then, every three months the clerk sends a financial report to headquarters in Salt Lake City on this income so they will also have accurate information on the financial situation of each ward. Each year there is also a personal visit by the stake president and representatives who check all the records as well as the affairs and success of the given ward the previous year, encourage the ward leaders to do better work and hope to assist in their work by recommending possible improvements.

Each month the most rewarding financial day is fasting day. Every Saint fasts on a given Sunday each month and presents the amount paid for two meals as a fast offering to the Church which is distributed among the poor. There are also bishop's storehouses[262] where any Saint may go and receive all the food, clothing, and other household necessities s/he needs on presentation of a bishop's order allowing the free purchase. This is one key element of the Church welfare program which officially started in 1936. An employment office and program, a number of canneries attached to storehouses in which church volunteers canned food for the storehouses, welfare farms, and other work projects, such as remodelling buildings, are also part of the welfare program. Deseret Industries also developed out of these "to prepare its workers to move into the commercial market and hold responsible jobs, thus becoming self-supporting."[263] Various branches produce furniture, mattresses,

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[262] In 1995 there were 100 regional storehouses in operation in the US.

[263] Glen Rudd, *Pure Religion: The Story of Church Welfare since 1930* (Salt Lake City: LDS, 1995), 209.

food, and meat products, among other things, which are sold in their own stores.

The Church has also established various funds to which the Saints may donate money and which are often related to assisting the needy. Thus, it is impossible for someone not to go on mission due to financial constraints, because the ward or the Church would help. The Mormon Church has also earned its reputation as a denomination which always provides assistance to victims of natural disasters, wars, or famine: the Church has offered its help in a number of cases, regardless of religious or ethnic affiliation. They have sent aid packages to various countries in sub-Saharan Africa, to Russia, and to Bosnia, and they are always among the helpers after a tornado or hurricane sweeps through an area in the US. These humanitarian efforts are acknowledged and greatly appreciated by those who benefit from them, other religious communities as well as governments.

The Saints also give individual offerings to the Church as well and are instructed to store food for one year as well as clothes and gas, if possible, in their homes for an emergency. As the food should be replaced by fresh products each year, the old, but still good, cans of food are also distributed among the poor.

These various financial obligations and rules place a high burden on many Saints, but most of them see this in a different light. Meeting these obligations is considered to be a part of keeping their faith and obeying God who commanded them. If they meet their duties, God's blessing will accompany them in their lives. This is why these practices are also liberating: the

certainty that the Church will always be able to provide for them

and take care of them and that the Saints will always be able to

rely on each other frees their minds of dark thoughts and a

permanent preoccupation with money. They also provide them with

security and, ultimately, the ontological security which grants

them the guardianship of the Church. Thus, financial obligations

may turn around and may be transformed into practices and

mechanisms with the help of which membership is maintained

through an appeal to one's most unstable psychological field,

ontological security, and through trust which is achieved by the

Church through the Scriptures and real-life examples.

4. History and Memory

This part includes literary practices of self-reflexivity

performed by the Saints. All of them are institutionalized forms

of identity formation, both individual and collective. The types

of narratives discussed can be defined as metanarratives into

which the authors are "embedded as contemporary actors in history

and as social scientists."[264]

Although the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is

not a state church, it still plays a similar role in the State

of Utah[265] and has developed an extensive system of structures

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[264] Sommers and Gibbons 1998, 63.

[265] According to the 1995-96 *Church Almanac*, 77% of Utah's
population in the given period was Mormon.

which impact all aspects and walks of life[266] of its community. From among the major American denominations, this church seems to devote the most effort to history, a way of rhetorical boundary construction. History in their case refers to four areas: (1) the biography of Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, along with that of other outstanding Mormon leaders; (2) the history of the Church, the series of events that comprise it and various interpretations of these events; (3) an ancestral history of the Latter-day Saints, which is signified not only as recent family history but also as the history of one's entire blood ancestry; and (4) the Saints' personal life stories. Naturally, some of these areas do overlap, but for the sake of a clearer picture, I will attempt to discuss the various practices related to these areas separately. Since it cannot be said that making the first two types of histories is a common practice among the Saints--albeit studying them certainly is--I will discuss only the last two areas in detail. The temporality of the practices to be dealt with here varies and, for the most part, are not bound to specific places.

i. Genealogical Research

One of the most significant practices expected of every church member is genealogical research, which is defined by the

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[266] For the development and contemporary state of their political, economic, educational, welfare and social life see: Marie Cornwall et al. eds., *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Gottlieb and Wiley, 1984; and John Heinerman and Anson Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985).

Church as family history.[267]   It has developed into an

institutionalized structure in the form of various types of

officially instituted practices within a discourse through which

the Saints constitute themselves as well as their faith.

"Members of the Church were instructed in the sacred role of

family history work in 1894"[268] by Church President Woodruff,

who, in order to provide the framework for this work, also

ordered that the Genealogical Society of Utah as well as area

genealogical research centers be established in the same year.[269]

Woodruff defined the purpose of genealogical work as the basis

for sealing families together for eternity. Strictly speaking,

in terms of Mormon theology, this is only possible by redeeming

the dead, the only means for Mormons to unite with their deceased

non-Mormon ancestors in heaven.

The actual ritual which offers redemption for the dead is

a sacred temple ceremony, baptism for the dead.[270] The original

keys to this power were granted to Joseph Smith in 1836 in the

Kirtland Temple by the spirit and power of Elijah; it was made

public in the fall of 1842 when Joseph Smith introduced it to the

Saints in Nauvoo, Illinois.   The purpose of this ritual is

twofold: to redeem the dead who, through no fault of their own,

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[267] This form allows for different family histories,
depending on which family member is the author.

[268] David Pratt, "Family History, Genealogy," in Daniel
Ludlow ed., *The Church and Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret,
1992), 205.

[269] In 1987 it was renamed the Family History Department. It
has been located in the Granite Mountain Research Vault since
1938, protected against nuclear blast and contains approximately
2 million pieces of microfilm.

[270] See *Doctrine and Covenants* 124:28-36; 127; and 128.

were unable to convert to Mormonism before their passing as well as to seal generations of families together.

I maintain, however, that it serves three other purposes as well: (1) it can be viewed as a type of mission work for the Saints--one of their most significant obligations; (2) it is a way to increase the number of Mormon souls; and (3) it offers a way to perfect the living Saints, that is, a key area in the eternal progression and plan of salvation. Through this ritual the dead souls are introduced, by proxy, to the Mormon faith and given the opportunity and free agency to decide if they wish to receive this blessing and convert to the faith or not. If they do, they will be admitted to heaven where they will join the rest of their ever-growing Mormon extended family and be sealed to them for eternity. As family is viewed as the basic and most significant unit of the Mormon faith, expanding one's family by providing the blessings of one's faith for relatives of other faiths--whether dead or living--is considered to be one of the highest spiritual rewards attainable in the Church.

Therefore, one must work hard to achieve this and fulfill certain requirements in order to stand in as a proxy for a departed[271] person: one should carry out extensive research in the course of which one identifies one's ancestors, collect information about them and their lives, which includes data on birth and death, marriage, children, as well as other key events in their lives. Once a Saints has learned about all these, he must prove that he is worthy and receive a temple recommend so

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[271] It is also possible to receive baptism for many deceased people at one time.

that he then may be baptized in the name of his ancestors, given his endowments, and sealed in eternal marriage. In this way, granted that the dead souls convert to Mormonism, several generations of families may be united for eternity.

The Church not only requires its members to carry out genealogical work but also provides the institutional framework for it: (1) it offers regular courses on the methodology of genealogical research; (2) with its endless number of publications, it guides researchers and explains what should be done, through what steps and methods, as well as in which manner the findings should be recorded and used; (3) throughout the country thousands volunteer at the genealogical centers to assist one in locating data and using the various types of equipment in one's research; (4) another network of missionary centers may facilitate local research done on site in numerous countries; and (5) once the individual's personal phase of the research is completed, the findings must be submitted to the Church Historian's Office for validation--that is, control.[272] If the results are accepted, thus officially registered and canonized by the Church, the information is submitted for temple work; then, baptism and other endowments may be granted in the name of the deceased.

As Leone points out, with this ritual the Church legitimizes the records borne of the individual's quest for knowledge. Thus, the whole process of research is initiated, shaped, overseen, and controlled by the Church, which also influences and monopolizes

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[272] Validation depends on the extent to which the content of the new piece is in agreement with previous findings, already canonized by the Church.

the findings; however, it is the individual who takes up this duty or accepts the calling to serve in this area, carries out the research, and contributes to the expanding wealth of information stored in Church libraries.[273]

This brings great happiness and a sense of accomplishment and significance to many: as one interviewee said, her husband "had tears in his eyes and all of us were touched by his joy at being sealed to his parents for eternity."[274] This research and temple work reunites families, the border between the dead and the living ceases to exist, and one receives the confirmation that all his loved ones will be together after death. One interviewee said:

> When I am reading the microfilms, sometimes, a spirit takes over and I feel very close to these people. Besides finding their names and dates, I like to find how they earned their living and a little about their trials and tribulations. I have some letters that were written in 1853 by one of my third great-grandmothers. I feel very close to her and to the people mentioned in them. I want to do the temple work for them.[275]

Faith, emotion, reality, history, and desire borne of duty-- all these may be detected from these words. Another person also

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[273] As the result of the Church's work, the Latter-day Saints' genealogical collection is the biggest and finest in the world. By 1993, between the family library files in the US and the Genealogical Center, the Saints had collected several million units of microfilm and microfiche as well as over five million books on over two billion deceased people. Detailed records of millions of people in some two hundred countries go back to the early 1500s. In 1989, the Vatican gave the Saints permission to use all Catholic Church membership records. For more information see Decker, 1993.

[274] Taber 1993, 209.

[275] Taber 1993, 217.

noted the impact of this work on increasing self-knowledge--or the projection of these findings onto one's self, thus contributing to identity formation:

> As I learn more about my ancestors, I find out a lot about myself, maybe why I'm like I am. With each little thing I find out, my family tree becomes more real. I guess when you do genealogy a lot of skeletons come out of the closet. ... I appreciate that my own ancestors are real close. They're still alive.[276]

As can be perceived, with time a sense of privilege develops out of the Saints' duty as does gratitude toward their Church for enabling them to perform this wonderful task, for providing the living the opportunity to assist the deceased and unite with them in the future. As one Saint noted:

> I enjoy going in the graveyards. ... Sometimes I can almost see people reaching out with their arms, wondering if I'm in their lineage. They've been waiting so many years ... There's so much work to be done, and I wish I were related to everybody so that I could get it done.[277]

Out of a duty develops a habit, a frame of mind, which, in this case, almost reaches the level of zeal, if not obsession. Gradually, this mindset and practice become an integral part of an individual's behavior and is viewed by him as being done on his own initiative, by his own power, and based on knowledge gained through information uncovered independently but, in fact, taken from the approved findings of previous generations. The Church, being the only organization to embrace this activity, is

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[276] Taber 1993, 219.

[277] Taber 1993, 220.

validated as the only true and real body with the keys to real haven and happiness. This was expressed discursively in one of the interviews. The interviewee had been considering leaving the Church and, when she shared this with another Saint, he just shook his head in disbelief and responded: "How can you think such things? Don't you know that if you leave the Church ... you will never be happy again!"[278] As the interviewee noted: "What a load to put upon a young mind."[279]

Many members, mainly women,[280] also devote time to doing their nuclear family's history. This is much narrower in its scope in time and space than genealogy and focuses on present-day family members and events. The purpose of this activity is not bound to one of the major responsibilities of the Saints, redeeming the dead, but takes on the form of a documentary narrative, more personal in content, for the purpose of being passed on to members of future generations.

Relevant activities include arranging family photographs, obtaining and keeping on file copies of marriage and birth certificates, keeping a journal, not only for themselves but also for their children or older members of the family as long as they are unable to do so for themselves, consulting with ward family history consultants regarding possible problems emerging in the course of the research, organizing family excursions to the area family history center and family unions, making a family calendar

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[278] Scott 1990, 86.

[279] Scott 1990, 86.

[280] This task is not gendered by rule--most families believe that mothers have the time and interest to do this.

replete with exhaustive information on members of the extended family so that they can be greeted on significant days, and taping interviews with elderly members or highly acknowledged and well-known members of the family.

The amount of work and devotion this would require is truly exceptional, as is the result. The amount of office-like work of sorting, organizing, filing, and record-keeping makes the individual household a micro-church and a micro-bureaucracy, confirming for the individual that he is in possession of documented, that is, validated, knowledge not only about the past but also about the present of his family and his Church, and that he is able, moreover, in large part to ensure his future success and happiness. This often contributes to the self-esteem of the individual: statements like "I am a fifth-generation Mormon" or "I am a descendant of Brigham Young,"[281] as well as facts of ostensibly much less importance, such as "My grandfather was Ezra Taft Benson's[282] Sunday school teacher for about three years"[283] are assigned great value and evoke others' respect and admiration and thus contribute to one's pride and sense of significance-- which, without such pieces of information, one may lack. And, naturally, as these carry real significance only within Mormon circles, it also functions as a retain mechanism.

Very often someone in the family undertakes the task of writing and publishing family newsletters regularly, and in the case of families which have been Mormon for several generations,

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[281] He was the second president of the Mormon Church.

[282] He was another president of the Church.

[283] Taber 1993, 298.

a book on family history is also frequently published. Being validated and objectified by the mere fact that these are printed and not just handwritten, everything included in these homemade books appears as facts, as reality, as the truth. They also create a sense of unity, coupled with a sense of separation, marking a difference from the rest of society through the experience of how members of the extended family maintained their faith and loyalty to Mormonism. Publications like these often recount personal visits and first meetings with distant relatives, detail the organizing of family reunions with over a hundred people attending, or describe the wonder of generations loving each other and staying together. The personal contact and the oral narratives about the family establish deep attachments and emotional ties as well as affirm the Church's validity.

ii. The Book of Remembrance

The individual's involvement in historical material and research "has created an elaborate, sustained, do-it-yourself system. The Church provides the rationale and motivation, the framework through kinship and genealogical charting, and the data in abundance,"[284] which the individual then must lend substance to. This idiosyncratic shaping of the past is taken further by the Book of Remembrance, which every family possesses, keeping its genealogical charts and records of important information on ancestors' school reports, positions held in the Church, places

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[284] Mark Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 199.

of residence, friends, and so on, but mainly of one's deeds of righteousness, merits, and accomplishments. The *Book of Remembrance Kit* and the *Progress Chart* assist the Saints in carrying out this task properly. It also encourages everyone to place related clippings into the book and to start a family chronology on the pages.

The Book of Remembrance is a "treasured cultural icon" among the Saints, one they are commanded to keep in Malachi 3:16-17: "This is what those who feared Yahweh used to say to one another. But Yahweh took note and heard them: a book of remembrance was written in his presence recording those who fear him and take refuge in his name." The Church maintains that this Old Testament verse defines it to be not only the right but also the duty of the individuals to keep this book, with their descendants and future generations in mind. One interviewee[285] said he started preparing his family's Book as a result of two years of urging from his wife but then became deeply involved once he had begun. In the first three years, he wrote over six hundred letters and compiled material based on which his Book of Remembrance goes back to 1480. This is another way to supply valuable materials for themselves, for their descendants, as well as for the Church itself.

This "rhetorical construction of blood descent," as Shipps defined it,[286] contributes further to family history, which in a way is a compilation of facts as well as what each person believes to be true about these through individual

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[285] Taber 1993, 168.

[286] 1994, 70.

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interpretations, and is a means of finding one's roots and identity and thus constructing--or even reconstructing--the individual world view, making order and sense of present existence. It is also part of a continuum, creating a dynamic relationship between the individual now, in the past as a potential intelligence, not yet embodied, and in the future as a potential god. This salvation history not only contains the salvation of the individual and his/her ancestors but also the salvation of the Church. These intertwined aspects require the guardianship of the Church, responding to and overshadowing the individual's work and freedom in this area.

iii. The Line of Priesthood

Another significant example of a means through which the Saints' emotional and intellectual attachment to their faith is furthered is the line of priesthood. Priesthood is only for men, but all members of the family regardless of gender take pride in it. It is a list of the names of men who have given patriarchal blessings in the priesthood line. One records who gave him this blessing, who that person received the blessing from, and so on, until practically the line reaches their prophet, Joseph Smith, as the spiritual father. The patriarchal blessing administered some time after one's baptism may reach even further back in time:

> This patriarchal blessing is so dear to me. Being
> dark, I thought maybe I was from the lineage of

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Manassah,[287] but my blessing said I was from the
lineage of Ephrahim.[288] Later on, when I read
books about this, I found it was something special.[289]

Sacralized by the very act that this lineage appears in
every male Saint's *Book of Mormon*, this is another way to
establish a historical continuum for the individual and, in a
sense, to echo the Mormon plan of eternal progression. This
lineage also provides one of the means through which a Saint can
inscribe his narrative, or autobiography,[290] into the web of
future signifiers wherein he himself is constituted as well as
restructured to become a signifier for future generations. In
this way, he invents himself and passes on his legacy with that
of the Mormon community and constitutes himself as an active
agent.

The sense of self-importance accompanying power is revealed
inasmuch as ultimately every male Saint is a spiritual descendant
of their prophet, Joseph Smith. Thus, the individual line of
priesthood is another organic unit in the Mormon community's
genealogy, a tiny blood vessel with capillaries. Through the

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[287] The proper spelling is Manasseh. According to the *Book
of Mormon*, he was the son of Joseph, father of a tribe of Israel,
who was against Judah. As the Mormon faith maintains that the
sin of ancestry is shown by the shade of one's skin, the
interviewee rightfully thought that because of his darker skin
he must be a descendant of someone who sinned, but as he was not
black, it could not have been Satan. Although the Church banned
the exclusion of members with color in 1976, the old teachings
still prevail, as this example also illustrates.

[288] Although the *Book of Mormon* states that he was also
against Judah, the *Doctrine and Covenants* in verse 64:36
establishes that "the rebellious are not of blood of Ephraim."

