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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

GAUGING THE IMPACT OF RELIGION AND CULTURE ON PUBLIC OPINION:
A MULTI-METHOD CROSS-NATIONAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL
EXAMINATION OF MORMONS

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

JEFFREY CARL FOX

Norman, Oklahoma

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A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY



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ABSTRACT

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest among political scientists in the “religious dimension” of public opinion. However, a lack of authoritative interpretation within denominations, ethnic and political cultural influences, and methodological controversies have confounded our understanding of religion’s impact on political opinions. This study conducts a critical test of religion as a determinant of the political views of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons or Latter-day Saints). Specifically, this dissertation explores the questions: *To what degree are LDS political world views constrained by religious belief after controlling for ethnic and political cultural influences? To what extent are traditional Mormon beliefs mediated by indigenous ethnic and political cultural beliefs?*

I evaluate the political views of a multi-national and multi-racial sample of active Latter-day Saints. Using Q sorts, surveys and interviews, I identify six “types” of political world views that span most of the political spectrum. Overall, there is a high level of commonality across types, mainly with regard to social issues and, to a lesser degree, economic and unique LDS issues. However, I also find significant racial and cultural effects which have been ignored in previous research. Non-white Latter-day Saints are significantly more progressive on many issues. Furthermore, Canadian, Mexican and American members differ systematically on a host of issues. I conclude that religion is an

important source of political constraint on family and moral issues, economic self-sufficiency, and civic engagement. Nevertheless, the failure to control for race and culture has led scholars to overstate the otherwise significant influence of LDS religion on members' political views.

PREFACE

Scholars, pundits and journalists are as interested as ever in the effects of religion on society and politics. As a political scientist and a practicing members of the LDS church, I have also been interested in the effects of religious beliefs and doctrine on how church members deal with the political world. I have become even more keenly drawn toward better understanding the church's effect on members' views as my interest and education in politics and religion have grown. As I have listened to and observed church members, I began to realize that their political views are highly influenced by LDS doctrine, but also members' race and political cultures. This fact became even more evident when I married a wonderful woman from Canada. As I spent extensive time there, the differences in thinking between Canadians and Americans became obvious, even though these cultures are similar in many key ways.

This dissertation is a formal study of the interaction of religion and culture on the socio-political world views of practicing Latter-day Saints (Mormons) from different races and nationalities. Previous Utah-based studies have found phenomenally high levels of homogeneity in LDS political views, so much so that Mormons have even been considered a distinct ethnic group. The conventional wisdom is that Mormons are conservative on social and economic issues, and interventionist and nationalistic in foreign policy. Yet this portrait stands in apparent contrast to past Mormon views. As people read LDS history,

they tend to be fascinated by the communitarian and egalitarian principles and practices of the early church--principles which appear to be absent from the thinking of western conservative members of the church today. Why? Many have argued that church members have had to assimilate to dominant American cultural norms, which often conflict with church principles. I wondered then, “What is the core of the LDS message on its members’ views after distilling the effects of race and culture?”

To answer this question, this study uses a multi-method research design and a cross-national and cross-cultural sample of active Latter-day Saints. The findings presented herein tell two equally important stories. First, by controlling for cultural and racial variations, I have distilled the essence of LDS influence on political opinions. The commonality among members of this diverse sample extends to conservatism on family and moral issues, economic self-sufficiency, and civic engagement. This sphere of LDS doctrinal influence, while considerably larger than many religion and politics scholars assume, is actually smaller than the conventional wisdom about Mormons would dictate. This leads us to the second major finding that there is significantly more variation in LDS political views than has been found in Utah-based studies. Moreover, these views differ systematically by race and political culture, closely reflecting the dominant preferences of each host culture.

These findings have several important implications. Previous scholars have generally concluded that religion’s effect is limited to moral and family issues. In this sample as well we find a great deal of homogeneity among Latter-day Saint from all backgrounds on moral and family issues. However, LDS doctrine also instills something

more: a sense of economic self-sufficiency and an emphasis on civic engagement. I also find considerable commitment toward civic engagement among members in Mexico, where civic participation goes against the dominant norms and culture. Some may even find it surprising that a supposedly theocratic religious denomination appears to be leading the push for political involvement in countries around the world.

This study also highlights that the clash of cultural and religious values and helps us understand how it produces unique political views among members of the church from different backgrounds. Throughout this work I provide examples of *how* members of the church reconcile their religion with indigenous ethnic cultures and political norms. I also shed light on how people with very different political views reconcile them comfortably with Mormon doctrine. These findings show that as the church rapidly expands worldwide, it is no longer adequate to focus only on members in Utah, who now constitute a small minority of the church membership. We must expand our field of vision to better understand Mormonism and its effects.

In an indirect way, this study allows us to look into the future of the LDS church and assess its potential impact on the members and societies where it is expanding. This research shows that members of the church from virtually every nation and culture will focus on traditional morality and families, taking care of oneself economically, and supporting and participating in government and community affairs.

CHAPTER 1

PROBLEMS IN RELIGION AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

Introduction

V. O. Key once wrote that “coming to grips with public opinion is similar to coming to grips with the Holy Ghost” (1966, 8). Several factors have contributed to the difficulty of grasping public opinion. One cause is the ever-changing nature of public opinion (Bennett 1980). People, issues and opinions are in a state of constant flux. Another cause is the diversity of concepts, methods, and theories used to study public opinion. This diversity has produced, according to John Zaller, “a collection of insular subliterations that rarely communicate with one another” (1992, 2). Although years of public opinion research has made substantial progress in improving our understanding of peoples’ political views, there are many questions yet to be answered.

Documenting the causal origins of public opinion has long been a central concern to scholars. Scholars believe that if we could determine what “constrains” peoples’ attitudes and opinions then we can better understand and predict public opinion. The term constraint refers to the degree to which superordinate values or cognitive structures guide peoples’ policy preferences (Campbell et al. 1960; Converse 1964). This definition obviously assumes a fairly stable underlying source of attitudes, which are “learned

predispositions” toward political objects (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Allport 1935).¹ If superordinate principles, concepts, or values guide the formation and expression of political opinions, then this should be manifest empirically in consistent, predictable opinions. This study will focus on three major sources of constraint identified in the literature: race, culture, and religion.

Ideology as a Source of Opinion Constraint

Most work on opinion constraint builds on or departs from *The American Voter* (Campbell et al. 1960) and especially Philip Converse’s (1964) seminal work “The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics.” Converse tested whether or not political ideologies, specifically liberalism and conservatism, serve as a source of constraint. By analyzing the like/dislike questions in the National Election Studies, Converse found that although ideological labels were fairly well understood by voters, political ideologies did not appear to constrain most people’s policy positions. He concluded no more than 15 percent of the public exhibited *ideological* constraint and no more than three percent were true ideologues, having ideologically consistent policy choices. In fact, Converse concluded that most people’s opinions seemed no more stable than flipping a coin.

These findings have had a long-lasting impact on political science. Paul Sniderman

¹ Most opinion research assumes that values and opinions are stable. John Zaller’s work *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992) provides an alternative, cognitive perspective. Zaller uses a cognitive “on-line” processing model to argue that people construct opinions “on the fly.” Expressed opinions are not stable, but a function of elite messages, political predispositions, and the most salient information frame at the moment. But it would be easy to take this “fluid” view of public opinion too far. Even Zaller’s conceptualization assigns a pivotal role to political predispositions, which he defines as fairly stable.

(1993) characterized the findings of Converse (1964) and Campbell et al. (1960) as paradigmatic. He summarizes the “paradigm of minimalism” in this way:

Mass publics, it was contended, were distinguished by 1) minimal levels of political attention and information, 2) minimal mastery of abstract political concepts such as liberalism-conservatism; 3) minimal stability of political preferences; 4) and quintessentially, minimal levels of attitude constraint (219).

In other words, Americans were “innocent of ideology” (Kinder 1983). But not everyone adopted the paradigm. Scholars do generally agree that Americans are not very informed or ideological in their political thinking (Niemi and Weisberg 1993, 94). However, scholars have also widely criticized these findings for 1) improper measurement and 2) incorrect conceptualization.

Many scholars have argued that the failure to find ideological constraint was a methodological artifact of Behavioral methodologies.² Nie, Verba and Petrocik (1979) argued Converse’s finding was a temporal artifact. The late 1950s, when the early American National Election Studies (NES) polls Converse used were conducted, were not a time of ideological thinking. But the 1960s were.³ Still other critics contended that citizens do not “care” equally about all of the issues considered in such studies. This suggests that citizens have stable beliefs about issues they care about, and less stable beliefs on others (Maddox and Lilie 1984; Heclo 1978; Krosnick 1990).

² Researchers like Converse (1964) and Campbell et al. (1960) relied heavily on the philosophy and methodologies of behaviorism. That is, researchers operationalize concepts and then use random-sample surveys to look for evidence.

³ Nie, Verba and Petrocik’s (1979) findings have also been disputed. Sullivan, Piereson and Markus (1978) argue that their findings of change over time were due to changes in the form of NES questions rather than a true change in the public at large.

At a more fundamental level, some have argued that surveys are not an appropriate tool for discovering the structure of complex belief systems and that the approach and methods themselves are incapable of discovering beliefs systems (Brown 1980; Lane 1962). Most notably, Robert Lane concluded from his repeated depth interviews that people do have sensible, stable opinions if you give them the time to express them in their complexity. Stephen Brown used Q methodology to demonstrate temporal constraint in political outlooks. Using a more standard survey approach, Page and Shapiro (1992) have argued that although individual level opinions tend to shift often in survey contexts, aggregate preferences are remarkably stable. Thus, people's opinions are not "all over the board," but in fact tend to cluster around a central point. We can then observe the central tendency around which opinions are anchored. These central anchors provide constraint.

Scholars have also offered conceptual critiques of Converse's work. Most important among these is the contention that ideology is more complex and multifaceted than conceived in the early research. Failure to find people distributed normally across a liberal-conservatives continuum does not mean people lack belief constraint; it may mean nothing more than the researcher is looking for the wrong constraining structures (the wrong line).

Herbert Weisberg (1980) and others have shown that ideology may be better conceived multidimensionally (Maddox and Lilie 1984; Sundquist 1983). Thus, there is a need to look at social and economic issues separately (See also Sundquist 1983; Maddox and Lilie 1984). A two dimensional model legitimately allows people to be liberal on some issues and conservative on others. Despite the utility of multidimensional models of

ideology, they sacrifice parsimony for explanatory power. Pundits, and people in the media ignore them in favor of a simple liberal-conservative distinction.

But, Maddox and Lilie (1984) argue that these distinctions are necessary.

“American ideologies are too complex to be forced into the Procrustean bed of the liberal-conservative dichotomy, [and] that a four-way analysis of ideologies can explain many aspects of current politics (xv)” As evidence, they note that up to one third of all National Election Studies respondents do not identify with either liberalism or conservatism (31). They reason that “Existing analyses of ideology in the United States are not so much wrong as they are too narrow. As long as we operate within a framework in which liberal and conservative are the only . . . legitimate ideologies, we cannot make much sense of the public’s ideological views or their behavior” (2).

Maddox and Lilie (1984) offer a two dimensional model of ideology to help explain inconsistencies and controversies in previous research. They propose that ideologies should be split into four categories: liberal, conservative, libertarian and populist. Each represents a different mix of opinions on social and economic issues. Liberals support the expansion of personal freedoms and favor government intervention in economic affairs. Conservatives favor exactly the opposite--low involvement in economic affairs and more government regulation of personal freedoms. Libertarians oppose both government involvement in personal freedoms and economic affairs while populists favor reasonable government regulation in both domains (see Table 1 below).

Table 1.1: Maddox and Lilie's Ideological Categories			
Government Regulation of Personal Freedoms		Government Regulation of Economic Affairs	
		For	Against
	For	Populist	Conservative
	Against	Liberal	Libertarian

Source: Adapted by author from Maddox and Lilie (1984), *Reassessing the Political Spectrum*.

James Sundquist (1983) goes even further proposing an eight group typology along three dimensions: Domestic economic and role of government issues, social and moral issues, and foreign and military issues.⁴ His typology shown in Table 3 below may be more precise, but is little used because it lacks the simplicity of more parsimonious schemes.

Table 1.2: Sundquist's Ideological Categories	
Issues	Ideological Groups
Domestic economic and role of government issues	LLLLCCCC
Social and moral issues	LLCCLLCC
Foreign and military issues	LCLCLCLC

Source: James L. Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System* (1983).

In a totally different vein, Donald Kinder (1983) has advocated dropping the focus on ideology altogether and invited scholars to probe for *other* sources of constraint. New research has emerged in psychology that demonstrates cognitive sources of constraint. Schema theory argues that the human mind categorizes information around simplified values, stereotypes, or themes. This perspective asserts that people are “cognitive misers”

⁴ Maddox and Lilie (1984) suggest the need to account for the foreign policy dimension also, but do not include it in their primary treatment.

who, in order to minimize time and cognitive effort, store information in hierarchical, stereotyped categories, which serve as the basis for judgments and opinions. Research in schema theory has demonstrated both the existence of “political schemas” as well as their importance in assessments of presidential candidates, and as a source of foreign policy issue preferences, which were before thought to be virtually non-existent (Conover and Feldman 1984; Miller, Wattenberg, and Malanchuk 1986; Hurwitz and Peffley 1987). Of course, cognitive schemas are *learned* structures and can only be formed by experience and socialization into a larger social order. Thus, we also find that schemas differ markedly by social group and social context.

Demographic Groups as a Source of Opinion Constraint

The public opinion and voting literatures have long stressed the importance of socio-demographic groups and culture as determinants of public opinion (Campbell et al. 1960; Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954). The groups having important effects include: gender (Shapiro and Majahan 1986; Conover 1988; Cook and Wilcox 1991), race (Knoke 1979; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Sniderman and Piazza 1993), socioeconomic status (Yerik and Todd 1996), education (Verba and Nie 1972; Stimson 1975), parents (Erikson, Luttbeg and Tedin 1994; Jennings and Niemi 1974; Niemi and Jennings 1991), personality (Kinder 1983), the media (Zaller 1992; McCombs, Einsiedel and Weaver 1991), generational effects (Beck and Jennings 1991), religion (Leege and Kellstedt 1993;

Green et al. 1996; Wald, Owen and Hill 1988), and social context⁵ (Almond and Verba 1963; Huckfeldt 1984; Patterson 1970; Elezar 1966; Erikson, McIver, and Wright 1987; Banfield 1958; Putnam 1993).

Social groups are important because they instill values, perceptions and beliefs about socio-political phenomena, which are conveyed through socialization and common experience (Kinder 1983). Group identifications evoke unique experiences and socialization processes which mold one's outlook on the world (Niemi and Jennings 1991). These group identifications often act, in the words of Campbell et al. (1960), as "ideology by proxy." Modern social psychology stresses the importance of group identifications and shows how they are key in socialization and self-definition (Brewer 1991).⁶ Social groups are important to political scientists because they correlate highly with political ideology (Wlezien and Miller 1997).

Religion as a Source of Opinion Constraint

Religion has long been recognized as one of the most important group affiliations . Historically, religious affiliation has been virtually synonymous with specific political views (Lenski 1963). Religious affiliation has been so important because it plays a central social and psychological role in the lives of practicing members. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz, defines religion as "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful,

⁵ Social context, or background, refers to both cultural (urban/rural) and geographic contextual effects (national, regional, state, neighborhood or social group differences).

⁶Group values and perspectives can arise either from "in-group" self definition, or be socially imposed.

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 actuality that (5) the moods and motivations seems uniquely realistic” (1973, 90). David Leege (1993) detailed in similar terms how religion helps define human nature, set norms for appropriate social conduct, establish group identity, and maintain social boundaries. In this way, religion specializes “in the creation, propagation, and maintenance of values” (Leege and Kellstedt 1993, xi). In sum, religion is a key source of meaning for believers that strongly influences how people see the world around them.

It is easy to see both social and psychological components in the above definitions. Socially, church communities help create group identity, social norms, and generate a “climate of opinion” which are the foundation of political opinion and action (Almond and Verba 1963; Merelman 1984; Wald, Owen and Hill 1988). Psychologically, religion helps people “make sense” of life by providing a framework of meaning, a sense of purpose and goals, as well as a sense of certainty that guides the individual’s understanding of the world around them. Religious groups create and transmit these “cultures” by instilling commonly held values and mores based upon the meaning inherent in religious theology. In all, it is hard to envision a more theoretically compelling variable for investigation.⁷

Religious beliefs are thought to influence individual opinions in two principal ways. The first way is overt “politicking” from church pulpits and organizing within church

⁷Unfortunately, much “mainstream” political science research has payed relatively little attention to religion. David Leege (1993) argues the omission is due partly to many scholars’ bias against religion as “irrational,” a propensity of “privatize” religion due to a strict interpretation of the “separation of church and state,” and most importantly, the dominance of economic explanations of human attitudes and behavior in most social science research.

foyers. Concern over this type of political influence, especially by the “religious right,” is one of the principal reasons for the revival of interest in religion and politics. Christian Right efforts to distribute “voter education guides” and gain control of local offices have been especially perplexing and frightening to some. The second method of political influence is much more subtle: socialization via church theology and culture into common ways of viewing the world (world views).

This dissertation is designed to test the effects of religious influences on political views. I will do so by examining variations in the political views of members within a single denomination. This study focuses on *denominations* (versus other religious categories like “fundamentals”) because they are one of the most obvious sources of normative values and basic outlooks on the world. Kellstedt and Green (1993) write that “denominational preference matters in politics because denominations are important: they are central to religious life, objects of deeply held commitments, and, together with their component institutions, the most common form of voluntary association in the United States” (65). In fact, four-fifths of US citizens affiliate with a religious denomination (Kellstedt and Green 1993).

Throughout history denominational affiliation has been virtually synonymous with political affiliations (Leege 1989; Bochel and Denver 1970). Segal and Meyer (1969, 228) assert that “membership in a cohesive religious group can serve in part as a focus of orientation to the larger political order.” Different denominations and traditions still exhibit distinct political tendencies today. For example, in the United States, Jews, Catholics, and Congregationalists tend to be ideologically “liberal,” while Southern

Baptists, many evangelicals, and Mormons tend to be “conservative.”⁸

Despite the *prima facie* case for the historic importance of religion, the literature on religion’s influence on public opinion has been mixed. In the 1970s, scholars thought that religion had relatively little impact on political beliefs (Harrison and Lazerwitz 1982; Wuthnow 1973). Some scholars argued that religion actually had little explanatory power compared to other factors (Yinger 1969; Wuthnow 1973; Wald 1992). In 1973, Robert Wuthnow argued that studies of religious effects were most likely to find no relationship between religious beliefs and political attitudes (see also Legee 1989). For example, scholars looking at this relationship among Jews argued that the implicit liberal messages in Judaism are *least* inculcated by the most avidly practicing Jews (Cohen 1983; Liebman 1973).

Possibly the most important criticism of studies purporting to find links between religious beliefs and political attitudes is that they fail to control for the impact of social or cultural background (Henriot 1966; Mauss 1994; Rojek 1973; Roof 1974; Summers et al. 1970; Wald 1992). Thus, they argue that significant religious findings were spurious, being caused instead by race or political culture which tightly overlay the populations of study. This has been a particularly compelling attack because many studies’ samples have been limited racially and geographically and have failed to account for political or ethnic

⁸Robert Wuthnow (1988) has argued that denomination-specific political preferences are diminishing in strength due to an apparent party realignment among the strongest of most denominations’ faithful toward the Republican party. However, Kellstedt et al. (1996) have concluded that this apparent political split within denominations is occurring almost exclusively among mainline protestant denominations. Groups such as evangelicals have become even more conservative and Republican. So there does not appear to be any substantive reason to believe denominations will have a less important influence.

cultural influences.

Although controversy remains heated, recent literature has found that religion has a more significant influence on political affiliation and political attitudes than previously thought (Kersten 1970; Gay and Ellison 1993; Green et al. 1996; Wilcox 1987; Hertel and Hughes 1987; Legee and Kellstedt 1993; Green et al. 1996; Wald 1992 among many). This is especially true for social, moral and family issues (Wald and Lupfer 1983; Jelen 1998). This conclusion is argued most prominently by Lyman Kellstedt, John Green, Corwin Smidt, and James Guth who have led the revival of interest in empirical research on religion and politics. They conclude that faulty measurement has confounded the religion variable in most studies, wrongly producing the appearance of mixed findings (Kellstedt et al. 1994; Kellstedt et al. 1996). They argue that more precise denominational coding produces more robust findings.

Other studies have documented in greater detail how specific beliefs have political impacts. Benson and Williams (1982) found that individualistic versus communitarian religious outlooks influence politicians' political opinions. Likewise, images of God (e.g., loving versus stern and aloof, vengeful versus merciful, etc.) also correlate with different political and social outlooks (Greeley 1981). The influence of religious beliefs on political opinions seems to be especially strong for members of the clergy (Beatty and Walter 1989; Guth 1989 among many) but also influences lay members (Green et al. 1996; Kersten 1970; Wald 1992).

Religion also appears to affect political behavior. The early partisan identification literature often highlighted the importance of religion (Campbell 1960; Berelson et al.

1954; Converse 1975; Morgan and Meier 1980 among many). Early elections, especially 1960, were believed to be greatly influenced by religion (Key 1966; Converse 1967). It is less certain among current voting scholars whether religion has been as important in recent elections (Hammond 1979; Miller and Wattenberg 1984; Brudney and Copeland 1984).⁹ But, even the overly-simple religious variables used in most studies tend to indicate statistically significant effects on political behavior. Further, more precise coding schemes appear to reveal an even greater influence than thought previously. Kellstedt et al. (1996) show that coding into “religious traditions” significantly improves the performance of religion, especially on presidential vote and select social and political issues.

Three Problems in the Study of Religion and Public Opinion

This study is designed to better examine the link between religion and public opinion. Several conceptual and methodological problems in the religion and politics literature have obscured the influence of denominational religious beliefs on political attitudes. These obfuscations have helped fuel the controversy about the explanatory power of religion. A survey of the literature revealed that three of the of the most important obstacles are: 1) the lack of authoritative interpretation within many denominations which obscures the independent variable; 2) the confounding influence of social context, including political and ethnic cultures; and 3) methodological and measurement controversy, including disputes over the unit of analysis, sampling, research

⁹ The influence of the “religious right” is a prominent exception to this rule. However, they are believed to constitute only a small portion of the electorate. Despite this fact, they have indeed had an important influence on policy, especially at the local levels.

approach and methodologies. Each of these problems, and how they will be addressed in this study, are discussed in detail below.

Problem 1. Authoritative Interpretation of Religious Beliefs

Kenneth Wald (1992) argues that “most religious traditions are elastic enough to support very different political applications” (105). This is because the “lack of an authoritative source of interpretation for most American religions leaves believers free to develop their own understanding of sacred texts and teachings.” Therefore, the fact that a large proportion of modern American churches have little or no authoritative interpretation of church doctrines and beliefs limits the conceptual clarity of religion as an explanatory variable (Wilcox 1986; Wald 1992; Kersten 1970).¹⁰ In fact, it is not uncommon for denominational beliefs to differ among congregations in the same town. Wald (1992) suggests that this lack of conceptual coherence is at least part of the reason why some research has found only weak causal influences.

To better test religion as an explanatory variable, this research tests a critical case: a denomination having authoritative interpretation of doctrines across geographic, cultural and political boundaries. Using a conceptually coherent independent variable could reveal a stronger link between religion and politics than has previously been found. It will, at least, provide a more accurate test by freeing the study from conceptual slippage that

¹⁰ It is well known that even in the Roman Catholic Church, which has authoritative interpretation of church doctrine through the Pope, has difficulty “enforcing” doctrinal orthodoxy among some American members of the faith. Authoritative interpretation is even weaker among most Protestant denominations.

threatens validity. The results of a denomination-specific study are not generalizable, but will give us insight into the power and limits of religion as an explanatory variable.

Religious effects are complex, nuanced, and may differ across denominations (Jelen 1998). Yet, most research has not even used denominations as the unit of analysis. Rather, most of the extant literature ignores denominations in favor of ambiguous but readily available categories. For many years, there were only four religion categories in the National Election Studies: Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or Other. Other common coding categories used in mass surveys are fundamentalist, moderate, liberal, evangelical, and charismatic. These categories were widely used despite fantastic disagreement over the meaning of these categories. Wald and Smidt (1993) have shown that these categories mean very different things to survey respondents and researchers. In fact, it is amazing that such ambiguous categories have produce statistically and substantively significant results at all. More precise denominational coding may enhance the strength of these results (Wald and Smidt 1993; Kellstedt et al. 1996). Studies using this refined coding scheme shows religion to be very important in explaining vote choice, attitudes on abortion, and presidential vote (Green et al. 1996). But their improved approach still ignores denomination-specific issues and denominations which fail to fit into a major religious tradition.¹¹ This work will maximize conceptual coherence by narrowing the unit of analysis to a more manageable and conceptually compelling focus on one denomination.

¹¹ For example, the denominations in Kellstedt's et al.'s (1996) category "conservative non-traditionals" have nothing in common except that they do not fit any other category. It would be impossible to argue that Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses have much of anything in common or that they could be meaningfully combined into a useful category.

Problem 2. Culture as an Independent Source of Constraint

Values and attitudes are influenced by multiple factors, of which religion, though prominent, is only one. While a lack of authoritative interpretation of religious beliefs has likely contributed to an underestimation of religious impacts, the lack of controls for cultural and contextual effects may have led us to over-estimate religion's impact. As mentioned above, many studies have failed to account for the influence of social or cultural background (Rojek 1973; Roof 1974; Summers et al. 1970; Wald 1992). Huckfeldt (1984) and others have argued that political opinions may be reinforced or undermined by the broader environment in which the individual resides. At least two other important sources of values and attitudes present challenges to isolating the influence of religion: race (ethnic culture) and political culture. These two factors produce strong independent effects.

The importance of these variables lies in the fact that many religions overlay ethnic, regional and national cultures. Recent studies conducted by the Kellstedt, Green, Smidt and Guth show that two thirds of people in the United States attend church with people predominantly of their own race.¹² This makes suspect the assertion that religion is *the* predominant determinant of political similarities within denominations. Ethnic and political cultures may exert as much or more influence.

Williams (1976) has written that culture is one of the hardest words in the English language to define. Social scientists have found culture to be a tricky concept to study

¹² This is excerpted from a survey conducted by Kellstedt, Smidt, Guth and Green and funded by the Pew Charitable Trust.

“scientifically.” Yet, the importance of culture can hardly be overlooked. Aaron Wildavsky argued that culture serves as a key determinant of political attitudes and behavior because it constitutes one’s environment and thus defines the norms and bounds of acceptability. Culture provides a “framework for organizing the world” (Ross 1996). Due to that fact, understanding the political values inherent in one’s ethnic, religious or political culture may allow one to discover “miles of preferences” from “inches of facts.” (Wildavsky 1987, 8). This study deals specifically with two different, yet interrelated types of culture known to be important in the literature: political culture and ethnic culture.

Political Culture. A voluminous literature on political culture emerged in the 1950s and 1960s to explain the failure of the Weimar Republic. After a hopeful start, activity in the field waned due to frustration in even defining the term. Years of research produced a proliferation of definitions that mired the field in controversy. This was a natural outcome given that a term so broad obviously includes multiple elements.

According to Ruth Lane (1992), the term political culture has served as a ‘conceptual umbrella’ including such things as national character, ideology, political psychology, civil religion, nationalism, values, etc. (362). This has led to ‘fundamental failure to settle on an operational definition of the internal structure of political culture, that is, of the variables of which it is composed’ (363). Despite the difficulty of nailing down a definition of political culture, its potential importance is easy to see. If one is to argue that religion leads to, say, support for an activist government, then we must rule out alternative sources of trust like the general level of trust already existing in different religions and countries (e.g., support may be high in Norway and low in Mexico).

Two predominant usages of the term political culture have emerged in the literature (Lane 1992). The most well known usage was coined by Gabriel Almond (1956) and refers to a sociological approach to understanding mass orientations toward political objects: “the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which defines the situation in which political action takes place” (1965, 513). This focus on “national character,” has guided the study of political and economic development (Pye and Verba 1965; Banfield 1958; Benedict 1946; Lipset 1990). But studying political culture at the national level sometimes confuses as much as it enlightens because it assumes homogeneity. Sub-cultures are ignored despite the fact that most nations are obviously not homogenous in religion, race, ethnicity, etc. (Wildavsky 1987, Elazar 1966, Patterson 1970).

The second use of the term political culture is more directly targeted toward individual and sub-cultural differences. This focus is on the psychological, individual-level orientations of citizens toward specific political objects, beliefs, and values. The psychological approach was pioneered in Almond and Verba’s (1963) classic, *The Civic Culture*. This work utilizes a psychometric methodological approach to examine civic orientations. Kavanaugh (1972) argues this approach encourages us “to think in terms of *what* kind of orientations are held by *which* people towards *which* political objects” (11). By scaling back the unit of analysis, we can more deeply probe the nature of subcultures within nations.

Within the individual-level study of political culture, one can examine an almost innumerable number of topics. Almond and Verba (1963) included in their study a “sense

of national identity, attitudes toward oneself as participant, attitudes toward one's fellow citizens, attitudes and expectations regarding governmental output and performance, and knowledge about and attitudes toward the political processes of decision making" (Almond 1989, 27). Although political culture has been defined in many ways, Rosenbaum (1975) argues that it is possible to identify the "core components" of the term as used in the literature. He defines these key elements as personal political identification and ideology, political trust, regime orientation, "rules of the game," political efficacy, political competence, and orientations toward political inputs and outputs (Rosenbaum 1975, 5-7).

A wealth of research has shown that context matters (Burbank 1997; Gilbert 1993; Huckfeldt and Sprague 1995 among many). We also know that different states, regions and countries have different political cultures that influence political predispositions (Eleazar 1966; Erikson, McIver, Wright 1987; Inglehart 1988; Kimball 1992; Patterson 1970). Louis Hartz (1955) has argued that America's unique political experience produced a moderate political culture which prevented the transmission of traditional class-based party alignments in the United States. Seymour Martin Lipset demonstrated in *Continental Divide* (1990) that even countries as similar as the United States and Canada have important differences in their political cultures stemming from different historical and founding experiences. Although there is considerable disagreement on exactly what these differences are and how we can measure them, there is clearly "something going on" which continues to impel research in political culture.¹³

¹³While political culture is an important part of our understanding of public opinion, Rosenbaum warns that "political culture never explains all. Still a sensitivity to the perspective it provides on political life adds depth and richness to our appreciation of political events" (1975, 4).

Of course, national cultural differences are apt to be even more profound than regional variations within countries. Almond and Verba (1963) showed that orientations toward governmental and social institutions systematically differ across polities. Edward Banfield (1958) contrasted Mormons in the western US with residents of Southern Italy and concluded that the culture of distrust in Italy inhibited economic and political development (see also Putnam 1993). Meanwhile, Mormons living in a harsher physical environment in the American West, thrived due to their cooperative norms and values that stems from their religion.

Yet, despite the potential influence of culture, most of the religion and politics literature has focused exclusively on the United States. At first intimation, the American focus seems justified since the goal of most American social scientists is to explain American events. But in limiting our focus we also bias our findings and our understanding. Legee and Welch (1989) have been one of the few studies to break through this barrier. They found regional cultural differences in political attitudes among Catholics in the United States. Wade Clark Roof (1974) concluded that “racist” attitudes attributed to some religious believers in North Carolina were more likely caused by a “localistic world view” or culture than their religion. Finally, Mauss (1994) has hinted at important geographical differences among Mormons.

Race and Ethnic Culture. Race has also been shown to be one of the most important correlates of political attitudes (Knoke 1979; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Sniderman and Piazza 1993). Virtually every public opinion poll and study reveals prominent racial differences. Race, and by extension, ethnic culture, poses a similar and

possibly more profound problem in studying denominational beliefs because “religious institutions often overlay ethnic or regional backgrounds” (Leege 1993, 4), thereby risking spurious causal attributions.¹⁴

Race is especially important to the study of religion and politics. Merely thirty years ago, Martin Luther King commented that Sunday Morning church services were one of the most segregated events of each week. Despite some movement toward racial integration since the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, predominantly African, White, Asian, and Hispanic denominations are still common. This fact presents a particularly strong threat of spuriousness to our understanding of some denominations’ political beliefs because religion and ethnicity are so closely intertwined. According to Samuel Patterson (1970, 121) “Ethnicity and religious differences work closely together, though religious differences seem to have independent consequences on politico-cultural variations.” By controlling for race we can separate cultural and religious influences. In the interest of gaining sufficient “diversity” of denominational members, it is necessary to seek out and “over sample” those from different racial and ethnic backgrounds within a single denomination. Unfortunately, this has rarely been done in previous research.

Problem 3. Methodological Controversy in the Study of Public Opinion and Religion

Methodological controversies tend to permeate empirical research in the social sciences. All methods have both strengths and limitations so little or no agreement exists

¹⁴ Although race is not an exclusive indicator of one’s ethnic culture, racial groupings do often reflect unique experiences and outlooks which affect political attitudes.

on how to study most phenomena. The debate about “objective” versus “subjective” approaches is at the heart of many of these controversies.

As mentioned above, Donald Kinder (1983) reasons that since we know people do not think ideologically, we should ask *how* people actually organize their political thinking. Accordingly, a new line of inquiry has emerged beginning in the 1980s that constitutes what Sniderman calls (1993) a “new look” in public opinion research. Rather than asking if voters’ thinking is well organized and informed as judged against political scientists’ *a priori* postulations, researchers have begun to ask how the limited information people *do* have is processed and organized. Many advocate less “objective” and quantitative research methods in favor of more “subjective” ones.

This tension has already been shown in both the ideological constraint debate and in the religion and politics literature. In the religion and politics literature, the critique of objective research methods was used against Stark and Glock’s survey-based work on the consequential dimensions of religion (1968; Glock and Stark 1965). They used survey techniques to measure how people conceptualized God, their beliefs about the meaning of life, and how people believe they ought to behave in this life. Yinger (1969; 1970) and Leege and Welch (1989) have argued, however, that Glock and Stark’s approach measured “religious views *not* held (which the investigator thought important). Their approach was incapable of capturing whether or how a person is religious” (quoted in Leege and Welch 1989, 140). In other words, surveys can only reveal how people respond to questions that scholars think are important, which is not the same thing as *discovering* underlying preferences.

