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A note about authorship:

The first author designed the interviews, obtained IRB approval, trained the students in interviewing and protection of human subjects, analyzed the data, and summarized findings to address issues in sociology and the study of emotions. The co-authors identified passages in the transcripts worth analyzing, the themes these passages suggested, and the relative prevalence of particular experiences. The order of authors reflects a rough estimate of the relative contributions of each author's analysis and writing in the paper. The first author relied especially on Safford's analysis of how state of mind affects wonder, Odette's analysis of awareness of self during experiences of wonder, and Mercado's analysis of the stages of wondrous experience when one is not part of a wonder community. The first author drew on the selection of data and analysis by Wright who showed how wonder connects to significance, by Garmendiz and Ureña who showed separately how wonder transforms, and by Price, who showed how wonder follows from difference. Such a long list of coauthors is nonnormative (in sociology), but the first interview study of wonder makes important contributions and should be published with a recognition of each's contribution to a collaborative effort. Each co-author has access to all of the interview transcripts to make their own independent contributions

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Beyond Disenchantment: Toward a Sociology of Wonder

Sociologists describe how rationalization in economy, religion, science, and politics disenchant life. Yet to date no interview study examines whether Americans experience wonder despite these disenchanting forces. Analysis of 30 interviews shows that many Americans experience wondrous enchantment, often valuing wonder experience as positively transforming their understandings, feelings, and sense of who they are. Experiencing wonder at a “pink” tree outside his window that attracted special birds, Joshua, 23, immediately stopped littering. Experiencing wonder when she glanced at her dental x-ray and saw only bones, Heidi, 57, explored fundamentals of her existence. Catching a fish like he’d never seen before one Easter morning and, later, on Christmas, stumbling on a cross in the sand at the same spot, Kevin, 56, felt wonder that Jesus perhaps wanted him to become more of a fisher of souls.

Our research shows that people seek enchantment that is transformative by altering ways of seeing. While wonder communities (such as spiritual communities or a community of dolphin aficionados) train people in practices and ways of seeing that prompt wonder experiences, even outside such communities some individuals pursue states of mind that open them to enchantment. Because people find wonder experiences important and meaningful, they often seek interactions to verify and better understand these experiences.

By identifying practices and ways of seeing which open people to transformative wonder, this study illustrates the value of “positive sociology” which seeks to understand how people make their lives satisfying (Stebbins 2009; Paxon 2015). Sociologists rightly recognize that managing emotions to meet emotion norms can alienate a person from self or feeling. Our study shows that people experience managing states of mind to generate wonder as positively transforming self and feeling. While sociologists rightly identify rationalized institutions as disenchanting, our interviews reveal how *internal* states of mind can sometimes overcome external obstacles to wonder.

Sociologists are comfortable theorizing about *disenchantment*, but perhaps because sociology focuses on analyzing suffering, sociology has given only thin attention to what wonder *itself* entails. Our study confirms sociological theorizing that enchantment follows from the mysterious and unexplainable and is promoted by aimless meandering without definite goals (Ritzer 2005:86). Asking people about wonder experience reveals that encounters with difference also generates enchantment, that wonder arises from experiencing intense particularity that connects to expansive concerns, and that transformative wonder follows from intense awareness of the self especially when combined with enchanting awareness of larger forces beyond the self.

DISENCHANTMENT THEORY AND THE ABSENCE OF A SOCIOLOGY OF WONDER

Philosophers regard wonder as a primary emotion, but to date psychological and sociological *researchers* haven’t given it attention (Vasalou 2015:13). Within sociology, the emphasis on disenchantment may have pushed against studying wonder. Weber (1915:350) theorized rationality in science, economics, religion and bureaucracy “consistently worked through to the disenchantment with the world.” With the rise of science “there are no mysterious incalculable forces” (Weber 1919:139). The “force with which energies flow into rational

achievement” lead people to reject “surrender to the most intensive ways of experiencing existence, artistic and erotic.” Rationalized religion doesn’t attend to “profoundly shaking experiences”; rationalized art doesn’t lead to “bedazzlement” (Weber 1915:342-343). In political life, the quest for a just world pushes against concerns with the “other worldly” (Weber 1915:350). Rationalized economies push toward calculation and against love (Weber 1915:355). Bureaucracies push against all “personal, irrational and emotional elements which escape calculation” (Weber 1922:216). Weber (1915 [1946]) identifies ongoing enchantment possibilities in religion, art, community, and eros, but is concerned that rational forces could create “a world populated only by...order addicts” (quoted by Alexander 1983:101).

In an influential interpretation, Ritzer (2013: 32) summarizes that Weber feared “rational principles would come to dominate an increasing number of sectors of society” so that “society would eventually become *nothing more* than a seamless web of rationalized structures; there would be no escape.” Drawing on Weber’s analysis of capitalism and bureaucracy, Ritzer (2005) fruitfully described the range of apparently alluring “settings” that are ultimately disenchanting. He describes “cathedrals of consumption” such as malls, ballparks, theme parks, cruise ships, and casinos as influencing the organization of museums, hospitals and educational institutions so that each of these settings militates against enchantment by pushing toward efficiency, calculability, predictability and control. For Ritzer these settings contribute to the pervasiveness of consumption as an activity which disenchant life.

While Weber despaired of disenchanting rationalization, it may go too far to suggest he meant people would lose capacity for wonder. Weber (1919 [1946]: 155) says that “the fate of our times” is the “disenchantment of the world,” but that “ultimate” and “sublime” values which had “retreated” from public life still re-emerge in “the transcendental realm of mystic life” or in “the brotherliness of direct and personal human relationships.” While seeing “mechanized petrification” as perhaps the most likely possibility, Weber (1904-1905 [1996]: 182) insists “no one knows who will live in this cage in the future.” Weber (1915 [1946]: 142-143) at least hints at counter-tendencies to rationalization in referencing youth’s pursuit of “redemption” from “rationalism” that he saw in “crav[ing]” not just for “religious experience” (including “union with the divine”) but for “experience as such.” While focusing on (and despairing of) disenchanting tendencies, Ritzer (2013:154-155, 161; 2005:193) hoped re-enchantment could emerge and describes how some people partially deflect disenchanting processes by seeking out “nonrationalized work,” “carving out nonrationalized niches in rationalized systems,” and seeking out “nonrationalized times and spaces”

Weber and Ritzer, then, each tempered the disenchantment thesis; but the emphasis on disenchantment nonetheless has shaped sociology’s focus on suffering (first author 2017:251-256). For instance, Illouz’s (2012) analysis of love describes how scientific approaches to love and new technologies of dating disenchant love by pushing toward intellectualization of love, standard techniques of encounter, and calculation of choices that dampen ambivalence and spontaneity. Describing sociology’s “main object of study” “from its inception” as “collective forms of suffering,” Illouz (2012:15) embarked on her study because sociology had so far “neglected” to analyze “ordinary psychic suffering that inheres in social relationships.” Illouz is right that sociology should not be “reluctant to include” “emotional suffering” as an object of study, but neither should it be reluctant to study the enchantment and transformations associated with wonder (or love).