[289] Taber 1993, 97.

[290] Through one's diary, written stories, family tree,
publications related to family history, etc.

various practices discussed up to this point one is constantly surrounded by living as well as historical proof of why one does and can belong only to the Mormon community, which seems so clearly superior to other social groups in so many ways. Seeing all these, it would not occur to one to leave this habitat and faith, which is the only one to belong to based on one's point of view of history, family, blood descent, and faith.

iv. Journals

"There shall be a record kept among you," said Joseph Smith,[291] thus initiating another common and widespread practice related to genealogy: journal writing. This serves manifold functions: (1) it provides a way to keep a record of one's life, of outstanding events, and of one's innermost thoughts and emotions, in a narrative, personal form; (2) it is also viewed as a document to be shared with family members and other Saints on special occasions; (3) it serves as a significant personal contribution to family history; and (4) it is often passed on to descendants as a valuable present so that they may be able to learn more about their family, their ancestry, and their religion. Therefore, most tend to be more journalistic and matter-of-fact in tone, although they may be emotional as well. These journals also often serve as a record of revelations, and miraculous, wondrous events which prove the truth of the Mormon faith as well as being a source of encouragement and inspiration for the readers.

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[291] *Doctrine and Covenants* 21:1.

This is especially the case with missionaries who are devout, regular journal writers.[292] Many write not only about their daily activities but about misconduct and God's punishment, revelations and miracles, special events, the appearance of evil forces and protection of God. As Wilson said, "Mormon missionaries are inveterate storytellers,"[293] and this often appears in their writing as well. Their narratives "incorporate new missionaries into the system, guide their behaviors during their missionary years, and continue to tie them to the system's behavioral values once they have completed their missions."[294] Their oral stories are very often shared in books or during meetings outside of missionary circles as well, where all these mechanisms are in effect as well as the conviction on the part of the listeners that these stories are factual and real and are, thus, considered revealed truths and proof of the validity of their faith and its principles. Narratives of misconduct also function as means of social control: they radiate the message that one must not test God and must always be obedient.

An interviewee said that she often reads sections from a family member's diary and can relate to the doubts, challenges, and emotions expressed there, and so gain strength, courage, and moral support from it for her daily work. Thus, again, the past

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[292] For an excellent analysis of the missionary experience and some of these journal entries see Part 3 entitled The Mormon Missionary Experience in: Marie Cornwall et al. eds., 1994.

[293] William Wilson, "Powers of Heaven and Hell: Mormon Missionary Narratives as Instruments of Socialization and Social Control," in Marie Cornwall et al. eds., *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 207.

[294] Wilson 1994, 209.

provides examples and strength for the present, this practice acting as yet another possible unifying force between generations. Journal writing also serves as a major instrument of self-invention and personal history writing: the truth value of the events described cannot be measured and the content of these journals are often intentionally filtered as everyone is aware of the fact that they are partly written in order to be public, at least in parts, during the lifetime of their authors, and then in total once they have been passed on to the next generation. Thus, they are intended to be educational, instructive, and encouraging, an insider's reflection on the Mormon faith. They should also depict the author in a positive light: as a devout, faithful, good, hard-working Saint on the road to perfection.

As a result, I would argue that these narratives are not really journals but rather autobiographies. Giddens points out that journals are written for oneself, and thus are completely honest, while autobiography allows for a "corrective intervention into the past"[295] which expresses how the author would have liked something to have happened. As the act of writing produces a retrospective narrative, it also allows for evaluation; these corrections may therefore be evaluative. In the process of writing the self-reflection, the *I* is also investigated by the author through the eyes of significant others, which may also define the narrative. As a result, the *I* transforms into *me* on the pages, the recollecting self becomes the recollected self, offering a "dialectical synthesis of internal and external

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[295] 1991, 72.

definitions"[296] of the self.

Foucault[297] points out some other significant aspects of early Christian autobiographical writings which I have also found relevant in the analysis of these journals. He argues that the author through the act of writing establishes his own identity and, in this process, he presents himself similar to the others. This results from the fact that "autobiographical writing is a performance embedded in the social,"[298] which also accounts for the "self-fashioning" one may detect in these writings. It also provides a platform for myth-making--about the individual, the Mormon faith, or the Church--which leads to "the autobiographical assertion of cultural authority," as Henderson puts it. And with this act the circle is closed: journal writing, rendered a duty by the Church, stimulates the then subject to take an active, even creative role in writing personal histories which, in the end, contribute to the validation of Church teachings and positions and achieve the purpose of membership maintenance as well. Memories already filtered by the authors and subsequently re-lived and re-written by them places a powerful weapon in the hands of the Church empowering it to continue knitting people together in their invented reality.

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[296] Jenkins 1996, 21.

[297] Michel Foucault, "Megírni önmagunkat," in *Nyelv a végtelenhez: Tanulmányok, előadások, beszélgetések* (Debrecen: Latin betűk, 1999), 331-44.

[298] Mae Henderson, "Introduction," in Mae Henderson ed., *Borders, Boundaries and Frames. Cultural Criticism and Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 14.

v. Celebrations

These personal adventures into history are also supplemented by various annual events organized by the Church. The more spectacular ones are also tied to Church history: holding two major celebrations, various pageants, and commemorations of more significant anniversaries is the common practice among the Saints. These large-scale festivities also contribute to the distinct Mormon identity, education about the past, and the development of group sentiment and devotion. They build strong emotional ties, demonstrate the wealth of the Church through their spectacular and large-scale public displays, and provide yet another opportunity to do missionary work and to teach the outside world about their faith, history, and people.

The most significant holiday is Pioneer Day held on July 24 each year. It commemorates the arrival of the Mormon pioneers into Salt Lake Valley on that date in 1847, thus symbolizing the establishment of their divine, promised land in the West. It has been celebrated since 1849, with devotionals, grand parades, a reenactment of the Mormon landtaking, speeches, relics of the landtaking displayed, dances, sporting events, picnics, fireworks, and a host of other activities. It is open to the public, so anyone can join and enjoy the celebration with the Saints.

As Olsen[299] points out, this celebration gained significance in expressing various aspects of Mormon cultural identity. It

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[299] Steven Olsen, "Celebrating Cultural Identity: Pioneer Day in Nineteenth-Century Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 38(1996-7):1:159-77.

reinforces their teachings about the past and serves as their
Independence Day as it celebates the dawn of Mormon independence
and separateness along with the freedom to practice their
religion. It can also be considered their Thanksgiving in that
it gives them pause to think how divine and blessed both they and
their covenant are. By today, I believe, it is also a
celebration of their success and growth, both religious and
economic, as a result of which it is a joyful affirmation of the
future as well. In this continuum, progress is seen as the
eternal progression of the Church as well through the individuals
that comprise it. It takes the pioneers as the models for the
Saints who made everything available to them through their
devotion, obedience, and sacrifice. The past sufferings and
blood sacrifice become real again, sealing the Saints to their
ancestors as well as to their descendants in the cosmic working
of their God. Thus, it also contributes to a sense of unity and
peoplehood, marking an intellectual and emotional border between
them and others.

The pioneer experience comes alive not only on this day; it
is a constantly recurring leitmotif in Mormon existence.
Numerous interviewees referred to stories they had heard or read
about their great ancestors, the story of the exodus, which is
an essential notion in Mormon identity, as is Utah, their
homeland. Besides stories and celebrations, enactments of the
pioneer days as well as songs about them also serve this end.
They referred to ones such as "Little Pioneer Children," "Busy
Pioneer Children," "The Oxcart Song,", "The Handcart Song," or
"Put Your Shoulder to the Wheel" as typical songs children would

sing not only on Pioneer Day but on all other such occasions. As one of them noted, these songs always reminded her of the pioneers, of their strength and endurance, and each time she sang any of them she felt she was also among the pioneers. Therefore, the pioneer experience and its significance were already impressed upon them in early childhood.

The other remarkable celebration is held on April 6: the commemoration of the restoration of the priesthood, that is, the birthday of the Mormon Church, which was established on that date in the year 1830. This is celebrated in a more formal manner: the Church holds the General Conference on the weekend closest to this date in Salt Lake City, and a second one in October. These are formal conferences broadcast all over the world. The speeches address the more significant areas of concern to the Church, offer a platform for election and announcement of new programs or policies. Typically, young people venture forth from all over the world to be in the city on the weekend of the conference; during the day they sit outside in Temple Square, socialize, experience the event, and feel close to the leaders of the Church. As one interviewee stated, "One feels the working of the Spirit there." But it is more the working of the ideology one may experience here, channelled through the media to the millions of members everywhere.

Another event many Saints desire to participate in or see is the Hill Cumorah pageant.[300] This tradition dates back to 1922 when it was called the Palmyra Celebration, in conjunction

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[300] Hill Cumorah, near Manchester, New York, is the place where the Joseph Smith found the golden plates on which the *Book of Mormon* was inscribed.

with an annual missionary conference held there, in Palmyra, New York. The first performance was given in 1935, and two years later it became a yearly event. Each year, seven performances are held before an audience of over a hundred thousand. Everyone in the cast and crew is a volunteer Saint from various parts of the US. The plays performed depict either specific parts of Mormon history or dramatize various sections of the *Book of Mormon*. The venue for this series of performances, held in late July and early August, is treated almost like a place of pilgrimage as is the site of the pageants of Manti, which are almost equally famous.

Part of what makes the Cumorah Pageant so attractive to pilgrims is the location itself. Hill Cumorah, located approximately four miles outside of Palmyra, was the place where Smith received his vision as well as the place where the golden plates with the *Book of Mormon* inscribed on them were hidden. It is a historic site, a key place for the Saints to visit. It is one of the places the Church History Tour would include along with the towns of Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo and Carthage, Illinois. These are places of major significance in Mormon history, at present filled with museums, visitor centers, and places of shrines. This bus tour, which is rather formal and organized, is taken by members of all age groups who travel along the Mormon Trail to the West.

Another common trip taken by young people, usually after university graduation, is called temple hopping. The name itself radiates the informality, the looseness, and fun attached to it, and everyone spoke very favorably of it: as they said, it was

a way to have fun in a religious context. Temple hopping entails a group of friends hopping into their cars and driving around Utah from one temple to the other, sometimes for only one day, sometimes within a few days' time. This may be viewed as one way to celebrate graduation, to see more of Utah as well as of Mormon religious architecture reflecting the characteristic flavor and faith of this group. It is also a pilgrimage of members entering into professional adulthood, a rite of secular passage bound to a passage to sacred places as well.

The Saints also celebrate all the other major anniversaries in Church history. In 1995, the 100th anniversary of genealogical research was commemorated, while in 1997 Mormons celebrated the sesquicentennial of the Mormon landtaking of Utah. Spectacular, and truly impressive projects were initiated on a large scale by the Church for the occasion, projects in which all the Saints participated. Throughout the year, each Saint devoted 150 hours of community volunteer work orchestrated by the Church to celebrate the pioneers and their efforts. On July 19 alone, 3 million hours of volunteer work were performed all over the world as the Heritage Service Day project. The Saints did community work, such as planting trees, cleaning nursing homes and streets, painting houses, picking up litter, cooking for the needy, and assembling relief packages for the Bosnians. A number of parks were opened: one, for example, hosts pieces of Mormon sculpture, another one is located at the pioneers' first campsite, and yet another boasts a handcart exhibit. Numerous exhibitions were opened depicting the Mormon Trail and the life and hardships of the early Saints in all the bigger American

cities. Special television programs were broadcast, including a two-part documentary shown on PBS nationwide. Commemorative posters were printed, CDs were released, books were published, and the entire community was in an almost tangible state of emotional and intellectual euphoria.

The most spectacular and significant event, however, was the enactment of the Mormon exodus. Leaving from Nauvoo, tens of thousands of Saints took the Trail of Hope, wearing period costumes and using period vehicles and equipment. Between April and July 1997, they paid homage to their ancestors by taking the same arduous 1000-mile-long journey they had. They not only wore 19th-century clothing, but ate, slept, and travelled on wagons, took care of the animals, pulled handcarts, just as their ancestors had. Of course, not everyone took the entire trail; many joined the caravan only for a shorter stretch. Nevertheless, the experience was superb and singular! For many participants it established yet another bond to, and understanding of, their ancestry and Church. They became involved in this whole experience to be able to observe what their forebears had had to endure.

But it was much more than the experience of migration. It was also a celebration of successful flight from persecution, of the Saints' faith and covenant, of their blessings and present state as well as of thanksgiving to their ancestors. It further strengthened the emotional unity of the Church: for weeks on end, articles were published describing the emotional zeal of the participants in seeing with their own eyes the names of their ancestors carved into rocks, touching those carvings with tearful

eyes, reading relics left behind by their ancestors as well as copies of the *Book of Mormon*, and experiencing the same hardships and conditions as their forefathers had and thus sharing in the sacrifices their ancestors had made in order to maintain the Church and their faith.

That is, it was the enactment of their second coming, their second victorious landtaking. But now it was not only the American Saints who participated. On July 22, a symbolic handcart which had started its "epic trek" in Siberia, travelling through Russia and Ukraine, also arrived in Salt Lake City, accompanied by representatives of the Saints in these countries, and full of handmade dolls and bears and written testimonies by local Saints. The symbolic trek and landtaking this time started from Asia, from even further east than it had before.

vi. Conferences

Various aspects of history have been the subject of numerous meetings, speeches, and conferences. The General Conferences usually include speeches on the significance of family, genealogy, and the work of redemption. As the Church has become international, topics seem to focus more on contemporary issues; Church history of the last century is only of secondary importance now. However, some conferences are devoted strictly to various aspects of history. One of these is History Week organized annually, in the course of which participants share with each other various approaches to and methods of "doing history", give new ideas, as well as express in what manner

history is a constant in their existence. The role of deceased family members and the way to keep them alive and among them were described by one speaker when she recommended the practice of "one ancestor a day." She shares her family tree with the members of her family and each day prepares a talk introducing one of her ancestors. She said that this way she feels embraced by them, she feels proud to be in her family, and she is reminded of her deep and solid roots which also oblige her to be the same.

Another case described by Leone[301] exemplifies how genealogy can be objectified in the most unexpected ways. In a speech given at a History Week the lecturer described how a quilt which had patches taken from clothes of many of her relatives had helped her through an illness. For her the quilt was not a simple object, but her materialized family tree. While she lay sick under the quilt, a sense of protection, safety, and warmth radiated throughout her body. The quilt reminded her of all her loved ones who had passed away and of the love, care, and warmth with which they surrounded her. She began to narrate the quilt: she was reminded of anecdotes, events, and days spent together, and she became wrapped up in the milieu. The quilt served as the family tree, the shade of which offers protection to anyone connected to it, strengthening the psychological ties between members of the family. The deep emotional attachment to her family expanded and was transmitted to the whole Mormon community which had embraced her whole family just as her family embraced her.

Through these stories the clear image of a community

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[301] 1979.

framework in which every member is a historian, the majority being lay historians and only a limited number with training, emerges. This is not to suggest that the average Saint through the act of history writing fabricates lies or intentionally changes or distorts facts. What it means is that in the course of writing or storytelling the narrative changes: certain aspects are emphasized while others forgotten. Each narrative is shaped to the particular circumstances it is created in, tailored to the audience and the purpose of the narration. These narratives may also take physical shape as in the case of the quilt. These narratives express the identity, mindset, and involvement of the speaker and often involves the functioning of the individual's defense mechanisms, thus contributing to the maintenance of ontological security through the social membership expressed in one's identity.

5. Education

Education serves as one of the primary tools for channelling and maintaining ideology and the social structure upon which it is founded. Often it is in and through the mechanisms of education that signifiers are filled with their ideologically filtered meanings out of which emerge the world view and order of the individual--who is thus subjectified. This contributes to the maintenance of these as well as the beliefs, dreams, and realities attached to them along with the practices which carry the individual toward the desired end.

The Mormon Church maintains that "[i]t is impossible for a

man to be saved in ignorance."[302] Thus, it has developed an
elaborate system of education which primarily focuses on
religious instruction but also covers other spheres of life.

> In the broad sense of the word, the process of living
> on earth, of seeking to work out one's salvation with
> fear and trembling before God, is in itself a course
> of education; it is a system of training, study, and
> discipline whereby the mental and moral powers are
> schooled and prepared for graduation into the eternal
> realms.[303]

Education for the Saints is an ongoing process which may
take traditional as well as non-traditional forms and which
touches not only upon the sacred but also the profane.

As the Mormon Church does not maintain a separate group of
trained clergy who would lead services and provide religious
education, each Saint, regardless of gender, may be called to
provide instruction in the Church. Sunday school provides the
basic form of religious instruction where everyone attends a
class, regardless of gender, age, marital status or status in the
family hierarchy. Their highly specialized classes cater to all
needs and levels, but each one is standardized in the world.

The other standard form of teaching the Gospel is what
Mormons call home and visiting teaching; this provides an
opportunity to study at home once a month with the help of
visiting Saints. As each Mormon family is visited and the number
of home and visiting teachers, also visited by others, is high,
this practice comprises a most extensive system of religious
instruction. Besides these, gender-specific gatherings and
meetings provide further platforms for discussing religious

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[302] *Doctrine and Covenants* 131:6.

[303] Bruce McConkie, 1979, 213.

matters: men have regular priesthood meetings and conferences devoted to spiritual and administrative issues. Women attend meetings of the Relief Society and participate in occasional conferences. Most importantly, women cherish their monthly homemaking evening, which is considered a major platform for socializing and adding to their collection of recipes or handicraft ideas.

The Church does not maintain theological seminaries as do other denominations. The seminaries it maintains along with its institutions of religion are adjacent to public schools and serve as the place for the theological instruction of high school and university students, preferably on a daily basis, before or after their regular school hours. The Church also maintains institutes of higher education: Ricks College in Idaho and Brigham Young University with campuses in Provo, Utah, and in Jerusalem. These are regular universities where students may choose from among a number of majors and need not belong to the Church in order to enroll.