This is an important critique given that most public opinion research has been conducted using standard survey methods. Surveys have been challenged in many contexts for “imposing” opinion as much as they reveal opinion (Ginsberg 1986; Herbst 1993; Brehm 1993). This is because researchers dictate the range of possible responses as well as the assumptions and measurements to be used in the investigation. Depth interviews and focus group formats have been increasingly used to alleviate these shortcomings.

Another problem with traditional methods is that national surveys are often assumed to be adequately “diverse” because they contain a large number of “minorities.” The argument follows that since a random sample is an accurate representation of the population, then most any important topic can be adequately tested, provided relevant questions exist. Even if adequate questions existed, there are seldom enough cases for *any* analysis of denominations in national surveys due to low sample size. Nor are there sufficient respondents within denominations to control for race or culture. Except in the case of Catholics, Baptists, or denominational members lumped into other categories, there are almost never enough non-white respondents of denominations to make any statistical analysis possible.

Many scholars (Benson and Williams 1982; Leege and Kellstedt 1993; Leege 1989; Stephenson 1953; Brown 1980; Wald 1992) have argued for increased use of methods that better measure people’s *subjective* views. This methodological (and theoretical) paradigm shift abandons the assumptions of traditional logical positivist research that reduces all humans to ranks and values on concepts generated by the researcher, and then creates mathematical models using econometric or psychometric

methods. The subjective approach (*Verstehen*) explicitly assumes that we cannot expect one-size-fits-all models. Rather we must study belief systems for different individuals and sub-groups and do so using techniques better suited to discovering the subjective orientations of the population being studied. In short, we must determine *how* specific groups see the political world from their own subjective viewpoint. For this reason, this research will not rely on the survey approach alone, but triangulate the findings of three different research methods, both objective and subjective. The exact methods to be used in this research will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Restatement of the Problem

In summary, a lack of authoritative doctrinal interpretation, ethnic and political cultural influences, and methodological problems have confounded our understanding of religion's impact on political opinions. In order to better test these relationships, we need to:

- 1) Study a denomination which preserves a cohesive set of religious beliefs through authoritative interpretation of church doctrine.
- 2) Select a culturally and politically diverse sample spanning different political and ethnic cultures.
- 3) Triangulate the results of several methodologies in order to minimize methodological bias.

This study will attempt to address each of the problems identified above. The rest of this chapter will discuss the first and second goals: choosing the denomination that provides both authoritative interpretation of church doctrines and a culturally diverse membership.

Selecting a Denomination

Selecting a denomination that fits the above criteria is vital in conducting a critical test. The first task is to choose a denomination that will have strong authoritative interpretation of church doctrine. There are relatively few denominations that fully meet this criteria. The one that currently generates the most interest is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as LDS, Latter-day Saints, Saints, or Mormons).¹⁵ Mormons have a system of authoritative interpretation and boundary maintenance needed to encourage consistency of beliefs.¹⁶ While many denominations differ markedly in fundamental beliefs across geographic boundaries, Mormonism maintains coherent beliefs through authoritative doctrinal statements from church leaders in Salt Lake City, Utah. Church members “follow the prophet,” who they believe speaks for God on earth. Church leaders expound on the church’s doctrine during world conferences, and through published materials like church lesson manuals, leadership training sessions and materials, and handbooks of church operating procedures. The church even publishes official Sunday

¹⁵ These titles are used interchangeably by Mormons to refer to themselves, as will be the case throughout this work. The term Mormons was originally a pejorative term, given to members due to their belief in the Book of Mormon. Officially, the church uses the terms LDS, Latter-day Saints, or just Saints in referring to church members.

¹⁶ Mormonism teaches the same religious doctrines worldwide. But do they enforce a political orthodoxy? As evidence that they do, Wald (1992) cites the case of Sonja Johnson: “In excommunicating a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment for disobedience, the elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormons) surpassed other groups in enforcing compliance with political doctrine as a condition for church membership” (100). Mormons, however, respond that Sonja Johnson was excommunicated for her rejection of fundamental religious tenets and personal attacks on church leaders, not her stance on the ERA. After all, other LDS women who supported the ERA were not excommunicated for their political beliefs. So we should not want to read too much into this isolated, yet well-publicized event. Mormon enforcement of *political* orthodoxy is relatively unlikely.

school, Priesthood and Relief Society lesson manuals with instructions on when each lesson will be taught. On any given Sunday, the same lessons are taught in every LDS church around the world.

With a uniform religious message being taught to “active,”¹⁷ or fully practicing church members, it is possible that Latter-day Saints may share some social and political world views (Albrecht 1990; May 1980). We would expect the probability to be highest among lifetime members and long-time converts. It is even possible that members raised in and living in different cultures and countries could share some basic outlooks. This probability is reinforced by the all-encompassing “lifestyle” of church members that includes extensive church instruction and frequent interaction with other members through numerous church meetings and the performance of church “callings,” or duties.

LDS social and political homogeneity may also be enhanced by the church’s historical orientation. Mormons have a tragic but often heroic history. They are proud of their history and their deliverance from persecution, which drove the early Saints to rely on each other for survival. Persecution, government harassment, and mob rule throughout the 1800s helped inculcate a strong “we” versus “them” outlook which may yet exist in some degree today. This “tight-knit” as opposed to “loose-bounded” (Merelman 1984) group identity plus a clear historical orientation may instill some common ways of thinking about the world. The close community organization of local wards and branches, as well

¹⁷ The church defines “active” as attending church once at least per month. To practicing Mormons this term means more: attending all church meetings, performing a church “calling” (job, or responsibility), and living minimum standards including payment of tithing, moral cleanliness, abstinence from drinking or smoking, honoring family relationships, and endorsing basic LDS doctrinal beliefs.

as church programs like home teaching and visiting teaching (in which each member is visited monthly by other members) also help build and maintain strong social ties (De Pillis 1991). In sum, the infrastructure for sharing beliefs, values and outlooks is probably more certain in this denomination more than any other.

Members may also look for political applications of religious principles because church doctrine is so central to their lives. Due to a belief in revelation through living prophets, it may be impossible to separate the temporal and the spiritual in LDS theology (and by extension the political and the religious). Revelation through church leaders has the *potential* to speak to all facets of life (Barrus 1992). Thus, many members may look to the gospel for guidance concerning everyday social and political questions because God's direction in one sphere may contain important truths than can be applied to other spheres.

Latter-day Saints also meet the second criteria for this study: racial and cultural diversity in the world-wide church. Although the LDS church has always been thought of as uniquely "American," the summer of 1996 saw the church gain more adherents *outside* of the United States than in. The church is over 10 million-strong (and quickly growing) and has a worldwide multi-cultural membership that provides a lot of cultural variation. While much is known about LDS political attitudes among a largely (racially and culturally) homogenous population in Utah, little is known about the beliefs of non-Utah and non-white Mormons. Amazingly, Utah Mormons only comprise fourteen percent of the total church membership. This fact makes it even more important to study Mormon beliefs among the forgotten majority of members. Thus, Utah-based sampling schemes are simply not good enough to explore "what Latter-day Saints think."

Latter-day Saint Growth

In 1984, Sociologist Rodney Stark stated that “the ‘miracle’ of Mormon success makes them the single most important case on the agenda of the social scientific study of religion” (26). The new interest in the LDS church is reflected in the programs of academic research conferences like the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the Religious Research Association. The formation of the Mormon Social Science Association has further encouraged research on and interaction among scholars interested in Latter-Day Saints.¹⁸

One of the reasons Stark and others place such importance on studying Latter-day Saints is their exponential growth. Currently, the church adds about 320,000 converts to its ranks each year thanks to the efforts of 58,000 missionaries serving in 318 missions in 160 countries. The church adds another 75,000 members each year through the baptism of children of member families (*Conference Report*, May 1998).

As of 1998, there are approximately ten and a half million Mormons worldwide, with roughly half of that number living in the United States. Rodney Stark (1984) estimated that if the church maintains a 30 percent growth rate, there will be 60 million Mormons worldwide by 2080 A. D. If it maintains a more characteristic 50 percent growth rate (akin to its growth since World War II), there will be 265 million Mormons by 2080. Recently, Stark has commented that Mormons have significantly surpassed his projected growth rate in the years since he wrote his initial estimates (Lattin 1996a, Stark

¹⁸ Mormons are also the object of interest to those interested in issues of family and marriage due to the relative success of LDS families. Researchers are also interested in the fact that Latter-day Saints tend to be much more healthy than the rest of the population.

1994, Davidson 1998). Overall, the church has had a growth rate of 61% per decade since 1950 (Stark quoted in Davidson 1998).

As political scientists well know, numbers sufficiently concentrated translate into political power. In the United States, the geographical distribution of Mormons makes them an important political group in the West, despite constituting only 2% of the total U. S. Population.¹⁹ No other religious group in the United States rivals its geographic concentration (Kosmin and Lachman 1993; Roof and McKinney 1987; Hill 1985). The church's political influence is greatest, of course, in the "Mormon culture region" consisting of Utah and nine other mountain states (Meinig 1965, Bennion 1995).²⁰ The church is also an important political actor in Southern Alberta, Canada, the South Pacific Islands of Tonga, Tahiti, and Samoa, and increasingly in Latin and South America.

Several other characteristics of the LDS population make them a group worth studying. Dramatic socio-economic change has also occurred among church members. Roof and McKinney find that since World War II, church members have risen markedly in social and economic status: "Mormons . . . show a phenomenal shift: they have moved from the lowest-ranking religious group in the mid-1940s to the top of the middle rank. On all the status indicators (education, income, perceived social class) their standing places them along with, if not ahead of, many of the mainline Protestants and Catholics"

¹⁹While this percentage seems small, we must remember that Mormons are only slightly less numerous than Jews, who no one considers inconsequential despite their relatively low percentage of the population.

²⁰ The boundaries of the "Mormon Culture Region" roughly reflect the original State of Deseret as proposed by Brigham Young. This included all or portions of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California, and Oregon.

(1987, 111). This shift also often brings with it a new-found respect and political power.

Latter-day Saints may also be an increasingly influential group in American social life. They have come to virtually epitomize “family values,” along with healthy and pious living. Mario De Pillis (1996) has written that Mormonism’s social influence is being felt in larger social life. As an example, he cites the parody of Mormons in the play “Angels in America.” He argues that Mormonism is singled out for attack because the church is the most reputable representative of traditional family life in America. De Pillis interprets this attack as a sign of Mormonism’s credibility in this area, although this *de facto* sign of influence would surely be lost on most members of the church.

Ultimately, Rodney Stark and Jan Shipps are interested in Latter-day Saints not just because of their growing numbers, but because they are unique in recent religious history: they represent the first “new religious tradition” to emerge in centuries (Shipps 1985). Stark writes that “Indeed, today, [Mormons] stand on the threshold of becoming the first major faith to appear on earth since the Prophet Mohammed rode out of the desert” (1984, 19). He further asserts that “. . . the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the Mormons, will soon achieve a worldwide following comparable to that of Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and the other dominant world faiths” (18).²¹ In sum, they represent not just a good “critical case,” but also a substantively important and inherently interesting group to study. Thus, LDS church members will provide a unique test of the nexus between religion and political opinion by providing a coherent

²¹Mormons see themselves as unequivocally Christian. Indeed, the name of the church bears Christ’s name and all church doctrines and ordinances are performed in remembrance of Christ.

independent variable was well as the requisite cultural diversity needed to control for culture.²²

Is There An LDS Ethnic Identity?

Many people can easily envision a fairly coherent “Mormon political culture.” An oft-quoted aphorism is that Mormonism is “more than a religion, Mormonism is a lifestyle” (Wallace 1996). At an even more fundamental level, there is a strong familial identity among Mormons in the United States. Even people who are not members, or active in the church, may relate strongly to their LDS ancestry.²³

This perceived coherence has so impressed some that the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* designated Mormonism as a distinct ethnic group (May 1980, 720-31). Ethnicity is determined by physical factors such as biological origin, race, and region, as well as cultural characteristics such as language, religion, cultural mores, belief systems, etc. Religion, language, and self-identity are particularly important factors in determining ethnicity (Abrahamson 1980). Obviously no one characteristic is enough to earn an “ethnic” label. Usually several common characteristics must be present together.

Dean May (1980) argues that Mormons constitute a distinct ethnic group because they have a strong group consciousness (a sense of “peoplehood”), common religious

²² King, Keohane and Verba (1994) have stated that researchers must maximize the variation on the dependent variable (political opinions) in order to assess these relationships. This study will maximize variation by obtaining a diverse sample of Mormons from different backgrounds--something not done in any previous study

²³ One former member declared that the church could not excommunicate him because he was a “DNA Mormon.”

beliefs, a strong sense of their history, geographical concentration and isolation, communal activities including ward religious and social activities, endogamy, strong family life, and the belief that Mormons are literally brothers and sisters--united members of a "covenant people" (see also Williams 1990).²⁴

Thomas O'Dea (1957) was among the first to argue Mormons were a distinct ethnic group, calling Mormons "a people, with their own subculture within larger American culture and their own homeland as part of the American homeland" (1957). Jan Shipps (1985) goes even further in arguing that " Latter-day Saints, by virtue of their common paradigmatic experience as well as isolation, have acquired identity so distinct that it sets the Saints apart in much the same fashion that ethnic identity sets the Jews apart" (187, note 25). Meinig (1996) argues that isolation and cohesion were caused by the fact that Mormonism constituted a distinct "nation" struggling to survive within the American imperialist "empire."

Despite the popularity of this view, it is not ubiquitous. Sociologist Armand Mauss (1990) reasons that Mormons should no longer be considered an ethnic group because the racial homogeneity and geographic isolation that characterized the early church is gone (except in Utah). Thus, this assertion is based on a very limited racial, cultural, and political milieu that does not exist today. Even if members in the United States (or at least in Utah) appear to qualify as an ethnic "people," it is questionable whether such an assertion is very useful beyond the Utah border.

²⁴Parry (1990) argues that LDS group consciousness is most easily discernable where Mormon populations live side-by-side with other groups, such as in Alberta, Canada.

Political Constraint Among Latter-day Saints

The unique history of Mormons and their distinct religious beliefs and social cohesion may have helped transmit a distinct political culture (at least in Utah). Most of the literature on LDS political views suggests that this is true today of Utah Saints (Alexander 1995; Magleby 1992; Harrie 1998).

What is the nature of the perceived political cohesion among Mormons? Wald (1992, 79) sums up the literature on LDS political views by stating that “The Mormons have long been regarded as one of the most conservative religious groups.”²⁵ Virtually every known study of Mormons’ political attitudes show “conservative” political tendencies (Miles 1978; Richards 1995; Quinn 1993; Magleby 1992; Erikson, McIver and Wright 1987; Rose 1942). Indeed, there does seem to be a pervasive perception among church members in Utah that Republicanism and conservatism are more congruent with church doctrine than other viewpoints. This sentiment is depicted in a prominent saying heard most of ten in Utah: “You can’t be a good Mormon and a Democrat.” The perception is apparently so widespread that the church recently publicly disavowed this statement (Harrie 1998).

Brigham Young University Political Scientist David Magleby (1992, 1108) concludes from his analysis of Utah exit polls that “most members of the Church are politically conservative, both by self-classification and in attitudes toward economic, social, and lifestyle issues.” This conservatism (at least in Utah where these studies have

²⁵Despite this summary judgment, Wald (1992) and Beatty and Walter (1984) find that Mormons were among the most progressive denominations on racial issues--something that contradicts the conservative label.

been conducted) currently translates into a tendency toward Republican party affiliation, with the relationship being strongest among the most “active” Mormons (Magleby 1992; Jonas 1969). The Republican preference, however, is a recent phenomenon (Alexander 1995; Mauss 1994). Previously Mormons tended to be Democrats or avid ticket-splitters (White 1994).

Table 1.3: Ideology by LDS Religious Activity, 1994										
	Very Active		Somewhat Active		Not Very Active		Not Active		Total	
Ideology	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strong Cons.	1055	28.7	95	14.5	40	13.5	27	13.9	1217	25.3
Moderate Cons.	1935	52.7	325	49.5	121	40.9	71	36.6	2452	50.9
Middle	485	13.2	164	25.0	91	30.7	53	27.3	793	16.5
Moderate Lib.	179	4.9	64	9.8	40	13.5	38	19.6	321	6.7
Strong Lib.	16	.4	8	1.2	4	1.4	5	2.6	33	.7
Total	3670	100	656	100	296	100	194	100	4816	100

Source: 1994 KBYU/Utah Colleges Exit Poll. $\chi^2=307$, $p=.000$; Tau C=.14, $p=.000$. Percentages sum down the column.

Table 1.3 shows political ideology by strength of activity in the LDS church. Fully 81% of “very active” members consider themselves either strong or moderate conservatives. The combined percentage in these categories decreases as activity decreases. Only 5% of very active Mormons consider themselves strong or moderate liberals while over 20% of “not active” Mormons place themselves in these categories. The relationship is extremely strong ($\chi^2=307$, $p=.000$).

Table 1.4: Partisanship by LDS Religious Activity, 1994

Party	Very Active		Somewhat Active		Not Very Active		Not Active		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strong Dem.	113	3.2	64	10.2	46	16.1	29	15.4	252	5.4
Not So Strong Dem.	115	3.2	46	7.3	35	12.3	19	10.1	215	4.6
Indep. Dem.	169	4.7	54	8.6	20	7.0	29	15.4	272	5.8
Independent	285	8.0	77	12.2	35	12.	27	14.4	424	9.1
Independent Republican	768	21.5	137	21.7	54	18.9	38	20.2	997	21.3
Not So Strong Repub.	662	18.5	128	20.3	44	15.4	19	10.1	853	18.2
Strong Repub.	1467	41.0	124	19.7	51	17.9	27	14.4	1669	35.6
Total	3579		630		285		188		4682	

Source: 1994 KBYU/Utah Colleges Exit Poll. $\chi^2=430$, $p=.000$; Tau C= -.17, $p=.000$.

The exact same relationship exists for political party affiliation. According to Magleby, 69% of all members in Utah are Republicans. He further writes that “increased church activity is . . . strongly correlated to Republican partisan identification” (1108). Table 1.4 shows how the most active members are the most strongly Republican. Eighty two percent of very active members identify as strong or moderate conservatives. This stands in contrast to non-active members who were much more equally distributed across ideological categories. Similar tables could be built showing the same relationship on issues such as health care, gun control, gambling, and others (Magleby, forthcoming).²⁶

²⁶ These data are not presented here because Professor Magleby at Brigham Young University has not yet published these results. He will be publishing a full report of the exit poll data in an upcoming book on Utah politics to be published by the University of Nebraska Press.

But we must ask whether this data, which is based on the most homogenous 14% of the LDS population, is an adequate generalization of LDS political attitudes. What about Latter-day Saints outside of Utah? Outside of the United States? What of non-white members?

Armand Mauss (1994), in one of the few studies to focus on Mormons outside of Utah, finds “great diversity” among Mormons on many political issues. Although his original study is dated (1960s) and lacks many basic controls, it still reveals some interesting patterns. Comparing LDS church members in Salt Lake City, San Francisco and “East Bay,” Mauss found that members from San Francisco held more liberal views on many issues than Salt Lake Mormons. Meanwhile, “East Bay” Mormons were significantly more liberal on opinions toward unions, prayer in school, church-state issues, racial issues, and civil liberties. Further, Salt Lake City Mormons were significantly more likely to affiliate with the Republican Party (54%) than East Bay Mormons (35%).²⁷ As a whole East Bay Mormons more closely reflect non-Mormon attitudes. The main problem with this study, however, is the lack of racial, socio-economic or activity (religious commitment) controls, so we do not know the cause of the variation (e.g. race, income, activity in the church, etc.).²⁸

Professor Magleby graciously allowed me to include the data presented in these tables.

²⁷ This percentage has obviously increased significantly since Mauss’ study that was conducted in the 1960s.

²⁸ A dissertation by Afton Miles (1978) also indicates regional differences, but this study lacks stringent controls.

BYU political scientist Lamond Tullis (1976, 1980) has argued from personal observation that the political beliefs of members in Latin America (where much of Mormonism's new growth has occurred) are very different politically from members in the United States. There, many members have traditionally been members of oppressed classes who are more likely to support revolutionary (Marxist) movements that may shock conservative Mormons in the United States who may be devotedly anti-Marxist or supportive of the stability of American business interests.²⁹ As the church grows in other countries and among other cultures, Tullis argues it is increasingly important to separate foundational church doctrines from American cultural and political preferences.³⁰ The same is also needed in our research on LDS political opinions.

William Clayton Kimball also believes there are other reasons to question the existence of a Mormon political sub-culture. In an article entitled "Political Culture" in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (1992), Kimball goes so far as to argue that there is no coherent Mormon political culture at all.

Contrary to some popular characterizations, Latter-day Saints do not all think or vote alike on political matters and do not share a distinctive political subculture...During the nineteenth century, when Latter-day Saints "gathered" together in well-structured communities throughout the intermountain West, there was a distinctive Mormon political subculture. It was based on a model of consensus politics and a deference to

²⁹ Ironically, Socialism is not new to Mormons. There has been a historical Socialist movement in Utah which borrowed heavily from the ideals of early Mormon communitarianism enshrined in the "United Order," which characterized many Mormon communities in the late 1800s to early 1900s (see Sillito and McCormick 1985).

³⁰ In fact, Tullis suggests that the success of missionary efforts in Brazil and the growing need for priesthood leadership there precipitated events which led to reversing the church's controversial tradition of not ordaining blacks to the priesthood.

ecclesiastical authority, which set it apart from the dominant American political culture of the time. This subculture slowly dissipated as the intermountain LDS commonwealth was integrated into the larger political and economic patterns of the United States, despite the continued majority status of Latter-day Saints in many communities. In a strict sense, there is no such thing today as "a Mormon political culture."

In the late twentieth century, Latter-day Saints are found in many different countries, living under many different political systems. That which ties them together is a set of religious beliefs, not an identifiable set of habits of thinking or acting about politics. Were a cross-polity survey to be taken, the empirical beliefs, likes and dislikes, values, and priorities of Latter-day Saints in political matters would be polity-specific. German Latter-day Saints, for example, would resemble other Germans more than they would Mexican, French, or Samoan Latter-day Saints.

Some maintain, nonetheless, that there is an identifiable LDS political subculture in America, or at least in Utah. This perspective may confuse a regional pattern of attitudes and behaviors with a religious one" (1106).

In fact, Utah's political attitudes and behavior differ little from surrounding states where Latter-day Saints do not dominate.³¹ Thus, Kimball believes that conceptions of Mormon denominational political culture have not been adequately separated from Anglo culture prevalent in the Western United States, an understandable error given that a large majority of church members in the United States are of European descent and most live in Western States (Kosmin and Lachman 1992). Yet, to date, there has been no systematic study of the political views of Latter-day Saints outside of the United States. This research will take a step in this direction.

³¹ In fact, Utah has voted for the winning presidential candidate in all but six of twenty six elections since statehood in 1896. Utah voted for the loser in 1896, 1912, 1960, 1976, 1992, and 1996.

Research Question and General Hypothesis

The research questions to be addressed in this dissertation are: *To what degree are LDS political world views constrained by religious belief after controlling for ethnic and political cultural influences? To what extent are traditional Mormon beliefs mediated by indigenous ethnic and political cultural beliefs?*

Because much of the current research detailing the political views of Mormons is ethnically and nationally homogenous, I believe that a more diverse sample, like that to be employed in this study, will reveal greater variation in Mormons' attitudes than is presently acknowledged. Mormons raised in other political systems or cultures are likely to exhibit important differences from the main body of Mormons living in the western United States due to the interaction of cultural and religious beliefs. On specific religious and moral issues that the church addresses, however, I expect to find striking similarities across all cultures.

Research Purpose and Implications

What will this study contribute to our knowledge of religion and politics in general, and Latter-day Saints in particular? Many of the implications of this research have been suggested in the foregoing discussion. Theoretically, this "critical test" of religion as a source of opinion constraint will better illuminate the influence of denominational religious beliefs on public opinion while controlling for factors which have been virtually ignored in most previous work. We will be able to better isolate religious effects by identifying commonalities among members from different ethnic and political cultures.

Areas of attitude divergence will suggest cultural effects.

We can also examine the interaction of religious beliefs and culture. Some beliefs may be commonly held on the surface, yet understood or applied in very different ways as determined by ones' ethnic or political culture. Overall, this test will give us a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of religion as an independent variable by looking at a denomination where we may expect a clear link between religious beliefs and attitudes.

This study will also have important methodological implications. By using three different methodologies we can explore the usefulness of different research approaches. Importantly, each approach can be used to validate the others. The use of three methodologies will enable me to triangulate more valid and reliable conclusions (Leedy 1989; Brewer and Hunter 1989).

Finally, this work will provide substantive insights into Mormon culture and religious beliefs which are often omitted from literature on religion and politics. Thus, it will help expand and validate a growing body of research on this denomination. This research will help us place the fast-growing and increasingly influential denomination within the existing literature.

Organization of the Study

This study is presented in five additional chapters. Chapter Two presents the historical and political context for the study of LDS political opinions. A brief overview of Mormon political history will be offered. A "model" of LDS beliefs will be constructed

from previous literature against which later chapters will be compared. Special attention will also be given to the LDS belief in an “inspired” US Constitution and civic engagement which may provide important insights into the interaction of national identity and religious beliefs. Where necessary, church organization, and practices are also highlighted.

Chapter Three is an overview of the methodologies used in this study, namely, Q methodology, surveys and interviews. Extensive consideration will be given to explaining the epistemological approach, statistical technique, and interpretation of Q methodology. The strengths and weaknesses of Q methodology will also be enumerated. The nature of the cross-national and multi-racial sample will also be discussed.

Chapter Four will present the results of the Q sort analysis. Each world view will be described in detail, revealing “types” of LDS political belief systems. The similarities and dissimilarities between each of these world views will also be highlighted--the similarities ostensibly revealing the sphere of religious influence. A second-order factor analysis is also presented to highlight the nature of the belief elements common to all members.

Chapter Five will present an analysis of how the specific public policy issue positions on the survey are correlated with each political world view. I will also examine the correlation between each world view and the survey responses. This analysis uses both categorical analysis, t-tests, and analysis of variance (ANOVA) to look for differences in world views and survey responses among cultural groups.

The concluding chapter will summarize the nature of each world view, compare these world views to the model developed in Chapter 2, and then draw conclusions about

the impact of LDS denominational beliefs on its members' political beliefs. I will also summarize the impact of race and political culture on political world views and highlight political cultural effects through a detailed focus on three specific issues: 1) the LDS belief that the US Constitution is inspired, 2) civic engagement, and 3) health care. These case studies will give further insight into how common religious beliefs are mediated by political cultural influences. The implications of this research for religion and politics and research methodology will also be discussed. Finally, I will discuss the caveats and shortcomings of my research and comment on an agenda for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LDS POLITICAL HISTORY AND BELIEFS

Introduction

Chapter One briefly introduced some of the reasons why Latter-day Saints may or may not have common political views. This chapter will develop these arguments more fully. I will begin by providing some background on the church's political history and by discussing how this may continue to affect Latter-day Saint political views. Second, I will outline official church policies on contemporary political issues and religious doctrines that may have political implications. I will conclude with a review of the contemporary research on LDS political views and construct a "model" LDS viewpoint against which to compare the findings of this study. This chapter is not an exhaustive treatment of LDS history, practice, or doctrine, and as such it will not unearth any new historical or doctrinal ground. It is designed solely to set the stage for empirical study which follows.

A Brief History of the LDS Church in Politics

The perception of the LDS church today as a prosperous, growing, and respected religious body is a far cry from the perception of Mormonism in the 19th century. Almost from the moment of organization in New York state in 1830, Mormonism has been in

tension with broader political and religious cultures. This tension produced a sometimes violent, and tragic history of Mormon/non-Mormon interaction. This conflict was the very epitome of a “culture war” (Hunter 1991). Indeed, prior to the turn of the century, the church was forced to focus as much on its physical and legal survival as its proselyting and colonizing efforts.

There were numerous sources of friction between Mormons and their neighbors. The most obvious source was the church’s doctrinal uniqueness in the eyes of the dominant Protestant majority. Mormons claimed the equal authority of new scripture beyond the Bible, namely, the *Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and the *Pearl of Great Price*. They rejected the traditional view of the trinity, believing that God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost are separate beings. Mormonism also claimed to be a restoration of Christ’s original church, indirectly suggesting that all other religions were at least partially mistaken. These theological beliefs brought church members under scorn as “heretics” by the dominant faiths of the time. Belief in continuing revelation through modern prophets brought charges of “popery” against church leaders who were portrayed as all-powerful spiritual and political tyrants.

There were also political and economic sources of friction. Mormons tended to vote alike, which made their growing numbers a threat to existing political fortunes and power distributions. Latter-day Saints were also cohesive in their economic relations. Leaders stressed self-sufficiency and economic Communitarianism which threatened non-Mormon economic fortunes and seemed to many to be downright “un-American” (Arrington, Fox and May 1991). Likewise, the Saints’ loyalty to their religion, their God,

and their leaders, brought charges of disloyalty to the government. Early church leader Martin Harris commented that these charges followed the church from its earliest days in New York: "...men would say we wanted to upset the Government, although we were not enough to well man a farm, or meet a woman with a milk-pail, all the Elders, all the members met in conference in a room twenty feet square." The church sometimes met in secret to avoid external antagonisms, but that just heightened suspicion: "...we knew the whole world would laugh at us, so we concealed ourselves; and there was much excitement about our secret meetings, charging us with designs against the government..." (quoted in Smith 1978, Vol.6, Ch.12, p. 289).

Mormons were also attacked for their social views well before the practice of polygamy was made public. Their open condemnation of slavery incited mobs that burned their homes and drove them from their settlements in Jackson County, Missouri. Their relative friendliness to Native Americans and their missionary activity among them roused suspicion of "Indian tampering," both in Indian Territory and again later in Utah Territory (Driggs 1989). Still others were suspicious, even resentful of the "Yankees" and the steady influx of poor foreign converts. The popular press spread accounts of alleged secret Mormon mobs, called "Danites." Indeed, in his first novel, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle sent Sherlock Holmes investigating alleged Danite crimes. In sum, Mormons of the 1800s were regularly seen as strange, and often worse--evil, dangerous, and disloyal to the United States government.

Each of the above factors fanned the flames of fear, suspicion, and anger against Mormons that led to intense persecution and mob violence which repeatedly uprooted the

church throughout its early history. In the first 16 years of the church's existence, the church and its members were expelled no less than 5 times, leaving land, homes and possession in their wake.³² Persecution further impelled Mormons to band together socially, politically, and economically, which further angered and frightened non-Mormons. When Mormons tried to defend themselves from the mobs by raising a militia their actions were seen as "proof" that the Saints were dangerous and untrustworthy.

Missouri

The history of persecution dates from the establishment of the church in the early 1830s to well into the 1890s. In the early 1830s, church leaders moved church headquarters from Kirtland, Ohio to Jackson County, Missouri. To Mormon settlers, Clay and Jackson counties were the new "Zion," a "promised land" where they could reside in peace indefinitely. But they were soon driven out of their homes by mobs enraged by the publication of an anti-slavery article entitled "Free People of Color" in the church newspaper *Times and Seasons*. Mobs and politicians expelled members who moved to uninhabited land in Daviess and Carroll counties in northern Missouri, which had been set aside exclusively for the Saints.

Following previous precedent, suspicion and hostility emerged again as non-Mormons moved into Daviess and Carroll counties and the number of Saints also expanded. In 1838, residents who feared political domination by the Mormons tried to

³² Church headquarters were moved from Fayette, New York, to Kirtland, Ohio, Jackson County, Missouri, Far West, Missouri, Nauvoo, Illinois, and later to the Salt Lake Valley.

physically prevent Mormons from voting in Gallatin, Missouri (LeSeuer 1986, 58-64).

Episodes of violence against the Mormons escalated and the Saints stepped up self-defense efforts. After many lethal incidents of mob violence, the Mormons, encouraged by commanders of the Missouri state militia, formed their own militia. Non-Mormons petitioned Governor Lillburn W. Boggs, to send troops to end the "Mormon War."

Governor Boggs responded by issuing one of the most unique orders in US history: "The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description" (quoted in Smith 1978, Vol.3, Ch.12, p. 175).³³ Governor Boggs had helped drive the Saints out of Jackson County earlier, so he was disposed to sympathize with the anti-Mormon rumors. Later, he was resoundingly criticized by the media in Missouri and across the nation for his harsh and illegal actions. People nationwide charged that his actions blatantly violated both the federal and state constitutions.

Gov. Boggs claimed that his Order of Extermination was merely "an accession to the popular will" (quoted in Gentry 1965, 287). The day after the order was given seventeen Mormons were killed by a mob at Haun's Mill--their actions legitimized by the Governor's order. Later, a few members of the Missouri state legislature challenged the actions of the Governor of Missouri and demanded a full investigation. But in the end the Missouri state legislature tabled the investigation, let the extermination order stand, and did nothing to protect the Mormons or help them receive compensation for their financial

³³Once again, we must remember that this round of persecution preceded anger at the practice of polygamy by over a decade.

losses as they fled the state. The Mormons remained in Missouri for a time as they were sure that the state legislature or national government would intervene to restore their property and civil rights. But it soon became clear that public opinion in Missouri was against them and government leaders were unwilling to help them.

When it became clear that no one would protect them from mobs or support their exodus from the state, the church moved quickly to “sell” private and sacred lands at great loss in order to raise money for the exodus to Illinois. At the same time, the self-defense effort had landed Mormon leaders, including church founder Joseph Smith, in jail, charged with crimes against the State of Missouri. Brigham Young, as president of the Quorum of the Twelve apostles, organized the exodus of about 15,000 poverty-stricken church members to Illinois during the winter of 1838. Members with money, goods, wagons, and strength entered into what has become called the “Missouri Covenant” (Hartley 1997). Each pledged to give their money, possessions, and efforts to evacuate the poor and helpless from Missouri, many of whom lacked food, adequate winter clothing, or means of transportation.³⁴

Church leaders and the Illinois congressional delegation appealed to the national government for redress of financial losses in Missouri, but President Van Buren and the US Senate refused to intercede, calling the events purely a state matter. On March 4, 1840, the Senate Judiciary Committee’s report on the matter concluded that

³⁴ The principles underlying the Missouri Covenant were not new, but one of many manifestations of the “Law of Consecration” which was the basis for LDS economic communitarianism. The same covenant was reaffirmed and implemented during the Mormons’ eviction from Illinois and subsequent exodus to the Salt Lake Valley (Hartley 1997).