REVITALIZING THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF FLOURISHING

Despite the sociological focus on suffering, from its inception sociology has also theorized the good life: Weber valued meaningful actions, Durkheim urged connections to others, and Marx hoped for nonalienated labor. In the wake of Stalinism and Nazism, Sorokin (1948:196), founder of sociology at Harvard and one-time ASA president, argued for studying the positive effects of “love energy.” More recently, the *Habits of the Heart* team (Bellah *et al.* 1985), the Successful Societies project (Hall and Lamont 2009) and the movement for positive sociology (Paxton 2015, Stebbins 2009) have urged understanding the good life. The first author’s [Book] (2017) tried to better understand sources of well-being through interviews with 200 people in [place]. By identifying conditions and mindsets that generate transformative wonder experiences, this article contributes to re-orienting sociology toward understand practices that make life fulfilling to complement sociology’s focus on sources and effects of human suffering.

In her foundational research on emotion management, Hochschild (1983: 43-44) not only focused on how people do emotion work to bring feelings into alignment with emotion norms and requirements of situations, jobs, and roles, but also that individuals “sometimes try to stir up a feeling” they wish they had, sometimes for quite personal reasons, often doing so by transforming how they see situations. Yang (2000:596) identified processes of “emotional achievement” through which people seek “self-validating emotional experiences” through participating in social movements, adventure leisure activities or dangerous occupations. Johnston (2020:1; 2016:6) found that people in spiritual communities seek to transform “deep-seated emotional habits and dispositions” to bring about more “feelings of joy and contentment” through practices like prayer, yoga, and meditation and by altering habits of attention, disattention, and interpretation (see also Luhmann 2012; Poloma 2003). Broadly using an emotion management perspective, we show that people both inside and outside wonder communities (Halloy and Servais 2014) practice ways of seeing that open themselves to wonder experiences that they find enchanting, meaningful, and transformative.

METHOD

In October 2019, 15 senior sociology majors each conducted and transcribed two interviews, in which they asked participants about experiences of wonder and enchantment. The interview interaction opened by recounting how scholars “sometimes say the world has become disenchanted, without wonder and surprise” and that these scholars “sometimes” say scientific thinking, bureaucratic workplaces and the internet and mobile phones can push against wonder. The interviewers explained that their professor “thinks that people today continue to experience wonder, enchantment and surprise” and asked them to recruit two people to interview to learn about their “experiences with wonder, enchantment and surprise.” Participants were asked: “Have you experienced enchantment, wonder and surprise in your life? Or maybe your life has been disenchanted, dull, and predictable?” We asked about “surprise” because it is widely recognized as a trigger for wonder (and curiosity) (Fuller 2006:131). Participants were asked to describe an actual experience of enchantment, wonder and surprise and prompted to talk about what gave rise to the experience, how they responded, whether they reflected on the experience, and whether it changed how they thought or lived. Participants were given opportunity to reflect on further wonder experiences.

A convenience sample of this sort is appropriate given the absence of empirical evidence

about people's experiences of wonder and enchantment. In her pioneering study that launched the sociology of emotions, Hochschild (1983:12) commented that "before the more usual sort of research can begin, we must confront the prior task of thinking about something that has been the object of surprisingly little previous thought. Given this early stage of inquiry, it seems...that the most promising way to use materials is to point, to illustrate, to comment." Philosophers have given a lot of thought to wonder, but wonder experience has been the topic of little empirical *research*. Before quantitative research can be done to identify patterns and variations in patterns, preliminary research is necessary to identify the landscape of wonder experiences that transform.

Because it is unknown whether many Americans have shared discourses to understand wonder and because those lacking such a discourse may have a dim sense of wonder, we had to prime participants to think about the possibility of wonder in their lives. It is notable that new research agendas often follow from hunches built into research prompts. In *The Managed Heart*, Hochschild (1983:13) included an analysis of questionnaires distributed to undergraduate students asking them to "describe as fully and concretely as possible a real situation that was important to you in which you either changed the situation to fit your feelings or changed your feelings to fit the situation." Rather than being asked an open-ended question, respondents were prompted to think about whether they had altered their feeling to fit a situation. The questionnaire produced data that contributed to productive thinking about emotion management. In the current study, the interview framing and questions aimed to prime participants to discuss transformative wonder experiences with the hope that analyzing the responses could lead to rethinking disenchantment and to a better understanding of sources of enchantment that are part of rewarding lives.

That interviewers knew participants gave most interviews the feel of a "conversation" that approached the "interactive introspection," which Ellis (1991: 26) argued could generate interpretive materials about private experiences. In "social interaction" the researcher prompts active thinking about thoughts and feelings that assist "self examination"; "the researcher works back and forth" with participants "to assist in their interpretation" (Ellis 1991:23, 30-131). The introspection solicited varies from the descriptive – "where events, feelings and thoughts are described – to the analytic...– where the subject examines what she felt [and] why she felt it" (Ellis 1991:22). In this study, researcher and participant sought through social interaction to identify dynamics of enchantment in the participant's life. Ellis (1991:29) holds that "introspection is no more mediated...than any other method. ... We cannot study 'unmediated' pure thought using any method. ... It is impossible to compare a subject's 'natural perception' to her response organized to answer our interview questions." Hochschild's prompts in her student-questionnaire assisted introspection and self-examination that revealed people try to attain desired emotions but not whether respondents had previously perceived such efforts to change their emotions. Our prompts encouraged introspection and self examination through which people described wonder experiences that transformed them, but not whether participants previously recognized these experiences.