The section to follow introduces three representative examples of practices involving education, selected on the basis of the significance ascribed to them by the Saints.

i. Sunday School

Sunday school forms the basis for traditional religious education in the Mormon Church. As its traditional name would suggest, it is held on Sundays, taking up one hour of the three-hour condensed meeting. Sunday School instruction commenced in

1849 and was then intended for children. However, in the following twenty years the structure of instruction was modified and finally took on its present shape.

Sunday school today provides instruction for all age and gender groups in various classes. These are: (1) a class for what the Saints call Primary which is attended by children between the ages of three and eleven; (2) separate classes for Young Men and Young Women, aged eleven to eighteen; and (3) Gospel doctrine classes for adults. Depending on the number of the various groups, these units are frequently divided further into subgroups based on age or marital status. These are supplemented by other classes on church basics offered for recent converts.

The standardized curriculum for these classes is provided by the Internal Communications and the Instructional Development Departments. They also publish the textbooks and all other materials necessary for these classes. All the lesson manuals use the Scriptures as their primary source, supplemented by further quotations from and teachings of their modern-day Mormon prophets. Any Saint may be a teacher since teaching is a calling as there is no group of trained religious instructors in the Church. Usually the teacher presents the assigned topic relying on the materials provided by the Church. Some Saints indicated that they had to devote a considerable amount of time preparing for these classes; therefore, as they respond to callings to teach, the teachers are also presented with the task of teaching themselves, that is, it is an educational process for the teacher as well.

When attending courses the Saints are usually expected to supplement the textbook by completing reading assignments, but, as some of the teachers mentioned, they very often do not. Thus, the temporary teacher should be even more prepared to make the class worthwhile despite this likely problem. However, the fact that the Saints rotate their teaching contributes to an atmosphere of student empathy and support for the teacher in which an effort is made by all to make each class meaningful. Consequently, the system of interconnected teaching and learning which has emerged encourages more than mere participation: it encourages the self-discipline to attend regularly and participate actively.

The topics of these lessons focus on the Scriptures and Church doctrine, but the curriculum developers also include areas of sacralized secular interests as well, such as home and family, gender roles, development of talents and abilities, community relations, and service activities. This is how the Church attempts to make its presence felt in other areas besides religion and to appear as a limitless source of information presented holistically. Through these studies, the Saints also receive guidelines with regard to the direction and manner in which they should conduct their daily lives.

ii. The Missionary Experience

Every Saint is a missionary by the mere fact of Church membership as everyone is` delegated the responsibility of

spreading the Gospel by word and by deed. With this mandate to guide them, the Latter-day Saints have developed the most efficiently organized, most intricately structured, and most powerful system of missionary activity of any denomination in the US. As early as in the summer of 1830, one of Joseph Smith's brothers was sent as the first official Mormon missionary to spread the Gospel in neighboring villages; in October of the same year, elders left to proselytize among the Native Americans in New York, Ohio, and Missouri; and, on June 13, 1837, the first missionaries were sent to a foreign land when four elders made the journey to Great Britain.

The Church distinguishes between part-time and full-time missionaries. Most full-time missionaries are worthy Saints, usually between the ages of 19 and 21, who are called to serve in various parts of the world. In order to serve as missionaries, they leave their jobs or schools covering their own expenses while on mission. Accepting this calling entails a preparation period at the Mission Training Center, followed by two years of witnessing on a mission field for men, a period which lasts half a year less for women. In the course of their work, their main task is to spread the Gospel and win converts to the Mormon Church. However, for many Saints this contributes to a multifaceted experience, involving a great deal more than door-to-door witnessing: it is a multifaceted journey to adulthood.

Missionary work starts at the Missionary Training Center located in Provo, Utah, where missionaries bound for a mission field in the US attend a two-week training program while those

assigned to a foreign mission field are trained for eight weeks.

Here future missionaries participate in a thoroughgoing and

strictly regulated program, focused on learning the Gospel and

a foreign language in order to be able to make contact and

communicate the Gospel effectively in that language.

> MTC rules impose significant restrictions.
> Missionaries may not receive any visitors unless there
> is an emergency, nor are they to make personal
> telephone calls. Missionaries are expected to write
> faith-promoting letters home once a week but are
> cautioned against writing more often than weekly ...
> Missionaries are to stay with their assigned
> companions at all times and are confined to MTC
> premises.[304]

The regimented nature of this training program also prepares

the missionaries for the intensity of the work awaiting them in

the field, but at the same time provides a setting for the

permanent control of their thoughts and actions, forcing them to

focus solely on their studies and faith and allowing for no

distractions. This total immersion in faith through learning and

the absolute subjugation of the self to a commonly shared

communal task result in the conformity of the missionary front

in their work, words, world view, behavior, and appearance.

Languages are taught in a very intensive course, during

which the missionaries have to memorize the text of the six

standardized prebaptismal lessons used in teaching the Gospel to

inquirers. A standard manual assists them in this endeavor as

well as another guidebook which provides them with instructions

on how to dress, behave, and act in the field. Thus, through

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[304] Gary Shepherd and Gordon Shepherd, *Mormon Passage: A Missionary Chronicle* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 54.

their mission training the Saints are taught how to be effective educators, speakers, debaters, and impressive but modest and respectful representatives of their faith, skills which can later be put to use when taking up other callings, such as teaching Sunday school or leading family home evenings.

The method of teaching in the field itself relies heavily on repetition. Missionaries are also advised to be supportive and encouraging of the inquirers but show self-assurance and conviction regarding their own faith, without being pushy or aggressive. Some scholars, such as Whalen[305] or the Shepherd brothers,[306] as well as some of the interviewees pointed out the similarities between these methods and the principles and those used by successful sales representatives. As one of them observed:

> My mission had prepared me to talk a little bit and convince someone that I had a good thing that would perform for them. I found that advertising principles--working on people's buying motives and their emotions--could be applied to selling.[307]

What we actually experience here is the commercialization of religion, where it becomes a commodity to be promoted by missionaries who, like salespeople, must inform potential buyers about the product: what it is, how to use it, and in what way it may benefit them. And it is through this method that Mormon missionaries venture forth to capture wandering souls in order

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[305] William Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World* (New York: J. Day, 1964), 237.

[306]In their book of 1998.

[307] Taber 1993, 205.

to win them over to purchase their product.

In the course of this, however, they themselves learn about this product, that is, their faith. I am convinced that missionary existence offers the greatest opportunity for learning. The missionaries must study the Scriptures for about two hours every morning, until at 9:30 they head out to do their witnessing only afterwards. There is no other structured period in their lives when the Saints can and must devote hours each day to studying the doctrines and then repeat them countless times while teaching their faith. The intensity of this learning process usually results in a deeper and by then conscious attachment to the Church, in a strengthened faith, and in spectacular advancement in the Church hierarchy.

I view this experience--and not the official rituals of temple endowments nor the initiation into the Melchizedek priesthood men undergo at an earlier age--as the actual confirmation of their faith. One of their tasks in the mission field is to witness to people, including apologists for other faiths who would certainly challenge the teachings of Mormonism. Thus, thinking over questions, debating, and defending their faith are among their more difficult responsibilities. If after this period of debates and possible attacks, one still returns as a firm believer, the chances of his leaving the Church later are slight.

Naturally, there is a control mechanism in effect while the missionaries are in the field. Not only are they expected to meet regularly, they must work in pairs, never leaving their partners alone. In this way, partners can help each other, do

everything together, and also check on each other as they are each responsible for their fellow missionary. In the course of this, some missionaries claim, they also learn about obedience, patience, understanding, forgiving, toleration, and living with others--indeed, missionaries rotate and change companions approximately every three months. This is evaluated as positive as well as negative: if someone has a partner he cannot get along with, it is a relief to have someone else on board; however, it may work inversely, it may be regrettable to lose a good partner. For many this is also an act of preparation for marriage. As one interviewee said, it prepares one to live with new people, one learns about what one may go through in a relationship and about how to effectively manage personal problems that may arise.

This rite of initiation to adulthood is also marked by the fact that returned missionaries--especially men--are highly respected. Some of the interviewees mentioned that they had noticed how at times returned missionaries may enjoy clear advantages and be given various preferences, especially at BYU. They are also generally highly sought after by single women since they have already proved their faith, spiritual strength, and commitment to the Church. A woman, a former BYU student, complained:

> BYU has a large number of returned missionaries who
> are bluntly shopping for a wife. I felt like a piece
> of merchandise instead of a human being.[308]

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[308] Taber 1993, 333.

This is so because returned missionaries are expected to marry soon after they return from the field where they have built up personal strength and self-confidence, strengthened further by the Mormon community which embraces them with special love and devotion, like sons returning from a sort of spiritual war. This sense of satisfaction and deserved praise is often not concealed but intensified by how popular they become among single women for the mere fact that they are returned missionaries. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the intergender campus dynamics may call to mind the shopping experience in some of the Saints.

The missionary experience is one of the most significant steps on the way to godhood. Its impact is multifaceted and often not fully comprehended by the missionaries themselves. In most cases, it is a period of individual growth, the strengthening of one's character as well as one's testimony. They experience the power to be able to make a difference in the lives of the many converts, they become the depositary of this power delegated to them by the Church and their faith. As one interviewee summarized his missionary experience:

> I came back from that two years a completely different person... I learned as much from the discussions as the people wetaught. That mission was the whole foundation of my life.[309]

iii. Home and Visiting Teaching

"The priest's duty is to ... visit the house of each member, and exhort them to pray vocally and in secret and attend to all

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[309] Taber 1993, 250.

family duties."[310]   This is the basis for the emergence of home and visiting teaching, which is a sole characteristic of a practice unique to the Latter-day Saint community. Home teaching is done by men. They visit Mormon families assigned to them in pairs: both must hold the priesthood, one of the higher, the other of the lower degree. There are usually several home visiting teachers in a ward who visit each family usually once a month. Their task is to provide an example of priesthood to the father, or if he is not a member of the Church, then to act as the holder of the priesthood for the family. They would also ensure that the family members engage in activities and carry out duties related to the Church as well as to see if all the needs of the family are provided for or not.

Visiting teaching is done in the same manner, but by women: two sisters visit certain assigned families once a month. They spend time mainly with the mother and the children. They discuss the teachings and the Gospel but are also there to see how the family lives, to discuss problems that may have arisen, be they spiritual or personal, to advise families on various issues, and to ensure the family is generally being provided for. They also offer their friendship, which may be highly valued, as some women have indicated.   One interviewee summarized the task of these visits to me in the following way:

> These teachers are assigned to families to visit and
> see if they have needs such as food, clothing or
> anything that is told or obvious to those visiting.
> Men watch for things like repairs to the home, women
> watch for clothing needs, food, and other essentials.
> Both sets of visitors give their reports to the

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[310] *Doctrine and Covenants* 20:46-47.

council and then the bishop decides what should be done if anything.

It is clearly also the teachers' obligation to inform the church leadership of what they have learned and to share their comments and views with them. This may not always be acceptable to all. One woman commented:

> I enjoy the visiting teachers when they come and just plain teach a lesson. If I'm not going to church ... at least I'm getting something. ... A couple of times I've told her [the visiting teacher] something in confidence that she's told the bishop, and he's gotten back to me all mad and upset. I think, "Oh, why did I tell her?" But that's her job, too, I know.[311]

The Church, thus, meets two objectives through home and visiting teaching: (1) it provides further religious education, delivered to the home, so even if someone cannot attend church, one may be provided for as well as kept within the faith; and (2) it allows for the Church to gain an insight into the private lives and homes of its members--their back region--and be informed of misbehavior or deviance which they can try to correct immediately. It also provides an opportunity for the Church to encourage participation and ascertain the worthiness of the Saints. Another woman commented:

> When I first joined the church the home teachers used to ask, "Do you have family home evening? Do you say your prayers? Do you do this? Do you do that?" I resented it very much. I felt they had no right to come in and ask me anything about my personal life. ... It was the same with visiting teaching.[312]

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[311] Taber 1993, 203.

[312] Taber 1993, 310.

We may conclude that home and visiting teaching is another control mechanism as well as a time for confession, a monthly accounting of what one has done for family, Church, and God. All recorded and reported to the leaders who have the authority to intervene if necessary. One form of intervention which is viewed in a positive light is when a family is in need but is too ashamed to admit it, the bishop may entitle them to "shop" in the bishop's storehouse based on the reports submitted to him. The Church's reputation for charitable giving to less fortunate members is such that one interviewee said he believed certain families join the Church merely to be taken care of.

Both Sunday School and home/visiting teachers are trained in their own ward and receive teaching materials and curricula for the lessons from the Church. The process of teaching, thus, is also highly regulated and centralized and designed to match other topics discussed and taught in a given period in other classes. The teacher development coordinator arranges these meetings quarterly in an effort to assist teachers in teaching the Gospel more effectively and to offer them support. This suggests that the teachers themselves may experience difficulty in doing their Sunday school or home/visiting teaching. The Saints carry out the task of teaching for only a certain period of time until they receive their next calling and another duty, at which point the teachers become learners again. In this way they shift back and forth: they are the teachers with authority, instruments for indoctrination and control, but at the same time they are controlled by the very same mechanism much of the time. Some Saints thought that this shifting of roles may encourage

them to become the type of teacher they would like to be visited by; however, certain responsibilities, such as asking specific questions, or certain constraints, such as making reports to the leaders, may be neglected by no one.

V. DUALITIES AT WORK

Throughout the previous chapters, I made numerous references to various dualities which may be detected both in the theory of structuration and in Mormon practices and identity. The duality of actors and structures at the very heart of the notion of the duality of structure in the theoretical realm is the first area I explore in the light of actual Mormon practices. Having provided insights into the applicability of the theory of structuration to the Mormon community, the first section also supplements the theory with notions the theory lacks, namely, what constitutes structure(s) and actors. I believe that in the case of the Latter-day Saints ideology and identity are the two factors key to mapping what lies behind structure(s) and actors and, thus, behind their reality and actions.

The bracketing of structure(s) allows for a brief discussion of Mormon ideology but calls for a more thorough discussion of the nature of Mormon identity, which unites the duality of sacred and secular worlds. As I point out in the conclusion to Chapter II and contrary to the view held by many, Mormons cannot be considered an ethnic group by my definition. I also note that Mormon identity embraces more than a purely religious identity typically does. I submit, therefore, that a new term should be introduced to describe Mormon identity: consummate identity. The definition of this identity model is followed by a discussion of how it is introduced

and maintained among the Saints as may be concluded from their practices.

1. The Theory of Structuration Revisited

Having applied the theory of structuration in an analysis of Mormon social practices, I inevitably must return to the theory and its appropriation. I have found that within this theory the notion of the duality of structure is most appropriate and applicable in approaching and analyzing social practices. However, the two sides of this duality may not be of equal significance and power in the structuration of reality, as is the case in the Latter-day Saint community. This chapter contains a discussion of this and of underlying dynamics and methods.

i. Reflections

The theory of structuration points out numerous factors contributing to the constitution of realities and of societies through social practices located in the duality of structure. Having applied his structuration model in my analysis of the Mormon community, I have found it functioning and appropriate. The following sections are devoted to the discussion of what notions and in what manner I have found applicable to the Mormon community in my research.

a. Actors and Action

Giddens opens his discussion of agency with its definition and development by defining the term and recounting how he has arrived at the definition. In this, he borrows from Erikson and describes a three-step process through which infants become agents. I have found that these three stages may be applicable to the Mormon community including adult Mormon converts. The first of these steps is identified as the development of trust which the Church may evoke in new converts the way parents do by providing routines with schemes for in-group interaction. The Church is able to establish a group spirit which many find appealing. For example, one woman commented: "I never had a real sister. I have a very strong permeating feeling of sisterhood that I didn't have when I began."[313] This is a sisterhood she will lose forever should she leave the Church.

One of the merits most frequently ascribed to the Church is the sense of certainty, permanence, and predictability it radiates. Not unlike other religious organizations, the Church provides the Saints with all the answers, responses to every potential existential question, assuring them that these answers are complete and accurate, and, by being able to provide a permanent framework which includes past, present, and future in a comprehensible framework, it also meets the individual's need for ontological security. As one Saint noted: "If I live the way I should I'll be

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[313] Taber 1993, 39.

taken care of. ... The security, a feeling of the group is a philosophy of the Church."[314]

However, the Church provides its members not only with intellectual and spiritual but also material and existential security. Its extensive system of effective taxation and volunteer work have resulted in the establishment of an independent financial empire upon which an elaborate welfare system rests, one which always provides for the poor and needy merely on the basis of Church membership. This is a feature of the Church no other organization may claim. The Mormon Church, therefore, has been able to provide security for its members both for their earthly life and afterlife.

A third aspect of the Church which contributes to a sense of security lies in the fact that the Church provides ready-made answers and solutions for everyone. The burden of making major decisions is lifted off the shoulders of the Saints: these are made for them, and they are assured that these are done in the best possible way. Naturally, this does not mean that the Saints have no decisions to make; but the most important, mainly ontological and existential questions regarding the nature of mankind, our purpose in life, and the manner in which we are to conduct our lives are answered for them. Their belief that through revelation they may receive personally tailored answers to all their questions as they are in direct contact with God is another source of strength, security, and, moreover, confidence. The omnipotent and

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[314] Taber 1993, 73.

omnipresent final authority is always present to guide them through their lives.

An interesting duality is present in the next stage which is constitutive of autonomy and doubt/shame. This duality is bound to the dual position of the Saints: when they are positioned in an interaction with outsiders, they evince a strong sense of assurance, certainty, and autonomy. However, as indicated by many of the interviewees, within the Mormon community they often experience shame or self-doubt as they feel more exposed to the other Saints and always question whether they meet the expectations put on them by the Church; this is the result of their actions being monitored by the Church and the other Saints.