The wrongs complained of are not alleged to be committed by any of the officers of the United States, or under the authority of its government in any manner whatever. The allegations in the petition relate to the acts of its citizens, and inhabitants and authorities of the state of Missouri, of which state the petitioners were at the time citizens, or inhabitants.

The grievances complained of in the petition are alleged to have been done within the territory of the state of Missouri. The committee, under these circumstances, have not considered themselves justified in inquiring into the truth or falsehood of the facts charged in the petition. If they are true, the petitioners must seek relief in the courts of judicature of the state of Missouri, or of the United States, which has the appropriate jurisdiction to administer full and adequate redress for the wrongs complained of, and doubtless will do so fairly and impartially; or the petitioners may, if they see proper apply to the justice and magnanimity of the state of Missouri—an appeal which the committee feels justified in believing will never be made in vain by the injured or oppressed.

It can never be presumed that a state either wants the power or lacks the disposition to redress the wrongs of its own citizens, committed within her own territory, whether they proceed from the lawless acts of her officers or any other persons. The committee therefore report that they recommend the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee on the judiciary be discharged from the further consideration of the memorial in this case; and that the memorialists have leave to withdraw the papers which accompany their memorial."
(Smith 1950, Vol 4, p. 58)

Thus, the committee refused to intervene in a state matter, and declared that the wrongs must be adjudicated in the state, where Mormons had been evicted twice without due process of law and still had an extermination order hanging over their heads.³⁵

Ironically for the Mormons, the decentralized federal system of state autonomy that inhibited federal interference in “state matters” also afforded Mormons the opportunity to escape to friendlier territory. Both the Iowa and Illinois Governors expressed sympathy for the plight of the Mormons and invited them to move to their states. The citizens of Quincy, Illinois, were especially hospitable and invited the Mormons to move there.

³⁵The extermination order was not officially rescinded until 1976.

The Mormons subsequently converted a swampy bog of the Mississippi River into the largest city in Illinois at the time--Nauvoo. There they prospered. But the initial good relations with neighbors deteriorated and suspicion and anger against the Mormons emerged again, much of it initiated by apostate members. In 1845, church president Joseph Smith was jailed and murdered by a mob while awaiting trial in Carthage, Illinois. Brigham Young, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, assumed leadership and tried to mend relations with their neighbors. But the mobs renewed their activity when it became apparent to the church's enemies that church would survive the death of Joseph Smith. Once again the Mormons knew it was time to leave.³⁶

Having been driven from their homes five times, the Mormons moved westward in search of isolation and peace (Hill 1989). In the winter of 1846, the first of twenty thousand migrants left Nauvoo to go west--exactly where they did not know. The elderly, sick and poor who stayed behind in Nauvoo were soon after driven out of the city and across the frozen Mississippi River by a mob. Many nearly starved before being rescued by a return rescue party sent by Brigham Young.

³⁶ The exodus was not totally unexpected. In August 1842, Joseph Smith prophesied "that the saints would continue to suffer much affliction, and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities, and see the saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains." (Quoted in Smith 1978, Vol.5, Ch.4, p. 85) Thus, the eviction was violent and sudden, but not wholly unexpected.

Polygamy, Politics, and Economics in Deseret

The famous LDS hymn “Come, Come, Ye Saints” reflects the Mormons’ belief that they would obtain religious freedom and build Zion “far away in the west.” In the spring of 1847, the first pioneers reached the barren desert of the Salt Lake Valley, which at that time was owned by Mexico. There they began to build a society where they believed they would be protected from their enemies. As the first non-native settlers of the Great Basin, the Mormons immediately become the overwhelming political majority in the new territory. Church leaders inevitably assumed political roles, for the territory was composed almost exclusively of church members. The church coordinated efforts to establish cities, create businesses, grow crops, to feed a flood of settlers and European immigrants, and build public works. Thus, the church quickly became the center of the Utah economy.

After the United States won the Mexican-American war, the Great Basin came under federal control. The residents immediately petitioned for statehood in 1849 in hopes that statehood would guarantee the Mormons political autonomy and protection of their rights (Lyman 1986). The proposed “State of Deseret” would have encompassed much of present-day Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and large parts of California, Colorado, Wyoming, and Idaho.

Congress denied statehood in 1850 and established the territory of Utah. Territorial status gave limited discretion to local political organs, but ultimate governing power remained in the Congress. Federal laws, with their accompany rights and immunities, were extended to citizens of the territory. Mormons didn’t choose federal

control--they wanted statehood and self-government. But they also believed that federal authority would eventually protect their First Amendment freedom to practice their religion. When territorial leaders were elected, most were LDS church leaders. Church president Brigham Young was elected governor.

The lack of federal enthusiasm for protecting Mormon rights became outright war on Mormon religious beliefs and institutions when they made public the practice of polygamy. The result was a half-century of intense conflict between the church and the federal government. Kenneth Driggs wrote of the conflict that "Perhaps no other religious minority in the nineteenth century was so relentlessly pursued by the government by means of legislation and prosecution. Mormon resistance to mainstream assimilation was finally crushed by the power of the federal government in a fifty-year campaign clearly acting with the approval of the majority of Americans" (Driggs 1989, 273).

After polygamy was made public knowledge, the Republican party adopted a platform to eradicate the "twin relics of barbarism:" slavery and polygamy. In 1862, the Republicans gained control of Congress and passed the Morrill Bigamy Act which outlawed polygamy in United States territories and annulled Utah laws allowing it. (Firmage and Mangrum 1988; Firmage 1988). Mormons confidently fought the prohibition, considering polygamy to be a fundamental religious principle protected by the First Amendment's free exercise clause. To the Mormons' shock, the Morrill Act's prohibition of polygamy was upheld by the supreme court in *Reynolds v. United States* (1870).

The Reynolds decision was a key precedent in interpretation of the Free Exercise clause of the First Amendment. The case made an important distinction between religious belief and practice: people are free to believe as they wish, but are not allowed to engage in religious practices unacceptable to the larger social order.³⁷ Justice Morris Waite explained that "To permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land, and, in effect, to permit every citizen to become a law unto himself. Government could only exist in name under such circumstances." An additional rationale stated that this practice could be outlawed because "Polygamy has always been odious among the northern and western nations of Europe, and until the establishment of the Mormon church, was almost exclusively a feature of the life of Asiatic and of African people" (160). Thus, since polygamy was at odds with "northern and western" European Christianity, or the "general will," Congress and the Supreme Court acquiesced to popular contempt and prohibited it. Despite the Morrill Act and the Supreme Court's rulings, the federal government was initially unable to enforce anti-bigamy laws due to the difficulty of obtaining evidence against polygamists or secure convictions with majority-Mormon juries who saw polygamy as not only legal, but a protected right (Firmage 1988).

The war on polygamy, and the church itself, was widely supported by public opinion. President after president decried the Mormons and proposed Congressional action against polygamists. President Ulysses S. Grant told the nation in his Third Annual Message (1871) that "in Utah there still remains a remnant of barbarism, repugnant to

³⁷This precedent has subsequently been altered by *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972), which returned some balance to the court's interpretation.

civilization, to decency, and to the laws of the United States." Rutherford B. Hayes (1879) called polygamy, "a practice which is condemned as a crime throughout the world." He encouraged Congress to strip Mormons of the right to vote, hold office or sit on juries (Messages 1879, 9:4512). Chester Arthur (1881) proclaimed polygamy to be an "odious crime, so revolting to the religious sense of Christendom." Kenneth Driggs commented that "the 'Mormon problem' had become such an emotional issue with the national psyche that no acceptable compromise [could be reached]" (Driggs 1989, 287).

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, federal efforts to crush polygamy steadily increased. The Edmunds Act (1882) put teeth into previous anti-polygamy legislation by outlawing something much easier to prove: "unlawful cohabitation." Living with, lending material support to, or even talking to other women constituted "proof" of cohabitation.³⁸ Anyone so convicted was imprisoned, barred from holding public office, serving on juries, or voting. Zealous federal judges and prosecutors even began "segmenting" polygamy offenses--obtaining multiple convictions for each instance of cohabitation (Firmage 1988). In response to these many attacks, a lobbyist for the church published a brief entitled "Have Mormons Any Rights?" (Driggs 1989, 283).

The Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) further strengthened previous legislation by mandating an anti-polygamy test oath for Mormons wanting to hold public office, serve on juries, or vote. It abolished the church's Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, a rotating church fund that helped poor converts emigrate from Europe to Utah. Women's right to

³⁸Nothing less than total abandonment of previous polygamous families was required by the law. Even then, the law was so vague that even those who tried to order their lives to be in conformity to the law were still convicted (Firmage and Mangrum 1988).

vote, which had previously been granted by the Utah territorial legislature in 1870, was also revoked. Congress dissolved the church's legal corporation and seized most of the church's property and financial assets. The law also disbanded the territorial militia and took control of all Utah schools (Firmage and Mangrum 1988; Rich 1972; Poll et al. 1978).³⁹

The federal government also created the Utah Commission, a federal board appointed to oversee elections in Utah. It was composed mainly of non-Mormons and was directed to prohibit polygamous members from voting and evict them from elected offices. The Commission boasted of preventing more than 15,000 Mormons from voting despite the fact the federal government estimated the number of polygamists in the territory to be only 2500 (see Firmage and Mangrum 1988). The courts also held that Mormon convert immigrants could be denied citizenship because a member of the church was not fit to be a citizen. Convert immigrants arriving in New York harbor were weeded out for deportation.

The Utah test oath paled in comparison to statutes passed in Idaho (Parry 1890, 95, Wells 1978). Idaho disenfranchised all Mormons by religious affiliation alone, regardless of whether one actually practiced polygamy or not.⁴⁰ The Idaho law also declared the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was not a church, but a criminal conspiracy. Accordingly, Idaho's first constitution prohibited all Mormons from voting

³⁹For a much more detailed account of the effects of this law see Firmage and Mangrum (1988).

⁴⁰Although estimates vary, no more than 20-25% of all members ever practiced plural marriage (Bachman and Esplin 1992). Some estimates are as low as seven percent.

(Wells 1978, 37-83). The constitutionality of this law was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in *Davis v. Beason* (1890). Davis was convicted of “conspiracy” to vote in a presidential election, although he never practiced polygamy. Thus, *Davis* went beyond *Reynolds* by withdrawing protection for both religious *practice and belief*. The Supreme Court also upheld the disincorporation of the church under the Edmunds-Tucker act in *Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints v. United States* (1890) with the words “said corporation has ceased to have any existence as a civil body.” It was becoming clear to the Saints that government would provide no protection for them. The war on polygamy was about to revoke the citizenship of three quarters of the territory’s inhabitants (150,000 citizens).

The Manifesto

The condition of the LDS church and its members was bleak. In 1889, church president Wilford Woodruff wrote in his journal “And the word of the prophet Joseph Smith is beginning to be fulfilled, that the whole nation would turn against Zion and make war on the Saints. The nation has never been so full of lies against the Saints as today. 1890 will be an important year with the Latter-day Saints and the American Nation.” (Quoted in Cowley 1965, 566)

Woodruff’s comments were made knowing that even more drastic actions against the Saints were looming on the horizon. The Collum Bill that was moving through Congress was about to remove all political rights of all Mormons, just like the Idaho law (see Rich 1972, 368-71). Constitutional amendments were even being offered against the

Mormons (Lyman 1986, 1-49). Under the avalanche of adverse legislation and court rulings, many Mormons abandoned their homes in Utah--loading their wagons to flee south into Mexico or north into Canada. Thousands of members, including most church leaders, tried to escape arrest and prosecution by joining the Mormon "underground" or by leaving the country altogether. Those who did not evade federal marshals or flee to Canada or Mexico populated Utah's prison cells.

In 1889, the anti-Mormon Liberal party, with the help of the Utah Commission and a great deal of vote fraud, won elections in Ogden and Salt Lake City. Most damagingly, the federal government was threatening to seize the temples, the most sacred places of worship to Latter-day Saints. They were also threatening to seize individual members' private property. With all avenues of appeal and recourse exhausted, the LDS church was on the verge of destruction at the hands of the federal government. In this bleak situation, church president Wilford Woodruff made a move.

With nearly 1300 men and women having been sentenced [and many more living underground], with all Latter-Day Saints in Idaho having been disfranchised; with the Church having been disincorporated and her real and personal property confiscated; with all polygynists and all women in Utah having been disfranchised; with the rights of local self-government in Utah suspended (even to the privilege of operating their schools); with pressure arising for the government to disfranchise all Mormons in territories; with prospects for the future that the personal property of every Latter-Day Saint might be confiscated; with the United States Supreme Court having declared the Anti-Bigamy Law of 1862, the Idaho Test Oath, and the main parts of the Edmunds-Tucker Law as constitutional, President Wilford Woodruff felt the time had come...he issued a statement declaring he intended to abide by the law of the land and publicly advised all Latter-day Saints to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by that law (Rich 1972, 386).⁴¹

⁴¹The Manifesto contained no theological redefinition of polygamy. Only its practice was suspended (Barrus 1995).

Congress granted statehood to Utah in 1896 after Congress and the courts had successfully crushed the practice of polygamy and removed the LDS church from Utah politics and the Utah economy. Discrimination did not fully end, however, even with the demise of polygamy. In 1898, B. H. Roberts was elected as Utah's representative to the House of Representatives but was denied his seat because he continued to care for his polygamous family which was formed prior to the Manifesto. Monogamous church leader Reed Smoot was elected to the Senate in 1903 but was nearly denied his seat because of his leadership role in the church, despite the fact he had never practiced polygamy (Rich 1972, 474).

Assimilation into American Political Life

According to historian Roger Barrus, "The Manifesto was only the first of the concessions Mormons made for statehood. It was followed by a series of radical transformations in the social, economic, and political institutions of the Utah regime" (1996, 3). He argues that the federal government's attack on polygamy was widely known, but there were two equally important concerns voiced by members of Congress. The first of these was the LDS church's domination of Utah politics. Church domination of Utah politics was a certainty given Mormons' overwhelming numerical superiority. By 1870, political parties had developed that reflected the deep religious divisions in the territory. The Mormons established the People's Party with the Deseret News being its spokesman. Non-Mormons formed the Liberal Party with the Salt Lake Tribune as the opposition newspaper. The deep religious divisions made the political stakes high.

Mormons didn't want to surrender political control for fear of again losing their religious protections.

Congress demanded that the old religiously-based parties be disbanded and a new politics be formed around the national party system. The problem was that Mormons were not disposed to support the national parties equally. The Republicans had long made polygamy, and by extension the church, their target. Thus, there were very few Republican supporters among church members. So church leaders worked to encourage members to divide equally between the national parties. Although much of the persuasive efforts of church leaders was subtle, in at least one case, church leaders divided a congregation in half and asked those on one side to be Republicans and those on the other side to be Democrats (Jonas 1961; Lyman 1986).⁴²

Dividing the members between the national parties was supposed to demonstrate to the nation that the church had given up its political role. But the fact that the division could only be accomplished by dictum from the church showed the church's potential political power. The irony of this episode is not lost on Roger Barrus (1995) who argues that the central question of who rules--church leaders or the federal government--has never been fully resolved. Thus, the church must walk a very fine political line. Skillful statesmanship must be practiced to maintain a balance acceptable to both Mormon and non-Mormon. For this reason the church has generally tried to stay clear of overt partisan

⁴²The church is confronted with the same problem today in Utah politics due to the overwhelming number of Mormons who affiliate with the Republican Party. In a recent interview with the Salt Lake Tribune, one general authority publicly encouraged more political diversity among church members. He also lamented the decline of the Democratic Party in Utah politics and discussed how the church wanted to avoid politics based on religious divisions (Harrie 1998).

politics. Beginning in the mid twentieth century, the church has refused to endorse candidates for political office (Magleby 1992; see Appendix G for an official church statement on this topic). Recently it has also made clear its desire to create a greater partisan balance among members in Utah (Harrie 1998).

Assimilation into the American Economy

The church's domination of the Utah economy was another major concern to Congress. Much of the Utah economy was built by cooperative LDS church programs, labor, organization, and capital. The church owned many of the businesses in Utah, including interests in public works such as streets, buildings, water systems, cotton, iron, lead, sugar, flax, wool, silk, retailing, and more (Arrington 1992). The rise of mining and completion of the intercontinental railroad, also with church cooperation, brought an influx of non-Mormon workers and businesses. Mormons believed that many non-members had profiteering and/or political designs against the Mormons, and thus saw them as a threat to the church and its members. In order to protect their own mode of life, the church instituted Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution--a confederacy of LDS church-owned and member-owned businesses. Members generally boycotted non-Mormon businesses.

Church leaders also re-instituted the communitarian economic system known as the "United Order" in order to maintain their economic self-sufficiency (Arrington, Fox and May 1991). The "United Order" is the ideal economic system in Mormon theology. The Order was a cooperative economic system where members "consecrate" or deed their

possessions to the church and receive in return a stewardship, or “inheritance” based on their needs (D & C 42: 30-36). The Orders’ goals were “relative income equality, group self-sufficiency, and the elimination of poverty” (Israelson 1979, 63; Arrington 1958, 1992). United Orders were established for brief periods in Ohio and Missouri, but used most widely in Utah during the 1880s.⁴³ The exact form of each order varied according to the needs of the people in each location. Some were producer cooperatives while others were joint stock companies.

In response to congressional demands, the church moved in the 1890s to divest itself of many of its business interests in order to demonstrate the separation of the church from the Utah economy. Most church businesses were sold to Eastern business conglomerates, which effectively made Utah an economic colony of the east (Arrington 1958).

The Contemporary Significance of LDS History

The continuing importance of this history in the minds of Latter-day Saints may lead to direct political applications from this history. 1997 witnessed the 150th anniversary of the Mormon pioneers’ entrance in to the Salt Lake Valley. The church held many celebrations, observances, and commemorative service projects to help celebrate the event. Mormons in North American relived the Mormon “exodus” through the wilderness to Zion. A wagon train recreated the exodus, winding 1300 miles from Nauvoo, Illinois to Salt Lake City. The hardships of the pioneers, their persecutions, and their faithful stories

⁴³ The last surviving order in Logan, Utah did not disband until 1909.

were retold again and again. The church also distributed tens of thousands of CD-ROMs featuring excerpts from pioneer history and journals. This history was also emphasized in the church curriculum and church publications to remind members of their legacy. Apostle Melvin J. Ballard stated that “You’ve got to keep placing before your people their spiritual roots and spiritual foundation for any organization to hang on to those fundamental principles” (quoted in Brown 1997).

There are several important ways this history that may impact current LDS political beliefs today. One way is that the cohesiveness of Mormons through these difficult times led to institutions and programs that continue to foster a strong sense of community among members. Persecution was so vivid and pervasive that Mormons were driven together into a very cohesive social group with a remarkably cohesive outlook on the world. When foreign converts were brought to Utah, they were immediately taught English, given jobs and church assignments, and integrated into the larger community.

The recounting of history also reaffirms to Mormons that they are different from others and encourages group cohesion. Persecution also gave Mormons a strong sense of being an unpopular minority. Strong in-group and out-groups identities were formed, which further escalated tension between Mormons and non-Mormons. The events may have produced a historic culture of distrust of government and a preference for local political control. It may also remind them of the more communitarian aspects of LDS doctrine.

The assimilation of members to American norms in return for statehood, however, could outweigh the more communitarian aspects of this history in members’ political

outlooks today. Statehood could not be attained without assimilation to dominant American norms and institutions. Religiously, the practice of polygamy ceased. Politically, the church distanced itself from overt politics and disbanded religiously based parties and politics. Political assimilation has encouraged the church to operate within existing political institutions and to delicately address political issues. Economically, the church separated itself from the Utah economy and encouraged integration into the American capitalist system. Economic assimilation may have influenced LDS attitudes toward capitalism (Mauss 1994; Israelson 1979). These points will be further elaborated below in discussing the church's political positions and doctrines.

Official LDS Political Positions

One of the most important areas of assimilation was the separation of church and state. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the church tried to distance itself from politics in order to win statehood. Today, however, the Church speaks to important social and political questions, especially "moral issues." It speaks to political issues when it feels strongly that they directly impact the church and its members. LDS church positions on public policy issues exist, but are rare relative to many other churches (Bryner 1985). But this is in no way to say that the church is apolitical. Although the church often tries to stay out of overt political wrangling, it is often asked for its position by legislators and voters, which often leads to official church pronouncements like those discussed below.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Significantly, a request does not always lead to official church positions. In 1998, Ernest Istook (R-OK) who is a Mormon sponsored a well-publicized school prayer amendment in Congress. Although he sought official church support from his church, the church refused to

In recent years the church has taken clear stands on several specific political issues, especially family and moral concerns. Nationally, the church opposes gambling of all types including casinos, parimutuel betting, and lotteries. It also opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and continues to oppose abortion, except in the case of harm to the physical and mental health of the mother. The church also opposes gay marriages; nuclear arms escalation, and physician assisted suicide. In Utah, the church has opposed liquor by the drink and basing the MX missile in state. The church has also publicly supported the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, sexual abstinence education in schools, and other “family friendly” legislation. Earlier in the century, some prominent church leaders came out against Roosevelt’s New Deal programs but the main body of the church supported the New Deal and voted for FDR in each of his elections. The church is officially neutral on most all other issues and they endorse no political parties or ideologies.

These official church pronouncements are clear and memorable, but they do not cohere to form a larger coherent picture of LDS political beliefs. Some of these issues, like the basing of the MX missile, are too fleeting to form the basis for a coherent LDS political outlook. To be sure, we may expect a great deal of agreement on moral issues like gambling, abortion, and families. In this sense we expect all members to be socially conservative. Yet it is uncertain how much agreement there will be on issues not addressed so clearly by the church such as economics and foreign policy.

endorse the amendment (Myers 1998).

LDS Doctrinal Beliefs with Political Implications

While the above church policy positions are very important, public stances on specific issues is only one of the modes of influence on church members' political outlooks. It is important to remember the even distinctly *religious* messages can have important *political* impacts. When Church founder Joseph Smith was asked how he governed such a large and diverse group of people, he replied "I do not govern the people. I teach them correct principles and they govern themselves" (Young 1967, 24:158-59). Some of religion's most important influence may be conveyed through otherwise thoroughly religious principles, or through a the church's social culture, which may be a mix of official and unofficial beliefs. Fowler and Hertzke (1995) refer to these indirect effects when they argue the LDS church "encourages involvement in politics; it has created in the Mormon Church a setting where conservative value and politics are a way of life; and from time to time it quietly advances specific public policies" (196). Some of the larger values the LDS church encourages and other topics will be discussed in more detail below.

Form of Government

LDS scripture makes several specific statements about government. Section 134 of the *Doctrine and Covenants* (D&C) lays out some of the church's most basic beliefs on government.⁴⁵ It states that "governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man,"

⁴⁵This section is a statement of LDS beliefs about government that was offered in response to repeated charges of LDS disloyalty to the US government.

that governments, through the rule of law, exist to protect freedom of conscience, life and property. The chapter also states the belief that God holds political leaders accountable for their actions, the rule of law and law enforcement are necessary, that citizens should uphold the laws and governments of their respective nations, that governments should pass laws to preserve the public interest without infringing on religious worship or freedom of conscience, and that people should give deference to the law and their governments.⁴⁶ In sum, the church endorses limited government and obedience to law and authority so long as life, liberty, conscience and free exercise of religion are retained. In many ways, this statement largely reflects the prevailing sentiments of American constitutionalism.

The “Articles of Faith,” written by Joseph Smith as an explanation of basic Mormon beliefs reflects similar principles. The Articles of Faith are especially important because they are memorized at some point by most church members. Although most of the Articles have explicitly religious themes like requirements for salvation, the eleventh and twelfth Articles of Faith have political implications. The eleventh article espouses the doctrine of religious tolerance and freedom of worship: “We claim the right to worship almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and allow other men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.” The twelfth article teaches that: “We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, and in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law.” For this reason, we may hypothesize that

⁴⁶Nevertheless, people are free to defend themselves when government will not (see Appendix E).

Mormons will have a high level of support for “law and order” and be deferential to government authority, leading to a “hierarchical” (deferential) political outlook (Dake 1992).

Civic Engagement

There is renewed concern among scholars about how the civic habits of citizens affect government and society (Bellah et al. 1985; Tocqueville 1956, Putnam 1993, Fowler 1989). Robert Putnam (1993) argues that “social capital” aids in *Making Democracy Work*. Putnam defines social capital as the “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (167). Religion is important in this discussion for two reasons. Churches constitute the largest source of group affiliations in the United States, which, Putnam argues, affects the civic mindedness of its adherents (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). Churches also help foster organizational skills, service opportunities and extending their peer networks (Wald, Owen, and Hill 1988). Verba, Schlozman and Brady’s (1995) work shows that religion has an important influence on civic volunteerism.

Latter-day Saint leaders encourage civic engagement among members. They encourage members to be civically and politically engaged, although the specific content of this involvement is left up to members. Members are encouraged to vote in public elections and be informed about and involved in community affairs. They have even recently been encouraged to run for political office (Harrie 1998, see Appendix H). Meanwhile, they are reminded that the church endorses no parties or candidates (see

Appendix G). Members are also directed to support the governments under which they live, to abide by the law, be self-sufficient, and to serve others in the church and the community. Mormons may also have highly tuned civic skills due to extensive organizational training in church service positions which carry with them both opportunities and responsibilities for serving others (Wald, Owen and Hill 1988).

The Inspired Constitution

One of the church's oft-noted beliefs is that the United States Constitution was divinely inspired. This doctrine has been reiterated by every church president since church founder Joseph Smith. Lawyer Reed Slack (1994) argues that

One cannot be a Mormon in full fellowship without accepting modern prophets, modern scriptures, and modern revelations, and the prophetic, scriptural, and revelatory evidence is overwhelming that the Constitution was divinely inspired (39).

The original LDS belief in the inspired nature of the Constitution is found in a revelation given to Joseph Smith in 1833 (D&C 101:76-78). In response to persecution in Missouri and amidst the desire for revenge and justice by church members, the Lord said,

76 And again I say unto you, those who have been scattered by their enemies, it is my will that they should continue to importune for redress, and redemption, by the hands of those who are placed as rulers and are in authority over you--

77 According to the laws and constitution of the people, which I have suffered to be established, and should be maintained for the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles;

78 That every man may act in doctrine and principle pertaining to futurity, according to the moral agency which I have given unto him, that every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment.

In a different revelation in 1833, again concerning persecution of the saints in Missouri, a similar sentiment was repeated.

4 And now, verily I say unto you concerning the laws of the land, it is my will that my people should observe to do all things whatsoever I command them.

5 And that law of the land which is constitutional, supporting that principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges, belongs to all mankind, and is justifiable before me.

6 Therefore, I, the Lord, justify you, and your brethren of my church, in befriending that law which is the constitutional law of the land;

7 And as pertaining to law of man, whatsoever is more or less than this, cometh of evil.

8 I, the Lord God, make you free, therefore ye are free indeed; and the law also maketh you free.

9 Nevertheless, when the wicked rule the people mourn.

10 Wherefore, honest men and wise men should be sought for diligently, and good men and wise men ye should observe to uphold; otherwise whatsoever is less than these cometh of evil. (D & C 98: 4-10).

These verses have been expounded by each president of the church, who are regarded as “prophets, seers, and revelators.” Church founder Joseph Smith said that,

“The Constitution of the United States is a glorious standard; it is founded in the wisdom of God. It is a heavenly banner; it is to all those who are privileged with the sweets of liberty like the cooling shades and refreshing waters of a great rock in a thirsty and weary land. It is like a great tree under whose branches men from every clime can be shielded from the burning rays of the sun” (quoted in Smith, 1978, 3:304).

As recent example, President Ezra Taft Benson stated:

“About two hundred years ago some inspired men walked this land. Not perfect men, but men raised up by the Perfect Man to perform a great work. Foreordained were they to lay the foundation of this republic. Blessed by the Almighty in their struggle for liberty and independence, the power of heaven rested on these founders as they drafted that great document for governing men--the Constitution of the United States” (Benson 1988, 595).

LDS theology also provides some reasons why such inspiration was needed.

According to the writings of church presidents, the Constitution was inspired to prepare for the restoration of Christ's original church and to provide an environment of religious liberty in which it could survive. In the words of Ezra Taft Benson,

"Yes, the Lord planned it all. Why? So America could serve as a beacon of liberty and in preparation for the opening of a new gospel dispensation--the last and greatest of all dispensations--the last and greatest of all dispensations in preparation for the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ" (Benson 1962, 103-4).

While Mormons believe that the Constitution was "inspired," they do not believe it was direct revelation.

"The fact that the Constitution was divinely inspired does not make it the sole repository of goodness among world governments. Mormons believe that all government are good or bad to the extent they protect the fundamental civil liberties identified in the Book of Mormon . . . (Slack 1994, 55).

Although it is clear that LDS doctrine asserts that the Constitution is inspired, it is less clear in what way, or to what extent this is true. There are at least three possibilities: 1) The Constitution was inspired as a guide for one time and place, 2) the Constitution is inspired word for word, representing immutable principles of truth, 3) The Constitution is inspired in only certain of its principles (Bushman 1962). There is disagreement about which interpretation is correct. In a recent article in *Brigham Young Magazine*, BYU political science professor Richard Davis argued that the constitution should not be "pickled," or interpreted only in light of the founders' intentions (even if they were possible to define). At least one response to the editor asked in amazement how any practicing Mormon could hold such a view (Brown 1995, 4).

Richard L. Bushman (1962) argues that although some today may subscribe to the conservative “original intent” view, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young apparently did not. Joseph Smith ran for president in 1844 to publicize church members’ desperate plight after expulsion from Missouri. In his “campaign” he endorsed the establishment of a national bank--clearly not a strict constructionist view. He also loathed “states rights” because of the abusive treatment Mormons received in Missouri when the federal government refused to intercede. Even more to the point, Brigham Young said:

“The signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution were inspired from on high to do that work. But was that which was given to them perfect, not admitting of any addition whatever? No; for if men know anything, they must know that the Almighty has never yet found a man in mortality that was capable, at the first intimation, at the first impulse, to receive anything in the state of entire perfection. They laid the foundation, and it was for after generations to rear the superstructure upon it. It is a progressive--a gradual work.” (Young 1967, vol. 7, p. 14.)

Historically, the most central value of importance in the Constitution in LDS theology has been freedom of conscience. In response to critics (ironically) charging the Mormons intended to overthrow the US Constitution, Joseph Smith said:

It is one of the first principles of my life, and one that I have cultivated from my childhood, having been taught it by my father, to allow every one that liberty of conscience. I am the greatest advocate of the Constitution of the United States there is on the earth. In my feelings I am always ready to die for the protection of the weak and oppressed in their just rights. The only fault I find with the Constitution is, it is not broad enough to cover the whole ground.

Although it provides that all men shall enjoy religious freedom, yet it does not provide the manner by which the freedom can be preserved, nor for the punishment of Government officers who refuse to protect the people in their religious rights, or punish those mobs, states, or communities who interfere with the rights of the people on account of their religion. Its sentiments are good, but it provides no means of enforcing them. It has but this one fault. Under its provision, a man or a people who

are able to protect themselves can get along well enough; but those who have the misfortune to be weak or unpopular are left to the merciless rage of popular fury (Smith 1938, 326)

In spite of these historical views, a rigid constructionism prevails in the American west as can be seen in the large presence of the John Birch Society, Eagle Forum and other fundamentalist political groups.⁴⁷

American Exceptionalism

Constitutional government is one of the main pillars of LDS views reverential toward the Americas generally and the United States specifically. Another pillar is the LDS belief that the United States is a "land of promise," chosen and blessed above all others (see 1 Nephi 13:12-20). Further, it should be a "light unto the world" in its advocating basic human freedoms. Blanke and Lynn (1979) state that

Whatever his nationality, a student of Mormonism soon becomes aware of the significant and central position of America in both the history and the theology of the Mormon church. The importance of America goes far beyond what might naturally arise from the simple historical fact that the Church's founder and first members were Americans. Mormons everywhere look to America, and particularly to the United States, as "God's base of operations," a "great and glorious nation with a divine mission and a prophetic history and future" (83).

The LDS belief is more than a reflection of the American Exceptionalism of its time. Rather, it is rooted in LDS scripture and revelation. In the Book of Mormon, which is a history of the early inhabitants of the Americas, a prophet named Nephi wrote:

⁴⁷Only a small percent of members join these groups, but those who do are zealous in meshing LDS beliefs with their own political ideologies.

10 But behold, this land, said God, shall be a land of thine inheritance, and the Gentiles shall be blessed upon the land.

11 And this land shall be a land of liberty unto the Gentiles, and there shall be no kings upon the land, who shall raise up unto the Gentiles.

12 And I will fortify this land against all other nations.

13 And he that fighteth against Zion shall perish, saith God. (2 Nephi 10:11-14).

Another Book of Mormon writer added:

For it is wisdom in the Father that [the gentiles] should be established in this land, and be set up as a free people by the power of the Father, that these things might come forth from them unto a remnant of your seed, that the covenant of the Father may be fulfilled which he hath covenanted with his people, O house of Israel. (3 Nephi 21:4)

One final example is found in Ether 2:12:

Behold, this is a choice land, and whatsoever nation shall possess it shall be free from bondage, and from captivity, and from all other nations under heaven, if they will but serve the God of the land, who is Jesus Christ, who hath been manifested by the things which we have written.

Ezra Taft Benson, in a 1962 World Conference of the Church asserted that "Every true Latter-day Saint throughout the world loves the USA. The Constitution of this land is part of every Latter-day Saint's religious faith" (Benson 1962, 3). Blanke and Lynn (1979) explained that in the Mormon sense of American Exceptionalism "America is a sanctuary, a refuge, and an asylum . . . [and] America is destined to be the moral example of the world if it will only heed its responsibility to its moral traditions" (89). It is unknown, however, whether members outside of the United States endorse these views as strongly or interpret them differently from US members. Given that a small majority of members now live outside the United States, there may be good reasons to doubt that every member actually endorses this view.

LDS Social Views

As with any church, the LDS church unapologetically retains the right to speak to social and moral issues, and it does so often. As mentioned before, the church has taken strong stands against abortion, gambling, and homosexual marriages, while it supports traditional marriage and family life. Among the universe of issues, it would be hard to find an issue more salient to Mormons than families.