It is even arguable that the appropriate unit of analysis for understanding enchantment is not the individual but the *interaction* (including interaction with self). Hochschild (1983) revolutionized understanding emotions by highlighting emotions take place *in interaction*. The first author (2017:244) found that subjective well-being is not stable within an individual, but

arises and shifts in interaction: A man who experienced well-being when his father lauded his creative accomplishment in music, shifted to experiencing ill-being when his wife reminded him they had to pay school fees on his earnings. Similarly, people experience wonder partly through interactions about wonder, as happens in participants' interactions in these interviews.

While participants' discussion was generated by the interview framing, our impression is that people talked open-heartedly and in earnest. The stories participants told were rich, complicated, and in depth. Some participants told of previously discussing the wonder experience with others in their lives: Joshua talked with his mother about the pink tree and she became enchanted by it, too. A respondent who encountered someone wearing a shirt of a deceased fraternity brother on the anniversary of his death, talked about it with members of the fraternity. One participant interacted with her friends over stars they were all seeing while swimming in the sea at night. Further research should address the extent to which people interact about enchantment outside the interview situation.

We interpret what people said, when asked, about wonder, and enchantment and, so, don't distinguish between wonder, enchantment, and allied experiences such as awe, curiosity, or astonishment (Schinkel 2019:294, 310-311; Rubenstein 2008:5). Nor do we seek to identify different sorts of wonder or enchantment (Schinkel 2019: 294-5). Our aim is not to characterize wonder as outside analysts, but to access how, when asked, people understand experiences of wonder in their lives. Our aim is not to analyze effects of wonder as outside observers, but to see whether people, when asked, describe wonder as transformative.

Participants were 17 men and 13 women. Twelve were 19-21 years-old, 7 were 23-26, 7 were 51-60, and 4 were 61-74. Thirteen people were immersed in college training, 7 people were in the early stages of their work lives, 7 were in their 50s, and 4 (aged 61, 63, 71 and 74) were retired. Notably absent were people in their 30s and 40s. College students were overrepresented, but 57% of participants were not college students.

Given our convenience sample, our interviews can not identify what percentage of Americans experience wonder and enchantment. Participants were probably more likely than the general population to experience wonder as important in their lives since interviewers probably recruited participants who showed an interest in wonder when approached about being interviewed. Since we only asked about experiences of wonder, we can't identify whether participants *also* experienced episodes of disenchantment as they interact about diverse realities of their lives.

Each co-author identified findings from the interviews that could improve, confirm or modify insights about wonder advanced by approaches in sociology, psychology, anthropology, or religious studies. With student insights in mind, the first author made his own analysis of the interviews. We offer a sociology of wonder that starts with examining wonder, rather than starting with its absence in *dis*-enchantment.

PEOPLE EXPERIENCE WONDER AND ENCHANTMENT

The most important finding of our study is that many Americans experience wonder in their lives. With only one exception [Endnote 1], every participant easily described a personal experience of wonder. People report experiencing wonder in a great range of situations – the birth of their children, living with ALS, fishing before dawn, watching fireworks, building a snowfort, watching kids hop-skip-and-jump across the road after piling out of a bus, a first baseball game with Dad, and much more.

Some participants experienced wonder when immersed in nature. Scott [Endnote 2], a 21-year-old college student, experienced enchantment on a local beach:

After a long, grueling week...I decided to head to the beach in my area to sort of escape for a little. The beach to me is a beautiful place to take in the beauty of nature and just relax. *It felt like nature understood my troubles and wanted to comfort me in any way she could.* The water was calm, *the sand felt like a soft bed, and the birds were flying around the shore, being free.*

Anita, another college student, described “going to Alaska” as an “eye-opening experience because it had a lot of, I guess, wonder to it...with all the icebergs and, then, we saw a real-life glacier. ... I was mesmerized by it. .. The colors were just so rich and it was all the blues and greens and whites all mixed together.”

Participants found wonder in connections to others. Now in his 20s, Juan experienced wonder “the first time I went to a baseball game with my dad.” As a six-year-old, Juan felt wonder because he’d never seen a baseball stadium before and because he could be with his dad, who was going through a tough divorce. Juan experienced enchantment “telling [Dad] that I love him and that I’m with him when he needs me.” Amy, a college student in her twenties, described the “first time that I made my [significant other] come; it was cool, it was full of wonder. ... *It was like a bonding experience...* It was actually like really cool that you’re like able to do that and that the human body is capable of doing that, even if it’s only for the evolutionary capacity for reproducing as an incentive to fuck. But it’s cool...that me and [my significant other] can have sex with not procreating. ... I thought ‘wow’ I just had sex. It made me feel more, I guess, powerful. Like, I could do that.”

As this suggests, wonder experience is often multidimensional. For Amy, her enchantment included giving another an orgasm, amazement at what the body is capable of doing, amazement at the technology that allows sex without procreation, bonding with her partner and feelings of power. For Scott, there was calm water; sand, soft like a bed; birds flying free. Anita was mesmerized by icebergs, mixing of colors, and (as we show below) different cultures of Alaskan people.

ENCHANTING ENCOUNTERS WITH PARTICULARITY AND DIFFERENCE

Analyzing religious thinking, Voss Roberts (2014:183) describes how awareness of particularity and difference prompt wonder: what entrances are “astounding features of a *particular* marvelous object. Rather than transcend difference, wonder attends to it acutely.” Abhinavagupta, a 10th century Tantric philosopher, says wonder results from being catapulted “into a kind of awareness *unlike* our everyday interaction with the *particular* details of the world” (Voss Roberts 2014:26). Recent theorists of wonder recognize wonder arises through taking a different perspective on the ordinary (Rubenstein 2008; Schinkel 2019), yet that is not inconsistent with perceiving acute particularity amidst the usual routine. Kevin, for instance, talked of the splendor of fall foliage on a “walk *the other day* on *my* road.” For Kevin the particularity of that day’s foliage on a routine walk generated wonder.

While fresh perspective on usual routine can generate wonder, when prompted to talk about wonder, our participants often describe intensely particular experiences. Twenty-one-year old Brian describes the wonder of fishing at a particular time (5:30 in the morning “so I can’t see anything besides the glow of my headlamp”), at a particular place (“West Bank Reservoir”) and being enchanted with particular sensations (hearing “the clanking and splashing of the boat as I

pull into the water.) He experiences enchantment at a particular kind of fog – a “low fog that kinda rolls across the surface of the water that you feel on your skin as you pass through it.” Others describe giving a partner orgasm *for the first time*, watching the fireworks *in a particular town in Massachusetts at a particular age*, lying on a particular beach in a special sort of sand (“soft like a bed”) near a particular sort of water (“calm”) on a particular day after a particularly grueling week.