This duality reminds one of the distinction between front and back regions; however, we all know that these are only overall categories and various sub-stages exist within both realms. However, it must be added that the Mormon Church is able to enter into and control the back region more than established religions typically do. Not only do they filter into the homes of their members--through family home evening, family prayers, visiting and home teaching--and not only to the ground floor of these homes where, based on regionalization, the communal family events usually take place, but also to the bedrooms by means of the holy undergarment and the eyes of one's spouse, who is usually also a Saint.

Any interview conducted by the Church is a voluntary act of self-exposition: the interviews prior to missionary work, callings to do major community jobs or--by the same token--the annual

interview to receive the temple recommend. These may be interpreted as confessions in the course of which the Saints open up and may share details of even the most intimate spheres of their private lives as well. Discussions of one's sexual behavior and actions with the elders in an interview, especially in the case of marriage or other types of counselling, equally impact on the field of one's autonomy and bodily control as does the ever-present holy undergarment.

However, the Saints look at these phenomena in a different manner. They maintain that these practices are good and necessary. Only a few women and no men have made comments about not liking certain home teachers because they seem to intrude into family life. Even then, they do not object to the practice of home teaching, only to some individual teachers. Visiting teaching is considered to be essential, especially in homes where there is no patriarch to administer blessings. The dependency on the mystified patriarchal blessings or the equally mystified underwear have resulted in claims which attribute special power to them and deem them not only an absolute daily necessity but a personal reward and source of pride.

The third stage is bound to the location of the self in social roles and the matrix of interaction. This may be performed relatively easily as all the major roles are thoroughly defined and prescribed. The real issue at stake is not learning what these roles are and how to play them but to accept them. Those born into a Mormon family grow up with these roles and typically maintain

them and view them as natural, normal parts of the conduct of daily life.   I have found the issue of female roles especially fascinating in the light of how these women are able to adjust female liberation and feminism in the US to the highly traditional, patriarchal structure the Church embraces.   I have found that most of the Saints interviewed were highly--and, apparently, sincerely--critical of feminism, which they blamed for the disintegration of American family life and morals.   However, some voiced hope for a change in Church policy and for a more even distribution of work and responsibilities, both at home and in Church.   Nevertheless, when the President confirmed traditional family structure and roles, no one voiced criticism or dissatisfaction and all the Saints, regardless of their personal opinions, accepted the guidelines provided by the Church for their lives.

Another example may be the issue of polygamy. Although banned in 1890, fundamentalist Mormon families still practice this family pattern. The Mormon Church excommunicates everyone who lives in a polygamous marriage; however, when asked, quite a few interviewees stated that polygamy is the natural and normal family structure and that the present era of monogamy is a transitory period only. A female university professor even admitted that if polygamy were re-established, she would have no objection to her husband taking other wives.

This could also be a possible stage for leaving the Mormon Church. However, none of the narratives about why and how one left the Mormon faith and Church indicate that the various roles account

for their disillusionment and dissent. Each ex-Mormon claimed that the recognition that various Mormon tenets were not truly Christian was the reason for their religious turn. As this implies, all these people claimed that they have found Christ and true Christianity in another, typically fundamentalist denomination; none of them has become an atheist or an agnostic.

Another serious aspect to consider upon leaving the Church is that the social roles and practices differ in various degrees from mainstream American practices. As Davis points out, abstinence from tea or coffee, for example, functions as retain mechanism but also as a control mechanism and a mechanism to mark a dividing line between the Saints and other social groups. The presence of the sacred undergarment which permanently covers the body[315] eventually becomes so natural that without it one may feel naked and unprotected, although in regular clothes. As these practices become habits with time, they may be difficult to stop and, therefore, may delay or prevent one's assimilation into another social group.

Giddens concludes that the two fields which constitute the actor are the mind/psyche and the body. He ascribes a major role to memory and perception in the functioning of the unconscious: both significantly figuring into the reality of the Saints. I have found that both perception and memory are highly operated by the Mormon faith and that its ethics, values, and expectations are thoroughly shaped and regulated by the Mormon faith. Usually, the

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[315] It may be partially removed during bathing, for example.

content of perception is almost naturally tailored to these
perceived notions before being stored in the memory. However, in
processing new information, the agent adjusts the new piece not
only to the previously stored pieces in his memory, as Giddens
claims, but also to the agent's image of his own future in the
light of the teachings of the Mormon faith. Therefore, faith
provides a basis for the extension of the spectrum of the criteria
based on which the mechanisms of a Saint's perception operate,
establishing a temporal continuity with the past as well as the
future.

Perception, just like memory, is also selective. I have found
that in the process of this selection faith enjoys priority as it
settles in the agent's total mind and self, this being made
possible by the encompassing nature of this ideology, which leaves
little room for other, contradictory modes of perception to filter
in. However, should they indeed filter in, the teachings of the
faith are embraced and accepted should a controversial issue arise.

Memory is also ever-changing and selective: the narratives of
the past, rooted in the memory, are often modified in subtle ways
if deemed necessary or appropriate to meet certain desires,
expectations, circumstances, and audiences. "Ongoing
reconstructions help secure the identities that enable us to
navigate, legitimate, or resist the present order of things."[316]
Remembering stories the proper way also results in the maintenance

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[316] Jacqueline D. Hall, "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography
as Social Critique." *The Journal of American History* 85: 2 (Sept
1998): 440.

of a rather uniform group narrative, and thus identity, ultimately shaped by the faith and the Church. Thus, I may add, memories depend not only on selecting and forgetting but also on the organizing force behind the nature of forgetting and remembering: ideology.

The ideologically conditioned nature of the Saints' memory is apparent in the case of those who left Mormonism. The content of memory and recollection seems to change, and deeply buried mosaics may come to the surface like pieces of criticism of the Church. However, in essence, the narration remains the same; only its evaluation and interpretation are altered, the basis for which is, in the cases examined, another ideology, branded as "true" Christianity as opposed to the artificial creations and lies of the supposedly Christian Mormon faith. The fact that these narratives of religious dissent and rebirth change only part of the content and its truth value, but not the basic nature of the mindset and memory which remains framed by ideology, is an indication of how difficult it is to acquire a new manner of thinking and perception.

The monitoring of action, embedded in the practical con-sciousness, is also defined by the faith and Church, as is its verbalization within the framework of the discursive consciousness. Giddens comments that the scope of practical consciousness is always more expanded than that of discursive consciousness, as agents are usually not able to give a full account of all the aspects of an action they are monitoring. I have not been able to capture the full nature of the monitoring of action as only certain

sections of this overall knowledge of social conduct are verbalized. However, granted that Giddens is right when he states that this knowledge provides the agent with trust and ontological security, I must point out that there is a duality shattering the stability of this consciousness: namely, the tension between the absolute assurance of the individual and the constant pressure the Church places on each Saint to perform well, to improve himself, to take on new tasks, and to try to live a perfect life as a Saint, all of which results in a feeling of constant pressure and self-doubt, and a questioning of one's own abilities and level of performance.

This duality, the feeling of absolute security as well as of permanent stress, was expressed numerous times in the interviews. I have observed that the interviewees' discursive consciousness was framed by Mormonism and they seemed to give accounts of things and events in the light of their faith. The reasons these various practices are performed were always related to the teachings of their faith, just as were the manner of conduct and outcome or result of action. Numerous interviewees expressed how the Church also defined the manner in which an action was to be performed, thus determining its probable outcome as well. I am convinced that faith is really at the core of their existence; thus, it is really the Church that guides and guards the Saints in the conduct of their daily lives.

The Saints would not admit to this in public as they may not see it this way. They maintain that the Church is the faith and

the Church grants them security and see the various callings as necessary to perfect themselves on their way to sainthood in heaven, in the course of which they practice free agency, a form of individualism. However, none of the interviewees recounted cases or actions based on their own ideas and initiative: it was always the Church which assigned them their tasks and often even provided them with the know-how and instructions on how certain actions were to be performed. Only a few people indicated that some of their ideas had been introduced, those which concerned either efficiency or yet unregulated areas of their specific tasks. Moreover, in the survey free agency was not listed among the top Mormon values, but obedience and sacrifice were, implying to me that free agency is not as free as they claim it to be.

I propose that the Saints' ability to verbalize the reasons for, conduct in, and purpose of their actions and the detectable uniformity in doing so, although rooted in their faith, is defined by their extensive system of teaching and studying, so elaborately organized by the Church. The main method of teaching and studying is verbalization and oral repetition: in Sunday school, home and visiting teaching, and missionary education, everything is done verbally and never in writing. All the lessons and aids are prepared and disseminated by the Church, not leaving much space for individual ideas and initiative or thinking and writing in other terms or frameworks. The commonly shared knowledge is provided and controlled by the Church.

Access to more specific knowledge, that is, stored pieces of

information, is granted on the basis of one's location in the web of the Church hierarchy as well as the extent of one's commitment to the Church. It is widely known that certain historically significant documents and information are carefully guarded by the Church and are not made available to the public. The information and knowledge disseminated are carefully selected, as are the people who are granted access to the hidden documents. I have grown to realize that power channelled through one's position defines knowledge, determining the regimes of truth the Saints base the conduct of their lives on. These ideologically-based regimes of truth shape the discourses, narratives, thoughts, perceptions, and supposed knowledge of the Saints, all organized in a highly disciplined manner.

The reason for this lies in the highly regulated nature of the faith and Church which is maintained through self-regulation resulting from various subtle methods of surveillance. The Church has developed a system in which everyone is checked by everyone else. Missionary work, home and visiting teaching, family home evenings and prayers, patriarchal blessings, the temple recommend: all are forms of surveillance. Some of these involve actual reports on other individuals to the bishop; others, such as the interview for the temple recommend or various jobs, are actually modernized forms of confession, performed by the individual who exposes himself, initiated by the Church and signified by a secular term, interview. Nevertheless, in terms of content, it is confession in the course of which Saints are not only automatically

liberated but are judged and punished if necessary by not being granted the temple recommend. Also, while confessions are of a private nature, the outcome of the interviews is publicly known; therefore, the shame of misconduct is a public shame with the accompanying psychological punishment.

Other forms of surveillance and punishment may regard membership. One may be suspended or excommunicated for not keeping in line with the teachings, bringing enormous shame on the family members as well: why did they not help and ensure that everything was going well at home? Constant surveillance over family members, even if not reported to the bishop, is a major pressure on everyone, which may often bring a great deal of tension into families. But Mormonism is the religion of the family and is designed such that misconduct of one member reflects on the salvation of all the members. Leaving the Church is an unforgivable sin: many interviewees and authors indicate that the outcome in these cases is often divorce.

Other forms of surveillance regard the body to which, in addition to the mind and psyche, Giddens assigns a key role in the constitution of actors. Control over the body and its various regions is rather characteristic of the Church and faith. The essence of the Mormon plan of eternal progression and salvation is the location of the body in an unlimited spatial and temporal continuum, the abolition of seemingly objective earthly categories and limitations of temporality. The most significant practice to exemplify the attempt of the Church to overcome not only the

temporal but also the spatial difference the modern mindset is obsessed with is the baptism of the dead. By introducing the institution of the proxy, the Church is able to overcome basic oppositions of presence and absence, death and life, and establish an essentially timeless and spaceless spiritual realm which the living may not only participate in but also dominate.

The body of the living is highly regulated: the dress code or the health code or the Word of Wisdom reduces the autonomy of the body and the agent's bodily control in her or his daily conduct. However, regulation is characteristic not only for the front, but also for the back region. I have found that the borderline between these two regions must be relocated: the back region hardly exists since the front region along with the Mormon faith have intruded into the back region and have transformed its nature such that it should be viewed as part of the front region. Moreover, based on these interviews and personal observations, I propose that the front region can also be divided into two realms: the in-group sub-region of behavior, exposed before other Saints, and the outer sub-region which marks the Saints' interaction with non-Mormons.

Regulation of and control over the Saints are exercised not only through practices, such as family or individual prayer and revelations received, but also through objects, such as the holy undergarment. Its permanent presence and the fact that nothing else may be placed between the garment and the skin, the bare person, and the process through which one grows accustomed to it, until, in the end, one feels naked when wearing only regular

clothes, symbolizes the essence of Mormonism: the process of growing in faith indicates the deepening of the devotion, dependence, and absolute obedience to the Church, where the individual slowly regresses, loses her or his individual features and identity, and instead of the undergarment being anthropomorphized, man conforms to the undergarment. This may also be interpreted as the process in which the individual gradually loses her or his agency and slides into the subject position in relation to the Church and faith.

A result of the highly regulated and contextualized nature of the Church is the fact that the Saints rarely need to face situational improprieties in the conduct of their daily lives. The script for the interactions, their content and conduct, is precisely prescribed and thoroughly maintained. Therefore, the realm of unintended consequences of action seems to be smaller than in the case of interaction in a loosely regulated social group, as is also the case in the realm of the unacknowledged conditions of action. Change in practice originates mainly in revelation regarding Church policy. Thus, system reproduction resulting from these practices is hardly disrupted. On the other hand, the predictability deriving from the exact positioning of the actor, safe context, and familiar milieu provides the Saints with ontological security, granting a sense of continuity with minimal interruption not only to the institutional, but also to the individual lives. And this contextuality is one of the ties binding actors to structures.

b. Structure(s)

Although throughout the analysis of Mormon practices I have tried to bracket structure(s), some observations need to be made in that regard. Based on Giddens' definition I may conclude that the community of the Latter-day Saints is a society as they are bound to a specific locale, Utah, which they consider the place for the new Zion; they have legitimate claims to that land; and they share a feeling of unity and of common identity. Although Giddens considers only these three criteria for the definition of societies, I must add that their identity is not an ethnic identity and their locale is not a totally independent state in the sense of being a separate country, as theirs is part of the US.

Mormon society, organized by their faith and Church, has developed an elaborate structure of systems, that is, institutions and collectivities, which this study does not analyze, which the actors maintain by social and system integration. In conducting this study I have found that social integration focuses mainly on face-to-face interaction between members of the Mormon community assured through various means of social distinction, such as abstinence from tea and coffee. System integration involves long-term retain mechanisms and institutions as specifically organized in the Mormon community, such as the institution of marriage or family.

Structure, the other component besides agents significantly figuring into the maintenance of systems, may be constraining and

enabling at the same time. Each of the Latter-day Saints in the various interviews and writings expressed that, although they also see the Church as a constraining power, they view their position as that of enabled agents who, through God's permanent care and the Church's constant guidance and support, are able to perfect themselves and to face and overcome newer and newer challenges as they walk on the path of eternal progression. Free agency, as the Saints call it, is seen as the main commitment mechanism on the side of the actor.

However, I have found the structure to be more constraining than enabling. All the responsibilities, duties, and obligations are based on faith, Church policy, and callings. It is true that in theory the individual has the right not to undertake certain callings, but usually this is not the case and, as some of the interviewees indicated, turning down a calling resulted in a guilty conscience. Saints are typically passive in undertaking and carrying out tasks and projects, rarely initiating or changing anything requested or prescribed.

Constraining power appears on all four levels: it marks the social level, for example, by the observance of the Word of Wisdom; structural constraints are practiced by the highly contextualized nature of interaction in the Mormon community; sanctional constraints operate as a result of the elaborate methods of surveillance; while material constraints appear in relation to financial responsibilities of the individual towards the Church. These few illustrations indicate how each type of constraint is in

effect within the realm of the Mormon Church.

The majority of the rules regarding interaction are formulated, codified, and written. The resources of the Church are mainly authoritative, although allocative resources have also been highly esteemed and developed in the Church. The early history of the Mormon pioneers in the Salt Lake Valley is about successfully seizing and taming nature through the development of an extensive irrigation system and a strong agriculture built on that. The Church today has extensive agricultural and industrial holdings, ranches, investments, a much-praised welfare system, along with banks, hotels, etc. A few interviewees even went so far as to state that the Mormon Church runs the way a powerful corporation operates. It is also equipped with a well-organized media which is not independent but is operated by the brain trust leadership of the Church who make decisions concerning the storage and dissemination of information: both its form and content.

One may detect all three roles structures are organized around: signification, legitimation, and domination. Agents rely on their highly standardized mutual knowledge, equally restricted bodily autonomy as well as trust and routine in their daily interactions; however, standardized markers, such as age or gender, are given primacy only as long as these roles fit into the patriarchal societal structure the Church embraces. Therefore, interaction and bodily control is dominated by the Church, as a result of which the constitution of meaning is also.

c. The Duality of Structure

As the study focused on the workings of the actors in the Mormon societal framework, I approach the duality of the structure from the angle of the actors. I have found that the Saints as acting agents draw mainly on rules and not so much on available resources. This is reflected in their monitoring of their own actions and in their accounts of these actions. No one indicated that his or her power to act otherwise, and thus to initiate change, was used. A few interviewees admitted to not observing all the practices, but they mainly contributed this to their own inability to live up to the high expectations of the Church and did not ideologize about the inappropriate nature of the practice which must be changed. As practices and agents, whether present or not, seem to be in alignment with the Church, both social and system integrations are strongly maintained.

All four factors contributing to social reproduction are activated in the practices of the Saints: mutual knowledge, the major source being the Scriptures; autonomy, which is defined as free agency; trust, both in the Church and the other Saints; and routine, such as praying. The extent to which these four factors are really possessed by the agent and not by the Church varies: I maintain that autonomy covers a much smaller scope than in the case of agents in other communities. However, the interplay between them is strong enough to result in the continuity of both the individual life of the actor and of the institutions and

structure(s).

I have found the dynamics of the subject-agent positions of the self the most exciting and relevant in describing the core of the duality of structure. Although Giddens never discusses it in these terms, I believe that this is one way to approach the duality of the structure, where structure is represented by the subject position of the agent. I have experienced that through a delicate construction of the interplay between the Church and the Saints, a constant sliding of the self between these two positions may be traced in several practices. Let me illustrate this dynamic through the example of genealogical work as performed by the Saints.