Families. While virtually all religions teach the importance of families, none do so with the vigor, and added theological significance of the LDS church. The depth of the LDS view is seen most easily in the “Proclamation on the Family” issued by the church in 1996 (see Appendix F). The document proclaims that families are not just good, but essential to human progress. Latter-day Saints are unique in their beliefs that couples can “sealed” through the priesthood for “time and all eternity,” just as Peter sealed on earth and in Heaven (Matthew 16:19). Indeed, they believe that the very highest levels of exaltation are not attainable without “eternal marriage.”⁴⁸ This very different perspective on marriage is likely one of the main reasons that LDS temple marriages have only a ten percent divorce rate compared to the more than fifty percent rate nationwide.

Church congregations are also seen as an extended spiritual family. Members believe themselves to be literal brothers and sisters and also common members of a “covenant” or chosen people. Often church leaders are seen as leaders of the family. In fact, at least one church office reflects this in its name: the patriarch bestows special

⁴⁸ Likewise, Latter-day Saints believe that God the Father has a literal wife, whose name has not been revealed.

revelatory blessings upon each of the members. Church programs also help insure that members help look after one another through monthly home visits.

The consequence of these doctrines and the church organization is a profound emphasis on “traditional” families. Combined with a strong stance against traditional sexual immorality, this translates into opposition to homosexual marriages. As has been shown, this opposition is not just a belief in deleterious effects on society and children, but the utter destruction of God’s plan for humanity. As such, the church has become an active participant in this debate. It lobbies against the legalization of homosexual marriages in courts, legislatures, and public referenda across the United States.

Media Influence on Morality. Today, while no longer at war with the government, Mormons still feel themselves to be engaged in a struggle over cultural mores (Stout 1996). Mormons are well-known for their rejection of sexual immorality, including pre-marital or extramarital sex and pornography. Church leaders condemn the content of television, movies, and the Internet for their ever increasing servings of violence and immorality. They also argue that the media contributes to the moral decay in society. Although Mormons don’t believe technology is bad, LDS leaders strongly encourage members to carefully monitor its content. Apostle M. Russell Ballard has stated “We are at war . . . In the media today . . . Lucifer’s influence has a far more dominant influence than has the Lord’s” (1989, 2). Mormons are specifically counseled to shun R-rated movies and to carefully screen television content (Stout 1996). So, in the social realm, we would expect active Saints to agree on the necessity of traditional families, oppose abortion and gambling and agree that the media causes moral deterioration.

LDS Economic Views

Many churches also teach economic messages. The “social gospel” is the most noted example. Economic issues have likewise played an important role in LDS history and theology, although its manifestations have changed over time. In fact, economics was so salient to the early church that 80 percent of the revelations Joseph Smith received that are now canonized in the Doctrine and Covenants contain some mention of economic matters (Woodworth 1995). While it is difficult to categorize LDS economic beliefs into any pre-existing categories, it is possible to identify some basic economic principles that span LDS theology and history.

Church president Joseph F. Smith said “it has always been the cardinal teaching with the Latter-day Saints, that a religion which has not the power to save the people temporally and make them prosperous and happy here cannot be depended upon to save them spiritually, and exalt them in the life to come” (quoted in Arrington 1958, 425, n. 16). Thus, in LDS theology, there is little or no distinction between things spiritual and things temporal. In the Doctrine and Covenants we read:

Wherefore, verily I say unto you that all things unto me are spiritual, and not at any time have I given unto you a law which was temporal; neither any man, nor the children of men; neither Adam, your father, whom I created (D&C 29:34-35).

One cannot attend to spiritual needs without also dealing with temporal needs. In Mosiah 4:26 we read “I would impart of your substance to the poor, every man according to that which he hath, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and administering to their relief, both spiritually and temporally, according to their wants.”

This principle has been put into effect in different forms throughout LDS history.

The emphasis on “temporal salvation” can be seen in one well-documented incident in 1856. A group of handcart pioneers had just been rescued from freezing cold and starvation in Wyoming. A conference of the church was in session at the time of their long-awaited arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Upon hearing the news of the survivors’ arrival, church president Brigham Young immediately closed the conference with these words:

“The afternoon meeting will be omitted, for I wish the sisters to go home and prepare to give those who have just arrived a mouthful of something to eat, and to wash them and nurse them up Were I in the situation of those persons who have just come in . . . I would give more for a dish of pudding or a baked potato and salt . . . than I would for all your prayers, though you were to stay here all afternoon and pray. Prayer is good but when baked potatoes and milk are needed, prayer will not supply their place. (Quoted in Roberts 1932, 100-101)

In a similar manner, subsequent church president Wilford Woodruff remarked that “we can’t build up Zion sitting on a hemlock slab singing ourselves away to everlasting bliss.” (Young, 1967, 16:268)

Church Welfare and Economics

Historically, economic difficulty threatened both the viability of the church and the welfare of its members. Joseph Smith advocated a system of public works to help care for the unemployed. This satisfied both the scriptural dictates to help the poor and help people work toward self-sufficiency. Brigham Young advocated cooperative ownership of business, and personally provided jobs to convert immigrants--jobs that would pay for

one's sustenance, yet be unfulfilling enough that people would be motivated to seek jobs in the private sector.⁴⁹

The communitarian aspects of early Mormon economic practice are well-noted by historians (Arrington 1958; Israelson 1979). According to Leonard Arrington, LDS doctrine and history conformed to four economic ideals: "1) Ecclesiastical promotion of economic growth and development, or what the Mormons called "building the kingdom of God"; 2) ecclesiastical sponsorship of economic independence or group economic sufficiency; 3) the attainment of these goals through organized group activity and cooperation; and 4) the search for programs to achieve and maintain economic equality" (1961, 20). These efforts both coincided with LDS doctrine that the saints should be "one," and congruent with the contemporary needs of the church--physical survival in a desolate and distant homeland.

After statehood, the remaining United Orders in Utah disbanded and church leaders began advocating integration into the national economy. Welfare efforts for the poor were conducted at the congregational level. During the Great Depression, however, economic need became more acute. This led church leaders to strengthen church-wide welfare efforts. The current LDS welfare system was the result.

The LDS church welfare system is a large network of farms, orchards, ranches, canneries, and factories which produce and process food and necessities for the needy. The system is funded by "fast offering" donations wherein each member fasts for one day

⁴⁹Brigham Young used to pay those needing work to move a pile of rocks from one side of his property to the other. Subsequent workers would be paid to move them again, and so on.

per month and donates the value of two meals (or more) each month to the welfare effort. Labor on church farms and in church factories and distribution centers is donated and coordinated by local congregations. The “Bishop’s Storehouse” is the center of the distribution system--a simple store without cash registers. Staples such as food, toiletries, and even clothing are distributed from the storehouses. Literacy education and job placement specialists are also based there. In return for aid, people are asked to actively seek work, obtain job training, or donate labor back to the system, making it a true “workfare” system.

Self Sufficiency. One of the principles that is the centerpiece of the welfare program was self-sufficiency. President George Albert Smith said of the welfare system:

“Our primary purpose was to set up, in so far as it might be possible, a system under which the curse of idleness would be done away with, the evils of a dole abolished, and independence, industry, thrift and self respect be once more established amongst our people. The aim of the Church is to help the people to help themselves. Work is to be re-enthroned as the ruling principle of the lives of our Church membership” (Quoted in Rudd, 1995, 45).

According to church president Spencer W. Kimball, “the responsibility for each person’s social, emotional, spiritual, physical, or economic well-being rests first upon himself, second upon his family, and third upon the Church.... (Kimball 1982, 366). Thus, each individual or family has the responsibility to become self-sufficient and take care of their own economic needs and the needs of the extended family. The emphasis on self-reliance includes planting gardens, budgeting, staying out of debt (credit is seen as slavery, even as “evil”), and keeping a 72-hour emergency kit and a year’s supply of food for times of disaster. Leaders also admonish members to gain the education, training, and skills needed

to become self-reliant. Today, “welfare” principles are also manifest in efforts outside the United States and Canada. Collectively termed “a handful of rice,” these are fledgling communitarian efforts to provide employment, education, and basic goods to impoverished Mormons in other countries (Lucas and Woodworth 1996).

In territorial Utah, Bishops storehouses, united orders, and church-led colonization efforts were central to the region’s economies. Most businesses were church owned and operated, a fact that made the Edmunds-Tucker law seizing all church property all the more devastating. Later, in return for Utah statehood, the church had to give up its communal economic practices and its church-run businesses that dominated the Utah economy. The church also began to vigorously advocate free enterprise.

What about Latter-day Saints today? While early united orders virtually eradicated income inequality, that level of equality is not currently sought. Some lament that present-day Mormons seem to have adopted free-market capitalism, eschewing warnings in the Book of Mormon against income inequality (Woodworth 1995; Nibley 1986). But perhaps with the welfare system in place, many members believe they do enough to provide for the poor without burdening government. Some may further reason that having taken care of oneself, others should and can do the same if they would only try harder. After all, why shouldn’t others live by the same standards they do?

According to Woodworth (1995, 41), “church economic views do not equal present social Darwinist conventional economics.” Yet, BYU economist Dwight Israelson argues “There is a strong sentiment among Mormons today in favor of capitalist institutions and attitudes. This sentiment contrasts sharply with the anti-capitalist tone of

official Church pronouncements and policies of the last century” (1979, 61). He further explains that church leaders have stated that capitalism is not the ideal economic system. But it is the best “host” system available. In protecting private property and restraining central planning, capitalism allows Mormons to establish their own economic institutions (like united orders and the current welfare system). Yet, “Having been taught the superiority of capitalism as a host system, [members] begin to attribute capitalistic institutions, as well as the attitudes and operational characteristics of capitalism, to the ideal system. In my opinion, this confusion between the *host system* and the *ideal system* is serious” (61).

It is likely that this confusion will be more prevalent where the broader culture of capitalism dominates, such as in the United States. Western Latter-day Saints may be more individualistic and self-sufficient than others because Westerners are generally more self-reliant. Thus, the theological call for individual responsibility and self-sufficiency, assimilation to capitalism, and local culture may have made *laissez faire* capitalism a cultural norm despite historic norms to the contrary.

Regulation of the Economy. What does the church teach about the role of government in economic matters? It is not altogether clear. In a 1962 issue of Brigham Young University Studies, several scholars, including a present-day apostle, debated the role of government from an LDS perspective. Some argued that government programs take away freedom from those required to sponsor them, and may lead inexorably toward Marxism in which Mormon beliefs and institutions would lose all protections (Israelson 1979). Others argue in response that government can protect individual freedom by

protecting us from abuse and monopoly and by helping the aged and infirm (Worthlin 1962). In the end, however, the church today gives relatively little guidance in this area. It is true there is little official support for a boldly interventionist government. But at times the church does support regulation which they believe advances the general welfare. For this reason, many Mormons may be more populist than conservative or libertarian. In sum, besides support for the church welfare system, economic issues are not discussed much. Thus, Mormons probably reflect the dominant preferences of their host system in this regard, with an added element of self-sufficiency.

Wealth. To Latter-day Saints wealth and money are not inherently bad, but money can easily become a source of corruption. The improper pursuit and use of money is decried, especially accumulation without regard for helping the poor, treating employees fairly, or dedicating wealth to building up the kingdom of God (Matthew 19:24; D&C 42:30-38; D&C 56:16; Mosiah 4: 26). One's own spiritual salvation is also dependent upon helping the poor (Mosiah 4:16-23). Nevertheless, Thayne Robson (1992) states that "The principles taught in the [scriptures] concerning the accumulation and use of wealth are sufficiently broad to permit an ongoing dialogue among church members about what is pleasing in the sight of the Lord." Robson concludes that "Having taught correct principles in the scriptures and through his priesthood leaders, the Lord leaves it to Church members to govern themselves . . . with knowledge that all will be held personally accountable for the choices they make" (Robson 1992). Pierre Blais, on the other hand, argues that "Latter-day Saints have become imbued with the Protestant idea that wealth and prosperity somehow mirror spirituality" (1984, 71).

In sum, LDS doctrine, practice, and history could comfortably support a variety of viewpoints on economics. If members focus on the church's early emphasis on redistribution of wealth and economic Communitarianism, we may expect that Saints would support government redistributive programs as well. Or, if we focus on the church's assimilation into the dominant capitalist culture, we may expect Saints to be free-market capitalists and oppose the redistribution of wealth. With such conflicting signals, it is quite probable that one's local culture would have a large influence on attitudes toward economic issues. In sum, we should expect that Latter-day Saints from different countries to reflect the dominant positions of their "host" culture on economic issues.

Military and Foreign Affairs

In the *Doctrine and Covenants* Latter-day Saints are instructed to learn of "things which are abroad; the wars and the perplexities of the nations . . . and knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms" in order to better perform the church's religious missions (D&C 88: 78-9). The overriding goal of LDS views on foreign policy is to insure that Latter-day Saint missionaries are welcome and safe in the countries in which they proselyte. Therefore, the church is especially interested in foreign affairs in order to retain its ability to preach the gospel to every "nation, kindred, tongue, and people" (Mosiah 15:28). In times of peace, church leaders speak little about foreign affairs. They prefer, instead, behind the scenes diplomacy with national leaders. In times of war, meanwhile, the church often speaks out to condemn war.

At least two general sentiments are discernable in LDS pronouncements on the topic, sentiments which Pierre Blais (1984) calls “the enduring paradox.” LDS leaders and scriptures have demonstrated a constant abhorrence for war. LDS doctrine states that war is evil and all avenues for peace must be pursued fully before bloodshed. In 1970, current church president Gordon B. Hinckley said that “War I hate with all its mocking pageantry. It is a grim living testimony that Satan lives. It is the earth’s greatest cause of human misery, destroyer of lives, promoter of hate and waster of treasure . . . (1970, 3). When the Saints were being persecuted in Missouri, many of them felt angry and vengeful. President Spencer W. Kimball once said that the nation as a whole, and even many of the Saints were a “warlike people We commit vast resources to the fabrication of gods of stone and steel--ships, planes, missiles, fortification--and depend on them for protection and deliverance...When threatened we become antienemy instead of pro-kingdom of God” (Kimball 1976, 4). In a revelation to Joseph Smith, still in Ohio, the Lord commanded him to tell the people to “renounce war and proclaim peace” (D&C 98:16).⁵⁰ This commandment is the most commonly reiterated church position on war and conflict.⁵¹

⁵⁰In this vein, the church has also denounced the nuclear arms race and basing the MX missile in Utah (Hildreth 1982). The paradox is that once war has begun, especially if it is deemed “just,” such as being in one’s own defense, members have generally been exhorted to perform their “civic duties” and obey the laws of the land by serving in their various nations’ militaries (Hillam and Andrews 1985).

⁵¹ Of course, individuals always retain the right to pursue “conscientious objector” status or support roles during military interventions, but must do so individually rather than as a matter of church affiliation. In the US, this does not appear to be an option chosen often by Latter-day Saints, possibly because of their strong “pro-US” sentiments.

Despite the importance of foreign affairs to the institutional church, there has been no systematic empirical research on LDS members' foreign policy attitudes. Pierre Blais (1984) believes, however, that there is a "prevalently positive attitude toward the military in the LDS community While there is a stated LDS theology of peace, it is overshadowed by the prevailing American Latter-day Saint nonchalance toward peace combined with positive concepts of war which are firmly embedded as attitudes." He continues that

"Although I am aware of no survey data, my impression is that Latter-day Saints tend to give overwhelming priority to ideological explanations in international relations, omitting the more revealing domestic and socio-economic context of many brutal regimes with which the United States finds itself aligned."

He further reasons that "the general malleableness of the Mormon community in its response to authority" leads to "enthusiastic support of almost every government dictate that does not adversely affect Mormons" (63). This may arise, he explains, because the "belief in the intrinsic good of America pervades LDS thinking. This common belief, which is to be distinguished from a belief in America's prophetic destiny, a principle supported by LDS scriptures, endows every major foreign policy deed committed by America with a special aura of goodness in the eyes of many Latter-day Saints" (64).

BYU political scientist Lamond Tullis shares a similar impression. He observed that Latter-day Saints in the United States tend to be highly nationalistic and supportive of efforts to protect US business interests and authority in the world. This feeling most likely derives, he believes, from high levels of American exceptionalism, high levels of trust in government, and the nationalism which arises from the political culture. Thus, we may

tentatively hypothesize that American members will be especially supportive of US military and economic efforts worldwide. In other words, they will be more interventionist than isolationist.

Will this position be shared by members in other countries? If Blais is right that there is no doctrinal reason for current LDS thinking, then foreign policy attitudes would be determined almost wholly by other cues embedded in one's political culture. We cannot ignore "the reality that everyone lives within the boundaries and under the jurisdiction of one or another of the world's nations" which members are generally obliged to respect (Hill and Andrews 1985, 58). And because the church only speaks in crises, people are probably led by other cues, such as ideology, party, or nationality. In this vein, Hill and Andrews observe that American Latter-day Saints "differ little from most of their fellow citizen on US foreign policy preferences" (1985, 64). Finally, they further argue that "within these broad parameters, considerable room is left for debate" (65). In sum, besides a very few statements against war and in favor of religious rights worldwide, "church leaders rarely speak on the specifics..." of foreign policy issues (Hillam and Andrews 1985, 65). In the end, all member must make up their own minds about their policy positions on foreign policy and military issues.

Taking the Mormon Majority Seriously

Previous literature has generally assumed that a strong sense of history, religious doctrine and periodic political pronouncements is sufficient lead to create homogeneity among Latter-day Saints--an LDS political subculture. Yet, previous research has

generally sampled only those members with a common history, background, and race.

These studies have concluded that there is a virtual conservative consensus among Mormons (Richards 1993, Quinn 1993, Magleby 1992, Erikson, McIver and Wright 1987, Wald 1992).⁵² But as discussed in Chapter 1--this finding may be spurious. We may be confounding the influence of culture and race with religion (Kimball 1992; Erikson, McIver, Wright 1987, Inglehart 1988, Patterson 1968, 1970). Many political beliefs which seem nearly unanimous in Utah could vary radically among members of the church from other backgrounds. A sample biased toward Utahans or Americans constitutes a very biased test of the religion and politics nexus.

The church is increasingly concerned with accommodating cultural diversity and maintaining its privileges around the world. One way they can do this is to say as little as possible on most political issues. The church's religious mission and survival are paramount to the leadership. Thus, it tries to maintain a level of neutrality on most issues so as not to ostracize political leaders or governments which control the fate of Mormon missionaries within each country. Taking overt political positions would jeopardize one of Mormonism's most important concerns. Further, as the church becomes ever more international, it must be careful not to offend non-US members, which may lead to conflict. Church leaders have learned much about cultural mores and conflicts in their international endeavors.

⁵² The church has shown that it does not support political extremism in any form--liberal or conservative. One example of this is the excommunication of right-wing extremists in the early 1990s.

One example of the potential for cultural problems can be seen in Mexico. In the early 1900s, a portion of the native Mexican membership split from the church over a cultural misunderstanding. Mexican members requested that the church leadership consider appointing a native Mexican member as the president of the Mexican mission. This request was mistaken by church leaders as a political demand which was wholly inappropriate for a religious calling. The misunderstanding caused a split which led to the formation of “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Third Convention.” The church retained every LDS belief and practice, including receiving instructional materials from Salt Lake City, yet remained separate from the church for decades. Only after extensive friendship building, diplomacy by LDS leaders, and face-saving concessions, did members of the church rejoin the main body (Tullis 1987). The current movement toward decreasing the detail of Sunday School, Relief Society, and Priesthood lessons may be partially driven by this concern. Providing less detailed lessons allows the leadership to maintain focus on central religious tenets while allowing religious principles to be applied and elaborated differently in other cultural contexts.

The Conventional Wisdom on LDS Political Opinions

Despite the obvious cultural variation among Latter-day Saints, previous literature has ignored it. Hence, most of the above discussion of LDS political attitudes are based on assumptions only met in the Utah context. This research will finally explore variation across cultures and compare these findings to the conventional wisdom. In other words, the expectations of LDS political beliefs in Utah will serve as the standard of comparison.

David Magleby (1989) has shown that there is a good deal of political consensus among members in Utah. He states that “Most members of the Church are politically conservative, both by self-classification and in attitudes toward economic, social, and lifestyle issues. The conservatism of many church members reinforces their partisan preferences, especially with regard to the national political parties” (Magleby 1992, 1108, see also Israelson 1979).⁵³ Accordingly, we may expect them to be pro-military and interventionist in foreign policy (Blais 1984). We will use these conclusions, which constitute the conventional wisdom on LDS political views, to construct a “model” LDS political outlook. This model constitutes our “best guess” about the nature of LDS political views. We will use this as a standard against which the results of this study will be compared. Each element of this model is listed below. Most of these elements have been mentioned in the foregoing discussion.

The Conventional Wisdom

Social and Moral Issues

- Endorse traditional “family values”
- Concern with moral decline and attribution of moral decline to the media
- Oppose abortion and gambling

⁵³Magleby also concedes that “little is known about the partisan or ideological predispositions of LDS members outside the United States”

Capitalism and Economic Issues

- Place high value on private property and economic self-determination
- Low support for redistribution of power and wealth
- Low support for environmental regulation
- Emphasize self-reliance versus government provision of basic needs
- Are trusting of government and deferential to authority
- Oppose socialized health care

Military Spending and Foreign Affairs

- Support military spending and interventionism
- Support free trade

LDS Issues

- Have a high view of the inspired Constitution, and of the U.S. as a “light unto the world.”
- Vote and pay attention to politics
- High hope in the future and high political efficacy
- Strong focus on “law and order”
- Highly individualistic outlook

Miscellaneous Issues

- Oppose gun control
- Oppose affirmative action

The premise of this study is that political and ethnic culture may produce systematic variations in how strong Latter-day Saints feel about most political issues. If Utah-based research is truly representative of Mormons, then we should expect religion to cause agreement on the political outlooks of members of other races and cultures. A close look at the systematic commonalities and differences will help us define more clearly which issues are affected by LDS religious influences, and which are caused by race or political culture.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have drawn a brief picture of LDS political history and its members' political attitudes as presented in previous literature. I have also suggested that many supposedly characteristic LDS views may vary by ethnic and racial culture. It remains to be seen whether LDS political homogeneity is unique to white Americans, or is truly universal to all fully practicing Mormons. I will explore whether or not homogeneity exists across cultural and political boundaries. Our best guess is that we will find considerable agreement on social issues where church cues are strong (Jelen 1998), but less agreement on economic and especially foreign issues, which may mainly reflect local culture (Kimball 1992).

This study's goal is to define the nature of the political world views held by members of a diverse sample and examine the interrelationship of values within each political world view. In order to accomplish this goal, each of the issues and belief elements discussed in this chapter have been integrated into Q sort, survey, and interview protocols (to be described in Chapter 3). By exploring the differences and similarities among these world views I can identify which values are common and which vary by cultural context. The next chapter will discuss in detail the methods that will be used to explore these relationships.

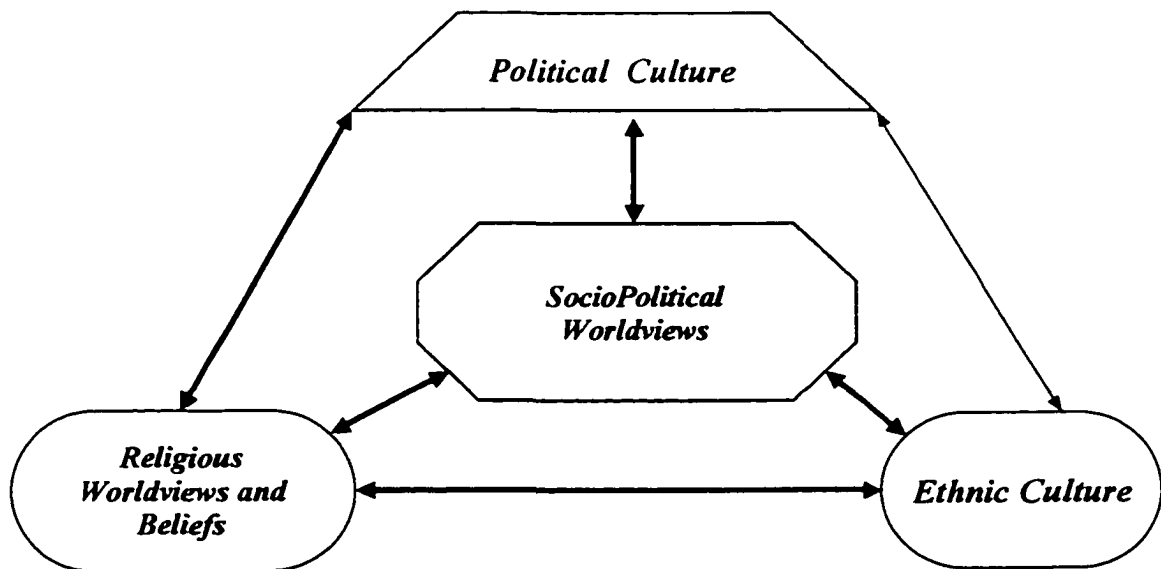
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This dissertation is designed to investigate the extent to which Latter-day Saint religious beliefs instill common socio-political perspectives after controlling for race and culture. As shown previously, there are arguments both for and against the proposition that LDS religious beliefs have a strong impact on members' political beliefs and civic practices. Unfortunately, there has been no previous research that controls for other major

Figure 3.1: A Simplified Model of Doctrinal and Cultural Influence



determinants of political views like race and culture. The conflicting arguments and limited data highlight the need for more empirical research in this area.

Figure 3.1 above shows a simplified model of the relationship between religion, culture and political perspectives, the three principal variables of interest in this study. As the figure suggests, these relationships are dynamic and each variable simultaneously affects and is affected by the others in the system. This research will explore the interaction of these three important factors more deeply by probing the patterns of religious and political belief among a diverse LDS sample using several methods and measures. The first task of this study is to detail the nature of the world views among a diverse sample of Latter-day Saints. The second task will be to examine the differences and similarities between them in order to look for religious effects and then to look for systematic cultural variation. This chapter will explain how this will be accomplished with special focus on the 1) methodological approach, 2) analytic methods, 3) sampling scheme, and 4) the issues to be probed.

Research Approach

Debates about research approaches and methodologies permeate the social sciences and must be resolved as much as possible in the design of any given research project. One of the most important debates concerns “objective” versus “subjective” research methods. Logical Positivism (the underpinning of behaviorism) has dominated political science since the mid 20th Century. Positivism stresses the measurement of externally verifiable (“objective”) attitudes and behaviors. Quantitative methods translate

observable beliefs and behaviors into numerical values that can be analyzed statistically in order to make generalizations about a population (King, Keohane and Verba 1994). In political science, this is usually done through the use of mass surveys.

Positivism's approach is often contrasted with "post-positivism" which questions the "objectivity" of scientists and scientific research (Brown 1980).⁵⁴ Post-positivists argue that Positivism's claim to "objective" science is indefensible because the values, biases, and perceptions of the researcher can never be separated from the research assumptions and interpretations. Rather than allowing the researcher to characterize respondents' viewpoints, they argue more attention should be paid to the internal understanding, or "operant subjectivity" of the respondent.

Max Weber was one of the first to recommend that we look at human behavior "when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it" (Weber 1977). Weber's principle of *Verstehen*, or "empathetic understanding" of human behavior, assigns meaning from the perspective of the group being studied, rather than the researcher (Abel 1977). Qualitative methods are often used to explore subjective views. Further, the subjective approach helps avoid a major criticism of positivism--that it dehumanizes people by substituting the researcher's perspective for the subject's, denying them the assumption that their characterizations of their own viewpoints are valid (Susser 1992).

⁵⁴ Thomas Kuhn's (1962) work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* also questions the "objectivity" of scientists (paradigms are as much social as scientific), but does not reject widely accepted approaches to scientific inquiry as do post-positivists.

Stephen Brown (1980, 4-5) has argued that behaviorism's *a priori* "operational definitions place constraints on behavior by replacing the subject's meaning with the investigator's, and the investigator ends up studying the constraints rather than the behavior." Glock and Stark's work (1965; Stark and Glock 1968) in the religion and politics literature has been criticized in this same way (Yinger 1969, 1970). They, like Brown, argue that we must investigate *how* people think rather than assuming or pre-defining meaning and searching for its manifestations. One should observe first and then assign meaning *a posteriori*. A subjective approach would constitute a true method of discovery.

Most previous research on religion and politics generally, and Mormons specifically, has used behavioral cross-sectional survey research designs, typically collecting survey data about attitudes toward a few specific political issues. Despite the utility of surveys, they are only capable of performing certain tasks, such as measuring the proportion of a population exhibiting certain traits. Surveys have the fatal flaw of being unable to measure what is not already known. Unless one already knows the nature of salient opinion structures, surveys can do little to fill in the missing information. Furthermore, as Wildavsky (1987), Lane (1992) and Maddox and Lilie (1984) have pointed out, knowing one's opinion on one issue does not necessarily help identify opinions on other issues.

In response to the criticisms of behavioral methodologies and assumptions, a few researchers have moved toward non-traditional (non-R) methodologies⁵⁵ to examine

⁵⁵ "R" refers to methods based on Pearson's correlation coefficient (r).

political outlooks (Leege 1989, Brown 1980). For example, Lane, in his 1962 classic *Political Ideology*, used depth interviews to conclude that the “common man” had stable, latent ideologies. Wald (1992) and Leege (1989) argued for the development of subjective methodologies and used them in their research on Catholic parishioners. Psychologists have also used new methods and approaches in defining political schemas (Aldrich, Sullivan and Bordiga 1989; Hurwitz and Peffley 1987; Conover and Feldman 1984). Q methodology has been developed as an analytic technique for modeling subjective world views (Brown 1970; 1980). As a whole these alternative approaches have led to very different, and often insightful findings. But, with only a few exceptions, previous studies have ignored them in favor of easily available, “canned” survey data. Overall, studies that use non-survey methodologies are still relatively few in comparison.

In the end, the only thing researchers agree on is that every approach has strengths and weaknesses. None are optimal for any particular research purpose by themselves (Putnam 1993). Brewer and Hunter state in *Multimethod Research* (1989) that

. . . any study employing a single type of research method--and most studies still use only one method--leaves untested rival hypotheses (or alternative interpretations of data) that call the validity of the study's findings into question . . . Each type of method, considered alone, is imperfect

A research design that integrates both subjective and objective, quantitative and qualitative methods will give us a greater understanding of the structure of belief systems. Therefore, this research will triangulate three distinct research methodologies: Q methodology, surveys and interviews.

Three-Fold Research Design: Q Technique, Surveys and Interviews

In order to avoid the methodological pitfalls mentioned above, this research will triangulate the results of three distinct methodologies (Brewer and Hunter 1989; Leedy 1989).⁵⁶ Thus, the results will be less “hostage” to the biases of any single methodology. The three methodologies will work in unison to explore the nature of respondents’ socio-political world views.

The principal method to be used in this research is Q methodology, which is designed to model the structure of subjective world views (Stephenson 1953). Q methodology (a subjective methodology) allows the respondent to freely reveal their preferences through a ranking (sorting) process. Second, a standard survey (representing the behavioral, quantitative approach) will be utilized to investigate stances on specific public policy issues as well as to replicate certain concepts from the Q sorts. Comparing the survey and Q results will increase validity and confidence in our conclusions. Finally, interviews are used as a third check on validity and allow me to explore the issues identified in the Q sort and survey in more depth.

Method 1: Q Methodology

Q methodology is a scientific method of studying subjectivity. It was developed by

⁵⁶ In reality, I have also used a fourth methodology -- ethnography. According to Ted Jelen, “there is simply no substitute for a detailed “insider’s” understanding of particular subcultures” (1998, 117). The study of Mormonism often requires an “insider’s” understanding of the concepts and language used, as well as is helpful in gaining access to respondents. I also did a great deal of “soaking and poking” to better understand how Mormons think about socio-political topics. I attended church meetings, adult education classes, church socials, etc., and used that time to talk to people about the subject.

William Stephenson and described in his book *The Study of Behavior* which was published in 1953.⁵⁷ As a post-positivist methodology, Q is sometimes seen having “fugitive status” within political science, despite the fact that it is an often-used technique, appearing in over 2000 articles and books (Brown et al. 1996). Q methodology is likely misunderstood because the theory behind Q methodology deviates significantly from traditional “R-methodology” which dominates the discipline. R methodology is concerned with the external validity, or generalizability of traits to a population. Q methodology, on the other hand, facilitates the intensive investigation of the structure of subjective views found among a smaller number of cases. Q methodology allows meaning and significance to be imposed on the statements by the person sorting (ranking) them, making self referentiality and the respondent’s subjective point of view central to the method (McKeown and Thomas 1988).

Q methodology’s foremost contemporary practitioner, Stephen Brown, defines Q methodology as “the body of theory and principles that guides the application of technique, method, and explanation” (5-6). *Q technique* is

a set of procedures whereby a sample of objects is placed in significant order with respect to a single person. In its most typical form, the sample involves statement of opinion (Q sample) that an individual rank-orders in terms of some condition of instruction--e.g., from “most agree” (+5) to “most disagree” (-5). The items so arrayed comprise what is called a Q sort. Q sorts obtained from several persons are normally correlated and factor-analyzed by any of the available statistical methods. Factors indicate clusters of persons who have ranked the statements in essentially the same fashion. Explanation of factors is advanced in terms of commonly shared attitudes or perspectives (Brown 1980).

⁵⁷ The “Q” is derived from a parallel to Quantum theory in physics. Stephenson was both a physicist and a psychologist.

In this way, Q methodology defines patterns in how people sort belief elements . Each factor, or group, identified reflects a distinct world view. After defining the world views, it is also possible to examine how views converge or differ across groups. In terms of this study, Q will allow me to define LDS world views and examine whether they vary culturally or racially.

The Concourse and Q Samples. Q sort is essentially a ranking process. Therefore, deciding what to sort is important. The Q sample is the group of stimulus items related to a given subject of interest that are presented to the respondents for sorting. The statements are selected from a concourse, or the universe of attitudes and statements about an issue of interest. The concourse can either be derived from relevant literature or from one-on-one interviews with population members.

After assembling the concourse, the researcher chooses a set of statements for the Q sample. The Q sample can be chosen from the concourse in two ways. An “unstructured” Q sample is chosen by the researcher to best represent the universe of relevant idea elements that the researcher wants to examine. Other Q samples are “structured” by a factorial design that gives the choice process more explicit theoretical guidance. The factorial design focuses the researcher on specific topics necessary to investigate a theory. Either way, the Q sample must be comprehensive enough that multiple points of view can be expressed in the sorting process. Thus, the researcher provides the focus for the study but the respondents are free to order the Q statements as they desire. The structures that actually emerge may be very different than hypothesized by the researcher, something not possible using traditional survey designs.