Often, as well, participants describe wonder experiences as different from what they usually encounter. Anita found Alaska enchanting because it was “really different to see another part of the world. ... The geography was very different and so was the culture.” Kevin, describes experiencing wonder going out to his usual fishing spot on an Easter morning and catching “a fish *unlike any I had ever caught before*,...a big mutton snapper.” Matt, 74, diagnosed with ALS 8 years previously, says “my wonder is that I’ve made it so far” a wonder stemming partly from difference from the usual: “You don’t usually survive it. It takes about two years and it’s all over.” Loretta, 20, had stargazed many times, but experienced wonder the time “we were all just floating on our backs and looking up to the stars which were *brighter than I have ever seen them*.” Joshua, 23, experienced wonder related to a “pink tree in our backyard, right outside my window. From the first time I saw it, it gave me a sense of awe. ... It is a *special* tree; this tree attracts birds you don’t see as often, like bluejays and sparrows. Also, you rarely see squirrels on this tree *as in comparison to others*.” In big and small ways, then, many participants discuss how intense awareness of difference can generate wonder

ENCHANTING ENCOUNTERS WITH MYSTERY

For Voss Roberts, (2014:184-186) wonder involves “creative tension between that which we understand and that which escapes understanding.” Rubenstein (2008: 8) theorizes that wonder wonders at that which eludes calculation and comprehension, at that which “remains indeterminate, unthinkable, and impossible” “within the possibilities of determinate thinking.” Fuller (2006: 8-9) emphasizes that wonder often triggers contemplation of how our experiences relate to some greater whole or to a greater cause beyond usual means of comprehension

Our participants describe encounters with mystery as stimulating wonder experiences. Matt experiences wonder at his good health despite having ALS partly because his health is “unbelievable to me. And my doctors have found it unbelievable that the disease happens to be so slow-moving in my case.” Not being able to answer “Why am I alive?” is part of Matt’s wonder. Liz, a data analyst in her 50s, experienced wonder at the unknown surrounding her father’s “last week [before he died]. He had suffered from Alzheimer’s and a lot of times he didn’t know who we were... But for some reason, that last week of his life, he seemed to know every one of his children and waited until every one of his children came in to be there before he passed. So, it makes me wonder what force was at work there. ... You wonder what it’s like with the beyond.” Ron, 58, comments that “wonder is that thing a child has before they learn something or when they see it for the first time. Snow, for example. When a child sees the first snowfall, the wonder. Just the unexplainable joy and fascination.” Ron remembers “the first time I got a bicycle and rode it and you know once I was able to stay upright. That was amazing – the wonder of how it felt. Driving a car, same thing.” Ron says that even today he senses wonder when encountering something he doesn’t quite understand, such as how “the seven chakras” play into the “energy” and “interconnection” of human interaction. This is less clear than the examples of riding a bicycle and driving a car, but that is because we *know* how those things

work. Ron's reference to the chakras doesn't quite make sense precisely because he experiences enchantment at what he senses, but doesn't quite understand about chakras and the energy of interaction.

ENCHANTINGLY INTENSE EXPERIENCE OF SELF

Intense experience of self is part of many participants' experience of wonder - a finding that contrasts with some philosophical theorization. One of the most quoted apparent truisms about wonder is Nussbaum's (2001:54) assertion that because wonder "responds to the pull of the object," "the subject is maximally aware of the value of the object and only minimally aware, if at all, of its relationship to her own plans." Vasalou (2015: 17) says that "the expression of wonder often appears as an attribution to the object rather than an emotional state ascribed in the first person to oneself" drawing "emphasis away from the emotion as an experience," and channeling attention instead "toward the object that excites it." Voss Roberts (2014:183) says that in experiencing wonder, people sometimes suspend "self reference."

Our interviews reveal enjoyably intense awareness of self *during* wonder experiences. Consider Brian who experiences wonder fishing at dawn on West Bank Reservoir:

It's really dark in the morning so *I can't see anything* besides the glow from my headlamp. *I can hear* the clanking and splashing of the boat as I pull into the water. On my favorite type of morning there's this low fog that kinda rolls across the surface of the water and *you can feel it on your skin* as you pass through it. On mornings where I time everything perfectly, I'll get about 50, 60 yards out when directly behind my rowboat the sun emerges above the sky. On a clear day you can actually see the daylight reach across the water and the land until it *hits me in the eyes*. In this moment, I feel what you might call wonder. To my left there is a stone bridge that extends across the reservoir, around me are the forests; in the fall the foliage is spectacular. The fog glows in the light of dawn and slowly goes away.

Brian experiences the objects of wonder – the stone bridge that extends into the reservoir, the fog, the fall foliage – but also has intense awareness of what his body experiences – the daylight hitting his eyes, the fog that he feels on his skin, the sound of the clanking and splashing of the boat in his ears.

Exposed to something vast and mysterious, people experience wonder at the self's existence. Heidi, 57, recounts that even as "a kid, I always *wondered* about everything and how everything worked. Like 'why are we here,' 'what's going on?'" She recalls being a "toddler, maybe two or three, barefoot, standing in front of our garage where we grew up, ...and realizing I was alive; that I was a human being in a family and it all kind of just clicked in that minute, in that nanosecond, and I was overcome by joy." Many years later Heidi glanced at her x-rays at the dentist and realized "'ah, there's a skeleton in there' and I had like *existential crisis* that I am human and under my skin is structure and *I exist*." The existential crisis of seeing herself as just bones switched to a wonder that she is human and exists. What Heidi experienced seems to be the "existential wonder" that Schinkel (2019: 293, 295) describes as arising from "the naked facts of there being a world and you being there to witness and contemplate it and ponder its meaning," exploring the "mystery of why there is something rather than nothing."

Participants were exhilarated in wonder at what the self was able to do. Matt, diagnosed with ALS, experiences wonder at the vast forces affecting him but also what his self can still do: "I don't walk very well and things like that..,but otherwise, I can eat, drink, walk around, go to

the gym, exercise. It's amazing. It's wonder." Consider Amy's experience of the first time she brought her partner to orgasm: "Wow, *I* just had sex." The experience made her "feel more, I guess, powerful. Like, *I* could do that." Or consider Brenda who found wonder extending a journey and making a lasting friend: "Where I actually felt wonder was after it all, if I sit back and reflect, it was kind of like 'wow' *I* did that." Eric, 23, describes enchantment at building a snowfort as a child "partly because it was something I had totally made myself, like I looked at a big pile of snow and I just imagine what the possibilities could be of it and then by the time it was done it just seemed like this big monumental task that I did." While Vasalou (2015:17) points to "linguistic idiosyncracies of wonder" to suggest the experience of wonder is channeled away from the self toward the object of wonder Amy, Brenda, and Eric, all used some form of the phrase "'wow,' *I* did that." Here, it's a wonder about what the self can do.