The individual starts the endeavor in this field in a subject position: he begins this work because this is expected of him by the Church or because everyone else does it. However, to be able to act as a proxy in the ritual of the baptism of the dead, a Saint must (1) undergo a learning process resulting from the extensive research involved in preparing for this ritual, through which personal as well as church history is revealed to him who, as a re-sult, accepts it as the truth and is placed in the position of a knowledgeable agent; and (2) experience a transference of power from the Church to himself, already positioned as a knowledgeable agent, and then contribute to the ever-growing historical discourse of the Mormon Church as well as act as an empowered knowledgeable agent and exercise his power on the spirits of the dead through the temple ritual of the baptism of the dead.

Therefore, as can be seen, by the end of the process the Saints involved in this series of work have slid into the position of actors and, as such, participate in one of the major practices of the Mormon Church. Each time one has completed a project, one may start research again, thus sliding back into a subject position.[317] This constant movement between subject and actor positions is an intrinsic part of Mormon genealogical research in the process of which the subjected individual breaks free of his position to live in the illusion of significance and power.

Genealogical research serves other purposes in the Mormon Church besides expanding families and providing historical data on their ancestry and blood descent. One of these is the constitution of Mormon history for themselves as well as for outsiders.[318] As a result of their genealogical research, the Saints usually find that the Church's version of history is real and develop a strong emotional attachment to the Mormon Church and community, resulting in a strong sense of loyalty and responsibility toward them. Their sense of belonging is slowly transformed from mere religious identification into some other, stronger form of identification with the Church: for the names in their family tree signify real people; and, as they learn more about their lives, thoughts,

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[317] We must note that each time one slides back to a subject position, one maintains the stock of knowledge one has gained; however, to be able to stand in as a proxy again, this knowledge must be expanded.

[318] Most research on Church history, conducted by the members and not church historians, usually go back only to the days of Joseph Smith.

struggles, and sufferings, a personalized history of the whole Mormon community opens up for the researcher. This develops not merely out of an oral history which is modified from time to time but usually relies on written texts which provide the history of the community. This is significant since, as a result, the interpretation and the meaning of the texts are more fixed and, thus, seemingly more objective and factual.

However, since these texts are part of the Mormon establishment, they are ideologically filtered. The overall obsession of the Mormon Church with historical documents is well-known and is due to the drive to provide the appropriate texts for the required findings which can only be achieved by censoring all available documents--regardless of whether they are real or forged.[319] In this way, only information approved by the Church finds its way to the researchers who, therefore, are subjected this way. Foucault's pastoral power, in which the subjects are "submitted to a set of very specific patterns,"[320] is exercised in its full form as is surveillance in a subtle manner which is neither recognizable nor forceful. The Church creates the Saints' historical knowledge and then makes use of this in order to maintain cohesion, devotion, and membership, and, thus, maintain Church membership.

I believe that the Saints would not agree with this inter-

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[319] For a documented discussion of the last major case--the Mark Hofmann case--in which the Mormon Church funnelled vast sums of money into the purchase of forged documents, see Robert Lindsey, *A Gathering of Saints* (New York: Doubleday, 1988).

[320] Foucault, 1983, 214.

pretation as they maintain the absolute existence and practice of free agency. One possible way to measure this is to determine whether the Church is individualistic or authoritative. In the wealth of literature analyzing the Mormon faith, the role of individualism has been evaluated in different ways. Leone declares that authoritarianism and orthodoxy are covers or illusions under which the individual thrives, due to the general tolerance and encouragement of subjective interpretations expressed by the faith and Church, which are the "decentralized creation of religious meaning", which can be considered a natural requirement since the Church lacks professional theologians.

Bloom, on th other hand, much like Davis,[321] points out the lack of commitment to individual freedom, observing that the individual must subordinate himself to and never contradict the hierarchical authority. Shepherd and Shepherd are of the same opinion, though they concede that the Church places an emphasis "on personal growth and development, on personal achievement within the framework of church guidelines, on the strengthening of individual character, and so on."[322] Dolgin observes that "the Church is both literalistic and individualistic, and it is the nature of this seemingly paradoxical combination which is primarily responsible for the phenomenal success, both qualitative and quantitative, of

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[321] David Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," in Marvin Hill and James Allen eds., *Mormonism and American Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 13-28.

[322] Shepherd and Shepherd 1984, 121.

the Mormon Church."[323]

I have come to believe that the subordination of the individual is expected, but at the same time individual freedom is granted provided that it does not exceed the limits of the authoritarian framework presented by the Church. The roots of this dualism are to be found in the cultural environment at the birth and in the development of the Mormon Church. The duality of strong social cohesion and a strong sense of individualism in the US can be traced back to the Puritan era of errand into the wilderness, when individual strength, self-reliance, and initiative were as essential as unity, mutual understanding, and sacrifice for the common cause and faith. This duality in American history developed into a collective individualism, which indicates the interaction and cooperation of many individuals for the common goal. This collective individualism accounts for the voluntary nature of the American religious scene Mead[324] describes.

This was the nature of the society upon the emergence of Mormonism amid the religious upheaval of the Second Great Awakening during the first part of the 19th century. Mormonism, on the one hand, relied on this collective voluntary individualism which was indispensable to establishing and sustaining the Church, especially during its westward expansion. On the other hand, it incorporated

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[323] Janet Dolgin, "Latter-Day Sense and Substance," in Irving Zaretsky and Mark Leone eds., *Religious Movements in Contemporary America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 523.

[324] Sidney Mead, *The Nation with the Soul of a Church* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975).

this notion into a centralized authority and set order within the traditional community structure its converts longed for; this authority was crucial for a new congregation to maintain its power and influence. Once the Mormon Church had established its structure and stood as a solid institution and state, the relations and the extent of individualism permitted to, if not required of, its members changed, but were still defined, just as they are today, by Church policy and leadership. In certain fields, such as history making, more initiative and space have been granted to the individual, revolving around voluntarism and individualism. However, the framework and direction of action are dictated by the Church.

Therefore, I must conclude that Giddens' proposed model of the duality of structure--if he really intends it to grant equal status of significance and power both to the agent and the structure(s) in the course of regular conduct--has not proved to be able to grasp the essence of this relationship and dynamism in its fullness. I have found that, ultimately, Church hierarchy and leadership enjoy a power position over the members, whose basic relation to them is that of subjects. Through various mechanisms the members slide into a seeming agent position but even then perform actions with an already determined outcome. The reasons for this are manifold: the members themselves are intellectually so bound to the Church that their way of thinking allows only for a limited framework within which to act and reflect upon their actions; and the Church provides the materials, facilities, and the social, intellectual,

and emotional framework within which these actions are performed, thus not only leaving its imprint on them, but also surveilling them in various subtle ways.

However, the power of agency to leave a collective, such as the Mormon community, is granted to the individual; thus, Giddens must be given credit for claiming it. However, this power is not used by many, and even if some Saints dissent, on the basis of my findings, they are unable to break out of the essential necessity of maintaining a religious, preferably conservative Christian, mindset and membership. Thus, I may conclude that these individuals have broken away from membership in a specific group but not from a general psychological and cognitive drive, as a result of which one can question whether they are real dissenters or not within the framework of a set of wider conceptualizations[325] of the social.

ii. Searching Further

In carrying out this project I have found areas in the theory of structuration concerning both agency and structure which Giddens chooses not to elaborate on. My sense of there being something lacking is rooted in the fact that Giddens fails to provide a plausible explanation for the forces which organize structure and agency. What is behind their operation? What accounts for their

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[325] In the end, these people still remained deeply religious, conservative Christians.

unity and inner harmony or cooperation? What is at the root of these forces?

a. A Glance beyond Structure

I have found one of the major drawbacks to the theory of structuration is the fact that Giddens offers no explanation for the development of structure(s) and institutions. He offers categories within which change may be analyzed[326] but fails to theorize about possible forces by and along which societies, institutions, and structures may be constituted as they appear and exist. He refers to changes in social practices as one reason for the emergence of new types of societies: one set of practices related to the storing and dissemination of information by the appearance of writing and later, printing, especially in the emergence of class-divided societies; and another set related to the change in the conditions of production and division of wealth, related to the appearance of class societies. He connects this to the main reason he provides to explain the maintenance of given structure(s), which is that they are the result of social practices performed by the agents.

However, I find this reasoning, which links change in societies or the lack thereof mainly to the micro-societal level

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[326] "Five concepts are particularly relevant...structural principles, time-space edges and intersocietal systems. ... To these I add the notions of episodic characterization and world time." (Giddens 1984, 244)

and to corresponding macro-societal mechanisms, lacking. Although
Giddens proposes that once a structure is introduced and exists,
all the structures and institutions aim at maintaining the
practices which contribute to their maintenance, I suggest that
institutions and structures do not have independent existence or
the conscience to act.   It is rather the individuals in the
structure who initiated it and have emerged through it into a power
position, thus appearing through the structures and institutions as
representatives of objectified power embodied in these
institutions, who lend them anthropomorphic features. The exciting
question here is what motivates the individuals who originally
initiate a new structure and, once it has been objectified and
anthropomorphized, what mechanisms unite the structures and
institutions which have emerged out of the given structure?

I propose that the most powerful set of mechanisms to have
operated in the course of the emergence as well as the maintenance
of the Mormon structure is ideology. Ideology is a system of ideas
centered around a key notion offering explanations, statements, and
predictions concerning reality, materialized in various
institutions, that is, practices.   In the case of the Mormon
community, their ideology, that is, faith, which is a type of
ideology centered on an omnipotent and omnipresent superior power,
God, who, through the Church and the various practices related to
membership, ceases to be an intellectual concept and category, but
is anthropomorphized and filters into the member's daily life by

actually becoming omnipresent[327] and omnipotent,[328] and is the final reason and organizing power for the development and present existence of the Mormon structure.

Ideology provides the grounds not only for God's authority, but the authority of those who are His high representatives in this world.[329] Sacralized authority evokes sacralized power which occupies a position in which statements made or actions performed cannot be debated or disobeyed by any of the members. It is the ideology of the Mormon faith which developed an elaborate intellectual structure upon which Mormon agency with social practices rests; upon which the Church with its authoritative power position rests; upon which the whole Mormon society rests; and upon which a whole subculture--not only within the American context, but within that of globalization--rests.

This ideology, much like other ideologies, has developed its ideological apparatuses. Althusser[330] argues that ideological apparatuses, including religion, culture, communication, and family, among other things, are one of the two types of state apparatuses; he defines the second type as repressive state

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[327] Think of the fact that its omnipresence is signified by the holy undergarment.

[328] As, for example, miracles related to patriarchal blessings indicate.

[329] As one interviewee noted: "Instead of the church being run by the Spirit, sometimes it's run by men." (Taber 1993, 38)

[330] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 168.

apparatuses. Mormons do not have their own state, and thus they cannot have state apparatuses proper; nevertheless, they may have both types of apparatuses in the context of their belief and institutions. In Mormon society both of these are present; however, as we could see, repressive apparatuses do not function through physical violence and armed forces, but through intellectual and spiritual force, controlled by subtle and ubiquitous forms of surveillance.[331] As it is a faith of the past as well as the future, in the sense that it combines traditional values and a conservative lifestyle with the possibility of change and flexibility as deemed necessary by God and Church leadership in the light of modern social structures which are in a constant state of flux, it also combines the forces active in the past--religion and family--with those in the modern age--school, i.e., education, and family--in the maintenance of the Latter-day Church apparatus.

At the same time, I also argue against Althusser by proposing that religion may act as the ultimate ideology and not only one of several ideological apparatuses in uniting societies, as the Mormon scenario suggests.[332] It has been able to activate various apparatuses[333] along with various sets of institutions[334] and

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[331] Such as home and visiting teaching or the interview when requesting a recommend.

[332] With this statement I also challenge the Marxist view of singling out modes of production as the ultimate driving force for change.

[333] Such as family or education.

[334] Such as the institutions providing for Church welfare.

practices, both sacred and secular, in order to maintain its existence. In this sense ideology may be conceptualized as a set of material practices actually lived by the Saints, as expressed in the specific practices discussed. It is also these practices which contribute to the continual existence of ideology as well as a constitutive force of actors and agency.

However, Mormon ideology is not a closed ideology as most state ideologies are, as through a system of revelation it allows for change in ideas, and thus in practices; this is why it may be viewed as a modern religion. This feature allows for the adaptation of the Church to the ever-changing social environment in its tenets and policy.

It is also a utopian ideology, one of many faiths present and available in the world. This pluralism in the market of faiths accounts for the commodification and fetishization of religions: missionaries, like salespeople, compete for souls, testing the extent of their intellectual and emotional commitment or lack thereof, constantly channelling the possibility of change, of conversion, of finding the fitting ideology for oneself.

This has resulted not only in the investment of the Saints into missionary activity, but also the realization of how important various forms of surveillance are for the Church along with retain mechanisms, all integrated into their practices. It has also necessitated the constitution of diverse forces which act as means to affirm the superiority of the Mormon religion among other faiths, all of which claim to be the only true religion. These

forces are materialized in the shape of mystical narratives about miracles which Saints claim to have experienced. Although many of these are written down, usually they are transmitted orally. This is why an ex-Mormon signified them as folklore when she wrote:

> It's just that the folklore, because it was so stirring, was for me always the heart. The miracles that lived in my imagination convinced me that Mormons were especially valued by God, and gave me the confidence to draw close to him.[335]

Mormon ideology must also not be viewed as one which is mechanical and always successful in interpellation, that is, the constitution of Saints as subjects to that ideology, as there are also dissenters, although not a large percentage. Their narratives about the change in their position single out ideological inaccuracies in the system as the reason for their dissent. Therefore, I must propose that the ability of the individual to think and theorize,[336] to evaluate and appropriate[337] is the main reason for and cause behind the power Giddens grants to the individual, whereby the agent is able to act contrary to the expectations various social roles impose on him and to terminate ideologically defined and constructed membership, thereby initiating his own discontinuity and fragmentation. I believe that an analysis of ideological formations and power relations would assist in revealing what contributes to dissent.

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[335] Laake 1993, 34.

[336] This is the operation of discursive consciousness.

[337] This is the result of the monitoring of action.

b. A Glance beyond Actors

What makes the actors participate in the maintenance of given structure(s) and institutions? Why does one perform certain practices and not others? Does the proposition hold that actors, although empowered to act otherwise, mainly and automatically repeat what they have learned through socialization and perform practices as prescribed? Is it only unintended consequences or unacknowledged circumstances which may lead to change in the social and individual?

I propose that human beings participate in practices which they consider their own on the basis of self-identity, which is the driving force behind agency. I have found that Mormon identity is the personal translation and application of Mormon ideology within which one locates oneself or is located, or both. Althusser introduces interpellation as the term to express the constitution of identity by which humans acquire their awareness as subjects. However, in the case of religion, interpellation may also be the result of an individual choice of faith, and by leaving the faith the subject position in relation to the given ideology along with its institutions ceases to exist.

The analysis in Chapter IV illustrates how all these practices are rooted in tenets of the Mormon faith. The Saints claim that the reasons for everything they do can be found in their sacred texts--narratives out of which individual narratives of the self

develop. In these the self locates itself, attains an objectified position, and acquires meaning within the given social matrix. Thus, the constitution of the self, the identity, originates in the faith and returns to it for regular confirmation. This also illustrates the cyclical nature of identity construction, the constant interplay between actor and structure. Dissent appears once a break appears in this cycle.

I also propose that religious ideology is one which is not absolutely binding; members may liberate themselves by leaving it, thus truly acting otherwise and breaking the ties of their subject positions in a given collective. I consider this to be the real application of the powerful position of the agent Giddens describes, the power to act otherwise and to terminate one's own membership in one religious community or initiate it in another.

The reasons given for joining or leaving the Mormon Church were either intellectual or spiritual; only one person referred to some who may have joined the Saints for the sake of financial security--in order to strengthen ontological security in Giddens' term. As previously mentioned, accounts regarding dissent justified termination of membership mainly with the Church's false theological teaching.

The dissenters by leaving the Church give up their Mormon identity, and with that, the faith which was the constitutive power behind their identity. Mormon identity is the subjective application of the Mormon faith, and by rejecting the faith which is the basis for Mormon social practices, the dissenting agent

stops performing them. However, as some of the sources indicate, the cognitive divorce from these practices is a lengthy and difficult process as they have been deeply ingrained in the Saints minds and psyches.

I believe that Sainthood not only binds the Saints to perform these practices, but contributes to the emergence of an individual habitus in the Bourdieuian sense. As one interviewee put it: "all our lives [we] have gone to church. On Sunday morning, what are you going to do? You go to church because you's [sic] developed that habit."[338] Another Saint summarized this by saying that Mormonism helps to develop one's thoughts, which determine one's actions, based on which habits emerge, which will provide the framework for one's character. Habitus cannot be terminated by a legal or speech act and thus continues to function as the structured structuring structure on the minds of the dissenters. What I imply here is that just because ex-Mormons do not perform certain Mormon practices, this does not mean that they do not think that they should. Dissenting is a conscious effort to put a halt to the seemingly natural responses to situations in mind as well as in action.

This also suggests that identities cease to exist as a result of a lengthy process, just as they developed, and that the process of transforming a way of thinking about social practice is longer than that of a change in action. However, I propose that Mormon identity should not be equated to any other religious identity as

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[338] Taber 1993, 281.

it is different in its nature. The fact that many view Mormons as an ethnic group can also be interpreted as a sign that Mormons have an identity which differs from that of regular, established denominations. But what is this identity like? The following section is devoted to the conceptualization of an identity model which aims at grasping the specifics of Mormon identity.

2. The Consummate Identity of Mormonism

As is clear from the discussion in Chapter II, I have found the various attempts to classify Mormon identity lacking, imposed from above by the culture of the Other, with no regard for the self-definition of the Saints themselves. I, also an Other, propose a model which I call *consummate identity* to be used as a model to capture the core of Mormon identity in a more precise and complex manner. In developing this model, I will rely on the Mormon narratives I have worked with and the practices they have described. Through the acts of listening to and reading these narratives, I have maintained my position as the Other, a fact likely to be reflected in the model. However, unlike other scholars, I have made an attempt to educe a model from the Saints' own positioning and relation to their faith and its practices. However, I have attempted to do so without substantiating a hypothesis and by attempting to exclude myself from the process and be the descriptive force that puts the pieces of the mosaic together.