Respondent Sample. Respondent samples (also called person, or p samples) in Q methodology are very different from those traditionally used in survey research. Q samples are theoretical, non-random, and have a relatively small sample size. The sampling emphasis is finding a theoretically rich and inclusive sample of individuals that have variance along key variables.⁵⁸ Great care must be taken to include people who exhibit characteristics of theoretical concern. Quota, purposive and convenience samples are all properly used in Q methodology.

Because Q technique is interested in defining “ideal types” of political world views, which are limited by cultural mores, a large sample size is not needed. Q is simply not concerned with the issue of external validity. So, there is little need or incentive to maximize the number of respondents. Accordingly, there is no claim that the viewpoints derived exhaust those existing in a population (McKeown and Thomas 1988). Rather, Q identifies belief structures without stating what proportion of the population hold each view.

As Stephen Brown (1980) notes, Q-factors are generalizations of attitudes held by those who load significantly on a factor. Thus, one may directly compare the nature of these attitudes irrespective of the number of people who hold them. The comparability of factors allows me to compare LDS political outlooks by race and nationality. If one needs to assess the generalizability of Q sorts, the key elements can be built into a standard mass survey.

⁵⁸In this study, I want to hold religion and religious commitment constant, so no variation is allowed.

Q Sort Administration. Once the P sample and Q sample are chosen, the statements are printed on cards and presented to respondents for sorting. The respondents sort (rank) the cards according to criteria such as “most agree” to “most disagree.”⁵⁹ After all cards are sorted and the respondent makes final changes, the statements are entered onto a response array representing a quasi-normal distribution of responses (see Appendix B and Table 3.1 below).

Table 3.1: Q Sort Distribution Matrix											
	Most Agree							Least Agree			
Score	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
Number of Statements	2	3	4	5	7	8	7	5	4	3	2

The “forced” distribution is merely a tool to encourage participants to make explicit value tradeoffs, helping to make explicit what might otherwise remain implicit.⁶⁰ After the sort process, each respondent also reports background information such as income, gender, race, occupation, marriage status, citizenship, etc. (see Appendix B for the complete Q sort response sheet).

⁵⁹ Respondents are first instructed to divide the cards into three piles: those they agree with, those they disagree with, and neutral responses including don’t know, not sure, don’t care, or don’t understand. The respondent is then instructed to choose two statements with which they most agree from the agree pile, followed by two they disagree with most from the disagree pile. The operation is repeated, this time requesting three cards from each pile. The number of statements the respondent chooses depends upon the number of statements within each category in the response array. In this case, the +5 and -5 categories contain two statements, +4 and -4 categories contain three statements, and so on. See Table 3.1 and Appendix B.

⁶⁰ The shape of the response array itself has been shown to be insignificant in the results of the factor loadings (Brown 1980).

Factor Analysis. Each Q-sort is a unique representation of the belief elements as ordered by each respondent. The Q sorts are factor analyzed in order to “bring order” to this information. According to McKeown and Thomas (1988), factor analysis lends “statistical clarity to the behavioral order implicit in the matrix by virtue of similarly (or dissimilarly) performed Q-sorts” (50). In other words, factor analysis is used to help determine the nature and number of distinct outlooks.

Although Q methodology has a very different philosophical foundation than R methodology, the factor analytic methods are identical except for one difference. R-methodological factor analysis searches for clusters of *traits* among subjects. In Q technique the correlation matrix is flipped along a diagonal axis, changing the focus to clusters of *subjects* in relation to their attitudinal “traits.” The statistical significance of factor loadings is calculated using the formula: $2.58 \times SE-1/\text{SQR}(N)$, where N is the number of items in the Q-sample. Loadings in excess of the calculated value are statistically significant at the .01 level (McKeown and Thomas 1988, 50-51). A composite of the significant loadings represent the model world views. According to McKeown and Thomas,

each respondents’ factor “loading” indicates that degree of association between that person’s individual Q-sort and the underlying composite attitude or perspective of the factor. In Q methodology the presence of several orthogonal (independent) factors is evidence of different points of view in the person-sample. An individual’s positive loading on a factor indicates his or her shared subjectivity with others on that factor; negative loadings, on the other hand, are signs of rejection of the factor’s perspective (1988, 17).

Factor Rotation. Although there are several factor rotation options, the most common strategy is to seek mathematically optimal solutions like Varimax (McKeown and

Thomas 1988). Q also allows the research to “hand rotate” factors in order to test specific hypotheses. However, McKeown and Thomas note that “little difference in which correlational method or which rotation is used in final results” (1988, 49).

Factor Interpretation. The vexing part of any factor analysis is interpreting each factor. However, this endeavor is generally easier to do in Q methodology than in R methodology. This is because we know that the derived factors represent actual viewpoints that can be compared to one another. In R methodology on the other hand, it is often unclear why traits correlate together. In Q methodology post-sort interviews help the researcher further interpret the respondents point of view, increasing validity and ease of interpretation. McKeown and Thomas explain that

“Individual items in a Q-sample are assigned meaning and significance, first in Q-sorting by the respondent, and second, in factor interpretation by the researcher. Such assignment is rendered sensible as part of a pattern or configuration of meaning...contextuality clarifies what by definition and design is unclear at the outset of a Q study: how respondents’ themselves, quite apart from the researcher’s preconceptions, define the world about them” (1988, 24).

Factor “types” can be described and interpreted in two ways: “first by identifying the statements that respondents agreed or disagreed with the most, and second by identifying the Q statements that differ the most among respondents” (Durning and Osuna 1994, 638). Factor types are defined by the statements placed in the +/- 5, +/- 4, +/- 3, +/- 2 and the +/-1 positions of the factor array. These statements indicate what the respondents feel strongly for and against. Statements placed in the 0 position indicate ambivalence -- they don’t feel strongly one way or the other. The resulting distribution is “standardized” by the self-significance of each person’s statements which allows each Q-

sort to be meaningfully compared. (McKeown and Thomas 1988, 49).

Factor Comparisons. According to Brown et al. (forthcoming), Q technique is also useful in exploring the degree to which respondents with specific demographic characteristics share perspectives or not. Individual factor scores can be used in other statistical comparisons including categorical comparisons, t-tests, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) or traditional R-factor analysis. This enables one to explore group-based variations caused by cultural or political cultural influences. This step is necessary to fully answer the final question in this dissertation--whether different world views vary by ethnic or political cultures.

Strengths of Q Technique

As with any methodology, Q technique has both advantages and limitations. One of its greatest strengths is its claim as a method to tap subjective views. It thus avoids the circularity of R-methodological social science wherein findings, whether weak or strong, can only be interpreted in light of the original categories (or conjecture) (Brown 1980). R methodologies cannot tell you what you missed--arguably *the* goal of science. Brown suggests this may cause the “omnipresent feeling among social scientists . . . that results are obvious and that we are getting nowhere” (1980, 39-40). Q technique allows the emergence of unforeseen opinion configurations which would be completely missed in R factor methods. This makes Q sort amenable to exploratory work, whereas R methods are more suited to testing phenomenon that are already known to exist.

Q is also a more holistic approach. “Whereas R factor analysis breaks a phenomenon into parts without any way of judging the relative importance of the parts or how they interrelate, Q is more holistic, more empirical and less inferential” (McKeown and Thomas 1988, 21). In Q methodology

“differences...are revealed contextually, not in terms of the placement of one or two statements read in isolation from the rest. The principle of contextuality is tied to self-reference and also to Q’s premises as a method of impression, as opposed to expression.... Under methods of *expression*, respondents are measured for traits, attitudes, and the like from an *external* point of view.... With methods of *impression*, on the other hand, the personal, intraindividual significance of “test stimuli” is of primary importance. When responding to the theme, the *subject assigns* scores in terms of some relevant conditions that bear, in one way or another, on his or her *internal* frame of reference...(McKeown and Thomas 1988, 23).

Finally, because Q methodology focuses on individual cases, a large sample size is rarely used, or necessary. This often makes Q method less costly and time consuming than large-scale surveys. Of course, a careful sampling scheme is necessary to ensure the sample is appropriate for the test.

Limitations of Q Technique

From the perspective of R methodology, some of Q technique’s strengths are considered weaknesses. First, the fact that Q technique uses smaller sample sizes makes Q technique unsuited for assessing external validity. Rather, Q technique is often used in an exploratory mode. Once the Q factors are derived, the results can be integrated into a larger survey. The survey can then be used to evaluate the generalizability of each factor in the population as a whole.

Some have criticized Q technique because it violates R-methodology's assumption of independence. The placement of each Q sort necessarily affects the placement of all others. Whereas R methodology wants to separate variable effects, Q technique values and seeks to model "real-world" views. Q methodologists argue this is a positive step because it introduces the "contextuality" and holism discussed above.

Finally, and most forcefully, factor interpretation is always interpretive. As in R-factor analysis, the researcher must determine the meaning of the factors by naming and describing the factor types. However, Q researchers also rely heavily on other information provided by the respondent in interviews, surveys, etc., to confirm these factors. Once again, this opportunity does not exist when using national survey data or R-factor analysis.

The Use of Q in this Research

Q technique is well suited for this research because it explains how people see the world rather than whether or not they see the world in a way hypothesized by researchers. Specifically, this study utilizes a Q sample of 50 statements derived from several sources. Most deal with significant components of political culture (Rosenbaum 1975) and political ideology (Maddox and Lilie 1984, Sundquist 1983). The general topics used in this study are shown in Table 3.2 below.⁶¹

⁶¹ A detailed list of the Q sort statements are categorized under these headings in Appendix A.

Table 3.2: Elements of Political Culture in the Q Sample

- System Orientation (efficacy, trust, outlook on future, citizen participation)
- Role of the United States and US Constitution
- General Government Orientation
- Government Social Role
- Government Economic Role
- Internationalism/Isolationism/Military Spending
- Family/Morality
- Wealth and Success
- Equality

This study uses a truly mixed design (both structured and unstructured criteria) in selecting the Q statements for sorting. The Q sort statements were derived from four principal sources. The most structured component of the Q sample uses statements from Maddox and Lilie's (1984) and Sundquist's (1983) work on ideology. These include statements on government's role in the economy, social issues, and foreign affairs. Other statements were selected in an unstructured way from interviews (with Saints from different cultures), and literature on LDS theology and political beliefs, such as views on families and the US Constitution and US role in the world. Two statements were borrowed from Dake's (1992) work on culture theory that measured deference to authority (see Appendix A for Q sort statement wordings and Q results by topic). Statements were not drawn from interviews alone because it is logistically difficult to interview people that are so geographically dispersed.⁶² Care was taken to include as many relevant belief elements as possible that may reveal the similarities and differences among Mormon world views.

⁶² It was also difficult to construct one Q sort which included the entire range belief elements salient to such a diverse sample.

Method 2: Interviews

In this study, two types of interviews were conducted for two distinct purposes. First, 10 pre-interviews were conducted with members during study construction in order to derive statements for the Q sort and to gain a sense of the potential differences of opinion between Mormons of different ethnic and national backgrounds. These interviews were done both in person and by telephone. The interviews revealed several topics which could produce ethnic or political cultural variations.

The second set of interviews were conducted as part of the field research. Interviews were used to help “get to know” the respondents and insure that later interpretations were valid and accurate. The interviews also serve as a validity “check” on several specific issues raised in the Q sort and survey. The issues discussed in the post-interviews include general attitudes toward government’s role in economic, social and foreign affairs, attitudes about the US Constitution, health care and welfare, involvement in politics, and hope for the future (see Appendix D for interview questions). While this information is difficult to quantify, it is crucial in doing Q methodology well and in more deeply understanding the perceived link between religious and political beliefs.⁶³

Method 3: Survey Instrument

Following the Q sort, a standard survey questionnaire was administered to each respondent (see Appendix C). The survey had several purposes. First, the survey measured

⁶³A few respondents consented to interviews alone. These respondents were current and retired LDS politicians who preferred to express their religious and political outlooks orally.

attitudes on specific political issues not addressed in the Q sort. The questionnaire also probed attitudes about religious world views, and political behavior such as party support and voting turnout. (Meanwhile, the Q sort addressed broader values and predispositions.) The second purpose was to assess the validity of the Q sort and survey responses. Several of the issues raised in the Q sort are replicated on the survey. Third, the survey helped assess the relationship between factor types and specific issue positions. Having both types of information allows me to correlate public policy issues with political world views. In this way, the survey provides additional information about the nature of the political outlooks defined in the Q sort.

Substantively, the survey contains questions about health care, welfare reform, international trade, abortion, environmental protection, taxes, education, families, gun control, the distribution of wealth, school prayer, crime, gambling, separation of church and state, military spending, foreign relations, affirmative action, multiculturalism, the US Constitution, and the US role in the world.

Sampling Method

The sample used in this study is not merely a convenience sample. It is rather a purposive sample. Brewer and Hunter (1989) explain that

Purposive sampling . . . may select only certain subgroups that represent theoretically meaningful variation . . . where the units selected are theoretically defined as important and not statistically determined to be representative. Purposive sampling, in short, is a claim on the part of the researcher that theoretically significant, not necessarily statistically significant, units have been selected for study.

A culturally diverse sample was needed to test for religious and cultural effects on political beliefs. This sample was designed to over sample Mormons from different racial backgrounds and political cultures, with my main emphasis on political cultural differences. This could not be explored through either random or stratified survey samples. The only way to obtain a sufficiently large random sample of active Mormons from different countries and cultures would require sampling hundreds of thousands of people.⁶⁴

Another approach is to obtain membership lists from the LDS church from which to sample respondents. However, due to privacy concerns, the church does not publicly release membership records. Each local congregation distributes internal membership lists to congregation members, but lists are prohibited for any use other than official church activities. It is acceptable, however, for members in each area to freely suggest study participants from among their church friends and acquaintances. Conveniently, this highly targeted sampling scheme is fully compatible with proper Q sampling because respondents in Q studies are most often chosen theoretically and purposefully.

In practice, respondents in this study were solicited by traveling to the country or area where members from different backgrounds live (i.e. Utah, Canada, and Mexico for different political cultures) and then using a “snowballing” sampling strategy to identify

⁶⁴Mormons make up only a small percentage of the US, Canadian, and Mexican populations. For instance, Mormons make up 1.84% of the population of the United States. If 50% of Mormons are fully practicing (required in my sample), and a sample size of 500 persons was needed, one would have to randomly contact over 500,000 people (at a 100% response rate). A random sample of 800,000 to 1,000,000 people would be needed in order to obtain a sample as large as the one in this study. This estimate ignores considerations of language barriers or logistical problems with sampling internationally. Targeted sampling would decrease this number, but still require tens of thousands of contacts. Obviously, this is not a feasible approach.

potential respondents. First, I contacted local members (either from fore-knowledge, or simply going and meeting people “cold”) and explained the type of respondents I was seeking. I then asked local members to suggest study participants fitting the criteria below. The response rate was nearly 100%; only one member declined to be interviewed (due to the hospitalization of a family member).

For Non-US Respondents

- 1) Respondents must be 18 years or older and life-long citizens of their home country.

Respondents 18 or older were solicited since younger people often lack coherent political beliefs systems. The respondents also had to live in the nation for an extended period of time, helping to insure exposure to contextual effects.

For Non-White Respondents

- 1) Respondents must be ethnically Mexican, Native American, Polynesian, or African.

Respondents were chosen based on their race and ethnic background. Only respondents thought to be influenced by their native cultures (e.g. Native American, Polynesian, Latino cultures) were included in the sample, helping to insure cultural effects.

For All Respondents

- 1) All respondents must be long-time active members of the LDS church.

Short term members and new converts were not included. This allows religious commitment and activity to be held constant while maximizing the probability that LDS messages were received by these members. This enables me to test for the effects of religion and culture by holding religion constant--a necessity established in Chapter 1.

- 2) The overall sample must exhibit diversity in age, income, gender, and socioeconomic status, while maximizing the diversity of political views.

These criteria were designed to minimize bias in the sample caused by other important determinants of political perspectives (age, income, socioeconomic status, and gender). The sample also includes respondents with different political views in order to provide the necessary variance on the dependent variable needed to assess these relationships (King, Keohane and Verba 1994).

Sample Overview

The sample used in this study includes a total of fifty one respondents. This is not large by survey standards but it is large for Q methodology. The sample is balanced in gender, income, and political identification. Age ranges between the mid twenties to late sixties. All respondents are long-time “active” members of the church, meaning they regularly attend worship services and are actively involved in a full range of church

activities. Most respondents are “married with children.” Finally, all respondents including those from other countries speak English and participated in the study using English. No translations were used.

Geographically, the sample predominantly includes members from three countries: The United States (26 respondents), Canada (11) and Mexico (14).⁶⁵ The three countries selected for this study are especially appropriate since around 5.8 million of the church’s 10 million members live in these three countries. Also, Mexico and Canada are the countries to which many Mormons migrated during the 1880s to flee harassment by the federal government. The sample also includes people from several racial and ethnic groups: whites (33), Latinos (7), Native Americans (5), Polynesians (4), and Africans (2). The logic of each sample selection will be discussed below. The main comparison of interest is political culture. The national diversity included here allows comparison of different nationalities while controlling for race by comparing white populations in each country.

Mexico. The LDS relationship with Mexico is a long one. When Mormons were driven out of Nauvoo, Illinois, and settled in the Rocky Mountains, the Great Salt Lake Valley was owned by Mexico. Mormons who settled the valley in 1847 only re-entered the United States when the area was ceded to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo after the Mexican-American War. When the United States made “Utah” a territory and outlawed the practice of polygamy, Mormon leaders looked elsewhere for

⁶⁵ The US sample also includes 2 respondents from American Samoa, one from New Zealand, and one from Haiti, all of whom are currently living in the United States.

places to settle where they believed they could freely practice their religion.

After passage and enforcement of the Edmunds Act of 1882, eight “colonies” were settled in Mexico by Anglo Mormons from the western United States. They settled the arid Mountains of Chihuahua and tropics of Sonora, built lakes and irrigation systems, and began farming and orcharding. Mormons viewed Mexico as a refuge where they could freely practice polygamy as part of their religion (Bradley 1994, 116).⁶⁶ At the time of Utah statehood in 1896, there were over 3,000 Caucasian Mormons living in the colonies in Mexico, with around 4,000 members living in Mexico in its prime. These settlements were clearly important to the church. Between 1885 and 1895, fully half of the church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles lived in the Mexican colonies (Tullis 1987). These settlements prospered until the Mexican Revolution, when the colonies were pillaged in battles between Mexican government soldiers and Pancho Villa.

When Mormons discontinued the practice of polygamy there was a general exodus of Anglo Mormons back to the United States. Much of this migration took place around the time of the Mexican Revolution. Currently, only two colonies remain with Caucasian members: Colonia Juarez and Colonia Dublan. Lamond Tullis described the colonies this way:

“All the colonies except for Juarez and Dublan have been cut from their Mormon roots. In these two colonies, Anglo and Mexican Mormons and non-Mormons live side by side in a tenuous but relatively cooperative relationship, fully integrated into Mexico’s national economy, polity, and society” (1987, 110).

⁶⁶ Polygamy was not legal in Mexico, but enforcement of laws against it was almost nil.

The area has a mix of Caucasian Mormons (who are Mexican citizens) and native Mexicans living in close proximity. The native Mexican members have had extensive interaction with the Caucasians and many have traveled to the United States to visit church sites, family members, or attend Brigham Young University. Many learned English at the LDS academy in Colonia Juarez, which is bi-lingual.

Sampling Mormons from this area of Mexico provides several unique characteristics to this study. First, I am able to include native Mexicans in the study and expand the ethnic component of the sample. Second, I am able to include Caucasians of traditional “Mormon stock” who can be compared to Caucasians in the United States and Canada. Most of these Caucasian Mormons are Mexican citizens and by virtue of living their entire lives in the colonies, have been socialized in a different social and political environment. But in every other way (e.g. race, occupation, active LDS, language, geography, ancestry) they are identical to members in Utah.

All of the fourteen Mexican respondents in this study live in Colonia Dublan, Nuevo Casas Grandes, or Colonia Juarez, which is isolated in the mountains above Nuevo Casas Grandes. Twelve of the fourteen respondents lived in Colonia Dublan and nearby Nuevo Casas Grandes. The two remaining respondents live in Colonia Juarez, the “flagship” of the colonies and location of the LDS school. Overall, the Mexican sample includes 8 whites and 6 native Mexicans.

Canada. While some Mormons were moving to Mexico to escape persecution for polygamy, many other Mormons moved to Canada. It is even purported that Brigham Young once considered moving church headquarters to Canada to avoid persecution

(Bennett 1994). He settled instead on sending a colonizing party which founded Cardston, Alberta in 1887. Soon thereafter, the Canadian government encouraged more Mormon settlement by providing government work contracts to Mormons to build irrigation systems in Alberta. Between 1887 and 1990, Mormons built most of the existing towns and water systems in southern Alberta. Today, Mormons are still a majority in the area. All of the respondents who participated in this study lived in Magrath and nearby towns. The Canadian sample was 100% white. This sample enables me to compare respondents who are essentially identical to Utah Mormons, except that they live in a different political system, or political culture. In 1992, there were approximately 60,000 Mormons in the “Mormon culture region” of southern Alberta, Canada.

United States. The U.S. sample is comprised of 26 people. Eleven members of the US sample were from Utah, principally from the cities of Provo, Salt Lake City and Ogden. The U.S. sample also includes respondents from three other states: Oklahoma (6), Idaho (1), and California (5). All of the California respondents were Polynesian (4) while the lone Idahoan and most of the Oklahomans were Native Americans (4 of 5).

The ethnic diversity present in this sample is especially important in understanding Mormons today due to the large and growing ethnically diverse population of the church. In a recent series of articles on the church, San Francisco Chronicle religion writer Don Lattin (1996) noted the church’s expanding ethnic constituency in his observation that church buildings which a decade ago housed mostly white congregations are now filled with non-white Saints. Although most of the church’s “ethnic” growth has occurred principally outside of the United States, the LDS church is also quickly becoming much

more racially mixed within the US as well. Jessie Embry of Brigham Young University has written that in 1992, there were 405 foreign-language congregations in the United States alone, not including Native American or African American branches who speak English (Embry 1994).

The largest sample of non-whites included in any previous study of Mormons was found in David Magleby's KBYU/Utah colleges Exit Polls.⁶⁷ In the 1994 poll of Utah voters, Magleby has gathered a sample of over 7300 respondents; yet, only 95% of the respondents are white. The remaining 5% is a mix of Asian, Hispanic, Polynesian, and African Americans. Of course, not all of these minorities are active Latter-day Saints. Out of this massive survey, there were only 34 Hispanic, 14 African Americans, 12 Asians, 6 Native Americans, and 14 "other" who ranked themselves as "very active" Latter-day Saints. Meanwhile, 3713 whites rated themselves very active LDS. In all, only about 80 respondents out of around 7300 are non-white very active LDS. But, even this sample is too small (and the questions much too limited) to use race as a control. Thus, even the best large-scale data sets have little to offer in helping us answer the questions posed in this study.⁶⁸ Thus, I will construct my own "over sample" of ethnic and multinational Saints and use much more comprehensive data gathering instruments to explore their political outlooks.

⁶⁷ The questionnaire is a two page poll which records votes in national and local races, positions on prominent public policy issues, and demographic information such as race, religion, political affiliation, age, income, gender, and the like.

⁶⁸ No other large data set can compare to Magleby's in helping us learn more about the political views of Latter-day Saints. The National Election Studies, General Social Survey and other national surveys rarely exceed 50 Latter-day Saints for any given year.

Summary

Using a unique, purposive sample and a variety of methods and approaches, this research endeavors to better understand how religion and culture affect socio-political perspectives. Q technique will be the foundation for this study while surveys and interviews will help complete the puzzle. Ironically, due to purposive sampling, this sample is actually more “representative” of LDS diversity than any existing data set. Nevertheless, I do not claim to identify an exhaustive list of LDS political perspectives. Broadening this sample to include Asians, Europeans, Africans, and others would likely reveal even more diversity of perspectives. Nevertheless, the current sample will provide a better test of these relationships than heretofore conducted. The following chapters will report the results of this unique analysis.

CHAPTER 4

LATTER-DAY SAINT SOCIO-POLITICAL WORLD VIEWS

Introduction

A high level of constraint in LDS political attitudes has been demonstrated in Utah-based surveys (Magleby 1989) and assumed by most commentators on Mormonism. Unfortunately, there has been little systematic research on LDS members' attitudes outside of Utah and none on members outside of the United States. Only Mauss (1994) has presented a comparison of differences between Latter-day Saints in Utah and other places. Mauss' finds "great diversity" between Utah and California Mormons, which challenges the conventional wisdom that religion is the sole cause of political constraint among members in Utah.

This chapter will take this important first step in conducting a more comprehensive test of this relationship among Mormons. I will first present the results of the Q sort analysis. The Q sort reveals the nature of the world views held by Latter-day Saints. In describing the political world views we will focus on the key differences between the world views--differences that define each world view. The latter part of the chapter will focus on the similarities between these viewpoints. This knowledge will help us assess the level of constraint among Latter-day Saints.

Q Sort Results

The Q sort statement rankings were correlated and factor analyzed using PQMETHOD 2.0a, a Q program for the personal computer. The factor analysis was conducted using standard Q method techniques, namely, the use of a centroid factor analysis with a Varimax rotation.⁶⁹ This analysis produced six factors. All sorts with factor coefficients greater than 0.36 were statistically significant ($p \leq .01$) and were used in computing the composite factor scores.⁷⁰ The weighted average rank-scores for each factor are presented in Appendix A and for each statement in the discussion and tables throughout this chapter.

Table 4.1 below presents the correlations between the six factors. It is immediately apparent that the correlations are quite high. Upon seeing this, one may wonder whether a less highly correlated factor solution can be found. To be more confident the six factor solution was best, I derived all solutions between two and eight factors. I then systematically compared each solution for three critical features: split-loadings, factor inter-correlations, and loading sizes. By comparing these features, I determined that the six factor solution gave the clearest depiction of the data, meaning it minimized factor

⁶⁹ Centroid factor analysis is the method of choice in Q methodology because it facilitates judgmental rotation. However, Brown (1980) has shown that the centroid and principal components methods produce very similar results. For this study I compared the results of both methods to confirm that the results were indeed substantively similar. Furthermore, although judgmental rotation, not Varimax is Stephenson's (1953) method of choice, most Q studies use Varimax rotations.

⁷⁰ Statistical significance ($p \leq .01$) is calculated using McKeown and Thomas' (1988, 50) formula for factor loadings (2.58 times the standard error ($SE = 1/\sqrt{50} = 0.36$)).

Table 4.1: Correlations of Q Factors						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	.74	.69	.65	.67	.46
2		1	.61	.69	.73	.57
3			1	.61	.55	.39
4				1	.70	.47
5					1	.66
6						1

inter-correlations and split loadings while maximizing overall loading sizes. Later in the chapter I will explain the source of these high correlations. I am now confident that the high correlations are inherent in the data rather than a statistical artifact.

While there are high correlations between the factors, the correlations are far from a perfect correlation of one, meaning each one exhibits characteristics that set it apart from the others. In order to delineate the nature of these world views, one must detail the differences between each--the statements that differentiate each factor from the others. The differences observed in the six world views are both statistically significant and substantively revealing. And as will be explained later in Chapter 5, these differences appear to reflect contextual, or cultural effects.

The most significant areas of disagreement between the six world views that help define their character include: views on the US Constitution, discrimination and special treatment for groups who have been discriminated against, merit and economic injustice in determining economic success, government provision of basic material needs for the poor, optimism in the future, law and order, equality, foreign intervention, individualism, trust in

government to find solutions to problems, citizen influence on and participation in government, military spending, and government regulation of morality. Each factor described below is named to reflect Maddox and Lilie's ideological categories and other salient identifying features. Although I have labeled the factors largely in terms of political ideology, they actually reflect much larger socio-political world views relevant to Latter-day Saints. The statements presented in each section represent the statements that are statistically different between factors.⁷¹

Type A: High-US Social Conservatives

Twenty of the 51 members of the sample loaded significantly on the first LDS socio-political world view. This world view is labeled "High-US" because respondents strongly agree with statements declaring that the US Constitution is inspired by God, and the United States is supposed to be a "light unto the world" (statements 36, 38). These Saints are also most supportive among all groups of government regulation of moral issues (8, 9, 24). Meanwhile they are ambivalent toward economic regulation and government intervention in the free market (5, 14, 15, 28, 32, 50).⁷² Their high support for social regulation and ambivalence toward economic regulation makes them closest to

⁷¹ Most of the statements presented in this discussion are those elements whose rank orderings (based on z scores) distinguish this factor (are statistically different from the other factors) at $p \leq .05$. Statistically significant statements that distinguish each factor are indicated with a star (*) after each statement number. Periodically, other statements are included to further enhance the interpretation of the factor, even if these are not statistically different themselves.

⁷² Although these statements are not all statistically different for this world view, their absolute level is still reported in order to better understand the character of this group.

conservatives in Maddox and Lilie's typology. They are slightly different, however, in that they do not strongly oppose government economic regulation. In fact, this group is not far from being considered populist.

This group is also most supportive of foreign intervention (20). They feel somewhat positive about citizen influence on government (yet lower than other groups) but do not believe that citizens need to be actively involved in government decisions (34, 44). They are more trusting of government than most other groups (35). Finally, this group attributes many of our current problems to the lack of equal treatment and a lack of respect for law and authority (27, 29).

The statements that best define High-US Social Conservatives and differentiate it from the other world views are the following.⁷³ The scores for each factor are reported beneath each statement. The score for Type A is on the far left and ranges to Type F on the far right. A rank of 5 indicates strong agreement, -5 indicates strong disagreement and 0 indicates ambivalence. To simplify interpretation, I have underlined the value for each factor.

- Type A Mormons are most supportive of government regulation of moral issues.

8.* It is not government's business to define what is morally correct.

-4 1 1 0 2 0

⁷³The statements with a * after the number are statistically different than other factors at $p \leq .05$ (although most are $\leq .01$).

9.* It is necessary for government to set basic bounds on individual moral behavior.

3 -2 0 -2 -2 -3

24.* Freedom means government not telling us how to live our personal lives.

-2 2 0 2 1 1

- This group feels moderately efficacious about citizen influence on government but are lower than other groups. They are also most deferential to experts and elected officials and one of the most trusting in government.

34.* People can have an influence on government if they just speak up.

2 3 4 3 3 5

44.* It is essential that citizens participate in all governmental decisions.

-1 1 2 2 3 3

35.* Government cannot be trusted to do what is in our best interest.

-3 -2 -4 0 1 0

- This group is slightly supportive of foreign intervention.

20.* We are obligated to intervene in other countries' affairs to make the world a better place.

1 -1 -2 0 -1 -1

21. We should worry about our own problems rather than those of other countries.

-2 0 -1 0 1 -2

- This group attributes many of our current problems to a lack of respect for law and authority and, contrary to the conservative label, also believe inequality is the source of many of our problems. Finally, they believe that wealth is not always acquired fairly.

29. We would have fewer problems if people had more respect for law and authority.

4 3 3 1 4 4

27.* We would have fewer problems if people were treated more equally.

3 0 4 1 1 -1

12.* Wealth often comes from abusing others and not playing by the rules.

1 -2 -1 -1 0 -1

- Finally, Type A Mormons also have a strong belief that the Constitution is God-given and that the US plays a special role in the world.

36. The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God's preferred form of government.

3 4 3 3 0 1

38. God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.

3 5 3 5 2 1

Type B: High-US Libertarians

The fourteen respondents who exemplify the Type B world view are also labeled “High-US” because of their strong belief in the “inspired Constitution” and the United States’ special role in the world (36, 38). Although they are not totally distrustful of government (35), they are not confident in government’s ability to solve problems (1, 35). Unlike Type A respondents, people with this perspective do not support government regulation of moral issues (8, 9, 24) or government redistribution of wealth (14, 15, 31, 32). They are most likely to see government interference in the free market as a problem and most likely to believe that hard work leads to success (5, 11). In other words, they have the most “free market” outlook of all world views. They are also least likely to agree that we spend too much on the military and too little on people (22). Finally, they are more oriented toward individual rights than most of their counterparts (43). This group would be considered “libertarian” in Maddox and Lilie’s typology due to their opposition to both social and economic regulation. The statements best distinguishing Type B are the following.

- Type B respondents agree more than any other group that the US Constitution is inspired and the United States has a special role in the world.

36.* The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God's preferred form of government.

3 4 3 3 0 1

38. God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.

3 5 3 5 2 1

- Type B respondents are opposed to government redistributive activities and believe strongly in self-sufficiency.

14.* Government is responsible to provide basic needs to everyone, like housing, food, job training and education.

-2 -4 2 -1 -1 -3

31. If a person has the ability to acquire wealth, they should have the right to enjoy it.

1 3 1 3 1 1

32. Government should make sure wealth is distributed more equally in society.

-1 -3 0 -1 -2 -2

- Type B respondents show moderate opposition to government regulation of morality.

8. It is not government's business to define what is morally correct.

-4 1 1 0 2 0

9. It is necessary for government to set basic bounds on individual moral behavior.

3 -2 0 -2 -2 -3

24. Freedom means government not telling us how to live our personal lives.

-2 2 0 2 1 1

- Type B respondents are also most likely to see government as an impediment in the free market and have the highest belief in merit-based rewards (although the absolute level is moderate). Further, they have little trust in government to do what is in the citizens' interest.

5.* Many of society's problems are caused by too much government interference in the free market.

0 1 -1 0 0 -2

11.* Those who succeed work hard; those who haven't succeeded haven't worked hard enough.

-4 0 -5 -2 -3 -4

22.* Governments spend too much money on guns and bombs and not enough helping people.

1 -1 2 1 1 2

35.* Government cannot be trusted to do what is in our best interest.

-3 -2 -4 0 1 0

- Finally, these Latter-day saints are more likely to focus on individual rights than most other groups.

43.* We focus too much on individual rights and not nearly enough on what is good for the community as a whole.