SEEKING WONDER BY TRANSFORMING WAYS OF SEEING

Vasalou (2015, 3) asks whether "wonder always strike[s] or might not wonder also...be hunted or stoked?" Many of our participants actively seek wonder experiences. Experiencing wonder at nature understanding his troubles, Scott looks for it each year: "At least once every summer I try to hit the beach, and that same feeling of just being comforted by nature happens almost all the time." The wonder of building the snowfort led Eric to keep searching for wonder: "[Building the snowfort] was an excitable moment in my life and it's...always made me look for those little opportunities to, I don't know, I still feel like I'm kind of a big kid at heart and ...it's kind of always been my personality to find the fun in normal mundane things." Prompted by her early existential wonder, Heidi says that she experiences wonder "every day all the time" because "I look for [wonder]. I look for enchantment."

To enhance the experience of wonder fishing at dawn at the West Bank Reservoir, Brian tries to "time everything perfectly" so he's 50 yards out when the sun emerges and "reaches across the water" hitting him in the eyes. Brian tries to enhance the experience by being fully present: "I like to take time to focus on the experience. I think about breathing and take deep breaths. ... I think about how much I appreciate it and how beautiful it is. I think about how I want to take full advantage of the experience in the moment and try to reflect on all my senses." And, like Scott, Eric, and Heidi, Brian wants to "experience [wonder] again. It's the reason I go out there often. I wonder at it every time."

In seeking wonder, many participants describe how they transform inner states of mind to open themselves to wonder. Heidi, 57, says that her "life is filled with wonder every day all the time." She realizes "small things," "silly things" bring about "wonder. Like stopping my car for a school bus, and these little kids jump out and they are hop-, skipping and jumping across the street." Speculating that some people "lack wonder because...they can't see the beauty in front of them," Heidi describes herself as keeping on a "*headset*" to experience the *wonder-ful*: "I look for enchantment. In nature, ...it can be enchanting, if you see it. So, you have to look for it, and, then, you can be surprised by it. ... It is really kind of a headset." Thomas, a 24-year-old serving in the military, similarly experiences wonder "fairly regularly." Like Heidi, he tries to give attention to every tiny thing that is happening: "It could be tiny, minute things during the day, like holding the door for someone, and somehow that'll get transformed by my brain into some kind of bigger picture." Recently in a grocery store, Thomas saw "this little kid having a great time doing mock-shopping" with "those little grocery carts that say 'customer in training' ...and he had this pizza box that was bigger than his head and he was just having a great time. It was

captivating for me watching that kid shopping.” Thomas describes how he tries to have a “somewhat heightened state of awareness of these kinds of things. *If I’m not in the right state of mind, it’s very easy to glance over all of it.*”

For Thomas, a mind that is jittery or self-conscious works against wonder. “If I’m tired and I’m not eating well and maybe I was playing video games all day, like I go out and I’m not going to be very perceptive to things happening in the world.” Video games keep the mind hectic and busy. Tiredness and not eating well keep the mind’s attention on the self’s physical pricks, rather than engaging with surprising encounters. Thomas also finds it “har[d]...to have that sense of wonder if it has too much pressure on the situation.” When he’s in the woods or looking at the nighttime sky he doesn’t feel wonder because “maybe I’m *too* conscious of them; it’s too cliché to work for me.” If the mind is conscious and directed, Thomas says he is less likely to be surprised at the wonder-ful, which he experiences in “very small and very mundane day-to-day activities.”

Thomas sees “the right state of mind” to experience wonder as a calm, slow, open state of mind, in which the mind isn’t jumping from thing to thing or consciously focused on aims, but is steady without attention to anything in particular: “If I’m not in the right state of mind, it’s very easy to glance over all of it. But if I’m just in a *steady, steady groove* for a while I can pick up things more easily, I’m just more perceptive to it.” “Moderation” or “reading something like *The Sun Also Rises*, where *nothing really happens for a long time*, just, like, conversations in coffee shops” are the sorts of things that put him in this “steady, steady groove.” Being “moderate” or reading books where nothing much happens gives him a “new lens to look through things.” His mind isn’t pushed about by video games’ demands, junk-food high, tiredness or hunger. Rather, his mind meanders without focus on anything in particular.

Kevin, 56, describes the mind that facilitates wonder as open to what is going on all around, rather than searching out big experience. Kevin certainly experiences wonder in “big experiences” like the birth of his children, but describes wonder more often arising in “small things,...like I went for a walk the other day on my road and it was beautiful. The leaves were full with different colors. And two weeks ago when the fog was lifting, it was just magnificent. It’s the small things that are more important and sustaining than those big things that we might search for and not find or find very often.” Each experience of beauty, he says, is an “ongoing reminder of the enchantment of the world. You know the beauty around us and it’s kind of *being open to those small moments.*” Each experience of “the beauty that surrounds us is a reminder of the importance *to notice it and to see it* wherever it might be” rather than being caught up searching for “big things” that aren’t often found.

Johnston (2020:1; 2016:6) describes how aspirants in a Catholic prayer house seek “holistic emotional change” that brings “joy and contentment” through changing habits of attention, disattention, and interpretation. Even without support from a spiritual community, participants in our study similarly sought to change habitual ways of seeing to give rise to desired emotional experiences, in this case the wonder experience.

CONNECTION TO EXPANSIVE CONCERNS,

Fuller (2006:8-9, 150) describes wonder as prompting contemplation of “how the various parts relate to a greater...whole,” of what is “somehow behind or above observed reality.” Wonder connects focus on particularity with expansive concerns. Thus, Bynum (1997:23) says “the wonder-reaction is a significance-reaction.”