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i. The Model of Consummate Identity

In Chapter II, I take the position that the Mormon community
is not an ethnic group nor do Mormons consider themselves as
such.[339] I claim that their sense of unity is most similar in
nature to national consciousness, although not identical to it. By
utilizing the notion of proliferation, I recommend the following
formula as a more precise description of Mormon identity: A+d-->
a+B(a+d+x). With regard to Mormonism, this formula proposes that
in its content it integrates American features and ideas borrowed
from other denominations and provides the believer with something
new in its doctrine, inventions of Joseph Smith, which made this
group different from other denominations.

The formula, however, regards the three components which
impacted on the theological development of this faith, but not on
the realm of application. The model I propose concerns this aspect
of the Mormon community. I believe that Mormonism differs from
other denominations in that it concerns and actively filters not

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[339] I believe that the Mormon community can be grouped together
neither with the Jews nor the Amish. In my understanding, being
Jewish is a religious and an ethnic category, wherein the two may
be separated and we may speak of a Jew who does not practice
Judaism and has converted to Catholicism. As for the Amish
community, the ancestors of the Amish originally comprised an
ethnically homogeneous group, and, as membership was closed, they
may be viewed as an ethnic group. However, since their geographic,
linguistic, social, cultural and economic isolation is rooted in
their faith, I suggest that the term Amish signifies primarily a
religious identification. The Mormons, however, were never
ethnically homogeneous and are comprised of members of various
ethnic and racial backgrounds; therefore, their community refers to
a religious category.

only into the sacred but also the secular; not only into the spiritual, but also the material; not only into the private, but also the public. These sets of realms are equally significant for the Mormon faith, and its presence in these is not only theoretical or symbolic, as is the case in the traditional Christian denominations, but is actualized and materialized through various institutions and practices.

I consider this notion--the ability of a dominant ideology and its institutions to operate its members in the spheres of both the sacred and the secular in a totalitarian manner--to be the essence of the identity model I propose. The ideology, thus, is able to provide the basis for an identity, both collective and individual, which, through its power of activating agency through its practices, is able to bind members of diverse backgrounds and assign them their social positions in the larger social matrix.

I term this identity *consummate* which means "[c]omplete or perfect in every respect"[340] because this attribute points to both key aspects of Mormonism: (1) it is a complete religion which unites the sacred and the secular; and (2) it is driven toward perfection toward which the Saints are expected to progress each day. However, this concerns not only spiritual perfection, but refers to the complete perfection of modern people in the modern world.

I am not suggesting that other denominations, such as the

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[340] This is the first meaning of the word in the second edition of *The American Heritage Dictionary* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985).

Roman Catholic Church, are not concerned with both the sacred and secular aspects of the daily lives of their believers. They are indeed, but they do not make their presence so overtly felt in every segment of members' lives; they do not introduce theologically justified measures to encourage members to associate only with like-minded believers; they do not practice constant surveillance the way the Mormon Church does; they do not aim to completely occupy the time and resources of their members; and they do not have the elaborate secular presence to be able to provide all the necessities one may have in a modern society. The Roman Catholic priest, friar, monk, or nun may wear a uniform over his/her regular, modern clothes, while a mere believer does not wear anything of this sort. However, the Saint wears the symbol of his/her faith constantly, against his/her skin, and nothing may separate him/her from it.

I also consider the undergarment the expression of their commitment. This faith demands a great deal more devotion of actual time,[341] money, and energy of its members than other faiths: religion is their foremost type of identity. As one interviewee told me, becoming a Mormon is not only a spiritual but also a social and cultural conversion. Numerous Saints claim that they have "never dreamt of leaving the church which was their social, cultural, and family epicenter."[342] Several mentioned the

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[341] According to one interviewee, the average number of hours one spends with religious affairs is 20 per week.

[342] Scott 1990, 27.

similarities between the structure and operation of the Church and a corporation, claiming that they are similar in the manner they operate. One person even said that if "society were to structure itself like the Church--the welfare programs, the tithing, the Word of Wisdom, working with people--it would be better."[343] These comparisons indicate that the separation of the sacred from the secular in Mormonism is not absolute.

The Church is present in all aspects of secular life: family, education, work,[344] social life,[345] sports, various free-time activities, etc. It also provides social services[346] and fulfills other, typically state, functions.[347] I think the Saints believe in obeying the Gospel and the Church and that the Church only wants to provide for its members, to encourage everyone and ensure that every Saint lives the word of God, so that it could lead them to salvation.

However, I see this in a different light: in my opinion, the Church wishes to maximize its influence and control over its members, in an effort to reduce the multiplicity of identities of

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[343] Taber 1993, 158.

[344] By means of tithing, for example.

[345] By means of the Word of Wisdom.

[346] Their welfare system, which includes job training programs as well, is an excellent example.

[347] Surveillance is considered a typical state function.

the Saints--a phenomenon so characteristic of modernism--by attempting to incorporate all possible forces around which these social identities may be constituted into the Mormon faith and doctrines. With the Church occupying most of members' free time by having them perform various tasks based on callings and by offering a diversity of free-time activities from sports to dances and movies, the likelihood of the Saints to associate with non-Mormons is quite small.

The Church is also a major corporation-like body, with a corporation-like mentality and features in its operations, such as exploiting employees by requiring them to be "high achievers,"[348] to work a high number of hours, to be totally committed, and to feel that the firm is their family and that they have a mission to succeed, for which strong marketing of their product is necessary. They borrow words from the corporate world, such as *achievement* and *management*, and apply methods used by modern states in membership integration.[349] But what are these methods and what strategies can we locate in the saturation of the member and the group, the self and the Church, through which the constitution of both is achieved?

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[348] One interviewee used these words.

[349] Foucault points out that modern state power ignores individuals and considers only the interests of the group, that is, it is totalitarian. However, state power is also individualizing, as it is able to apply the structures which are "individualization techniques and totalization procedures" in one (1983, 213).

ii. Planning to Belong

The title of this section was the title of an article[350] in which the author offers strategies for newcomers--in a neighborhood or church--to be able to belong, which includes the preparation of a personal "Get Acquainted" plan, suggested ideas which work--such as baking for the neighbors, playing sports with them, and having a picnic together, but also tips such as paying attention to names, focusing on others, and making the whole experience an opportunity to grow. It is almost like a human resource management plan in which human resources manage themselves once they have taken a course on how to do so.

This article provided an example of how the Church plans membership maintenance. In fact, the Church has instituted an elaborate set of strategies, also incorporated into their practices, aimed at maintaining membership. In the discussion of these, I rely on a book by two ex-Latter-day Saint authors, Shepherd and Shepherd,[351] who offer an analysis of Mormon commitment mechanisms. I find this term rather telling with regard to the position of the authors toward Mormonism and its practices as I would define these as retain mechanisms. This possibility to view the very same mechanisms both as commitment and retain mechanisms also illustrates the duality of the structure since I

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[350] Tana Johnson, "Planning to Belong," in *Ensign* 24 (1994): 10: 58-61.

[351] 1984.

understand commitment as an aspect of agency and retention as a feature of structure, united in the same mechanisms. In this section I introduce these, supplementing the ideas of the Shepherd brothers with my findings.

Based on the work of Rosabeth Kanter, who analyzes commitment mechanisms in 19th-century utopian communities, Shepherd and Shepherd propose that the very same mechanisms are at work in the Mormon community as well. They suggest that the Mormon Church makes use of three strategies, each maintained by a pair of mechanisms--one of which they consider negative, the other positive, for the member. These strategies: (1) retain membership through sacrifice and investment; (2) produce group cohesiveness through renunciation and communion; and (3) exercise social control through mortification and transcendence.

Membership retention through sacrifice refers to the cost of membership, the sacrifice one must make in order to belong. It "stimulates the rationalization of costly commitments,...the effect...[is an] increase [in] the perceived value of group membership."[352] Something being expensive, that is, attained through great sacrifice, gives one the impression of quality and worth. Examples of sacrifice among the Saints may be abstinence and austerity, chastity, and simplicity, which are the trade-off for membership.

However, I believe that the Saints do not necessarily see these as sacrifice. One interviewee told me that their faith is

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[352] Shepherd and Shepherd 1984, 104.

only seemingly restrictive. Abstinence assures them that they will be free of certain illnesses; sexual austerity assures them that they will be able to live without AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases. Therefore, he claimed that their religion is actually liberating as it exempts the members from many worries and problems non-Mormons would typically face.

The Shepherd brothers argue that the positive side of sacrifice is investment, of both labor and material resources, which typically cements the members to the Church. Through various forms, such as tithing, long hours of free labor done as a calling, or volunteer work, the members feel that they personally invest into this Church and group, and, therefore, they consider it their own and take an active interest in its well-being and continued prosperity. In return for their investments they are rewarded in various ways: callings to higher positions are considered an acknowledgement of one's worthiness,[353] as is the temple recommend or one's level of priesthood.

My findings support their argument. I add that the Church has been able to create a milieu in which, in most cases, the Saints do not feel that they are forced to do volunteer work, but seem to want to volunteer on their own initiative. I believe it all depends on how various church projects are presented: an excellent example is the volunteer work Mormons performed on the occasion of

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[353] Secular success is very significant in measuring worthiness: "I would love to be a mission president. To be able to do that, you would have to be in a good financial position," as one interviewee noted (Taber 1993, 347).

the 150th anniversary of their original settlement in Utah. The interviewees I talked to were excited about and "grateful" for the opportunity of demonstrating to the outside world the spiritual strength and power of unity the Mormon community has.

The second strategy the Shepherds propose is related to group cohesiveness. They claim that it may be reached through renunciation, the social sacrifice made for exclusive membership: the friends and family one loses by joining a Church they disapprove of. This is usually accompanied by an attempt to isolate the group from the greater society as well, through various mechanisms, such as geographical isolation, rules which reduce possible contact with non-members to the minimum, a sense of self-sufficiency, rituals of purification, distinctive manner of dress and special language, among other things.

The Shepherds propose that geographical isolation was mainly characteristic of Mormonism in the last century, a point I would agree with. However, I would argue that their sense of geographical isolation still prevails in thought. One teacher said: "I'd like to influence the kids in the ward [in Delaware] to go out to BYU or to Ricks...where it's wonderful to be a member of the church. BYU is an idealistic, unreal world, but it's fun."[354] Songs, such as "Utah We Love Thee," sung all over the world, signifies Utah as the best place in the world. Utah is still considered their homeland, the place all Mormons would like to visit.

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[354] Taber 1993, 332.

It is clear from the analysis of their practices that their social contact with non-Mormons is minimal. They meet them in the course of their missionary work or through various ecumenical projects, but typically they do not have non-Mormon friends. They attempt to convert members of their family as well and to live in religiously homogeneous families and communities. The issue of self-sufficiency is significant in the case of potential isolation; it rests on an actually functioning system: Deseret Industries, their welfare system, the bishop's storehouse, food storage at home--all signs which prove that they can be--and are--self-sufficient. Their first sacred temple rituals are that of purification, which, I argue, actually commence with the bishop's interview in which one must prove how committed s/he is to the Church and the faith, evidence of this being that one leads one's life in accordance with the teachings of the Church. Their dress code or special terminology, which is not always understood by outsiders, are examples of practices constituting clear-cut boundaries between the Saints and the others.

Shepherds maintain that the positive side of social sacrifice is communion, the community one gains upon joining the Church, offering members a strong sense of security and unity. This is achieved through communal work, activities, sharing, regular and regularized gatherings, the shared sense of history, and the experience of exclusion by others, for example.

I have found that the Church provides numerous examples for communal work, as each stake operates some kind of production

project, the products of which are distributed through the welfare program or the storehouses. The extensive system of meetings related to indoctrination, church work, and free-time activities may easily take up all one's free time, and thus, besides strengthening membership and building group unity and sentiment, it also makes it difficult for the Saints to sustain relationships with non-members. Zala, in writing about the fact that the Saints are almost always at meetings, describes these as foprms of a type of modern group psychotherapy.[355] The Saints' sense of unity and loyalty is also provided by their keen interest in history, their identification with past sufferings, including the experience of persecution, which appears today as a source of community pride as well.

The Shepherds define social control as the third strategy the Church utilizes, through mortification which "is involved in the reconstruction of personal identities based on member conversion to community values and submission to community discipline."[356] Methods the Church applies include public confession and mutual criticism, group sanctions, spiritual or moral differentiation within the group, and de-individuating mechanisms.

I have used the phrase *subtle ways of surveillance* to signify what I believe the Saints understand as mortification. In the analysis of the interviews numerous ways of this surveillance have been pointed out. I propose that each practice has a component of

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[355] Zala 1985, 208.

[356] Shepherd and Shepherd 1984, 116.

surveillance built into it, whether it is revealed, such as the bishop's interviews, or veiled, such as family prayer or patriarchal blessings. Public confessions are done regularly at their Sunday services and fast and testimony meetings. Conspicuous sanctions may vary, the more serious ones being the denial of the temple recommend and excommunication. These may also function as means of spiritual differentiation, along with status distinctions and requested callings.

De-individuation is also significant, through various ways of regimentation in indoctrination, education, dress, and behavior, total submission to Church policy,[357] etc. But I must also admit that the extent of de-individuation is rather limited in comparison with communes, an extreme example of which might be Jonestown, which the Saints claimed was made possible by free agency.

The positive side of social control is achieved through transcendence: the individual is placed into a larger context of a community which provides security on earth as well as a faith which places one in the context of eternal life. Transcendence is inherent in the ideology, authority, and programmatic guidance. I believe that ideology not only provides the framework within which the social is organized, but legitimates it--in the case of the Church by assigning to God, the power impossible to challenge, the central place around which the ideology is constructed.

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[357] One woman said: "When I lived in Utah, we all were told to go to the International Women's Year Convention and vote in a certain way. We all did it just like sheep. I am a little ashamed of that now." (Taber 1993, 54)

This legitimacy allows for an authoritative, hierarchical structure to emerge which provides the guidelines for and shapes the social, and through that, the individual as well. Convictions, such as "[T]he church has served as a lifeline to me"[358] or "I felt a real security in Mormonism. Everything was spelled out for me. Everything was either black or white"[359] or "[T]he Church seems to be just about the only thing you can depend on--it's the only sure thing,"[360] express the members' absolute submission to and trust in the Church, all expressions of trust and ontological security which Giddens considers so crucial to self-identity. With the help of this certainty they are able to locate themselves within the social context of the larger American society, position themselves in interactions and attain a cohesive narrative about their identity and reality in their discoursive consciousness.

Therefore, I propose that these are the overall strategies, embedded in social practices, through which the Mormon Church is able to maintain a firmly unified community with a strong sense of collective identity, which functions as the primary reason for the ongoing membership of the individual as well as the ongoing existence of the collective. As the model of consummate identity indicates, Latter-day Saint ideology through the Mormon Church is able to maintain an extensive set of practices in the fields of sacred as well as secular life, thus providing trust, ontological

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[358] Taber 1993, 337.

[359] Scott 1990, 120.

[360] Taber 1993, 80.

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security, knowledge and firm boundaries of identity for all the members, within which the Saints feel that they are enabled, knowledgeable, powerful actors.

VI. CONCLUSION

This dissertation undertakes the tasks of conceptualizing what collective identity is and theorizing on how it is constituted through the example of the collective of the American Latter-day Saints in terms of Giddens' model of structuration.

Chapter II establishes the fact that in the identity model of the Latter-day Saints religion occupies an exceptional position in that it may override even one's identification with the self. Having established that the Mormon community, therefore, comprises a group with unusually strong commitment, I propose that this may account for the reasons for the opinions that the term Mormon signifies not only a religious but also an ethnic group. Through the process of theorizing on what ethnicity, race, and nationalism mean, I have rejected these previous classifications and proposed that the nature of Mormon identity may be similar to--but not identical with--national consciousness. In order to arrive at a more satisfactory identity model of the Latter-day Saints, I have had to continue by investigating the social, where all identities are constituted.

In order to perform this task, I have committed to the theory of structuration as an applicable model of social constitution in modernism. I introduce the theory in Chapter III, focusing on the notion of the duality of structure, which is the mechanism which combines agents and structures in the dialectical constitution of

society through social practices.

Maintaining that the duality of structure captures the essential mechanism by which both agent and structure are constituted, I accept Jenkins' model, which proposes that external and internal forces in identity constitution are also in a dialectical relation. I propose that, just as structures and agents are constituted through practices, each shaping the other, their identities, that is, individual and collective identities, are also constituted in the same dialectical process, through the same social practices. With that, I proceed in Chapter IV to analyze three sets of representative practices of the Latter-day Saints related to family life, constitution of history and memory, and education, to analyze these and the Church-Saint dialectics in them. For this I have relied mainly on written and oral narratives by the Saints--some former members--as personal narratives are the fullest expressions of individual identities.

My findings through this process are presented in Chapter V. One area concerns the theory of structuration itself: an analysis of its actual application to a collective, which offers areas of criticism. My major critique of Giddens' theory is that his proposition concerning the driving forces behind agency and structure is inaccurate and rather hasty. I propose that the driving force behind agency is identity and that ideology operates structure(s). As the next step, I offer my model of Mormon identity which, I maintain, is the force behind membership in the Church. I propose that Mormon identity is different from other

identities in that it has the capacity to establish a consummate identity by uniting the sacred with the secular. The dissertation ends with a discussion of the strategies applied by the Church in the constitution of Mormonism, which may be termed commitment mechanisms as well as retain mechanisms, since, as I suggest, they are embedded in the same practices. Therefore, I maintain that both individual and collective identity are established in the social, in the same mechanisms, and through the same practices, and are, therefore, inseparable.