2 -1 1 -2 2 2

Type C: High-US Optimistic Liberals

The nine respondents who exemplify the Type C world view are labeled “liberals” because they have a very positive view of government and favor an activist government in solving social problems (16). This includes support for providing basic needs like housing, food, job training and education (14). They also have a high level trust in government (35, 47, 49). They reflect other traditionally liberal viewpoints such as believing that the media is blamed unfairly for social problems (41) and that inequality is the source of many problems (27). They are also more likely to oppose military spending and involvement in other nations’ affairs (20, 22) and are most likely of all of the groups to agree that non-traditional families are just as good as traditional ones (6, 7). They are also very optimistic about the future (10).

Nevertheless, these “liberals” are neutral on the issue of social regulation (8, 9). Further, they believe strongly that people can be “moral” even if they’re poor (48). Like both previous groups, they share a high level of support for the statements about the Constitution and US role in the world (36, 37, 38, 39). The statements that best define this world view and differentiate it from the other world views are the following:

- Type C respondents have a relatively high level of trust in government, favor an active, leading role for government, and favor government provision of basic material needs.
- 14.* Government is responsible to provide basic needs to everyone, like housing, food, job training and education.
- 2 -4 2 -1 -1 -3
16. Government should take an active, leading role in solving societal problems.
- 2 -1 3 2 -2 -2
- 35.* Government cannot be trusted to do what is in our best interest.
- 3 -2 -4 0 1 0
- 47.* Government has proven that it is incapable of helping solve our complex problems.
- 1 0 -3 -1 0 0
- 49.* Government can be trusted to help find solutions to our problems and help improve our lives.
- 0 -3 2 -1 -4 0
- Type C respondents believe most strongly that a high level of morality is obtainable under economic stress and agree the least that the media is to blame for moral decay. They also disagree significantly less that non-traditional families are just as good as traditional ones.

48.* It is difficult for people to live perfect moral lives when they can't even put food on the table.

-3 -4 -5 -1 -5 3

41.* The media is blamed too often for our social problems.

-1 0 2 -2 -3 -1

7.* Non-traditional families are just as good, if not better, than traditional ones.

-5 -5 -1 -5 -5 -5

- These respondents see equality as a big problem, yet are quite hopeful about the future.

27.* We would have fewer problems if people were treated more equally.

3 0 4 1 1 -1

10. The future looks bleak for the next generation.

-3 -3 -4 3 0 0

- Finally, these Latter-day Saints believe strongly that the US Constitution is better than other governments and that the US is supposed to be a “light unto the world.”

36. The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God’s preferred form of government.

3 4 3 3 0 1

37.* The US Constitution is no better than many other types of government.

-4 -5 -3 -5 -1 0

38. God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.

3 5 3 5 2 1

39. The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.

-2 0 -2 0 2 2

Type D: High-US Alienated Liberals

Like Type C respondents, the eight Type D respondents share a high level of support for the statements about the Constitution and US role in the world (36, 37, 38, 39). They also tend to be fairly “liberal” on economic issues. They have little faith in the free market or merit-based rewards (17, 25, 45), they are most likely to see economic injustice and discrimination a major problem (4) and are one of the least likely to see moral breakdown as preeminent (although they moderately agree with this also--see statement 3). Likewise, they are least likely to agree that a lack of law and order is a major cause of problems (29). They are slightly more likely than other groups to believe that the poor cannot live moral lives (48) and they have one of the most individualistic outlooks of all groups (43). Finally, they most strongly support special protections for minority groups (2, 40). Unlike Type C Respondents, however, Type D respondents are labeled “alienated” because they are pessimistic about the future (10, 26). The statements that best

define these Alienated Liberals and differentiate them from other world views are the following:

- Type D respondents are very pessimistic about the future.

10.* The future looks bleak for the next generation.

-3 -3 -4 3 0 0

26.* The future looks brighter for the next generation than it did for past generations.

0 2 1 -4 -1 -1

- Compared to other groups, Type D respondents, have little faith in the free market, experts, or rewards based on merit.

17. Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.

-1 -1 -2 -3 0 -3

25.* The best and brightest should make it to the top.

-1 1 0 -3 -1 0

45. Many decisions are best made by experts rather than directly by voters.

0 0 -3 -4 -2 -1

- Type D respondents are more likely to see economic injustice and moral breakdown (versus a lack of law and order) as a predominant problem in society and favor programs to remedy this situation.

2.* We need to give some groups in society special protections and opportunities in order to overcome injustices.

0 -1 0 2 -2 -5

3. Moral breakdown and decay is the source of most of society's problems.

5 5 5 3 5 2

4.* Problems in our society are mostly caused by economic injustice and discrimination.

0 -1 -1 1 -3 -3

29.* We would have fewer problems if people had more respect for law and authority.

4 3 3 1 4 4

40.* It is not right to have special protections or opportunities for specific ethnic and racial groups.

0 1 -1 -3 -1 4

- Type D respondents have a moderately individualistic outlook. They also disagree that it's hard to be "moral" when you're poor although they are somewhat amenable to the statement.

43.* We focus too much on individual rights and not nearly enough on what is good for the community as a whole.

2 -1 1 -2 2 2

48.* It is difficult for people to live perfect moral lives when they can't even put food on the table.

-3 -4 -5 -1 -5 3

- Finally, these Latter-day Saints believe strongly that the US Constitution is better than other governments and that the US is supposed to be a “light unto the world.”

36. The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God’s preferred form of government.

3 4 3 3 0 1

37. The US Constitution is no better than many other types of government.

-4 -5 -3 -5 -1 0

38. God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.

3 5 3 5 2 1

39. The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.

-2 0 -2 0 2 2

Type E: Ambivalent-US Communitarians

The seventeen Type E respondents have many similarities with Type B respondents. However, I labeled them Communitarian rather than libertarian because they focus slightly more on the good of the community over the individual (42, 43) and on

economic self-sufficiency (1, 14). They strongly oppose special protections for minority groups (2). They also have low levels of trust in government (49) and low levels of support for government social regulation (8, 9, 24). Significantly, they are ambivalent in their esteem for the United States' Constitution and the US role in the world, having the lowest rankings on these statements of any group (although there is still a moderate positive relationship; see statements 36-39). The statements that best define these ambivalent-US Communitarians and differentiate them from other world views are the following:

- Type E respondents have a relatively low level of agreement with statements that the US Constitution is inspired and US has a special role in the world.

36.* The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God's preferred form of government.

3 4 3 3 0 1

37.* The US Constitution is no better than many other types of government.

-4 -5 -3 -5 -1 0

38. God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.

3 5 3 5 2 1

39. The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.

-2 0 -2 0 2 2

- Type E respondents have a low level of trust in government, and oppose special protections for any group in society.

2.* We need to give some groups in society special protections and opportunities in order to overcome injustices.

0 -1 0 2 -2 -5

49.* Government can be trusted to help find solutions to our problems and help improve our lives.

0 -3 2 -1 -4 0

- Although Type E respondents are not against government programs *per se*, they definitely favor individual self-sufficiency over government solutions to problems.

1 Society's problems cannot be solved by government, people must change things on their own.

2 2 -1 2 3 -2

15. It is not government's responsibility to care for everyone, people must take care of themselves.

2 2 0 1 4 3

- Type E respondents have a slightly more Communitarian outlook than others.

42. Government must protect people's individual rights, even if it is harmful to the community as a whole.

-3 -3 -4 -1 -4 1

43.* We focus too much on individual rights and not nearly enough on what is good for the community as a whole.

2 -1 1 -2 2 2

■ Finally, this group is among the lowest on support for social regulation.

8.* It is not government's business to define what is morally correct.

-4 1 1 0 2 0

Type F: Ambivalent-US Moderate Libertarians

The final group of five respondents is the smallest and most difficult to interpret in ideological terms. In general, they appear to be libertarian in that they oppose special protections for minorities or for government provision of basic needs (2 14, 40). Yet at the same time, they strongly favor government regulation of business (17, 50). They are moderately opposed to moral regulation (8, 9). They tend to be the most focused on individual rights although their overall score is still relatively low in absolute terms (42). They are also by far the most likely to agree that people can't live moral lives if they are poor (48). Finally, this group is labeled "ambivalent-US" because they have the lowest agreement with the notion that the US Constitution is better than other forms of government and the US is a light unto the world (36-39). The statements that best define these anti-US moderate libertarians and differentiate them from other world views are the following:

- Type F respondents have a low level of support for special protections or for government provision of basic needs.

2.* We need to give some groups in society special protections and opportunities in order to overcome injustices.

0 -1 0 2 -2 -5

14.* Government is responsible to provide basic needs to everyone, like housing, food, job training and education.

-2 -4 2 -1 -1 -3

40.* It is not right to have special protections or opportunities for specific ethnic and racial groups.

0 1 -1 -3 -1 4

- Yet, these respondents believe government is necessary to protect people from abuses by business in the free market.

17. Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.

-1 -1 -2 -3 0 -3

50.* We need government to protect us from abuses by business which always occur in a free market.

1 0 1 1 0 3

- Type F respondents are moderately opposed to government moral regulation and believe living “moral lives” is difficult under trying economic circumstances.

8. It is not government’s business to define what is morally correct.

-4 1 1 0 2 0

9.* It is necessary for government to set basic bounds on individual moral behavior.

3 -2 0 -2 -2 -3

48.* It is difficult for people to live perfect moral lives when they can't even put food on the table.

-3 -4 -5 -1 -5 3

■ This group of Latter-day Saints is the most ambivalent about the US Constitution and the US's role in the world.

36. The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God's preferred form of government.

3 4 3 3 0 1

37.* The US Constitution is no better than many other types of government.

-4 -5 -3 -5 -1 0

38. God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.

3 5 3 5 2 1

39. The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.

-2 0 -2 0 2 2

- Finally, this group is most focused on individual versus community rights.

42.* Government must protect people's individual rights, even if it is harmful to the community as a whole.

-3 -3 -4 -1 -4 1

World Views in Ideological Perspective

Table 4.2 below summarizes the principal ideological orientations of each of these six world views. As one can see, none of these world views epitomizes Maddox and Lilie's ideal types. For example, while Mormons are always thought of as archetypically "conservative," none of these groups is a pure example of conservatism. While Type A Saints strongly support government regulation of "moral issues" (they are social

Table 4.2: World Views by Ideological Dimensions			
	Social Regulation	Economic Regulation	Foreign Intervention
Type A	High Support	Low Opposition	Low Support
Type B	Low Opposition	High Opposition	Ambivalent
Type C	Ambivalent	Low Support	Low Opposition
Type D	Low Opposition	Low Support	Low Opposition
Type E	Low Opposition	High Opposition	Ambivalent
Type F	Mod. Opposition	Low Opposition to income redistribution; Moderate Support for regulating business	Low Support
Relevant Statements	8, 9 24	5, 14, 15, 28, 32, 50	20, 21

+/- 5, +/-4=high; +/-4, +/-3=mod; +/-2, +/-1=low; +/-1, 0=ambivalent.

conservatives) they do not strongly oppose economic intervention (they are *not* economic conservatives). In this sense they can almost be thought of as populists as much as conservatives. In fact virtually every world view could be correctly categorized as socially conservative. Neither are there any “true” liberals who strongly support government economic control.

A graphical depiction of these world views clarifies even further. Figure 4.1 depicts each world view in three dimensional ideological space defined by social, economic and foreign ideological dimensions.⁷⁴ The variation between the factors is even easier to conceptualize in this format. The spatial separation of the world views is significant--especially the spatial separation of Type A from F and the C-D and E-B clusters.

The variation is further clarified in figures 4.2 and 4.3. Figure 4.2 presents only the social and economic dimensions. Here again we see that only one LDS world view comes close to fitting the conservative mold--Type A. Types B and E are quite libertarian, albeit in slightly different ways. As mentioned above, Type B is labeled libertarian because they have an individualistic outlook. Meanwhile, Type E respondents share a similar perspective on government, but they are more Communitarian. Types C and D also share a moderate “liberal” outlook. Yet they differ in that Type C is very optimistic while Type D respondents are quite pessimistic and more supportive of affirmative action efforts.

Significantly, all six world views tend to fall toward the negative pole of the economic axis (horizontal axis). In other words, none of the world views were very liberal

⁷⁴These figures were constructed using the data contained in Table 4.2.

on social or economic issues. The exceptions (Types C and D) are only moderately liberal on these issues. An overall sense of self-sufficiency and lack of support for aggressive government economic regulation is evident in the asymmetry of the data points.

Figure 4.3 shows the world views along the social and foreign dimensions. Here again, we see Type A spatially separated indicating strong support for social regulation and moderate support for foreign intervention. Type F shares the positive orientation toward foreign intervention but opposes social regulation. Types C and D shows moderate opposition to foreign intervention while Types B and E are neutral on this issue.

Figure 4.1
World Views in 3-D Ideological Space

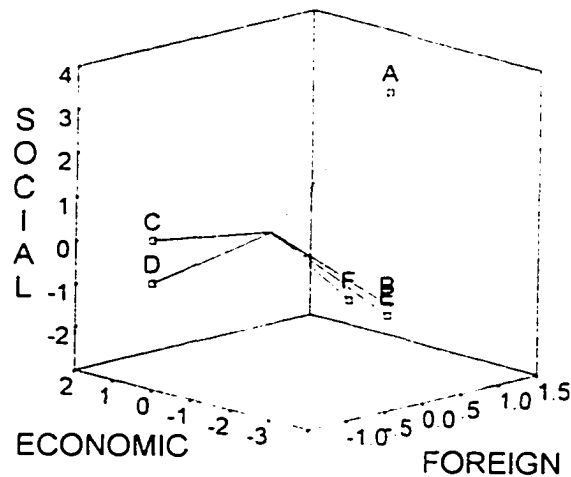


Figure 4.3

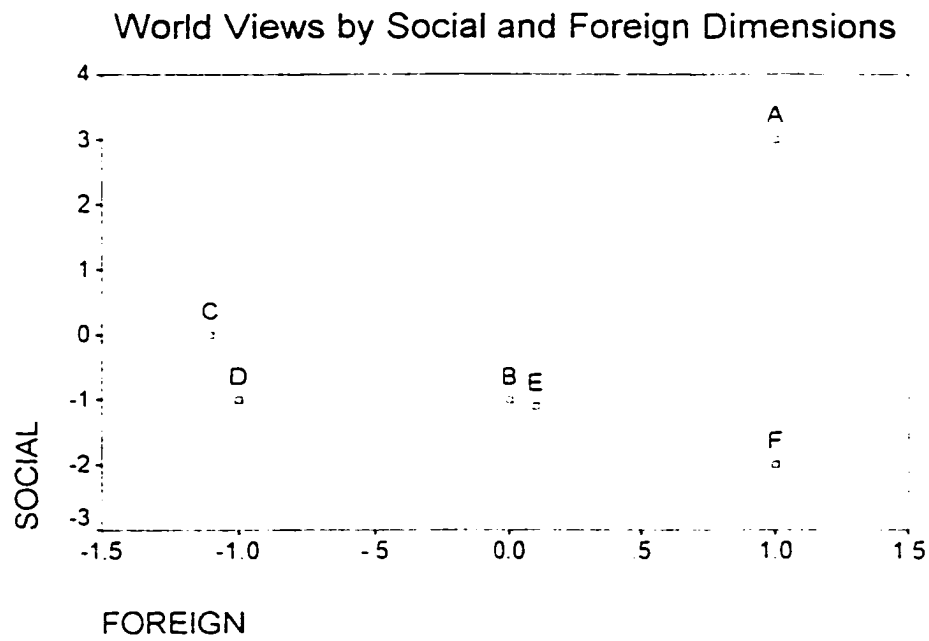
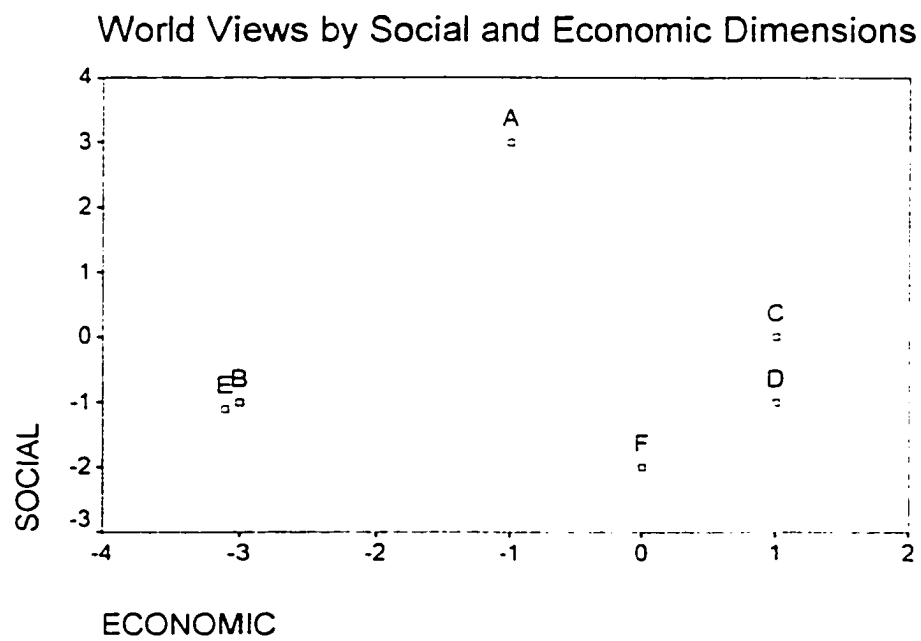


Figure 4.2



That such differences arise in a culturally diverse sample begs the question of whether these world views vary systematically by race or culture. Do the Utahans, Republicans and Democrats, Canadians, Mexicans, or minorities differ systematically in the world views they express? Chapter 5 will address these questions in greater detail. But before turning to that issue, we will examine the similarities in the world views of these Latter-day Saints.

The Nature of Constraint Among LDS World Views

While it is clear that Latter-day Saints in this sample have some important differences, they also share some important commonalities in their world views. The second part of this chapter will further define these commonalities which, in such a culturally diverse sample, should reveal religious effects (since religion is the only variable held constant). The similarities in these world views will be highlighted through two modes of analysis: 1) by defining “consensus” statements in the original Q sort and 2) conducting a second-order factor analysis of the original first order Q factors. Each mode of analysis will help define the nature of the *constraint* among members that may be attributable to religious belief.

Table 4.1 at the beginning of this chapter showed the correlations of the Q factors which we immediately recognized were quite highly correlated. The high correlations between factors indicate that there are many belief elements ranked similarly in each world view. In fact we find that there is no statistical distinction in the rankings of 19 out of 50 Q

sort statements in the original solution.⁷⁵ Some of the non-distinguishing statements are presented below.⁷⁶

- Many of the “consensus” statements concerned “moral” issues (Wald and Lupfer 1983, Jelen 1998). For example, there is widespread agreement on the necessity of traditional families, that moral breakdown is the principal source of current problems, and the media is at least partially responsible for the moral failure. Respondents also overwhelmingly agree that people can live “moral, law-abiding lives” regardless of economic circumstances.

3. Moral breakdown and decay is the source of most of society's problems.

5 5 5 3 5 2

6. The traditional family structure is necessary to build a good society.

5 4 4 5 5 5

18. People can always choose to live moral, law-abiding lives even if they are poor.

4 4 5 4 4 4

46. The permissive content of television and movies is one of the main reasons for the moral breakdown of society.

4 3 1 4 3 1

⁷⁵ There was no statistical distinction on the following Q sort statements ($p < .05$): 1, 3, 6, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 45, and 46.

⁷⁶ The statements presented in the following discussion have no statistical difference between sorts at $p \leq .05$.

- Respondents also disagree strongly that people should be unconcerned about politics even if there is disagreement over how active a role government should take.

33. There is no use in worrying about politics, we can't change it anyway.

-5 -4 -3 -3 -4 -4

16. Government should take an active, leading role in solving societal problems.

2 -1 3 2 -2 -2

- Respondents generally disfavored military spending over social spending. Further, the sample is ambivalent to slightly interventionist in their foreign policy stances.

19. Spending money to maintain a strong military is more important than spending on social programs.

-2 -2 -2 -4 -3 -4

21. We should worry about our own problems rather than those of other countries.

-2 0 -1 0 1 -2

- There was also a marked sense of “American exceptionalism.” Respondents believed that the United States was intended to be a “light unto the world” although most were unconvinced US behavior was better than other countries.

38. God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.

3 5 3 5 2 1

39. The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.

-2 0 -2 0 2 2

- Statements 1 and 15 also reveal a general preference for “self-sufficiency” and preference for individual solutions to problems.

1. Society’s problems cannot be solved by government, people must change things on their own.

2 2 -1 2 3 -2

15. It is not government's responsibility to care for everyone, people must take care of themselves.

2 2 0 1 4 3

- Members also exhibit a low to moderate opposition to government redistributive programs.

32. Government should make sure wealth is distributed more equally in society.

-1 -3 0 -1 -2 -2

28. An equal chance is not enough, we should do more to make economic outcomes more equal.

0 -2 0 0 -1 -1

- While respondents generally oppose redistribution of wealth, they do not place great trust in the free market.

17. Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.

-1 -1 -2 -3 0 -3

30. All people are different so we should not expect or demand equal economic success.

1 1 0 1 0 2

31. If a person has the ability to acquire wealth, they should have the right to enjoy it.

1 3 1 3 1 1

- Finally, none of the respondents were overly deferential to experts.

45. Many decisions are best made by experts rather than directly by voters.

0 0 -3 -4 -2 -1

Second Order Factor Analysis

Clearly, all the Latter-day Saints in this sample share a number of important political positions, as seen in the high factor correlations and consensual statements discussed above. There was general agreement in American Exceptionalism, a strong focus on family and morality, low support for military spending and redistribution of wealth, and low trust in government or markets. Yet all members had a relatively high

level of political efficacy. Another way to examine these similarities is to conduct a second-order factor analysis (Brown 1980, Dennis 1990). A second order factor analysis takes the original six factors and treats them as if they were individual cases. Then these sorts are factored to identify underlying dimensions within these world views. The centroid method was used again to be consistent with the original analysis. However, rather than using a Varimax rotation, I retained the un-rotated factors for analysis. This is because the Varimax rotation method spreads commonality across factors rather than isolating it on one factor.⁷⁷ The first unrotated factor thus maximizes the commonality from the six original factors and provides a “composite” picture of the factor commonalities. Additional factors reveal other underlying dimensions.

The second-order factor analysis produced two significant factors that are presented in Table 4.3 below. The factor scores for the first Superfactor are a composite of first-order factors A thru F and show what they have in common. As can be seen, every first-order factor loaded very highly on Superfactor I. The factor scores for Superfactor II show the character of the additional amount of variance from factors A, C, and E that is not captured in the consensual second-order Superfactor I.

⁷⁷ In calculating a factor, all of the commonality possible is loaded into the first factor, then a second factor is calculated from the residuals, and so on. Rotation simply allows one to change the “reference point” of the factor structure, which remains unchanged. A Varimax rotation which spreads commonality across factors would thus confuse the interpretation of the second order factors (Brown 1980).

Table 4.3: Second Order Factor Loadings		
	Superfactor I	Superfactor II
Factor A	.8218	.28133
Factor B	.8472	-.07777
Factor C	.7193	.34238
Factor D	.7541	.00423
Factor E	.8323	-.31195
Factor F	.6220	-.19350

$\gamma = .1099$

Table 4.4 on the next page shows the statement number, original statement, rank (from 5 to -5) and z scores for second order “Superfactors” I and II. It is apparent from looking at the highest scoring statements⁷⁸ on Superfactor I that there is the strong sense of optimism in government, American exceptionalism and moralism that is paramount in the respondents’ thinking. This can be seen in the high levels of support for statements stating that the traditional family structure is necessary to build a good society (statement 6, +5, $z=2.179$), that moral breakdown and decay causes most of society’s ills (statement 3), that people can live moral, law-abiding lives (18), that God intended the U.S. to be a light unto the world (38), that people can have an influence on government if they speak up, and so on.

Looking at the negative pole of this dimension (the negative statements in the table), respondents disagree that non-traditional families are just as good as traditional ones (no. 7, -5, $z=-2.124$), that there is no use worrying about politics (33), that the U.S.

⁷⁸Another way to think of the highest and lowest scoring statements on Superfactor I is that they are the statements that the sample as a whole agreed on most strongly.

Table 4.4: Second-Order Superfactor Structures		I		II	
#	Q Sort Statement	Rank	z	Rank	z
6	The traditional family structure is necessary to build a good society.	5**	2.179	0	.04
3	Moral breakdown and decay is the source of most of society's problems.	5**	2.102	2	.72
18	People can always choose to live moral, law-abiding lives even if they are poor.	4**	1.934	1	.51
38	God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.	4**	1.587	2	.62
29	We would have fewer problems if people had more respect for law and authority.	4**	1.512	0	-.02
34	People can have an influence on government if they just speak up.	3**	1.511	-1	-.07
46	The permissive content of television and movies is one of the main reasons for the moral breakdown of society.	3**	1.381	1	.12
36	The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God's preferred form of government.	3	1.140	3	1.19
15	It is not government's responsibility to care for everyone, people must take care of themselves.	3**	1.003	-3	-1.15
31	If a person has the ability to acquire wealth, they should have the right to enjoy it.	2**	.826	0	-.06
1	Society's problems cannot be solved by government, people must change things on their own.	2**	.720	-1	-.42
44	It is essential that citizens participate in all governmental decisions.	2**	.681	-2	-.93
27	We would have fewer problems if people were treated more equally.	2**	.639	4	1.75
13	A large gap between rich and poor is unhealthy for society.	2	.404	0	.05
30	All people are different so we should not expect or demand equal economic success.	1	.350	-1	-.13
22	Governments spend too much money on guns and bombs and not enough helping people.	1	.338	1	.31
50	We need government to protect us from abuses by business which always occur in a free market.	1	.331	0	.07

Statements are ranked from 5 (most agree) to -5 (least agree). * represent statistically significant differences between z scores.

*=p<.05; **=p<.01; else statements are consensus.

Table 4.4: Second-Order Superfactor Structures (continued)		I		II	
#	Q Sort Statement	Rank	z	Rank	z
24	Freedom means government not telling us how to live our personal lives.	1**	.307	-2	-.98
43	We focus too much on individual rights and not nearly enough on what is good for the community as a whole.	1	.282	0	-.02
16	Government should take an active, leading role in solving societal problems.	1**	.097	5	2.23
23	The most important freedoms are ownership of private property and economic self-determination.	1**	.091	-4	-1.46
8	It is not government's business to define what is morally correct.	0**	-.008	-3	-1.21
5	Many of society's problems are caused by too much government interference in the free market.	0	-.019	0	-.05
39	The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.	0**	-.022	-5	-1.87
40	It is not right to have special protections or opportunities for specific ethnic and racial groups.	0*	-.090	-1	-.71
26	The future looks brighter for the next generation than it did for past generations.	0*	-.121	2	.57
21	We should worry about our own problems rather than those of other countries.	0	-.221	-2	-.71
20	We are obligated to intervene in other countries' affairs to make the world a better place.	0	-.270	1	.12
25	The best and brightest should make it to the top.	0	-.281	0	-.04
12	Wealth often comes from abusing others and not playing by the rules.	-1	-.290	1	.20
47	Government has proven that it is incapable of helping solve our complex problems.	-1**	-.329	-3	-1.11
28	An equal chance is not enough, we should do more to make economic outcomes more equal.	-1**	-.365	1	.53
2	We need to give some groups in society special protections and opportunities in order to overcome injustices.	-1**	-.376	4	1.34
9	It is necessary for government to set basic bounds on individual moral behavior.	-1**	-.390	4	1.78
41	The media is blamed too often for our social problems.	-1**	-.458	3	1.28
4	Problems in our society are mostly caused by economic injustice and discrimination.	-1**	-.523	3	1.01

Statements are ranked from 5 (most agree) to -5 (least agree). * represent statistically significant differences between z scores.

*=p<.05; **=p<.01; else statements are consensus.

Table 4.4: Second-Order Superfactor Structures (continued)		Factor I		Factor I	
#	Q Sort Statement	Rank	Z	Rank	Z
17	Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.	-2	-.631	-1	-.311
35	People can have an influence on government if they just speak up.	-2 **	-.633	-1	-.073
10	The future looks bleak for the next generation.	-2 **	-.651	-4	-1.67
45	Many decisions are best made by experts rather than directly by voters.	-2	-.672	-1	-.217
49	Government can be trusted to help find solutions to our problems and help improve our lives.	-2 **	-.699	5	1.80
32	Government should make sure wealth is distributed more equally in society.	-3 **	-.779	2	.767
14	Government is responsible to provide basic needs to everyone, like housing, food, job training and education.	-3 **	-.811	3	1.07
19	Spending money to maintain a strong military is more important than spending on social programs.	-3 **	-1.24	1	.447
11	Those who succeed work hard; those who haven't succeeded haven't worked hard enough.	-3	-1.250	-2	-1.0
42	Government must protect people's individual rights, even if it is harmful to the community as a whole.	-4	-1.282	-2	-.796
48	It is difficult for people to live perfect moral lives when they can't even put food on the table.	-4	-1.477	-3	-1.07
37	The US Constitution is no better than many other types of government.	-4	-1.543	-4	-1.26
33	There is no use in worrying about politics, we can't change it anyway.	-5 **	-1.851	-1	-.154
7	Non-traditional families are just as good, if not better, than traditional ones.	-5 **	-2.124	2	.895

Statements are ranked from 5 (most agree) to -5 (least agree). * represent statistically significant differences between z scores.

*=p<.05; **=p<.01; else statements are consensus.

government is no better than any other (34), that it is hard to lead a moral life if you are poor (48), etc. Thus, the optimistic US-centric moralism shown in Superfactor I permeates first order factors A through F. Table 4.5 below shows the Q sort statement rankings by the original factors. Here, we can see that, with very few exceptions, the statements listed above are ranked highly in the factor arrays of first-order factors A through F.

Superfactor II tells us that there is an additional dimension, albeit a much weaker one, over and above the optimistic US-centric moralism in Superfactor I. First order factors A and C load moderately on this dimension while world views E and F disagree with this viewpoint. The nature of this factor can again be interpreted by examining the positive and negative loadings presented in Table 4.4. The dominant theme is an optimistic, populist faith in activist government. This factor agrees that government should take an active, leading role in solving problems (no. 16, +5, $z=2.226$), that government can be trusted to find solutions to problems (49), that government should set limits on basic moral behavior (9), that government should provide special protections to fix inequalities (2, 27), and so forth. The negative pole shows the same quality--disagreement that government cannot be trusted to do what is in our best interest (no. 35), that the U.S. is no better than other countries (39), that the future looks bleak (10), that the most important freedom is to own property (23), and so forth.

In sum, all of the factors exhibit a high level of optimistic US-centric moralism that creates the high factor inter-correlations. Differences emerged however on the second

Superfactor that reflects populist support for an activist government. World views A and C agree with both of these dominant sentiments. Meanwhile, world views E and F have a negative loading on Superfactor II, indicating a low level of faith in activist government.

Summary and Conclusion

What does all of this tell us about the level of constraint among latter-day Saint socio-political world views? Overall, the Q sort indicates a reasonably large amount of attitudinal constraint that appears to be rooted in religious belief. A consensus emerged on 19 of 50 Q sort statements. Furthermore, Superfactor 1 shows the nature of this commonality: optimistic US-centric moralism appears in all world views. This constraint exists despite the fact that the sample includes many statements hypothesized to differ across demographic groups and that the sample included Mormons from different countries and ethnicities.

We also see that many of the consensus statements appear to have roots in LDS theology as anticipated in Chapter 2. Mormons believe that through priesthood ordinances, families, which are at the very center of Mormonism, can be joined together forever. This strong family focus led virtually every respondent to rank this statement as a +5. Further, the LDS focus on morality also dominated most respondent's sorts. There was also general agreement that being poor was no excuse for moral failing, even among poor Mormons and that the media plays a role in declining morality, reflecting a common theme heard from church leaders.

Mormons are also strongly encouraged to be involved in their communities and vote in government elections (although candidates are never endorsed). This very affirmative stance toward government has apparently produced a predominantly positive orientation toward the ability of citizens to have an influence on government. Nevertheless, there is ambivalence about trust in government throughout most of the sample. A sense of “American exceptionalism” is also evident among the respondents, including those from other countries. Overall, church doctrines appear to have an important influence on these world views.

Nevertheless, despite formidable religious constraint, there are also indications that previous research on Mormons may over-state the level of constraint among Mormons. There were many differences among the sample on important values and issues, most of which the church does not address. Great variation exists on attitudes toward business regulation and redistribution of wealth, regulation of social behavior, affirmative action, merit-based economic reward, government provision of basic material needs, the effects of inequality, hope in the future, individualism and communitarianism, and hope in the future (among many). Even more interestingly, there is important variation on some topics the church clearly addresses like attitudes toward the US Constitution, attitudes toward “law and order” and optimism in the future. Overall, there seems to be less agreement on these statements than suggested by Utah-based studies. The next task is to go beyond these broad world views and examine how respondents from each world view feel about specific public policy issues and examine whether these views vary systematically by political or

ethnic culture? We will answer these questions in Chapter 5.

Table 4.5: Q Sort Statement Rankings by Factor Type		World View					
#	Statement	A	B	C	D	E	F
1*	Society's problems cannot be solved by government, people must change things on their own.	10	12	34	13	8	38
2	We need to give some groups in society special protections and opportunities in order to overcome injustices.	24	33	24	11	41	50
3*	Moral breakdown and decay is the source of most of society's problems.	2	2	1	6	2	10
4	Problems in our society are mostly caused by economic injustice and discrimination.	28	31	33	20	42	43
5	Many of society's problems are caused by too much government interference in the free market.	27	15	31	28	25	41
6*	The traditional family structure is necessary to build a good society.	1	4	5	1	1	1
7	Non-traditional families are just as good, if not better, than traditional ones.	50	50	36	49	50	49
8	It is not government's business to define what is morally correct.	47	19	19	22	11	29
9	It is necessary for government to set basic bounds on individual moral behavior.	6	38	29	38	37	45
10	The future looks bleak for the next generation.	43	45	48	9	23	28
11	Those who succeed work hard; those who haven't succeeded haven't worked hard enough.	46	25	49	41	43	48
12	Wealth often comes from abusing others and not playing by the rules.	17	37	32	31	27	30
13	A large gap between rich and poor is unhealthy for society.	15	18	16	25	15	17
14	Government is responsible to provide basic needs to everyone, like housing, food, job training and education.	39	48	11	33	33	44
15*	It is not government's responsibility to care for everyone, people must take care of themselves.	14	14	28	21	5	9
16*	Government should take an active, leading role in solving societal problems.	13	34	8	10	38	39
17*	Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.	32	35	39	42	29	42

* indicates distinguishing statements ($p \leq .05$). Values in columns A through F represent "mean" orderings for each factor type.