Our participants describe how a state of mind open to wonder connects what is happening here-and-now to something of greater significance. For Thomas even “tiny, minute things” get “transformed by my brain into some kind of bigger picture.” Wonder, Thomas says, “always” makes him “step back and *re-evaluate life on a more holistic level*. The things that do that for me, that have an effect on my conscience are...tiny, minute things...like holding a door for someone. And somehow that’ll get transformed in my brain into some kind of *bigger-picture* idea maybe about life or maybe about some scripture that I was thinking about.” Fuller (2006:146-150) describes wonder as a source of human spirituality; Thomas connects the tiny wonderful things that “happen during the day” with sacred texts.

When Kevin experiences wonder of springtime, he contemplates broader forces of rebirth:

Every spring I am fascinated because the winter here is so long and so hard and so cold, yet every spring I find myself amazed that things come out of the ground again. You know how the landscape is so barren, and [still it becomes] this beautiful, vibrant field again. ... It’s kind of like, if you think about it, ...damn, how can this come out of the ground again.”

For Eric, 23, part of the enchantment of constructing a snowfort was connecting him to something great: “I looked at a big pile of snow and I just *imagine* what the possibilities could be of it. ... It was just a surprise; it wasn’t planned or anything. And something great came out of it.”

THE DARKER STRAINS OF WONDER – RECOGNIZING POWERS GREATER THAN SELF

Philosophers recognize that encountering vastness in starry skies or crashing waves generates wonder but can be terrible to the will, making the person feel small and insignificant. As Rubenstein (2008:11) puts it, wonder opens thought “not only to the fantastic and amazing, but also the dreadful and the threatening”. These “darker strains” open people up to “somber-yet-exulting, humbling-yet-exalting alloy of awe and wonder” (Vasalou 2015:79; Schinkel 2019: 294). Halloy and Servais’s (2014:494) found that in both a religious possession community and a community of dolphin aficionados “enchanted people” describe feeling “their own bodies and experienc[ing] their own thoughts as if they were monitored by someone or something else. ...[T]hey no longer feel as though they are masters of their minds and bodies but are instead mere elements of an overwhelming situation.”

Our respondents, too, sometimes feel diminished will and self-importance in the face of wondrous encounters with ‘vastness’ such as an endless night sky or the mystery of death. Loretta describes floating on her back after a night swim and seeing the stars “brighter” than she’d “ever seen them. And I thought to myself how big the world really and how insane it is to think about how small we really are.” Beth, 19, says “looking at Niagara Falls or being on top of a mountain is a huge moment of wonder. It’s overwhelming. You can’t help but think to yourself ‘Wow. I’m like this big,’” she says, showing a tiny space with her fingers. Recall how Heidi glanced at x-rays in her dentist and realized “ah, there’s a skeleton in there.” The realization that she is human is wonderful, but what she calls “existential crisis” of ultimately just being bones terrifies a bit.

Six participants described encounters with death that touched on wonder’s darker strains. Amy said that sometimes “wonder could be, like, not always the best”:

Like when my grandma...was dying, watching the process,...just *opened up stuff*. I mean I was [a teenager] when she died and I had not experienced death before that, so it was definitely weird because I [hadn't had] to think about, like, *after this*, like, after life. But it was also not just feeling the *terror* of where'd she go, *where am I gonna go?* Because she had been suffering, it kind of felt, like, magical, but in, like, a weird way,...that I don't want it to make me sound like a psychopath; it's a natural part of living, but there's so much *not known* about it. It was definitely weird to experience it.

Thinking of what happens “after this” gave Amy the same sort of existential question about “where am I gonna go?” that Heidi encountered on seeing her skeleton on dental x-rays. Facing this unknown “opened up stuff” that mixed with “terror” at the self's smallness, but still led to contemplation of what might be beyond observed reality.

TRANSFORMATION AND PERSONAL GROWTH

Keltner and Haidt (2003:312) found “awe-inducing events” to be “powerful methods of personal change and growth.” Fuller (2006:156) theorizes that experiencing wonder reveals “intrinsic value to life around us,” leading us to seek out “a more intimate or harmonious relationship with our surroundings” and to push aside self interest in favor of the welfare of a larger group (see also Voss Roberts 2014:182-186). Elicited by the unexpected, wonder prompts accommodation of wider realities, leading people to modify mental structures, reassess the relative importance of things, and broaden empathy to extend to a wider world (Fuller 2006:147; Vasalou 2015:22; Schinkel 2019: 312).

Halloy and Servais (2014:480) found that enchantment experiences in a religious possession community and a community of dolphin aficionados have a “revelation-like quality.” In these communities, enchantment leads people to suspend “ordinary ways of experiencing the world” so that “*from then on*, the individual participates in a totality that enlightens, uplifts and overwhelms her.” Halloy and Servais conclude that enchantment transforms not only perceptions of reality, but also “the experiencer herself.” Paul (2014:16-17) characterizes personal transformation from a changed point of view as sometimes so shaking it changes what a person cares about, what kind of person one takes oneself to be, and how a person experiences who they are. Paul theorizes a range of experiences that are so “life changing” they change core preferences” and “what it is like to be you”— experiences such as horrific physical attack, major surgery, winning a Gold medal, having a child, or death of a family member.

Our interviews suggest wonder is also an experience that can change ways of seeing in so thoroughgoing a way that it reorients a person's core priorities and understanding of who they are. Anita's “mesmerizing” encounter with an Alaskan glacier's “rich” colors of “blues and greens and whites all mixed together” made her experience “kind of just ‘wow.’ *A lot about climate change hit me at that moment.*” Ken experienced “enchantment and wonder on a daily basis” on a cruise 20 years before the interview. The “shock” of “seeing these group of islands, seeing how some of those other people lived” made Ken “appreciate” the “poverty” of the areas he was traveling through and all he has in life. Scott's experience of nature comforting him on the beach transformed his understanding of nature. The wonder Amy experienced observing a stingray that flew above her in an aquarium's glass tunnel shocked her into realizing the animal's captivity and her own role in experiencing wonder at its imprisonment: “I felt bad...finding wonder out of... another being's entrapment.” Experiencing wonder at sharing love for his Dad

in the dazzle of a baseball stadium led Juan to realize he should cherish “any small moment while you still have it.” The wonder of giving her partner orgasm was “a bonding experience” for Amy and made her feel “powerful.” Encountering her father’s death led Liz to “wonder what it’s like with the beyond.” Swimming under all those stars, Loretta saw the smallness of her self, just as Beth felt her insignificance in the face of Niagara Falls. Experiencing the specialness of his living so long with ALS, Matt realized the wonder of being alive, just as Kevin realized the miracle of rebirth in the wonder that plants come out of the ground after “our long cold winter.” Heidi reflects that she became the person she is in suddenly and wondrously realizing that she exists as she stood in the garage as a toddler: “That’s weird. But that’s me. That’s how it all kind of *started*,” she says, referring to her lifelong openness to wonder. Eric reflects that the wonder of building the snowfort made him “look for those little opportunities to” find “fun in normal mundane things. ... Moments like that definitely have molded who I am now as an adult. So yeah, I think it changed me.”