In the course of my work I have focused on the saturation of the individual and the collective, considering the position of agency, in a religious collective. This project may develop in two possible directions in the future in order to measure the accuracy and the more general applicability of my findings: (1) the scope of practices analyzed may be extended; and (2) a similar analysis of structure(s), by bracketing agency, would reveal what additional processes to consider in the constitution of structure(s).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Identity in the Mormon Church
Questionnaire

The following questionnaire was designed to assist in a research project focusing on the identity of the American Mormons.

Your opinion and assistance would be of extreme value, but, of course, you are kindly asked to omit any field you do not feel comfortable addressing. Thank you for your time and help!

Personal data

Gender: Race: Occupation: Age:
State of residence:
Religious status:
    a) born into a Mormon family and raised as a Mormon
    b) converted into the Mormon religion; age of conversion:

Questions

1.) In what order of importance would you rate the following affiliations when thinking of yourself? (1=top)
    your own self, individual
    race
    ethnic background/ancestry
    religion
    identification as an American
    regional identification (e.g. Southerner)
    anything else:

2.) What are the most typical values/features (e.g. family life, materialism, education, success, etc.) in your life which you identify with your
    a) religion

    b) American background

3.) Which of the above or other values, if any, in your religion can you identify as characteristically American values as well?

4.) Upon living abroad (if you have) and meeting members of your faith of the native country, have you ever felt a gap between yourself and them due to:
    a) ethnic or cultural differences

    b) different interpretations of your faith?

Please, illustrate if appropriate.

Appendix 2

Questions
Asked at Interviews for Temple Recommend

Several authors listed various questions which are typically asked in the course of a Saint's interview by the bishop in order to be granted a temple recommend. These recommends are valid for a year, thus this interview is anually repeated. Scott offered the fullest list of the questions which are the following:

"Are you morally [i.e. sexually] clean and worthy to enter the temple?

Will you and do you sustain the General Authorities of the Church, and will you live in accordance with the accepted rules and doctrines of the Church?

Do you have any connection, in sympathy or otherwise, with any of the apostate groups or individuals who are running counter to the accepted rules and doctrines of the Church?

Are you a full tithe payer?

Are you exempt from paying full tithes?

Do you keep the Word of Wisdom?

Do you always wear the regulation (temple) [under] garments?

Will you earnestly strive to do your duty in the Church, to attend your sacrament, priesthood, and other meetings, and to obey the rules, laws, and commandments of the Gospel?

Have you ever been denied a recommend to any temple?

Have you ever been divorced?"[1]

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[1] Scott 1979, 193.

Appendix 3

The Roots of Structuration Theory

The theory of structuration emerged out of Giddens' conviction that a crisis exists in the social sciences as social scientists have been unable to overcome the classic dichotomy between micro- and macro-level analysis. This thwarts the emergence of a holistic theory that successfully integrates both of these trends, which resulted from his analysis and evaluation of the various writings by social theorists, classics as well as his contemporaries. It is, therefore, necessary to outline his criticism of the various schools of thought and to indicate which notions put forth by these trends he has found applicable and valid in constituting his own conception.[2]

1. Positivism

Giddens rejects positivism outright stating that its basic assumption of humans as mere objects and its structuring a scholarly field on the basis of scientific thinking and methodology are unacceptable and long outdated. He believes that the social sciences are about human beings who are acting agents, are knowledgeable, and have the will power to act knowingly on decisions they have consciously made. Thus, they must not be treated and analyzed as subjects. People also vary: they have their own external as well as internal features, so other disciplines such as psychology must also be incorporated into social research in order to be able to gain a fuller understanding of human action. Since individuals are not mechanically created either and are aware of a great deal regarding what is happening, as well as how and why, they cannot be unified and placed into categories as easily as objects.

Giddens also feels the need to expand the scope of social examination and sees limitations in Auguste Comte's two scopes, the analysis of social statistics dealing with the mechanisms of stability, order, and reproduction in society and that of social dynamics which examines the background, nature and, direction of social changes. Though Comte also states that investigation begins with facts and is aimed at facts, that is, he embraces a theory relying on objectivity and empirical research based on facts, he gives priority to theoretical laws and describes various phenomena in relation to previously set theoretical frameworks. Giddens, however, prefers the inductive method in social sciences over the essentially deductive approach of positivism.

Giddens also rejects Herbert Spencer's ideas which also serve as the basis for functionalism: that society is to be viewed as a living organism where different, independent parts

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[2] The main sources used in this text, although not indicated regularly, are Giddens 1981, 1984, 1987, 1991, 1995, Craib 1992, and Wallace and Wolf, 1995. I follow the classification offered by Wallace and Wolf in the course of the discussion of the various scholars.

are interdependent--they work together, each fulfilling a specific function, in order to maintain an equilibrium in society; in this manner stability, order, and survival are attained. It is rather interesting to observe that, at the same time, he also discusses the idea of social evolution and concludes that society develops from elementary or primitive forms of social order to more complex structures, such as the industrialized western societies. Thus, he is also expressing the basic principles of the evolutionary theories which also identify change with progress, thus evaluating and classifying societies, and implies a sense of predeterminism and development in social history. In this manner, Spencer's theory unites the basic ideas of the two most influential social trends of the early 20th century, functionalism and evolutionary theories, both of which Giddens has been rather critical of, as we can see later.

2. Evolutionary Theory

Evolutionary theory unites the works of two major German classics, Karl Marx and Max Weber. Although both scholars are considered to be representatives of the same major trend, evolutionary theory, their work resulted in the development of two separate schools: conflict theory relies heavily on the writings of Marx, while analytical critical theory embraces the ideas of Weber. An excellent comparison of these two trends is given by Wallace and Wolf who claim that the most apparent difference between them lies in the fact that in conflict theory the task of the scientist is not only to describe processes as an outsider but to offer an evaluation of the phenomena in question based on his own personal values and beliefs, while analytical theorists require the separation of the scholar and the individual, and, therefore, the author's values and beliefs should be excluded from his studies. They consider the second difference between them to be the fact that conflict theorists view society as being divided by a single factor: the economy, which creates a ruling class opposed by the oppressed masses, while analytical theorists claim that complex structures and various sources of power divide society along several lines. As a third difference, the authors mention that conflict theorists believe in the possibility of the existence of a conflict-free state, namely communism, and make the assumption that history moves in the direction of this ideal state form, while analytical theorists do not rationalize about an ideal state but recognize that conflicts will continue to exist as long as societies do; thus, societies do not move toward a utopian state but toward a more complex social structure. In fact, Weber fears that the next level of development in the western hemisphere will be a society taken over by bureaucracy.

However, both trends imply determinism and uniformity in human history and the direction of change, viewing societies and social change in terms of conflict in societies. Just like functionalism, these two schools are also involved in macro-analysis and a deductive approach and are convinced that mechanism and determinism play a crucial role in social life. Giddens strongly criticizes the notion of development and universal determinism expressed by these theories, their belief in a normative illusion on the basis of which societies can be

evaluated and branded, as well as their reduction of the individual either to the level of a toy, completely unaware and manipulated by the power structure or a single, greedy, wicked, and inhuman individual who deprives, alienates, and subjugates the masses in order to maintain his power position. Giddens contends that neither individual actions nor social changes can be defined in this predetermined manner and he rejects the implied parallel between the individual, on the one hand, and social change and development, on the other. Last, the temporal framework of this theory, namely that time always involves change/progress, is also challenged by Giddens.

3. Functionalism

Functionalism, along with structuralism, was the most highly praised sociological trend in Giddens' university years. The American Talcott Parsons, for example, who has a major impact on him, and Parsons' most outstanding student, Robert Merton, have made an attempt to tailor functionalism together with structuralism into a social theory applicable to modern life. However, Giddens believes that they have failed in this attempt.

This school, having been established in sociology by Emile Durkheim, deals with macro-analysis: it examines the whole of the society as a complex organic unit which is composed of largely autonomous parts or sub-organisms, which all function to maintain the existing organism. It applies the deductive approach inasmuch as it gives priority to the theoretical concept, attributing to it some sort of an a priori position. Its basic supposition--that social cohesion exists and within this institutions serve certain functions which are necessary for the maintenance of the equilibrium--indicates that in societies institutions and functions have priority over individuals who are essentially subjected to and often unaware of these functions. All events and actions are intertwined and serve the sole purpose of providing social permanence and balance; thus, events and actions may be considered to be determined. It is this determinism, this consideration of functions as the sole motive for human actions, and this reductionism of man to a subject position Giddens refuses to accept.

If the basic function of the establishment is to provide social balance and permanence, how do societies change? As we have already seen, an essentially evolutionary view of history is used in Spencer's theory, which compares the development of societies to that of biological organisms: the way a cell divides and each time forms a more complex structure, societies also break with their previous patterns at certain points[3] and develop a more complex system which reflects the more recent functions society needs to fulfill in order to be able to maintain its existence. In analyzing these functions and systems, one must view them as social facts, i.e., objective realities, as Durkheim suggests. This idea, again, connects functionalism to positivism. This evolutionalism also indicates that there is a determined way to progress in social life.

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[3] Durkheim explained these points by introducing the notion of anomie, meaning "normlessness": whenever anomie occurs on the social level, certain changes are bound to occur in the system.

Giddens rejects the notion that each society develops in an organic way from simple to more complex structures the way Spencer described. He believes that just because systems have certain needs, i.e., certain new functions necessary for the maintenance of equilibrium, this does not mean that they will be automatically met. This mechanical way of handling social reality as well as the determinism in the progress of societies, disregarding the mental capacity and ability of the individual to act on his own, provides another point of departure for Giddens from this trend. Also, if we accept that it is only societies that are in the position of being able to act and have their needs met, then societies must be provided with their own consciousness, needs, drives, and the power as well as the means to have these needs fulfilled. But what is the origin of this consciousness? And what about people? Should they not be considered as well, since they provide the body of societies, their various institutions, and functions, thus are they not also the ones who should be able to shape societies with their consciousness? These are further points Giddens criticizes in functionalism.

It seems that two of Talcott Parsons' concepts have had a lasting impact on the development of Giddens' theory. One is his theory of action in which he considers how motivated actors perform actions. Parsons proposes that in the course of actions, people set their goal first and act in order to achieve it. While acting, they must consider two social components: (1) the situation in which the action takes place, which includes the available means and conditions; and (2) the social standards as well as regulations which provide the framework for the action. This indicates that Parsons opens the limits of functionalism and asserts the possibility of motivated actions being performed by individuals, though strictly within the limitations of the social structure.

The other notion so significant in the theory of structuration is Parsons' description of the systems of action which can be connected to the development of individuals, based on which Parsons sets up four systems. The first one is actualized with the birth of the individual and provides the behavioral organism. The second one is the personality system which is the result of identity formation. We can see that these two systems are tied to the individual--possibly another point of departure from the original ideas of functionalism. The other two systems are tied to the whole of the society: the social system with its definition of roles and interaction and the cultural system, which includes platforms connected to value transmission and maintenance, such as religion and education.

I have found two areas in the work of Robert Merton as well which may have influenced Giddens. One is related to his description of dysfunctions as opposed to functions and his discussion of manifest versus latent functions. It seems to me that Merton handles these notions as dualisms and not as dualities, i.e., as two intertwined notions originating in and representing the essence of the same thing, as if two sides of the same coin, only seemingly in opposition. The notion of dualism occupies a central place in the theory of structuration and is Giddens' key concept in overcoming the differences between the two major sociological trends with regard to their focus on the role of the individual versus the superstructure when

examining society.

Merton's role-set may also be detected in the theory of structuration. Merton's basic assumption is that each individual occupies a status in a given society. Status is connected to social structure and is accompanied by a set of roles which describe and prescribe the behavior of the individual in the given status under various circumstances. Besides appearing in the theory of structuration, the basic notions of role-set and role-playing in face-to-face interactions can also be detected in symbolic interaction.

4. Phenomenology

Phenomenological sociology, which is rooted in the Kantian concept of focusing on the centrality of the individual, was developed as a distinct philosophical school by Edmund Husserl. He believes that all experience is channelled to the individual through the senses; thus, knowledge is of a sensory origin, and everything else is speculation. In describing what reality is, therefore, one must describe the way individuals perceive and see the world. This theory considers individuals to be free and rational actors; thus, their actions are not mechanically determined by their social or cultural milieu. Actions and social reality must be understood on the basis of individual interactions, so the central role in action is assigned to individuals. The belief that human activity must be interpreted as meaningful for the actors expresses a concern for subjective meaning and gives way to the development of phenomenological or interpretative sociology, the founder of which is the Austrian, Alfred Schütz.

Giddens defines this school as existentialist and connects it to another trend, hermeneutic phenomenology.[4] He states that the major difference between these lies in the focus of the analysis: existential phenomenology involves the analysis of culture and society on the level of the individual, i.e., the way and mechanisms through which culture is internalized in the individual, while he views hermeneutical phenomenology as a field mainly oriented towards the collective aspects of culture. This difference alone indicates that the object of the analysis must also differ: existential phenomenology focuses on the self and the internalizing processes, while the concern of hermeneutical phenomenologists with texts, and, thus, language, assists them in defining the nature and structure of communication, i.e., the communal nature of culture.

a) Existential Phenomenology

Alfred Schütz, a student of Husserl's, has developed this school, organized on the premise that understanding is subjective, and that it emerges from the individual's evaluation of particular situations in the course of which the actor draws on a common stock of knowledge, thus using typification or recipes when acting and thinking. This indicates that the world is constructed of certain types of things and acts, from among

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[4] In *Studies in Social and Political Theory* (London: Hutchinson, 1977).

which the individual chooses when acting and elaborating discursively on actions. This presupposes that the actors regularly find themselves in certain taken-for-granted situations in which they expect their partners to act according to certain prescribed scripts; the actors, thus, can conclude and define their own roles and conduct their own actions. This common sense knowledge, therefore, which is developed through experience and socialization, serves as the basis for everyday interaction. Schütz contends that the purpose of sociology is to examine the process of understanding through a set theory which enables one to view individual actions free of such preconceptions and to discover how the actor himself constructs these typifications and assigns meaning to situations--a concept Giddens himself applies in his theory of structuration.

One major trend generated by these ideas is ethnomethodology[5] with Harold Garfinkel as its key representative. Ethnomethodology relies on the basic assumption that cultural typifications identified as institutionalized knowledge of the real world exist and are the basis for everyday interactions. In order to understand the way meaning is constructed, these typifications must be disregarded in the course of the interaction. The tool for this analysis is language, as it is the most complex indexical system of a society, one which is generally used in interaction, acquired through socialization and routine, and applied on the basis of social consensus. Language is also a field around which a great deal of presupposed knowledge may be organized.[6] Therefore, if we break away from the traditional usage of the language in given situations, all these presuppositions are also disregarded and the analysis of the actual process of meaning construction may begin.[7] In his work, Garfinkel examines how social order is created through our activities, primarily through talk and conversation. He points out that when the consensus underlying

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[5] "Ethnomethodology is the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life." Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1967), 11.

[6] Following is an example of underlying presuppositions in language. The question "Did you like your soup?" involves the following information: I know you, I know that you had soup and that you have finished eating it; I know that you do not always like soup and I express my curiosity as to whether this time you liked it or not. As this example indicates, there is usually more meaning and knowledge behind each statement than the actual words uttered allow us to predict, and we do not understand the statement fully unless we know the consensus behind it.

[7] He asked his students to pretend that they were unaware of the consensus around which language is structured and to act upon the word-by-word meaning of utterances, thus breaking the set of institutionalized linguistic knowledge in interaction. Some examples: "I am sick of him!" "What do you mean? Why, you should see a doctor if you are sick!" or: "Hi! What's up?" "Well, I don't see anything!"

our verbal communication is broken, interaction and, thus, social integration is threatened, involving not only cognitive but also emotional slips between individuals.

Giddens relies on Garfinkel's findings at two points. He entrusts the individual with the ability of giving a rational account of his actions and believes that through these evaluated actions one also constitutes the social world. The individual is able to reflect on actions, to evaluate them, therefore, to develop knowledge regarding them, and to act accordingly--either maintaining or changing the underlying structures. This leads to the second point Giddens borrows from ethnomethodology, which is his assertion that actors are knowledgeable: they possess explicit as well as implicit, that is, taken-for-granted, knowledge of the social world. This derives from Garfinkel's notion of the actor's ability to give an account: individuals are capable of reporting on what has happened and why as well as of evaluating situations through language. However, this need not necessarily be verbalized: the mere fact that this knowledge is not communicated does not mean that it does not exist or that the actor is unaware of it.

The most outstanding representative of existential phenomenology is Peter Berger. His basic belief is that any body of knowledge can become socially accepted as reality. The body of knowledge comes to life through the acts of individuals, who continuously share and create reality through actions and interactions. Berger termed this process the social construction of reality and contended that the task of sociology should be to examine how this process takes place. He himself identifies three moments in this dialectical process: externalization,[8] objectivation,[9] and internalization[10]. This indicates that Berger considers the presence of an objectivated world of institutions which seems to constitute an organized reality of individuals and is constantly re-created by the actors in it, an idea which occurs in the theory of structuration as well. But while Berger focuses on the non-determined subjective meanings developed by actors and considers the constructed reality the background within which inquiry must begin, Giddens places equal emphasis on the analysis of the established social order and the interaction between the two levels: the individual and the institutional.

b) Hermeneutical Phenomenology

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[8] This refers to how the individual creates his own social world: his construction of his social reality and his re-creation of social institutions.

[9] This refers to the notion in which the individual perceives everyday life as an objective and ordered reality which imposes itself upon him. The major tool of this notion is language.

[10] This concept regards socialization by which the social order is legitimized and the individuals internalize objectified reality. If this process is disturbed, individual identity crises will occur.

Hermeneutical social theory aims to reach "beyond the description and structural analysis of the text ... [to] find the hidden meaning"[11] in it. Its point of departure is rooted in the realm of social phenomena where actors act with a purpose; thus, individual actions can be interpreted by re-creating the actor's intentions and motives, and in the course of this process the real, but at the same time hidden, meaning of the action may be revealed. Hegel's idea of historical cycles has resulted in the emergence of the phenomenon of the hermeneutic cycle, which supposes that understanding can be constituted in cycles in which collective memories are continually, selectively re-assessed.