Table 4.5: Q Sort Statement Rankings by Factor Type (continued)		A	B	C	D	E	F
18*	People can always choose to live moral, law-abiding lives even if they are poor.	3	5	2	3	3	3
19*	Spending money to maintain a strong military is more important than spending on social programs.	37	39	41	48	44	46
20	We are obligated to intervene in other countries' affairs to make the world a better place.	16	36	38	23	31	34
21*	We should worry about our own problems rather than those of other countries.	40	28	30	24	16	37
22	Governments spend too much money on guns and bombs and not enough helping people.	21	32	10	15	19	14
23*	The most important freedoms are ownership of private property and economic self-determination.	33	13	40	37	14	24
24	Freedom means government not telling us how to live our personal lives.	38	11	23	14	17	15
25	The best and brightest should make it to the top.	31	21	22	45	35	25
26	The future looks brighter for the next generation than it did for past generations.	23	10	21	46	36	33
27	We would have fewer problems if people were treated more equally.	7	29	4	19	21	31
28*	An equal chance is not enough, we should do more to make economic outcomes more equal.	29	40	25	29	32	36
29	We would have fewer problems if people had more respect for law and authority.	5	6	7	17	4	4
30*	All people are different so we should not expect or demand equal economic success.	19	16	26	18	22	13
31*	If a person has the ability to acquire wealth, they should have the right to enjoy it.	18	8	15	8	20	18
32*	Government should make sure wealth is distributed more equally in society.	30	44	27	30	39	40
33*	There is no use in worrying about politics, we can't change it anyway.	49	47	45	43	46	47
34	People can have an influence on government if they just speak up.	12	7	3	5	7	2
35	Government cannot be trusted to do what is in our best interest.	42	41	47	26	18	23
36	The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God's preferred form of government.	9	3	9	7	28	20
37	The US Constitution is no better than many other types of government.	48	49	43	50	34	22
38*	God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.	8	1	6	2	10	21

* indicates distinguishing statements ($p \leq .05$). Values in columns A through F represent "mean" orderings for each factor type.

Table 4.5: Q Sort Statement Rankings by Factor Type (continued)		A	B	C	D	E	F
39*	The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.	41	27	37	27	13	11
40	It is not right to have special protections or opportunities for specific ethnic and racial groups.	26	20	35	44	30	5
41	The media is blamed too often for our social problems.	34	24	13	40	45	35
42	Government must protect people's individual rights, even if it is harmful to the community as a whole.	45	42	46	35	47	19
43	We focus too much on individual rights and not nearly enough on what is good for the community as a whole.	11	30	17	39	12	12
44	It is essential that citizens participate in all governmental decisions.	36	17	12	12	9	8
45*	Many decisions are best made by experts rather than directly by voters.	22	22	44	47	40	32
46*	The permissive content of television and movies is one of the main reasons for the moral breakdown of society.	4	9	20	4	6	16
47	Government has proven that it is incapable of helping solve our complex problems.	35	26	42	32	24	26
48	It is difficult for people to live perfect moral lives when they can't even put food on the table.	44	46	50	34	49	6
49	Government can be trusted to help find solutions to our problems and help improve our lives.	25	43	14	36	48	27
50	We need government to protect us from abuses by business which always occur in a free market.	20	23	18	16	26	7

* indicates distinguishing statements ($p \leq .05$). Values in columns A through F represent "mean" orderings for each factor type.

CHAPTER 5

RACIAL AND CULTURAL VARIATION IN LDS POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Introduction

We now know a lot about the nature of the political world views held by Latter-day Saints in this sample, but the picture is not yet complete. It is one thing to know the broad perspective with which members view the world. It is another to see how these perspectives affect peoples' opinions on actual policy issues. The first task of this chapter is to further explore these political perspectives by examining the type of public policy issue positions that correlate with each world view.

Examining the correspondence between world views and issue positions has at least two distinct benefits. *Methodologically*, the comparison of the survey responses and Q sorts allows us to validate each method's findings. The use of multiple methods helps us triangulate conclusions that are more valid. If we find a correspondence between the two methods of measurement, or at least no contradictions, then we can have more confidence in the conclusions. We will also benefit *substantively* by being able to further explicate the nature of each world view. Thus, in this chapter we will examine how the socio-political world views presented in the previous chapters correspond with attitudes on specific public policy issues. Do the same ideological tendencies emerge in both analyses? What

additional information can we gain about the nature of these world views from the survey results?

The Q sort results reported in the previous chapter revealed many similarities in LDS socio-political world views that were attributable to LDS religious beliefs. But the existence of six different world views also indicates that there are also important differences within the sample. The second task of this chapter is to explore the causes of this variation in the world views of active Mormons. We have already mentioned how race and culture may confound our understanding of the impact of religion on politics. These variables are even more threatening to the understanding of LDS political world views because the previous research has been based on samples of Utah Mormons alone, who are not at all representative of Mormons worldwide. So we will also address whether the Q sorts and survey responses vary systematically by political background or race.

The Principle/Policy Paradox

Public opinion scholars have documented the existence of a “principle-policy paradox” in opinion research. The paradox is that the abstract values people profess to support are not always manifest in their policy preferences (at least to the satisfaction of scholars). The best known example is the disjuncture between professed support for the First Amendment right to free speech and allowing Communists or Nazis to exercise that right (Stouffer 1955, McClosky 1964). The same tendency has been noted with regard to

racial tolerance (Sniderman, Brody and Tetlock 1991).⁷⁹

The paradox suggests that we shouldn't necessarily expect broad principles (in the Q sort) and specific policy opinions (in the survey) to coalesce. I should note, however, that the disjuncture between values and opinions is greatest on extreme positions--like tolerance of very unpopular groups. On less controversial issues I do not expect to see such great disparity.⁸⁰ None of the conventional public policy questions used in this study invoke obvious social desirability effects. So, we can reasonably expect significant ideology/opinion congruence. Thus, if we find major contradictions between sentiments in each instrument we may want to question the validity of the instruments.

So, do the *global* values described in the Q sorts adequately reflect respondents' *specific* public policy opinions? We can find out by comparing the abstract, value-laden Q sort findings with the more specific survey responses. A traditional survey was administered with the goal of validating the Q sort findings. The survey used was very conventional in form. (The full survey can be found in Appendix C.) The survey probed opinions on government programs, abortion, gun control, health care, aid for the poor,

⁷⁹ A similar disjuncture between attitudes and *behavior* has also been documented. In one early study, Richard Lapierre (1934) found that as he traveled throughout the United States with a Chinese couple, only 1 of 184 hotels, restaurants, and campsites denied the Chinese family service. Yet when he surveyed these same establishments six months later, 118 out of 128 respondents said they would *not* serve a Chinese couple. While this study had many problems, more sophisticated studies have shown the same tendency. For example, Darley and Batson (1973) documented seminary students who in their rush to give a talk on the Good Samaritan, would ignore and step right over a coughing and groaning homeless person (actually a confederate of the experimenter).

⁸⁰ Levitin and Miller's (1979) found that ideology does not necessarily correlate with their issue positions, which raises potential concern. However, they found the effect for *self-professed* ideology, which measure is not used in this work. And given that people often misunderstand these terms, this finding is not totally surprising.

taxes, distribution of wealth, education funding, families, the environment, prayer in school, international trade, military spending, foreign relations, aid to ethnic and minority groups, crime, gambling, multiculturalism and the US Constitution. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement or disagreement with policy issue positions using a Likert scale ranging from one to four. shows the nature of the response scale.

Figure 5.1: Survey Response Scale

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

Survey Benefits and Caveats

The survey was designed to work in concert with the Q sort. It therefore has different goals than traditional survey research which uses large random samples to generalize to a larger population. The survey used here, on the other hand, is designed to serve as a validation tool and give further detail about the nature of the world views. The purposive sample maximizes internal validity by ensuring appropriate representation of the characteristics to be tested (Brewer and Hunter 1989).⁸¹ Thus, I only report the results of the survey variables when they correlate significantly with the Q sorts.

Socio-Political World Views and Survey Issue Correlates

To measure the association between the survey and Q sort results, I calculated the

⁸¹The irony, however, is that this non-random sample is actually more “representative” of the diversity of LDS views than a random survey of Utah voters. This is because Utah-based samples have a very low percentage of non-US and non-white Latter-day Saints.

correlation between the Q sort loadings and scale ratings on each public policy issue statement. Table 5.1 below shows the nature of the response scale. The most appropriate measure of association for this relationship is Kendall's Tau-C, which is a non-parametric measure of association between two ordinal variables.⁸² Values range between +1 (perfect positive correlation) and -1 (perfect negative correlation) with larger values in either direction indicating stronger relationships. The sign of the coefficient indicates the direction of the relationship and its value indicates the strength of association. The statistical significance of each correlation is also calculated and presented in the following tables.

Table 5.1: Data Form Analyzed Using the Tau-C Statistic				
Factor Loading	1-Strongly agree	2-Somewhat Agree	3-Somewhat Disagree	4-Strongly Disagree
Factor X- Yes				
Factor X- No				

Type A: High-US Social Conservatives

Table 5.2 below shows the issue positions that have a statistically significant correlation with the Type A political outlook.⁸³ Table 5.2 shows that High-US Social Conservatives have a “high” view of the US Constitution and they reject the statements that “the United States Constitution could not have been inspired by God given some of

⁸²Although the row variable “factor loading” is actually a nominal variable (factor x or not), it is common to treat this as an ordinal variable.

⁸³Tables include all issue correlates significant at $p \leq .06$. The traditional .05 standard is slightly relaxed to highlight relationships that near statistical significance but may be obscured by the small sample size.

its provisions.” They are also quite trusting of government. This is seen in their strong agreement that we can “trust government to do what is in our best interest,” and strong disagreement that “the country would be better off if government just got out of our lives.” Type A respondents also favor military spending and active involvement in foreign affairs. They disagree that “it is not Christian to spend a lot of money on armaments,” while agreeing that “government should spend large amounts of money on the military because staying strong helps keep us from having to go to war.” They also disagree that “government should never get involved in the affairs of other nations.”

Table 5.2: Issue Correlates for High-US Social Conservatives (Type A)		
Statement	tau-c	sig.
My religious beliefs influence the way I think about politics.	.416	.000
We can generally trust our national government to do what is in our best interest.	.309	.027
Government should spend large amounts of money on the military because staying strong helps keep us from having to go to war.	.306	.032
Government should promote the traditional family because it is the foundation of society.	.160	.015
The United States Constitution could not have been inspired by God given some of its provisions.	-.293	.006
Religious beliefs are relative and divisive, so should be kept out of politics.	-.387	.005
It is not Christian to spend a lot of money on armaments.	-.272	.058
The country would be better off if government just got out of our lives.	-.390	.004
Government should never get involved in the affairs of other nations.	-.429	.001

This group also places their religiosity foremost in their political identities. They see religion as an integral part of their personal political outlooks and believe that this influence is a legitimate source of political opinion and debate. We see this in their agreement that “my religious beliefs influence the way I think about politics,” and disagreement that religious beliefs “should be kept out of politics.” Finally, they strongly support the notion that “government should promote the traditional family because it is the foundation of society.”

It should be apparent that the opinions expressed in the survey closely mirror the sentiments depicted in the Q sort. In both instruments there is a strong family focus and evidence of a “high” view of the US Constitution. Further, their relatively high level of trust in government reflects the moderate support for government intervention expressed in the Q sorts. (Their placement in ideological space portrayed them as strongly favoring “moral” regulation and moderate on government regulation of the economy.) They were also supportive of foreign intervention in both instruments, although their support for a strong military is more apparent in the survey, as is the probable source of their strong family and moral focus--a strong religious identity. In sum, there do not appear to be any contradictions between the two instruments. Instead, the issue correlates both support and extend the prior analysis and give further form to our understanding of this belief system.

Type B: High-US Libertarians

As can be seen in Table 5.3 below, Type B High-US Libertarians also share a high view of the Constitution as seen in their agreement that “the best way to govern society is

found in the US Constitution.” They also favor statements reflecting this world view’s free market, “libertarian” perspective. They oppose government requirements that “employers pay adequate living wages to workers to keep them out of poverty.” At the same time, they favor “free trade even if it hurts workers or industries.” Interestingly, they agree “gambling and lotteries should be allowed wherever and whenever people want them.” Further, they favor a flat tax and agree that “people should be free to earn as much as they can according to their skills and work-ethic.” They also oppose all forms of gun control. Finally, they favor government promotion of the traditional family and active participation in world affairs and the United Nations.

Table 5.3: Issue Correlates for High-US Libertarians (Type B)		
Statement	tau-c	sig.
The best way to govern society is found in the US Constitution.	.270	.023
Government ought to take an active part in world affairs, including membership in the United Nations.	.221	.041
There should be no restrictions on the number or type of guns one can own.	.331	.010
Gambling and lotteries should be allowed wherever and whenever people want them.	.305	.022
Government should promote the traditional family because it is the foundation of society.	.104	.024
I prefer a flat tax where everyone pays the same tax rate.	.274	.038
People should be free to earn as much as they can according to their skills and work-ethic.	.254	.006
Government should pursue free trade even if it hurts workers or industries.	.282	.029
Government should require that employers pay adequate living wages to workers to keep them out of poverty.	-.317	.026

These issue correlates again reflect the sentiments expressed in the Q sorts. Their high view of the US Constitution, opposition to government redistributive programs and progressive taxes, traditional family focus, relative support for military spending and involvement in world affairs all reflect their libertarian world view. One new piece of information that emerges in the survey is that these respondents oppose gun control--a stance clearly congruent with this ideology. Once again, there are no contradictions and the survey correlates enhance and refine our understanding of this group's outlook.

Type C: High-US Optimistic Liberals

The relative liberalism of the Type C High-US Optimistic Liberals also emerges in their survey responses (see Table 5.4). They favor an activist government and spending on social programs. This can be seen in their strong disagreement that "the country would be better off if government just got out of our lives" and support for increased spending on "existing social programs in order to keep kids out of crime in the first place." They tend to believe government programs give "people new freedom by creating opportunities for those who may not have them otherwise" rather than "tak[ing] away individual liberty by making us dependent on government." They are also concerned about income inequality and disagree with the statement: "People are not equal in skills or work initiative; therefore, having rich and poor is not a problem."

Type C respondents also tend to be more isolationist than other groups. They disagree that "government ought to take an active part in world affairs." They oppose non-denominational prayers in public schools. Finally, Optimistic Liberals strongly support

Table 5.4: Issue Correlates for High-US Optimistic Liberals (Type C)		
Statement	tau-c	sig.
Government should spend more money on existing social programs in order to keep kids out of crime in the first place.	.220	.047
Government should promote all types of families, not just “traditional ones.”	.283	.011
Government programs give people new freedom by creating opportunities for those who may not have them otherwise.	.210	.032
All guns should be illegal for everyone except police and authorized persons.	.198	.054
The country would be better off if government just got out of our lives.	-.272	.008
Government programs tend to take away individual liberty by making us dependent on government.	-.334	.003
Assault weapons and handguns should be outlawed, but rifles and shotguns should be allowed.	-.232	.043
People are not equal in skills or work initiative; therefore, having rich and poor is not a problem.	-.219	.039
Government ought to take an active part in world affairs, including membership in the United Nations.	-.243	.035
Non-denominational prayer should be allowed in school and public meetings.	-.241	.049

gun control and government promotion of “all types of families, not just traditional ones.”

Once again, the Q sort and survey responses validate one another. Both formats show that these liberals trust government more and favor government activism in solving problems and providing opportunities. In both formats, Type C Respondents show more support for government promotion of non-traditional families. Some new information emerging in the survey includes opposition to prayer in school and strong support for gun control. Overall, this information seems consistent with a “liberal” political outlook.

Type D: High-US Alienated Liberals

Type D Alienated Liberals are also liberal (see Table 5.5), although they have different concerns than Optimistic Liberals. For example, they do not trust the free market to provide health care. Rather, they believe strongly that “Government has an obligation to provide health care for all of its citizens.” They also oppose “spend[ing] large amounts of money on the military because staying strong helps keep us from having to go to war.” They oppose strengthening law enforcement or increasing punishments for crime. Interestingly, they do not believe immigrants should be encouraged to keep their culture when they enter the country. They tend to agree less that religion’s role is to focus on individual morality (versus social tranquility). Finally, unlike Type C respondents, they strongly disagree that prayer in schools should be banned as an endorsement of religion.

Table 5.5: Issue Correlates for High-US Alienated Liberals (Type D)		
Statement	tau-c	sig.
Government has an obligation to provide health care for all of its citizens.	.163	.064
The free market will provide the best health care system, better than government can.	-.245	.013
When immigrants enter the country, they should be encouraged to keep their culture and language.	-.200	.027
Government should strengthen law enforcement and increase punishments.	-.270	.017
Government should spend large amounts of money on the military because staying strong helps keep us from having to go to war.	-.179	.016
Religion’s main function is to encourage individual morality.	-.248	.025
No opportunity for prayer or silence should be given [in schools] because it is a state endorsement of religion.	-.230	.006

A comparison with the Q results shows that in both cases these respondents reject a lack of law and order as a problem, and thus do not support increased law enforcement measures. Otherwise, many of the survey issues important in this group were not replicated in the Q sort. Thus, we discover for the first time that they strongly support universal health care and the “melting pot” approach to immigration. They also oppose military spending and differ from Type C respondents in supporting school prayer. Although it is harder to judge whether these statements confirm or deviate from an Alienated Liberal world view, there is no clear reason to reject these opinions as contradictory.

Type E: Ambivalent-US Communitarians

Table 5.6 suggests further clues about the nature of Ambivalent-US Communitarians. This group does not trust government or government-based solutions to problems. They believe that government programs “tend to take away individual liberty by making us dependent on government,” and agree that “the country would be better off if government just got out of our lives.” Likewise, they disagree that we can “generally trust our national government to do what is in our best interest.” They also believe that “we currently do too much to protect the environment.” They disagree that government should encourage “non-traditional” families and they oppose free trade.

Because Type E respondents have the lowest number of defining Q statements, much of the information here is new rather than replicative. In both instruments we do see a low level of trust in government. This is echoed in the agreement that we would be better off

with government out of our lives, and high agreement that government programs breed dependency. We also find that they oppose free-trade and environmental protections.

Table 5.6: Issue Correlates for Ambivalent-US Communitarians (Type E)		
Statement	tau-c	sig.
We currently do too much to protect the environment.	.272	.057
The country would be better off if government just got out of our lives.	.326	.014
Government programs tend to take away individual liberty by making us dependent on government.	.317	.016
We can generally trust our national government to do what is in our best interest.	-.477	.000
Government should pursue all types of free trade even if it hurts workers or industries.	-.344	.015
Government should promote all types of families, not just “traditional” ones.	-.278	.033

Type F: Ambivalent-US Moderate Libertarians

Finally, Table 5.7 shows the issue correlates for Ambivalent-US Moderate Libertarians. Interestingly, all of their issue correlates are negative. We find that respondents exhibiting this world view have an ambivalent view of the US Constitution. They do not believe that the Constitution was perfect and unchangeable, or the best form of government. They oppose government social programs to keep people away from crime, disagree that “the best way to address social problems is to change the distribution of wealth and power in society,” and disagree that “protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high.” They also disagree that government should “provide a comfortable level of aid to those who are less fortunate” or

promote non-traditional families. Finally, they oppose non-denominational prayer in schools.

The relatively “low” view of the US Constitution emerges in both the Q sort and the survey. The same is true of low support for redistribution of wealth and power and aid to poor. Type F’s strong support for traditional families also emerges in both instruments. Finally, we learn for the first time that this group has low support for social programs, environmental protection, and prayer in school.

Table 5.7: Issue Correlates for Ambivalent-US Moderate Libertarians (Type F)		
Statement	tau-c	sig.
The best way to govern society is found in the US Constitution.	-.251	.014
The United States Constitution was inspired by God, word for word, so its original meaning should not be changed.	-.170	.039
Government should develop better social program to help people stay away from crime.	-.260	.016
Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high.	-.140	.059
Government should provide a comfortable level of aid to those who are less fortunate.	-.290	.011
Government should promote all types of families, not just “traditional ones.”	-.220	.016
Health care ought to be run by private business, but should be highly regulated by government to control costs and insure easy access to all citizens regardless of income.	-.210	.041
The best way to address social problems is to change the distribution of wealth and power in society.	-.174	.046
Non-denominational prayer should be allowed in school and public meetings.	-.197	.051

If the Q sort results seemed weak or vague due to the small number of questions and abstract nature, the evidence presented here should strengthen our confidence in those results. The survey correlates give us a more detailed understanding of the nature of each world view which makes us even more confident that the world views are real and correctly described. Most of the issue correlates clarify and support the general values expressed in the Q sort. What we don't know is what causes these differences between groups. We turn to that question next.

Racial and Cultural Differences in LDS World Views

Having demonstrated the validity of the world view measures, we now turn to the second question--what causes the differences observed among these world views? Chapter 4 presented evidence that religion is the major source of the commonality among respondent world views. This was demonstrated in the first and second-order factor analyses. But the world views are not identical. This suggests that religion is not the only factor at work.

We hypothesized earlier that at least two other variables have important effects on LDS world views: political culture and race. If these variables have independent effects, we would expect to find that church members from different countries and racial groups would exhibit distinct world views and survey opinions. We can evaluate these effects by observing whether these political world views and survey responses cluster by political culture or racial characteristics.

Table 5.8: World View Factor Scores and Respondent Characteristics												
Case	A	B	C	D	E	F	Nationality	Race	Age	Gender	Education	Party
1	.21	.10	.06	.17	.61	.05	Canada	Caucasian	60	Male	College-6	Republican
2	.23	.23	.09	.12	.66	.44	Canada	Caucasian	63	Male	College-6	Reform
3	.12	.23	.04	.08	.81	-.12	Canada	Caucasian	54	Female	College-3	Reform
4	.50	.40	.15	.11	-.24	-.05	Canada	Caucasian	57	Female	High Sch.	PC
5	.10	.14	.32	.17	.33	.53	Canada	Caucasian	40	Male	College-6	Liberal
6	.24	.31	.13	-.01	.54	.04	Canada	Caucasian	53	Male	College-5	Reform
7	.46	.15	.31	-.08	.40	.01	Canada	Caucasian	26	Female	College-4	Reform
8	.09	.26	.31	.38	.57	.06	Canada	Caucasian	44	Male	High Sch.	Reform
9	.03	.19	.04	.29	.53	.59	Canada	Caucasian	63	Male	College-5	Reform
10	.48	-.06	.17	.26	.47	-.05	Canada	Caucasian	60	Female	College-4	Reform
11	.22	.31	.04	.20	.21	.30	Canada/US	Caucasian	60	Male	College-6	PC
12	.30	.45	-.01	.38	-.01	.25	United States	Caucasian	59	Male	College-8	Democrat
13	.37	.16	.10	.47	.45	.22	United States	Caucasian	28	Female	College-6	Republican
14	.72	.30	.05	.25	.18	.20	United States	Caucasian	23	Male	College-4	Republican
15	.77	.09	.09	.17	.12	.02	United States	Caucasian	26	Male	College-5	Republican
16	.14	.06	.56	.10	.15	.10	United States	Caucasian	40	Female	College-6	Democrat
17	.51	.22	.25	.43	.00	.12	United States	Caucasian	79	Male	College-6	Democrat
18	.30	.56	.30	-.03	.03	-.10	United States	Caucasian	49	Male	College-4	Republican
19	.81	.28	.21	-.03	.09	.18	United States	Caucasian	23	Male	College-4	Republican
20	.50	.28	.15	.08	.32	.18	United States	Caucasian	25	Female	College-5	Republican
21	.23	.73	.21	.21	.27	.15	United States	Caucasian	58	Male	College-7	Republican
22	.13	.08	.63	.08	-.03	.26	United States	Caucasian	40	Male	College-6	Democrat
23	-.13	.00	.02	-.14	-.16	.52	United States	Native Am.	51	Female	College-4	Republican
24	.29	.45	.05	.41	.41	.09	United States	Native Am.	28	Male	College-3	Republican
25	.21	.23	.16	.10	.60	-.01	Am. Samoa	Samoan	34	Male	College-4	Republican
26	-.03	.03	.35	.55	.16	-.13	United States	Hawaiian	42	Female	College-2	Republican
27	.20	.34	.19	.57	.19	-.04	Am. Samoa	Samoan	37	Male	High Sch.	Democrat

Case	A	B	C	D	E	F	Nationality	Race	Age	Gender	Education	Party
28	.35	.18	.39	.31	.25	.17	New Zealand	Maori	31	Female	High Sch.	Democrat
29	.23	.48	.28	.14	.16	-.01	US/Haiti	African	55	Male	College-4	Democrat
30	.13	.31	.38	.22	.46	-.06	United States	Native Am.	25	Female	College-4	Republican
31	.71	.22	-.02	.23	.38	-.12	Canada/US	Caucasian	25	Female	College-4	Republican
32	.70	.10	.22	.21	.24	-.10	United States	Caucasian	30	Male	College-10	Republican
33	.45	.30	.60	.05	.18	.10	United States	African	34	Male	College-2	Democrat
34	.32	.03	-.05	.34	.16	.23	Mexico	Latino	46	Male	College-4	PRD
35	.16	.50	.14	.18	.46	.26	Mexico	Caucasian	27	Male	College-4	PAN
36	.27	.25	-.05	.07	.58	.13	Mexico	Caucasian	41	Male	College-2	Republican
37	.59	.19	.25	.07	.34	.02	Mexico	Caucasian	42	Female	High Sch.	Republican
38	.09	-.15	-.04	.28	.34	.11	Mexico	Latino	46	Female	High Sch.	None
39	.14	.11	.42	.33	.48	.01	Mexico	Latino	38	Male	High Sch.	None
40	.40	.31	.15	.02	.17	.29	Mexico	Caucasian	69	Male	High Sch.	PAN
41	.24	.44	-.21	.32	.14	.11	Mexico	Caucasian	65	Male	College-2	None
42	.51	.44	.04	-.09	.35	.42	Mexico/US	Caucasian	54	Female	High Sch.	None
43	.39	.41	.36	.03	.17	.15	Mexico	Latino	58	Male	College-4	PAN
44	.08	.55	.28	.29	.27	.10	Mexico	Latino	43	Male	College-4	PRD
45	.56	.08	.14	.23	.32	-.12	Mexico	Latino	31	Male	High Sch.	PAN
46	.37	.71	.11	-.12	.37	.01	Mexico	Caucasian	37	Male	College-4	Republican
47	-.07	.59	.04	.12	.43	.22	Mexico	Caucasian	77	Female	College-5	Republican
48	.64	.15	.39	.01	.17	-.08	United States	Caucasian	31	Male	College-5	Democrat
49	.26	.28	.26	.44	.28	-.08	United States	Native Am.	25	Female	College-2	Democrat
50	.28	.18	.70	.13	-.01	-.19	United States	Puerto Rican	29	Female	College-2	Democrat
51	.45	.47	.27	-.02	.33	-.15	United States	Native Am.	28	Female	College-4	Republican

Factor loadings greater or equal to .36 (bolded) were statistically significant and included in computing composite factor scores.

We begin the racial and cultural analysis by examining the effects of political culture. Table 5.8 presents the raw factor scores and demographic characteristics of each respondent. The factor loadings are presented along with the nationality, race, age, gender, educational level and political party of each respondent. Factor loadings greater than .36 are statistically significant and are designated in bold. Twenty respondents load significantly on Type A, 14 load on Type B, 9 load on Type C, 8 load on Type D, 17 load on Type E, and 5 load on Type F. Twenty six people load significantly on one factor only, 17 load on two factors, 4 people load on 3 factors, and 4 people do not load significantly on any factor.⁸⁴

The respondents in Table 5.8 are roughly ordered by nationality. Respondents one through eleven all reside in Canada, twelve through twenty four (and others) are Americans, and respondents thirty four to forty seven are from Mexico. A cursory examination of this table reveals some interesting patterns. One immediately recognizes that a majority of Canadian respondents have high factor loadings on Type E. US respondents appear to have the most variation across categories and Caucasian Mexicans tended to split between World views B and A.

The first three rows of Table 5.9 summarize this information in a more readable format by comparing the three dominant political cultures in the sample: Canada, Mexico, and the United States. I have restricted the comparison to Caucasians only for a more

⁸⁴ Respondents 3, 11, 34, and 38 did not load significantly on any factor.

precise comparison of political cultural impacts while holding race constant. As Table 5.9 shows, Americans load most heavily on type A (eight of eighteen US whites).⁸⁵

Meanwhile, Canadian whites load heavily on Type E with a much smaller number on Type A. Mexican respondents split between Types B, A and E. No Mexicans loaded on Types C or D.

How significant are the differences are these differences? A chi-square test can help assess whether these patterns are statistically significant, but would not be reliable due to the problem of empty cells. In order to conduct a valid test we must collapse the column categories. Data presented in the previous chapter gives us empirical grounds on which to do so. We can logically collapse the world views using the ideological dimension of each world view. In Figure 4.1 we saw that Type A is spatially distinct from the other world views, so should be left as a separate category. However, Types C and D share a similar liberal ideological outlook. Types B, E, and F share a rough libertarian perspective.⁸⁶ Thus, we can combine C and D into one cluster and B, E and F into another to create three logical categories: Social Conservatives, Libertarian-Communitarians, and Liberals.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Fifty percent of Type A respondents are US whites. This percentage would likely be even higher if not for an over-sample of Utah Democrats. US Type A respondents were mostly Republicans (9). Five of the six US whites loading on C or D were Democrats and one was Republican.

⁸⁶Communitarians and libertarians are seen by some as very different. They agree, however, on their low support for government activism. Therefore, they can logically be combined for an ideological analysis.

⁸⁷ While these figures were initially based on only a few Q sort questions, the survey responses have helped allay any fears that these ideological categories are incorrect.

Table 5.9: World Views by Nationality

	Type A: High-US Social Conservative	Type B: High-US Libertarian	Type C: High- US Optimistic Liberal	Type D: High- US Alienated Liberal	Type E: Ambivalent -US Communitarian	Type F: Ambivalent -US Moderate Libertarian
US Whites	8 (50%)	3 (33%)	3 (100%)	3 (75%)	1 (8%)	0
Canadian Whites	4 (25)	1 (11)	0	1 (25)	9 (69)	3 (75)
Mexican Whites	4 (25)	5 (56)	0	0	3 (23)	1 (25)
All whites	16 (100)	9 (100)	3 (100)	4 (100)	13 (100)	4 (100)

n=49. Values indicate total significant loadings. Column percentages in parentheses.

Table 5.10: Ideology by Nationality				
	Type A: Social Conservative	Type B/E/F: Libertarian- Communitarian	Type C/D Liberal	n
US Whites	8 (45%)	4 (22%)	6 (33%)	18 (100%)
Canadian Whites	4 (22)	13 (72)	1 (6)	18 (100)
Mexican Whites	4 (31)	9 (69)	0	13 (100)
n	16	26	7	Total=49

$\chi^2=13.88$, $p=.008$; $\lambda=.29$, $p\leq .05$.

Table 5.10 shows the collapsed ideological categories by nationality.⁸⁸ The expected value for each cell is now 5.44 and we can have confidence that cell values less than five are caused by the underlying relationship rather than a low sample size. The chi-square value for this new table is 13.88 ($p=.008$). This means that there is a significant difference between the observed and expected values of the cells. We find that Americans load more highly on Type A than would be expected. Meanwhile, Canadians load lower on Type A, much lower on C/D, and much higher than expected on B/E/F. Mexicans load as expected on Type A, lower than expected on C/D and higher than expected on the Libertarian-Communitarian world views. Whites from all nationalities load fairly low on the Liberal categories.

⁸⁸ Nationality is not equivalent to citizenship. Citizenship is not a good surrogate for political cultural effects. Rather, political culture can only be transmitted to those actually living within a culture, regardless of legal citizenship. Thus, the variable used to construct the values in Table 5.9 through 5.11 represent the country someone has lived for a majority of their life. For example, a US citizen who is a landed immigrant and has lived most of their life in Canada is labeled Canadian. Likewise, A US citizen born and raised in Mexico is considered Mexican. In this way, only those who were directly influenced by the culture were counted among their numbers.

Another way to examine this relationship is to use Lambda--a measure of association between two nominal variables (polytomies) that measures the increased ability to predict world views based on knowing one's nationality. This value of Lambda for this table is .29 ($p \leq .05$). This means that knowing the value of the row variable (nationality) leads to a 29% proportional reduction in error (PRE) on predictions of the column variable (ideology) over the best guess: the mode for each column. So, knowing a respondent's nationality, makes us 29% better at predicting a person's socio-political world view than the mode. This test reaffirms that there is a substantive cultural difference in the socio-political world views of active white Mormons from each country. While the correlation is imperfect, the relationship is significant indeed.

Issue Responses by Nationality

Further evidence is available to help examine whether political culture produces differences in the political outlooks of Latter-day Saints. The survey responses can also be analyzed directly by nationality. Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA), a type of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), was used to compare mean survey issue responses by nationality.⁸⁹ As stated before, the questions were rated on a four point scale from one (strongly agree) to four (strongly disagree). Thus, lower means indicate greater agreement while higher means indicate less support for each statement.

⁸⁹ The GLM ANOVA feature in SPSS was used because it accommodates unbalanced designs like that employed in this study.

Table 5.11: Cross-National Variation in Issue Preferences (Whites only)				
Issue Statement	Means			sig.
	U.S.	Canada	Mexico	
Political decisions should be made by a vote of all the people.	2.39 (-.19)	3.09 (.58)	1.86 (-.64)	.028
Government should promote all types of families, not just "traditional" ones.	3.15 (-.44)	4.00 (.41)	3.71 (.12)	.007
There should be no restriction on the number or type of guns we can own.	3.85 (.21)	3.81 (.18)	2.83 (-.80)	.005
Government has an obligation to provide health care to all of its citizens.	2.46 (.02)	1.92 (-.52)	3.29 (.85)	.013
We can generally trust our national government to do what is in our best interest.	2.33 (-.47)	3.17 (.36)	3.00 (.19)	.046
The best way to address social problems is to change the distribution of wealth and power in society.	3.18 (.29)	2.36 (-.52)	3.33 (.44)	.053
Government must work to aid ethnic and minority groups by punishing discrimination.	1.67 (-.60)	2.70 (.43)	3.00 (.73)	.003
The upper class should pay a much higher percentage of income in taxes than the middle or lower classes.	2.00 (-.38)	2.36 (.01)	3.40 (1.0)	.052
People should be free to earn as much as they can according to their skills and hard work.	1.58 (.18)	1.41 (.02)	1.00 (-.4)	.058

Means calculated using hierarchical Multiple Classification Analysis. 1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree. Values in parentheses indicate deviations from overall mean.