Melissa, 55, experienced wonder when “just in the nick of time Jesus came to my rescue. He saved me and made me brand new! He saved me, sanctified me, and filled me with his precious Holy Ghost. Thank you, Jesus; Hallelujah.” For Melissa, wonder was part of the experience of becoming a new person: “My experience with salvation brought much wonder to me. I often think about how Jesus could die on a cross for my sins, even though I wasn’t worthy of his sacrifice. That kind of love continually sends me into an experience of awe and wonder.” For Melissa the wondrous feeling of expansive love led her to experience deep connection to “church, family and saved people worldwide.”

When Joshua encountered the “special” pink tree that “attracts birds you don’t see...often,” “a sense, a peace, and a calming comes over me. I just feel *different*.” Like Melissa, Joshua became a new person due to a fundamentally new perspective. “I become more aware of the environment,” Joshua says, and now “I want to change. I don’t litter anymore.” Our interviewer asked Joshua whether he doesn’t litter only near the tree or not at all. “Like nowhere,” Joshua replied. “If I have trash, I will literally put it in my pocket until I get home to throw it out.” The term “literally” suggests putting trash in his pocket is an astounding transformation of self and core values brought about by wonder experience with the pink tree.

Kevin experienced wonder when he caught a big mutton snapper at his usual fishing spot that was “*unlike any I had ever caught before*. ... It always struck me like ‘wow’ on Easter morning, I caught a fish of all things.” Kevin describes a second wonder experience at the same spot: “[It was] Christmas morning, ...probably 30 years ago. I found a glass ball, underneath a cross on a beach. ... It’s the only glass ball I ever found...and I have it at home. ... So those two things on those days in the same place gives me a little bit of tingle. ... It seems almost too much right – so much going on and there’s two different situations with reference to the guide and it just makes me wonder.” And of course the guide he refers to is Jesus. Kevin thinks about this “all the time. It’s always there. I mean here I am telling you about it. I think about it all the time, I don’t know what I’m supposed to do with it but there it is. I mean, I certainly haven’t committed my life to Jesus now, but it does make me wonder.” Is he defensive about committing his life in this way? Or maybe he is defensive about not going far enough in that direction? What seems clear is that these two wonder experiences incommensurable to any other events in Kevin’s experience, are transformative, making him wonder how much of a “fisher of souls” he might become.

STAGES OF WONDER EXPERIENCE WHETHER PART OF A WONDER COMMUNITY OR NOT

Religion shapes emotions through practices like prayer, chanting and meditation and by defining which emotions are desirable (Geertz 1966; Luhmann 2012, Kim-Prieto and Diener 2009; Johnston 2020). Religious communities that emphasize mystic experience often celebrate wonder and suggest techniques to achieve it (Mukerjee 1960). Halloy and Servais (2014:481-487) identify three stages of enchantment within wonder communities: First, discourses within a wonder community train people's attention. Second, people interpret their own experiences of enchantment. Third, people validate and come to understand wonder experience through meaningful interactions with others.

A few participants were part of religious communities that influenced their interpretation of experiences as wondrous. Surely Melissa was shaped by a discursive community in finding enchantment that Jesus came to her "rescue" 30 years ago to save her from a "life unpleasing to God" that would have "bound" her to "spend eternity in hell." Meanings within his religious community surely led Kevin to understand his encounter with a fish on Easter and a glass ball under a cross on Christmas as a sign he might become more of a fisher of souls. Thomas describes how "holding a door for someone" gets "transformed" in his "brain into *bigger-picture* idea" that might be related to "some scripture that I was thinking about."

But what about when wonder is not "lived out by a community"? In a couple of cases informal or family discourses may have prepared participants or their families to attend to wondrous experience. James, who experiences wonder at visitations from his late grandfather, learned a psychic told his mother when James was born "that my grandpa was my guardian angel." Sharing his own experience of wonder, Kevin tells his "kids we [tend to be] oriented more towards the vacations and the celebration of the parties [and] marriages, but the best things occur in the small things, like the dinner you had with a friend or the walk that you took." Still, in many cases our participants experience wonder without any preparation.

Like the second stage that Halloy and Servais describe, experiences of wonder transform individuals even in situations when no wonder community trained their attention. Joshua wasn't prompted to see the pink tree's meaning by a wonder community; the *experience itself* led to his decision not to litter, a decision bewildering, inexplicable, even wondrous to him. Cary, 60, had been in a "really tight-knit" fraternity, which had printed members' names on t-shirts. On the anniversary of a fraternity brother's death, Cary was at a red light and a man he didn't recognize jogged past wearing one of the shirts:

I mean, these shirts weren't... available for purchase. ... And now a stranger was jogging past me in my friend's shirt on the anniversary of his death. It was a freaky thing. I think I got goosebumps. *Talking about it now is giving me goosebumps.* ... I was confused. I guess that's my idea of what wonder means. You used the term enchanting, too, right? I really felt enchanted when I remembered, 'Oh my God, today's the anniversary of his death.'"

This was "more special" for Cary "because it hit me out of the blue." Even without a wonder community's discourse, the *experience itself* changed Cary: Ever since then, he always "look[s] around the world and think[s] of [friends who have passed]; to see things that remind you of them."

Consistent with Halloy and Servais's third stage, people seek validation and

understanding of their wonder experiences through meaningful interactions with others. In the weeks after the experience with the jogger wearing the t-shirt, Cary “had to ask around a bit.” When his fraternity brothers were in town to have dinner honoring their dead brother, they reminisced and told stories. Joshua, talks about the special pink tree with his mom. Now his mom also “really gets into it. Ever since I showed it to her she always claims it as her tree.” During “testimony service” Melissa shares her feelings of “love, joy, peace, longsuffering, [and] gentleness” with her “church, family and saved people world-wide.” Melissa’s community provides the “opportunity to share [her] own experience with Christ.” But even lacking such a community Cary and Joshua seek out interactions to validate and make sense of their wonder experiences.