Martin Heidegger has also contributed to the theoretical development of this school. He believes that meaning is constituted, and, since it cannot be separated from the historical circumstances or traditions in which it comes about, it is context-bound. But what is behind knowledge or these secondary constructs? The task is to investigate *Dasein*, the world humans produce out of their experience. Considering time a vital aspect of human existence, he assigns it a central place in his scheme. Everything can be defined and interpreted in terms of time: even individual life, which is nothing but a temporal state spent while waiting for death.

Giddens relies on three of Heidegger's ideas. He (1) argues for a "hermeneutically informed social theory"; (2) assigns a crucial role to time in social analysis; and (3) declares that the human state of awaiting death results in social contradictions.

Hermeneutic sociology is the science of social interpretation, and, consequently, developing a theory, a discourse is a hermeneutic activity in itself. But when applying a social theory, one may engage in two types of discourse: (1) the first on the level of the subject of the analysis and (2) the second being the theoretical discourse on this. To explain the relations between these two types of discourse, Giddens introduces the idea of double hermeneutics, which is vital to the theory of structuration. He defines it as the intersection between two frames of meaning: one constituted by the lay actors regarding the social world, and the other is the metalanguage introduced and used in social analysis by the scholar, who is also constituted as an actor in a given society. When discussing what happens at the intersection of these two frames, he states that it is inevitable for slippage to exist between them, working in both directions.

5. Symbolic Interaction

Symbolic interaction is a term first used by Herbert Blumer to refer to a field of social psychology which addresses the question of how individuals develop socially as a result of participation in group or social life. In his view infants depend on adults for direction, i.e., they learn the rules, which constitute the community, through socialization. Blumer states that each group relies on a shared set of symbols and various meanings attached to them, which are transmitted to infants. In

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[11] Zygmunt Bauman, *Hermeneutics and Social Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 10.

this group, however, the individual is an entity and an active constructor, who interprets, evaluates, defines, and maps actions. One of the main representatives of this school, George Herbert Mead, states that the self is acting and creative, and it becomes an individual through social processes. He differentiates between two phases of the self, which are: (1) the state of 'I' which is unorganized and spontaneous; and which reaches (2) the state of 'me' once it possesses organized attitudes developed through responses from others. 'Me' plays a crucial role in self-interaction, which is role-play in the form of an internal conversation in which the self takes things into account and prepares for an interaction, as if rehearsing. From this we can conclude that there are pre-set norms and roles on the basis of which the individual may prepare for an interaction, presuming that he is aware of the role and the text the other participants will use in the interaction. Symbol calls for a response in an interaction; it is, therefore, in a way, the key notion in interaction. Blumer expands this definition stating that both stimulus and response are responsible for interaction. Interpretation appears in the space between these two notions, an action consciously performed by an active, self-identifying individual.

Giddens also owes a great deal to Erving Goffman and his theory of dramaturgy, which has developed from the idea of role play. For my purposes I must point out that Goffman also believes in the knowledgeability of the actor and views individuals as real-life actors. For him social reality is constructed by roles, played by every individual in accordance with a script, which, in essence, is nothing more than a socially defined mode of behavior and way of speaking acquired through routine. Social interaction is acting in the front region while the back region of the individual is a place and time reserved for the self, where one can rest after the series of role plays performed day after day. Goffman points out that these roles are defined by place and time; consequently, the circumstances must also be considered when examining interactions. He calls his method frame-analysis, indicating that his concern lies not with the action but the surroundings and circumstances under which it is performed. This idea can be linked to the work of Garfinkel, who calls attention to indexical expressions: terms which carry more meaning than what the actual linguistic utterances would imply due to the specific timing and spacing as well as the previous knowledge of the actors involved.

Giddens also argues that social practices are constrained by time and space as well and believed in the routine nature of social reproduction. He concludes that individuals are not conscious of these daily routines, which are the dominant factors of day-to-day reproduction and are governed by traditions. Much like Goffman, he focuses on face-to-face interactions and analyzes those. But Giddens refuses to focus on micro-level analysis and calls for macro-structures to be considered as well. At the same time, he relies on Goffman's findings on routine actions, that is, roles, and his typology of interaction, wherein he isolates different types of gatherings on the basis of their nature, purpose, and context.

6. Time-geography

The importance of individual time and space in social interaction was addressed in social sciences by T. Hagerstrand. He assumes that daily life is routinized. In the course of interaction certain constraints occur, which he sets out to analyze and finds that these are bound to time and space.[12] Thus, very often these limitations also contribute to the establishment of daily routines as they are the material axes of existence. Through an analysis of the physical domains of time and space which enable him to map individual and social routines, he examines routines, which comprise a major portion of individual biographies.

Although Giddens is rather critical of Hagerstrand's work in his *The Constitution of Society*, he considers his findings on the impact of time and space on actions crucial, and develops his own concept of regionalization on the basis of time-geography. One of his criticisms of Hagerstrand is that, similarly to the structuralists, he renders individuals subject to the circumstances of action and considers structure not only a given in everyday life but supreme.

7. Psychoanalysis

Giddens draws on psychoanalysis in a handful of areas. He considers routine vital in his theory as he believes that routine provides ontological security to individuals. When there is a break in the routine, he claims, a crisis situation develops. At this point he relies on Freud's crisis theory, which states that in the case of a crisis situation, individuals regress to the infantile stage of development and start to regain identity from that stage by identifying with new leading figures[13] to restore their sense of safety.

Erik Erikson's object-relations theory has also had a major impact on Giddens. Erikson is concerned with the dynamic internal aspects of individuals, but at the same time also acknowledges the impact of the external world and social organizations. His examination, therefore, focuses on the way the individual behaves and adjusts to his environment. This interdependency between individual actions, on the one hand, and social circumstances and organizations, on the other, is a vital concept in the theory of structuration identified as the duality of structure. Erikson, in his analysis of child development and socialization, proposes a distinction between eight stages. Giddens borrows the first three and assigns a crucial role to the first stage in which the infant learns about routines and

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[12] For example, individuals have a limited capacity to participate in more that one activity at a given time; they can only be in one place at one time, that is, geographical movement is always connected to time.

[13] He refers to Bettelheim's study showing how numerous Jewish prisoners in concentration camps during World War II identified with their Nazi guards and behaved and acted as they did in order to regain some sense of ontological security, which they had lost.

develops his own, as a result of which his sense of ontological security emerges along with that of his personal identity. Thus, Giddens unites Erikson's ego-psychology with Freud's crisis analysis.

8. Structuralism

The beginnings of structuralism can be tied to the work of Ferdinand Saussure, who distinguishes between *langue* and *parole*, meaning the underlying structure of the language and its practical application, a distinction which can be linked to Noam Chomsky's analysis of competence and performance later. Saussure believes that the analysis of language involves the identification of the rules behind the structures, i.e., rules which we are aware of only indirectly but which govern our communication. His other major observation regards meaning, which is created by difference within language and, therefore, originates in language itself.

Saussure has had an enormous impact not only on linguists but also on philosophers, cultural anthropologists, literary critics and sociologists as well. The term "structuralism" has become widely used in the social sciences as a result of the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, whose analysis of kinship, myths, and religions have introduced this new approach to the field. He is convinced that there is a deep structure, i.e., underlying rules and structures expressed in social realities, and that the role of a social scientist is to search for these deeply rooted rules, which are present in most cultures, just different transformational rules apply, thus they are expressed in various ways on the surface level of social interaction. His line of thinking is similar to that of Chomsky's in that he is in search of the deep grammar common to all languages, such as the need for a subject and a predicate to be able to create sentences.

Structuralists believe that binary oppositions govern our thoughts: they are transformed into cultural signs by taking on meaning. The purpose of interpretation is to discover these and, in the process, to reach the deep structural framework invisible to the subjects since individual life and the concept of reality are defined by these underlying structures and rules. By identifying with this line of thinking, Vlagyimir Propp is able to condense 31 basic functions of narration and Lévi-Strauss to examine the system of mythemes, the units of myth, which keep on re-occurring in different cultures.

Giddens applies the structuralist approach when developing his conception of structure. At the same time, he observes a discrepancy between structure and practical, conscious activities on the part of individuals, a gap which structuralism fails to bridge. He does not deny that basic structures exist and comprise an underlying framework of elements and regulations which determine actual actions, but he also argues that actors are knowledgeable and able to act contrary to rules and expectations. In using the vertical and horizontal axes to indicate time and space in action, just as Hagerstrand has, Giddens is employing another notion vital to structuralism, the distinction between syntagmatic and paradigmatic levels.

Giddens also accepts the linguistic notion that performance--which is social interaction in his understanding--is rule-following but criticizes the structuralist elimination of the

role of the actor in general. He cannot view individuals as mere subjects to structures, institutions, or power structures, absolutely unaware of their own situations and constraints.

9. Post-structuralism

Post-sructuralism was born in the late 1960s in France, rooted in the same Saussureian linguistic tradition as structuralism. However, the representatives of this non-specific, interdisciplinary school[14] have re-discovered Saussure's theory by realizing that language is self-sufficient: that words may mean something without having a definite referent in the extra-linguistic world and that, therefore, all languages and language-related phenomena may be autonomous. Post-structuralists also realize that there is much more to words than scholars have been aware of: traces of other words and texts, the workings of the unconscious, and projections of power and gender, among other things.

In his "Structuralism, Post-structuralism and the Production of Culture",[15] Giddens examines the various themes which commonly recur in post-structuralist writings, which are: (1) linguistics; (2) the relational nature of totalities; (3) the decentering of the subject; (4) the relation between writing and text; (5) the question of history and temporality; and (6) signification and cultural production. Although he opens this study with the statement that post-structuralism is a "dead tradition of thought",[16] he is still able to utilize some of their observations and notions in his theory.

a) Semiotics

Modern semiotics, the study of signs, is also rooted in the linguistic theory of Saussure.[17] Its point of departure is in the basic premise that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary and conventional. If one accepts this thesis, then the referent, or reality, is not part of the signifying system. Signifiers can also refer to various meanings; any of these variations may, thus, occur in the mind of the listener. The speaker cannot control which exact meaning must be attached to the signifier; it would follow that there exists a chain of signifiers along which meaning can slide. If this is the case, then meaning is unstable and is individually constructed by the subjects. Benveniste observes that, therefore, language, which is a social symbolic order, is the means through which subjectivity is constituted. But what

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[14] There is still an ongoing debate over the precise meaning of post-structuralism.

[15] In Anthony Giddens and Jonathan Turner eds., *Social Theory Today* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 195-223.

[16] Anthony Giddens 1987, 195.

[17] For a thorough analysis of semiotics from the beginning, see Winfried Nöth, *Handbook of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

determines the signifiers? The various social and political strategies which are historically specific to the culture.

The other major linguist who has contributed to the development of semiotics is Charles Peirce and his theory of semiology. In his system, a signifying process called semiosis involves signs, their objects, and their interpretants as well as the grounds, which are the means through which signs signify, as mediated by the interpretant. He also distinguishes between three types of trichotomies the interpretant may receive, the most important one for us being performance. In this realm three types of signs may appear: index, icon, and symbol.

Scholars applying the study of semiotics in their analysis view cultural actions and processes as processes of communication, thus suppose that linguistic analysis can be applied as the method for cultural analysis as well. In this process of analysis they also suppose that beneath the signs actually received there lies another layer of signification and structure which govern these messages. The goal of the scholar is to analyze either of these layers or their relationship to each other.

b) New Historicism

Geertz argued for a semiotic concept of culture viewing human behavior as "a symbolic action which signifies", i.e., as a system of signs, a text. Thus, he states that "culture is an interworked system of construable signs; it is a context within which elements can be described."[18] Social action is the surface structure, the articulation of the deep structure which is a collection of structures, that is, of cultural forms. Interpretation is the separation of these two levels and the constitution of meaning to the events which is actually the act of reading a text. This close analysis of reading of social production is called thick description which is social semantics in essence.

Louis Althusser locates ideology as the major organizational principle of a culture's signifying practices which constitutes the social subject as well as maintains social unity and stability through ideological state apparatuses. Michel Foucault, on the other hand, defines power and knowledge as the ultimate forces responsible for the formation of modern states and for determining the social practices which are the means by which individuals are placed into subject positions.

Among the members of this school, Giddens admires Foucault's work[19] the most: his fervent quest to locate structures of knowledge as well as search to define power and the way it is exercised in discourses and controlled through surveillance. He finds that power determines knowledge, which defines regimes of truth, which, then, establish ideological discourses and institutions through which life is shaped. In his analysis he

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[18] Clifford Geertz 1993, 14.

[19] We must note that, although Foucault is considered to be a structuralist by some scholars and a post-structuralist by others, he refused to be branded as either and preferred not to be placed in any category at all.

textualizes history and examines the discourses specific to certain periods. He proposes that discipline, surveillance, and punishment play the key role in the maintenance of the social structure in which individuals are merely subjected to the interests and workings of the power structure. Power--that is, action--truth--that is, knowledge--and ethics--that is, morality--are the three axes along which the Foucaultian subject is constituted.

Giddens defers to Foucault at several points, but his major interest lies in Foucault's findings regarding power and ideology. Giddens believes that knowledge may not only restrict but liberate the actors, and, as such, can be a means of power. The theory of structuration regards human beings as knowledgeable agents "although acting within historically specific bounds of the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of their acts."[20] This statement, reflecting the Foucaultian consideration for historically determined circumstances, marks a crucial point in Giddens' theory: how knowledgeable and powerful the actors really are and how the impact and force of the institutions can be defined. At the same time, Giddens rejects the notion that power, discipline, and punishment are the sole true agents of history and believes that Foucault's work lacks both a comprehensive study of the state and a theory of the subject as such.

c) Deconstruction

Deconstructionism also departed from linguistics: it states that signifying is the creation of meaning or truth. The elements participating in this constitution are rooted in a hierarchy of value which are conventional. In this process Jacques Derrida's concept of *differance* is a vantage point along with the notion of decentering the Cartesian subject. Derrida gives priority to writing over speaking and believes that one of the two comprising a pair in binary opposition is always oppressed. One way to deconstruct is to allow the marginalized one to subvert the dominant one--the method Foucault also uses in his work.

Derrida also devotes some consideration to the notions of absence and presence which Giddens applies in this theory as well, maintaining that the presence of one element automatically implies the absence of the other. At the same time, he vehemently criticizes Derrida for not having been able to provide a comprehensive explanation for the mechanisms of *differance* and the constitution of meaning. He also finds the superior treatment of writing unacceptable as he concludes that writing and speech are two independent, although related, modes of thought.

The work of Jacques Lacan also appears in the theory of structuration. Lacan states that the human unconscious is structured just like a language, wherein one signifier can be attributed to different signifieds. The concept of the private chain of signifying in the unconscious is not new as it has already appeared in Freud's work, although only in his discussion of dreams. Lacan also considers difference, i.e., the notion of

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[20] Giddens 1995, 265.

presence and absence, crucial to the establishment of the societal frame from early childhood on, and he constructs around this notion his model of the process through which an infant attains subjectivity,[21] a concept Giddens himself applies in his theory. Lacan's idea about subject positions, that is, culturally determined social roles, which the speaker must take on each time he communicates, also appears in the structuration theory.

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[21] The three stages he examined are: (1) the imaginary state wherein the subject is not differentiated from the world and unconscious and conscious images are not separable; (2) the mirror stage which marks the transition to the symbolic stage, wherein awareness of differentiation develops and language as well as subjectivity are acquired; and (3) the symbolic state which is characterized by language and representation, the cornerstones of normalcy and sanity.

administrative units: these are based on membership and geographical location. The smallest unit is the branch with less that 400 members; a ward has 400-800 members. The stake is usually comprised of 6-12 brances and wards.

bishop: an ordained man who is the presiding high priest over a ward

bishop's storehouse: a cannery and warehouse which is to provide for the members in need, authorized by the bishop to take advatage of this service

blessing: (1) of children a few weeks after their birth; (2) patriarchal: (a) ordained: a blessing usually given once in a lifetime, declaring one's lineage and giving one inspired counsel and insight about one's future life; (b) natural: a blessing given by a man who was married in the temple, thus has become a natural patriarch, in cases of trouble, decisions, illness, need, etc.

calling: an assignment given by the church

endowment: a gift of power given in the temple through ordinances to the worthy members

eternal progression: the plan of salvation maintaining that spirit babies move into the human bodies to improve on earth so that after death they could become gods and rule their own planet in the universe

First Presidency: the body presiding over the Church. It consists of the president of the church and his two counselors.

holy undergarment: a magical object to be worn all the time by everyone who has received his/her endowments. It is a symbolic protective shield against the evil and dark forces which may attack the Saints spiritually as well as physically.

Jack Mormon: an inactive male Saint or one who does not believe in or practice all the teachings of Mormonism

kingdom: the place one reaches after death. It has three layers: (1) celestial: the highest kingdom of glory, where Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ reside; (2) terrestrial: the middle kingdom of glory, where unmarried women may go; and (3) telestial: the lowest kingdom of glory

meeting house: the place of regular worship and teaching

ordinances: sacred rites and ceremonies necessary for salvation

priesthood: the power and authority given by God to men to be able to act on his behalf for individual salvation. There are two degrees: (1) Aaronic: the lesser priesthood; and (2) Melchizedek: the higher priesthood

proxy: someone acting on behalf of a deceased person in the temple ceremonies

quorum: an organized unit of the priesthood

recommend: a certificate proving that someone is a Saint and is worthy to enter the temple. It may be received by having had an interview with the bishop who, after careful examination of one's work and fulfillment of responsibilities, may give the recommend. It is to be renewed every year.

sacrament meeting: an ordinance in which bread and water, emblems of Jesus, are offered to the Saints

sealing: an ordinance performed in the temple in order to unite couples and families for eternity

temple: the sacred place where special, secret rituals take place, such as baptism for the dead or marriage for eternity. Only worthy Saints with a recommend may attend.

ward: the second highest administrative unit

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