Durkheim (1912, 32) argued a fundamental characteristic of religion is that the faithful have “an irrepressible need to spread” the faith. By “approach[ing] others”, the person of faith seeks to convince them, but in doing so also “sustains” the “ardor” *of his or her own convictions*. Something similar seems to be going on in people’s impulse to talk about wonder experiences: they want to share the wonder with others, but in doing so, they also validate their experiences and explore their meanings. Perhaps one reason the interviews were so effective was their interactional role in validating participants’ wonder experience. When Kevin was asked whether his experiences on Easter and Christmas affected him in some way, he replied, “I think about it all the time. It’s always there. *I mean here I am telling you about it.*”

For some participants, too, interactions seemed not just to verify wonder experiences and shape their meaning, but actually *contributed* to the experience of wonder itself. At the beach with cousins and a brother Loretta encountered the brightest stars she had ever seen leading to wonder at “how big the world really is” and how “small we really are.” “The wonder,” she said, “truly came through when my cousin spoke out loud in Greek about everything I was just thinking. ... Everyone pretty much felt the same way since we were all talking about it and the things they were saying were filled with wonder.” For Brenda, the interview *itself* may have been an interaction that contributed to her awareness of wonder. Initially, Brenda said that if she “really paid attention to the world” she “probably would” experience wonder, but that she was “constantly [so] distracted by work and technology that I miss it.” After introspection about wonder in the course of the interview and recalling the enchantment of making a new friend and extending a trip, Brenda mentioned *at the end of the interview* the wonder seeing a double rainbow the previous day. Perhaps interactions don’t just verify and enhance the feelings and meanings of wonder after an enchanting experience, but can also generate recognition of wonder (as with Brenda) or contribute to wonder *in the midst of the experience itself* (as with Loretta).

CONCLUSION

Ritzer (2005: 86) says “at one time” enchantment was “very important to people,” but that the term is “hard to define.” Ritzer helpfully suggests enchantment includes “anything that is magical, mysterious, fantastic, dreamy *and so on.*” Our interviews confirm that people experience wonder in the mysterious and inexplicable. Ritzer (2005:86) goes on to identify “meandering” “aimlessness” “without any obvious goals at all” as a characteristic of “enchanted worlds.” Thomas’s recognition that a too-conscious state of mind works against wonder and Kevin’s experience that small wonders lead to enchantment more than searching for “big things” confirm meandering aimlessness can open up wonder experience. Our interviews show characteristics of wonder can also include experience of enchanting difference, of intense

particularity alongside connection to expansive concerns, and of active involvement of self alongside awareness of larger forces that make the self feel small.

Weber identified how disenchantment was the fate of our times, but that people still experience enchantment in mysticism and personal relationships. Ritzer analyzed rationalizing tendencies but recognized people sometimes find enchantment by seeking out nonrationalized niches in society. This study confirms that people experience wonder in relationships, religious experience, and non-rationalized times and spaces such as a day at the beach, swimming under the stars, or a daily walk. Our study also confirms, as Ritzer suggests, that sometimes people *seek out* situations that facilitate enchantment, such as Scott heading to the beach each summer to experience the comfort of nature or Brian going out fishing at dawn. Our interviews reveal people also experience wonder in the midst of day-to-day life such as a visit to the dentist, stopping for a school bus or a red-light, or holding the door for someone. Ritzer (2005) describes “cathedrals of consumption” as disenchanting, but our study reveals unexpected experiences in spaces like ballparks, cruise ships, and supermarkets can sometimes generate wonder. Thomas found surprising enchantment in a supermarket as he encountered a small customer-in-training dwarfed by the large pizza box bigger than his head. Experiencing wonder at being in a ballpark for the first time and from loving communication with his Dad, Juan suddenly realized the importance of cherishing small moments. Experiencing wonder at glaciers on a cruise, Anita was hit with the reality of climate change. Experiencing wonder at how people lived in the places he cruised through, Ken recognized all he had in the world.

In contrast to transforming structures, settings or activities to re-enchant the world, our research identifies how participants transform states of mind to generate wonder experiences. Weber and Ritzer emphasize the disenchantment generated by institutions, like “capitalism, “bureaucracy,” and by settings, like malls and superstores. Ritzer (2005:x) identifies the pervasiveness of activities like consumption as a source of disenchantment. Ritzer (2013: 154-158) argues people seek re-enchantment by altering settings or activities by, for instance, playing games at work, finding nonrationalized work, eating at home, or seeking out small classes. Some participants in our study are aware they can open themselves to enchantment not through changing activities and settings but by changing ways of seeing to attend to whatever arises in the here-and-now. This research shows transforming inner states of mind to open up to wonder can sometimes overcome external forces pushing toward disenchantment.

One way people experience fulfilling lives is seeking out wonder experiences. Yang (2000:594) argues that while “emotion management often produces negative sociopsychological effects,... individuals also pursue self-enriching and satisfying emotional experiences and expressions” through social-movement participation, voluntary risk-taking such as skydiving and rock climbing, and dangerous occupations such as firefighting. Our study shows at least some people pursue emotional experiences that don’t merely validate the self, but enhance it. Our study shows people pursue a desired emotion of wonder not just through activities but through transformed ways of seeing. People’s efforts to generate wonder illustrate how emotion management doesn’t always alienate from self and feeling but can generate desired emotions through which people experience better feelings about who they are.

Sociologists identify disenchanting forces in society, but for Americans like those we interviewed life is not relentlessly dull and without wonder. While people surely experience disenchantment, they also experience wonder that they find transformative of who they are and

what they can be. The wonder at the pink tree made Joshua feel “peace and calm” and made him stop littering. For Melissa the wonder that Jesus came to her rescue transformed her self so she felt her life became pleasing to God. The wonder of building a snowfort led Eric to look for fun in the mundane. Heidi says the wonder of realization she exists made herself who she is – a person with a lifelong pursuit of wonder. Sociology helpfully examines external obstacles to flourishing; understanding the transformative benefits of wonder could be part of reawakening the sociological study of practices and ways of thinking that promote human flourishing

NOTES

[1] Struggling to describe an experience of wonder, Melanie, 23, nonetheless said she believed wonder is “a thing.” Asked to elaborate she said “I don’t know I just keep thinking of *The Lion King*, because it’s like when the sun rises and the singing.” Melanie was the lone participant unable to describe a wonder experience, yet even she sensed the feeling.

[2] All names are pseudonyms.

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