Table 5.11 above reveals the statements that have statistically significant ranking differences between white members from the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The MCA results presented in Table 5.11 show the means for each group, the variation from the global mean for each group (in parentheses), and the statistical significance of the

difference between the means.⁹⁰ Most of these differences were unobservable in the Q sort alone. There are statistically significant differences on statements in three main issue areas: deference to government, wealth and its redistribution, and the government's role in issues like gun control, health care and affirmative action.

Canadian members of this sample are most deferential to government, least trusting of government, and most supportive of health care. They disagree that "Political decisions should be made by a vote of all the people," ($\bar{x}=3.1$) while Mexican respondents agree most strongly with this statement ($\bar{x}=1.9$). Canadians also disagree strongly that "We can generally trust our national government to do what is in our best interest" ($\bar{x}=3.2$) while US respondents agree most with this statement ($\bar{x}=2.3$). An especially wide disparity was found on health care. Canadian respondents agree quite strongly that "Government has an obligation to provide health care to all of its citizens" ($\bar{x}=1.9$) while Mexican respondent disagree quite strongly ($\bar{x}=3.3$).

All respondents agree in some way that "People should be free to earn as much as they can according to their skills and hard work," but Mexican respondents agree with this statement most strongly while US and Canadian respondents agree slightly less. Mexican respondents also disagree strongly that "the upper class should pay a much higher percentage of income in taxes than the middle or lower classes" ($\bar{x}=3.4$). US respondents agree most with this statement ($\bar{x}=2.0$).

⁹⁰Gender yielded no statistical difference in these analyses so it has been omitted from the analysis and discussion. Data on income was also obtained, but proved to be extremely unreliable. There is no common metric for income measures, making income problematic as a control. For instance, Mexican farmers would be considered rich in Mexico, but poor by US or Canadian standards. So despite its importance, income controls were not used as covariates in this analysis.

Americans are most supportive of the statement that “Government must work to aid ethnic and minority groups by punishing discrimination” ($\bar{x}=1.7$) while Mexican respondents disagree relatively strongly ($\bar{x}=3.0$). Most respondents reject the notion that “government should promote all types of families, not just “traditional” ones,” but US respondents disagree significantly less than either Canadians or Mexicans. Finally, all respondents disagree in some measure that “there should be no restriction on the number or type of guns we can own.” But Mexican respondents are significantly more opposed to gun control ($\bar{x}=2.8$) than either Americans ($\bar{x}=3.9$) or Canadians ($\bar{x}=3.8$).

In sum, important political cultural differences emerge in both instruments, and most importantly, they both tend to tell the same story. Mexican respondents are the most libertarian, least deferential to government and elected leaders, and most oppose gun control, progressive taxation, and redistribution of wealth and power. Canadians are more deferential to government while they are least trusting of it, and are significantly more supportive of socialized health care. Canadians also agree more with the redistribution of wealth and power.⁹¹ Americans are most trusting of government and most supportive of non-traditional families and special protections for ethnic minorities.

It may seem ironic that Canadians would be least trusting of government when they are most likely to entrust it with major functions like health care. However, oral interviews revealed that this distrust may not be a “stable” trait of Canadian citizens. All of the respondents lived in the province of Alberta which, at the time of this field research (summer 1996), was undergoing severe government budget and service cuts in order

⁹¹However, in absolute terms they are ambivalent rather than highly supportive.

balance the provincial budget. Thus, there was a high level of disgruntlement and distrust of the government at the time.⁹² It is possible that at another time, trust may be higher.

Race and Political World Views

In data not presented above, the ANOVA analysis reported above also showed race to be a statistically significant covariate. But in order to simplify the analysis, I chose to omit these references from the above analysis and focus on race in isolation. I will now use a similar mode of analysis to examine for racial variations. That is, I will use categorical comparisons to look for differences in Q sort loadings and a comparison of means to assess variations in the survey responses.

Table 5.12 shows factor loadings by race. The information contained in this table is less clear than the national comparison shown above because the sample size is lower for each racial category (total n=24) and the number of categories is higher. We can see again in Table 5.12, as in the prior analysis, that whites most often exhibit Types A, B and E world views (representing preferences for US, Canadian, and Mexican whites). Meanwhile, Pacific Islanders load on Types C, D, and E. Native American respondents load most on Types B, D, and E. Expatriate Caribbean and Polynesians tend to load on Type D, reflecting their alienation from domestic politics. Latino respondents from Mexico hold views much like the Mexican Anglos (Types A and B), but have three

⁹² It was equally clear that these respondents wanted the government to continue providing health care. I will discuss this issue more in chapter 6.

loadings on C compared to zero for Anglo Mexicans.⁹³

The bottom rows of Table 5.12 show that non-whites as a combined group load very differently than white Mormons. Whites tend to load most often on world views A, B and E with the largest number of Type A (sixteen of forty nine loadings for whites). Non-whites, meanwhile, only rarely load on Type A. Instead they spread almost equally across world views B, C, D and E. In fact, only four non-whites load on Type A at all--the factor best exemplifying US Caucasian Mormons. Only one non-white loads *highest* on Type A. In comparison, fourteen of the sixteen whites loaded highest on Type A.

Are these differences statistically significant? Once again there is an obvious cell value size problem. We must again collapse categories in order to make valid statistical conclusions about differences. Since we do not have enough members of any individual racial group to make many generalizations, the best approach is to collapse racial categories and compare "all whites" to "all non-whites." While many differences *between* racial groups will be masked, this comparison is still an important and useful one.

⁹³This difference is somewhat obscured by the fact that two Latinos didn't load on any world view at all.

Table 5.12: World Views by Race

	Type A: High-US Social Conservative	Type B: High-US Libertarian	Type C: High-US Optimistic Liberal	Type D: High-US Alienated Liberal	Type E: Ambivalent-US Communi-tarian	Type F: Ambivalent-US Moderate Libertarian
Latinos	2(1)	2(2)	3(1)	0	1(1)	0
Pacific Islanders	0	0	1(1)	2(2)	1(1)	0
Native Americans	1	2(2)	1	2(1)	2(1)	1(1)
Africans	1	1(1)	1(1)	0	0	0
All Non-whites	4(16%)	5(21%)	6(25%)	4(16%)	4(16%)	1(4%)
All Whites	16(33)	9(18)	3(6)	4(8)	13(27)	4(8)
US Whites	8 (44%)	3 (17%)	3 (17%)	3 (17%)	1 (6%)	0

Values represent multiple loadings and numbers in parentheses indicate row percentages.

The distinction between whites and non-whites is crucial because previous research on Mormons virtually ignores non-white members. The most comprehensive information available on non-white LDS political views comes from the KBYU-Utah College Exit Polls administered by David Magleby at Brigham Young University. Out of 7339 respondents in 1994, 155 (2.3%) were Hispanic, 61 (.8%) were black, 45 (.6%) were Asian, 26 (.4%) were Native American and 48 (.7%) were categorized as “other.”⁹⁴ In sum, only about 5% of respondents in this massive survey are “non-white” (in comparison, over 33% of members of my sample are non-white). Significantly less can be categorized as active members of the LDS church. So, even in the Utah poll, it is impossible to say much about racial differences without combining racial categories. In short, *any* information on non-whites, oversimplified though it may be, will be an improvement over previous analyses.

Table 5.13 below shows the white/non-white comparison using the collapsed ideological and combined racial categories. The loadings for US whites has been added on the bottom row for comparison. A chi-square test shows there is a significant deviation between expected and observed values ($\chi^2=7.11$, $p=.02$). Whites load on every category *except* Type C/D. Forty two percent of non-whites load on C/D while only 14% of whites hold a liberal world view. Whites load significantly higher than expected on Type A Social Conservatives (33% versus 16%) and slightly higher than expected on Type B/E/F Libertarian-Communitarian world views (53% versus 42%). Non-whites load lower than expected on Type A, slightly lower than expected on Type B/E/F, and higher than

⁹⁴ These data are unpublished and are used by special permission from Professor Magleby.

expected on Type C/D. In sum, non-whites as a group show significantly more “liberal” tendencies than whites. This is true despite the over-sample of white Utah Democrats who may also fit the Type C world view.⁹⁵

Table 5.13: Ideology by Race				
	Type A: Social Conservatives	Type B/E/F: Libertarian/ Communitarian	Type C/D Liberals	n
Non-Whites	4 (16%)	10 (42%)	10 (42%)	24 (100%)
Whites	16 (33)	26 (53)	7 (14)	49 (100%)
Total n	20 (27)	36 (49)	17 (23)	Total=73
US Whites	8 (44)	4 (22)	6 (33)	18

$\chi^2=7.11$ $p=.02$. Row percentages in parentheses.

Issue Responses by Race

Whites and non-whites can also be contrasted by examining differences in mean scale responses on the survey questions. This time, since only two groups are being compared, I use an independent samples t-test to compare the means of the two groups. The issue statements that exhibited statistically significant differences are presented in Table 5.14 below. As before, the means are calculated on a scale of one (strongly agree) to four (strongly disagree) so smaller means indicate greater agreement.

⁹⁵ Indeed, a purely random Utah sample would almost surely find a much higher percentage of Type A respondents.

Table 5.14: Variations in Issue Preferences by Race					
	Means		Calculations		
Issue Statement	White	Non-White	t	df	sig
The United States Constitution could not have been inspired by God given some of its provisions.	3.87	3.24	-2.8	18	.01
Government should develop better social program to help people stay away from crime.	2.2	1.47	-3.0	40	.01
Government should spend more money on existing social programs in order to keep kids out of crime in the first place.	2.48	1.75	-2.4	28	.02
Political decision should be made by a vote of all of the people.	2.5	1.30	-3.5	38	.01
Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high.	2.95	2.00	-3.1	20	.01
Government should promote all types of families, not just "traditional ones."	3.63	2.33	-3.7	19	.01
Government ought to take an active part in world affairs, including membership in the United Nations.	1.25	1.75	2.4	20	.03
We would be better off if the government worried more about problems at home than problems in other parts of the world.	2.65	1.59	-4.4	33	.01
Government should never get involved in the affairs of other nations.	3.44	2.67	-2.6	25	.02
Gambling and lotteries are acceptable if they help fund education or decrease taxes.	3.39	2.71	-2.2	25	.04
Assault weapons and handguns should be outlawed, but rifles and shotguns should be allowed.	1.67	2.89	4.3	31	.01
All guns should be illegal for everyone except police and authorized persons.	3.50	2.79	-4.0	28	.01

Government has an obligation to provide health care for all of its citizens.	2.44	1.61	-3.1	41	.01
Government spends too much money on the military and not enough money helping people.	2.37	1.78	-2.1	32	.05
Government needs to enforce policies that help and recognize ethnic and minority groups.	2.53	1.63	-3.8	36	.01
Government should pursue all types of free trade even if it hurts workers or industries.	2.65	3.25	2.5	41	.02
Government ought to tax imports to protect our nation's jobs and businesses, even if it means paying more for goods.	2.55	1.94	-2.6	39	.01

Equal variances not assumed. 1=strongly agree, 4=strongly disagree.

Here, we find that many racial differences emerge in this test as well. There are many important differences in how white and non-white members feel about policy issues. Non-whites are significantly more progressive (have liberal ideologies) than whites. They are more supportive of spending on social programs, especially those associated with keeping kids out of crime. They believe more strongly that political decisions should be made directly rather than delegated to experts or elected officials. They are also more supportive of high environmental standards and the promotion of non-traditional families.

Moreover, non-whites tend to be more isolationist and more focused on domestic than foreign policy problems. They are also more isolationist in opposing free trade. Non-whites believe more strongly that we spend too much on the military rather than on people. They are also more likely to support gun control, government provision of health care and, obviously, aid to ethnic and minority groups. Finally, they agree most with the statement that "The United States Constitution could not have been inspired by God given some of its provisions," indicating that non-whites have a slightly "lower" view of the

Constitution than white members. In sum, as all of the social science literature has told us, race has very important independent effects on world views and political. This is true among the most active Latter-day Saints as well.

Summary

This chapter has provided evidence about two important issues. The first is whether the Q sort and survey validate and extend one another. It seems safe to conclude that the survey responses verified the Q results, and vice versa. We can now have even more confidence that the Q sort and survey results are internally valid and that the information from both sources gives more detail to our understanding of each world view.

The second question asked whether non-US and non-white members differ systematically in their political perspectives from the stereotypical white, American Latter-day Saints. The independent effects of race and political culture are theoretically important for the study of religion and politics because they are rarely controlled or explored in previous studies despite their overlapping effects. This chapter demonstrates that political culture and race do have important and definable independent effects on the political world views of active Latter-day Saints. Yet, even this analysis masks many differences among the racial groups within the LDS church. Much remains to be learned about these groups in future research.

While race and political culture have important independent effects, it is also interesting to note that some members from each national and racial category load the same as white Americans. In other words, “expatriate” whites and even some minority

members share some similarities with white respondents in the United States. This could be a sign of the effect of LDS religious culture. Alternatively, it could be caused by the pervasiveness of US culture generally.⁹⁶ However, in the end most non-whites and non-Americans, the “forgotten” Saints, load most significantly on world views that reflect unique national or racial influences. Thus, this research reaffirms the importance of accounting for these variables in future religion and politics research, and research on Latter-day Saints in particular.

The nature of the sample, of course, prevents me from making strong generalizations about the proportion of LDS members that hold each world view. The next step is to incorporate the information presented here into a large-scale random survey. A larger sample will help us make generalizations about the percent of members that hold each world view. While such research will require large amounts of work and resources, it will produce profitable and interesting findings. But such research can only be conducted well following a study of this sort that defines the relevant theoretical categories.

In the final chapter I will summarize the findings related in Chapters 4 and 5 and draw some final conclusions about the influence of religion, race, and culture on political outlooks. Finally, I will discuss the implications of this research on the study of religion and politics, civic engagement, and research methodology.

⁹⁶Some have commented how US culture pervades LDS organizations, so the two may not be totally distinct.

CHAPTER 6

THE COMPLEX WEB OF RELIGION, CULTURE, AND PUBLIC OPINION

Introduction

There is a long history to the conventional wisdom that Mormons comprise a homogenous political “sub-culture.” No doubt this view has been reasonably accurate through much of LDS history. Mormon political homogeneity in Missouri and Utah during the 1800s caused deep divisions between Mormons and non-Mormons (Alexander 1986). As a condition for statehood, church leaders in the late 1890s attempted to decrease LDS political homogeneity by encouraging affiliation with the Republican Party. This attempt was only partially successful. A majority of Utah Mormons remained in the Democratic party and it was not until the 1960s that they began migrating to the Republican party (Alexander 1995). Today, 69% of Latter-day Saints in Utah are Republicans (Magleby 1992). In sum, the conventional wisdom has been historically true and appears to be increasingly true of Utah Mormons today.

However, major demographic change within the church now insures that Utah Mormons are a minority within the church. Members in Utah now make up less than fifteen percent of church members. Unfortunately, the best research to date on LDS political attitudes has overlooked the other 85% of church members. The only exception is

Mauss' (1994) limited study that contrasts members in the Salt Lake and San Francisco Bay areas.⁹⁷ Otherwise, scholars have inadvertently perpetuated an unrepresentative picture of LDS political views by ignoring the church's diversity and maintaining a myopic focus on the easiest Mormons to contact--those in Utah. While studying Utah Mormons is crucial to understanding the politics of the state and region, and is thus an important topic in itself, it is not a good surrogate test of the relationship between religion and politics. Nor will the views found there necessarily be representative of Mormons with different racial and cultural backgrounds.

This study has attempted to provide a more appropriate test of the impact of religion and culture among members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints by tapping into the forgotten diversity. The cultural diversity within the church provides an ideal milieu within which to better test the impact of LDS religion on political views, and more broadly, of the separate impacts of religion and culture on politics.

How do the political views of members outside of the "Mormon culture region" differ? How are they similar? From the data presented in the previous chapters, we have seen evidence of both religious constraint and national and racial variation in LDS political views. Some political views, which have clear religious origins, are common to all in the sample. In sum, there are sizable religious effects evident here. But, other views, including some that are clearly enunciated in LDS doctrine, differ across demographic groups.

⁹⁷Miles (1978) gathered a national sample of members and examined them by socioeconomic variables like party affiliation, age, gender, occupation, religious commitment and region. His analysis, however, provides no controls or even simple statistics to demonstrate each effect. Nor does he include nationality or race as variables of study. He concludes that socioeconomic variables are important, as we might expect.

In this concluding chapter I will present a final comprehensive summary of the socio-political world views defined in this study. I will then compare these summaries to the conventional wisdom and draw conclusions about the extent of LDS religious influence on its members socio-political world views. I will also summarize the variations in LDS world views that appear to be caused by racial and political cultural effects. In so doing, I will examine in depth several issues that are of particular importance in assessing the extent of cultural effects: views on the US Constitution, civic engagement and health care. Finally, I will discuss the implications of these findings for research on religion and politics and research methodology.

I conclude with two equally important lessons. First, there is a significant level of religious constraint within this diverse sample. After distilling out cultural effects, I find that Mormons tend to agree on family and moral issues, economic self-sufficiency, and civic engagement. Religion, does indeed, have a major effect on the political views of these members. Nevertheless, there are also important cultural variations on other important issues that have been ignored in previous literature. These include the role of government in economic and foreign policy issues. Interestingly, there are even some differences on attitudes about the US Constitution, which is a core religious doctrine in the church.

Summary of LDS World Views

A wealth of detail has been presented in previous chapters about the nature of the socio-political world views held by members of this sample of active Latter-day Saints. In

order to summarize these views, I list the statistically significant distinguishing characteristics of each world view below. Following each world view description I summarize the key demographic characteristics of the respondents holding these world views; namely, race, nationality and political party.

Type A: High-US Social Conservatives

- ▶ high view of the US Constitution and the United States as a “light unto the world”
- ▶ most supportive of government regulation of moral issues
- ▶ ambivalent toward economic regulation and government intervention in the free market
- ▶ low support for foreign intervention
- ▶ high support for military spending
- ▶ moderate trust in government
- ▶ believe people can influence government if they speak up
- ▶ believe problems are caused by inequality and a lack of respect for law and authority
- ▶ disagree we would be better off if government got out of our lives
- ▶ believe their religious beliefs influence their views and should not be kept out of politics

Perhaps more than any other, this group best reflects the conventional view of LDS political beliefs, although it is not a perfect match. These members are social conservatives, but are not very conservative economically (they are ambivalent toward economic intervention by government). The nature of this world view is affected by the

fact that most of these respondents are US whites. Fifty percent (10) of Type A respondents are Americans, 30% (6) are Mexican and 20% (4) are Canadian. This difference is not statistically significant, but a significant racial difference did emerge. Eighty percent (16) of the people loading on this factor are white; only twenty percent (4) are non-whites ($\chi^2=3.83$ $p=.05$). In terms of party affiliation, ten of these respondents are Republicans, three are Democrats, one is Canadian Reform, and one is Canadian Progressive Conservative.⁹⁸

Type B: High-US Libertarians

- highest view of the US Constitution and the United States as a “light unto the world”
- moderate opposition to government regulation of moral issues
- most “free market” outlook of all world views
- oppose wealth redistribution through taxation and wage regulation
- believe strongly in self-sufficiency and that success is the reward of hard work
- oppose government provision of basic needs
- moderate support for military over social spending
- support involvement in world affairs
- moderate trust in government
- more oriented toward individual rights than any of their counterparts
- oppose gun control

⁹⁸ There is no significance test of party affiliation due to the low sample size and relatively large number of categories.

- support free trade
- lowest opposition to gambling

The significant representation of Mexican respondents in this world view appears to help explain this world view's Libertarian outlook. Over half (7) of all Type B respondents are from Mexico even though they comprise only a quarter of the overall sample. Six (43%) are US citizens and one (7%) is from Canada ($\chi^2= 6.1$ $p=.048$). Overall there are 9 whites and 5 non-whites (mainly Mexican Latinos) who identify with this world view (difference not significant). Six of these respondents affiliate with the Republican party, 2 are Utah Democrats, and one each support the Progressive Conservatives in Canada, and the PRI and PRD in Mexico.

Type C: High-US Optimistic Liberals

- high view of the US Constitution and the United States as a "light unto the world"
- have a positive view of government and express modest support for government to provide basic needs like housing, food, job training and education and programs to keep kids out of crime.
- believe government programs give people new freedom and opportunities rather than fostering dependence
- ambivalent toward moral regulation
- oppose military spending and foreign intervention
- high trust in government
- optimistic about the future

- believe that the media is blamed too much for social problems
- agree that non-traditional families are just good as traditional ones and should be promoted by government
- believe inequality is the source of many problems
- strongly believe people can be “moral” even if they are poor
- support gun control
- worry about inequality of wealth and support programs to decrease it
- oppose school prayer

Although this world view is the most liberal of all, it is far from a textbook case.

While these members support economic regulation, they are ambivalent on government regulation of moral issues. Seventy seven percent (7) of Type C respondents are Americans, 23% (2) are Mexican. No Canadians loaded on this factor. While these national differences are not statistically significant, racial differences do prove to be significant. Only one third (3) of the nine Type C respondents are white while the remaining two thirds are non-white ($\chi^2=4.26$ $p=.039$). In terms of political party, these respondents tend to be Democrats (6) with only 1 Republican loading on this factor. Two of these respondents list no party affiliation at all.

Type D: High-US Alienated Liberals

- high view of the US Constitution and the United States as a “light unto the world”
- ambivalent toward moral regulation
- have little faith in the free market or merit-based reward

- most likely to see economic injustice and discrimination as a major problem
- lowest concern (ambivalence) about a lack of law and order as a major problem
- low support for increased law enforcement and punishments
- more likely to believe that the poor cannot live moral lives
- individualistic outlook
- support special protections for minority groups
- pessimistic about the future
- very high support for socialized medicine
- low support for multiculturalism
- low support for military spending
- low belief that religion's main focus is individual morality
- support school prayer

Almost all Type D respondents reside in the United States (7) with only one Canadian loading on this factor. The difference is almost significant at $p=.059$. Four Type D respondents are Caucasian, two are native American, and two are Polynesian. The racial distinctions are not statistically different either. Three respondents identify themselves as Republicans, four as Democrats and one as Canadian Reform.

Type E: Ambivalent-US Communitarians

- low view of the US Constitution and the United States as a "light unto the world"
- low support for social regulation
- relatively low support for foreign intervention

- very low trust in government
- focus most on the good of the community over the individual
- stress economic self-sufficiency over government solutions to problems
- oppose special protections for minority groups
- believe we currently do too much to protect the environment
- believe the country would be better off if government just got out of our lives
- believe government programs make people dependent on government
- oppose free trade
- oppose promotion of non-traditional families

The large Canadian contingent on this factor appears to help explain opposition to free trade, opposition to special protections (i.e. French Canadians), and a “low” view of the US Constitution among these respondents. In all, nine Canadians load on this factor. In fact, only three Canadians have their highest loading on any other factor. Fifty three percent of Type E respondents are Canadian while Americans and Mexicans represent 23% each (4 respondents from each country, $\chi^2=13.4$, $p=.001$). There is no significant racial difference, however. Seventy six percent are white while 24% are non-white. Eight of these respondents are Republicans, 5 are Canadian Reform, and one is Mexican PRI.

Type F: Ambivalent-US Moderate Libertarians

- most ambivalent of US Constitution and the United States as a “light unto the world”
- oppose special protections for minorities and oppose government provision of basic needs

- strongly favor government regulation of business
- oppose redistribution of wealth, aid to the poor, and social spending to decrease crime
- moderately opposed to moral regulation
- most focused of all groups on individual rights
- most likely to agree that people can't live moral lives if they are poor
- most likely to focus on individual versus community rights
- oppose higher environmental standards
- oppose promoting non-traditional families
- support school prayer

This small category is comprised of 3 Canadians, one American and one Mexican.

Four of these respondents are white and 1 is non-white. One respondent is Republican, 2 are Canadian Reform, and one designates himself as a Canadian Liberal. None of these differences are statistically significant.

Confronting the Conventional Wisdom

A bullet list summarizing the essential elements of the conventional wisdom on LDS political attitudes was presented in Chapter 2. The composite model reflects the opinions of “very active” members in the KBYU-Utah Colleges Exit Poll. While there is, of course, some variation among active Latter-day Saints in Utah, the KBYU exit polls show that the most active Mormons tend to be the most conservative and Republican (Magleby 1989). Magleby concludes that members in Utah are “politically conservative, both by self-

classification and in attitudes toward economic, social, and lifestyle issues” (Magleby 1992, 1108).⁹⁹ Thus, the conservative Republican stereotype is the best standard of comparison against which to measure the findings in this research.

How do the findings of this more diverse sample compare? To summarize these differences, I will restate each element of the model presented in Chapter 2 and then summarize the conclusions from my research regarding each belief element.

Social and Moral Issues

- **Endorse traditional “family values”**

There is full agreement on the LDS belief that government should promote traditional families. There is disagreement, however, on whether government should also promote non-traditional families. Type C Optimistic Liberals, non-whites, and US members in general are more likely than others to agree that government should promote non-traditional families. Nevertheless, the absolute level of support for non-traditional families is still fairly low.

- **Concern with moral decline and attribution of moral decline to the media**

All world views believe moral decline is the source of many of our problems and all tend to attribute this problem partially to the media. This again reflects the effect of this message in LDS leaders’ counsel. However, Type C liberals also agree significantly more that the media is blamed too much for our problems.

⁹⁹Incidentally, Magleby agrees that “Little is known about the partisan or ideological predispositions of LDS members outside the United States” (1992, 1108).

- **Oppose abortion and gambling**

There is full agreement that abortion should only be allowed in the cases of rape, incest, and the physical and mental well-being of the mother.¹⁰⁰ There is less agreement on the issue of gambling, however, which is another staple LDS political position. Mexican and non-white respondents oppose gambling less.

Capitalism and Economic Issues

- **Place high value on private property and economic self-determination**

Almost all respondents are ambivalent toward statements about private property and economic self-determination. Type B Pro-US Libertarians and Type E Ambivalent-US Communitarians agreed slightly more with capitalistic values although the difference is not statistically significant.

- **Low support for redistribution of power and wealth**

World views B, E, and F (the libertarian world views) disagree with redistributing power and wealth. Mexicans are less supportive of progressive taxes, income redistribution, and more likely to agree that people should be able to earn as much as they are able. Canadians support redistribution of power and wealth the most while Americans and Mexicans tend to oppose it. Meanwhile, Type C Optimistic Liberals are ambivalent. Non-whites are also more supportive of redistributing power and wealth.

¹⁰⁰ This data was not presented earlier because no variation was found on this issue. All members agreed with the church's expressed views on abortion.

- Low support for environmental regulation

Non-whites support higher levels of environmental protection.

- Emphasize self-reliance versus government provision of basic needs

Members of this sample generally agree that people should take care of themselves and be self-reliant, as clearly enunciated in LDS doctrine. Yet, they differ on the degree to which government should help those in need. Type C respondents are highly supportive of government aid for the poor. The other world views were ambivalent to slightly opposed. Further, non-whites were more supportive of increased spending on social programs.

- Are trusting of government and deferential to authority

There are marked differences in the degree of deference to elected authorities. Canadians are most deferential to elected officials while Mexicans and non-whites are more supportive of direct democracy. There is also substantial variation in trust. Type A respondents and members in the United States are the most trusting of government while Canadians and Mexicans have less trust.

- Oppose socialized health care

Canadians support national health care while Mexicans oppose it (discussed in more detail below). Americans fall in between these two extremes. Non-whites are also more supportive of government provision of health care.

Military Spending and Foreign Affairs

- **Support military spending and interventionism**

Type A Pro-US Social Conservatives are most supportive of foreign intervention while Type C and Type E respondents most oppose military spending. Type B respondents are most supportive of military spending. Further, Americans are most supportive of foreign intervention and non-whites are less supportive of military spending than whites.

- **Support free trade**

Canadians and non-whites oppose free trade more than other members.

LDS Issues

- **Have a high view of the inspired Constitution, and of the U.S. as a “light unto the world.”**

Members of this sample agree that the United States is supposed to be a “light unto the world.” There is disagreement, however, on whether or not the United States lives up to this standard. There is also varied agreement on the statement that the US Constitution is inspired. Canadians and non-whites are more ambivalent toward the US Constitution (discussed in more detail below).

- **Vote and pay attention to politics**

All groups tend to have high rates of voting. There is variation, however, on attention to political events with Canadians having the highest self-reported attention and Mexicans have the least attention (discussed in more detail below).

- **High hope in the future and high political efficacy**

Most of the sample has a general sense of optimism, but Type D Pessimistic

Liberals are significantly more pessimistic than any other group. All members tend to have high political efficacy (discussed in more detail below).

- **Strong focus on “law and order”**

There is general agreement that the lack of law and order is the source of many of our problems. However, Type D respondents see this as less of a problem than the other word views. Further, non whites are more supportive of social programs to decrease crime and less supportive of programs to increase police power and punishments.

- **Highly individualistic outlook**

Most respondents are moderately individualistic. Yet, Type E Ambivalent-US

Communitarians and Canadians in general are more Communitarian than

Mexicans, who are more individualistic. American members fall in between these extremes.

Miscellaneous Issues

- **Oppose gun control**

Mexican respondents oppose gun control while Type C Optimistic Liberals and non-white members support gun control.

- **Oppose affirmative action**

Non-whites are much more supportive of special help for minorities.

Meanwhile, Type E Ambivalent-US Communitarians and Type F Moderate Libertarians and Canadians in general strongly oppose special protections.

It is apparent from the above information that this more diverse sample reveals significant variation from “typical” LDS views. As we can see, only a few of the issues are truly unanimous within this sample. While there are many important similarities in the above summaries, generally speaking, the expected homogeneity fails to materialize. What constraint exists reveals the distilled essence of LDS political homogeneity. The constraint is mostly centered on social and moral issues: traditional families, the role of the media in moral breakdown, law and order, and abortion. There is less agreement on economic issues, but most members share a self-sufficient outlook. Each of these elements can be traced clearly to prominent LDS messages. However, there is moderate disagreement on “typical” LDS views on the Constitution, political trust and gambling. So, while there is an unmistakable level of constraint, we also observe variation among these active Latter-day Saints on many important political topics. And most importantly, many of these issues vary systematically by race and political culture.

The Influence of Political Culture on Three Issues

The influence of both race and culture appears quite clearly in the data presented in this study. This confirms the importance of context and demographic variables on political values and opinions (Burbank 1997, Gilbert 1993, Huckfeldt and Sprague 1993; Elezar 1966, Erikson, McIver, Wright 1987, Inglehart 1988, Kimball 1992; Patterson 1968,

1970). Political culture was of special interest in this study. I will now explore three additional issues that exhibit national variation: views on the US Constitution, civic engagement and health care. The first two issues reveal both LDS and contextual influences on opinion. The third issue, health care, has no official religious basis, but has widespread agreement among members in Utah, nevertheless. Each of these issues gives us a unique glimpse into the dynamics of faith, culture and political views.

Civic Culture

Many scholars have discussed the role of cultural norms in cultivating a successful civic life. The thesis was put forward powerfully by Edward Banfield in “The Moral Basis of a Backward Society.”¹⁰¹ Banfield contrasted the “amoral familism” that prevented cooperation in Southern Italy with the cooperative norms of Mormons in the American West who prospered in a much harsher physical environment. More recently, James Coleman (1988) and Robert Putnam (1993, 1995a, 1995b) have continued the interest in how cultural norms enhance or inhibit civic cooperation, trust, and engagement. Robert Putnam defines these civic norms, or “social capital,” as the “features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (1995, 67). He explains that “networks of civic engagement foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust. Such networks facilitate coordination and communication, amplify

¹⁰¹De Tocqueville (1956) is actually the most prominent progenitor of this idea in the American context.

reputations, and thus allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved” (67).

Most types of associations, including families, churches, unions, clubs, and even bowling leagues, are believed to increase the stock of social capital. Churches are especially important (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995), partly because “Religious affiliation is by far the most common associational membership among Americans” (68). Indeed, other work has shown that religious associations are especially adept at increasing leadership and organizational skills, thus fostering civic skills (Wald, Owen and Hill 1988; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). This is especially true in the LDS case because leadership positions are filled exclusively by lay members; further, every member has an organization role. Churches also encourage and coordinate service activities (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995).

In the political realm, social capital is thought to engender a sense of obligation to participate in public affairs, a sense of interpersonal trust, increased political efficacy, hope, and volunteerism. The great concern of Putnam and others is that social capital appears to be declining in the United States. Meanwhile, the level of civic engagement among Mormons in the U.S. remains high. It is well known that there is a very high rate of volunteerism among Mormons; indeed, Utah has the highest rate of volunteerism in the nation (Hobbes 1995). Volunteerism is encouraged by LDS norms of Christian service as well as the organization of service activities.¹⁰² We must remember, however, that income and social status also affect levels of civic engagement--factors which may be uniquely

¹⁰²For example, every fall Brigham Young University sponsors a valley-wide service day. Often, there are more students ready to provide service than there are service opportunities.

high in the US and Canada (Roof and McKinney 1987).

How do the Mexican respondents fare in this regard? There are several indicators of “civic engagement” in this data set which are relevant to this discussion: voting, political attention, political efficacy, trust in government, and hope in the future. Regarding political participation, each respondent was asked “How often do you vote in government elections?” and directed to choose between the categories of always, sometimes, rarely, or never. The distribution of these responses are shown in Table 6.1 below. Overall we find fairly high levels of voting. Sixty-eight percent of this sample vote “always” and eighty two percent vote at least “sometimes.” There is no statistical difference in voting levels across countries or racial categories (white versus non-white). The voting rates are fairly high in all countries, including Mexico where cynicism toward government abounds.¹⁰³

Table 6.1: Vote Frequency			
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Always	34	68.0	68.0
Sometimes	7	14.0	82.0
Rarely	3	6.0	88.0
Never	6	12.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	

¹⁰³ Mexico has a law requiring citizens to vote but these laws are not enforced. Despite cynicism toward government, politicians and parties, Latter-day Saints in Mexico appear to vote at a relatively high level due to religious commitments. Nevertheless, slightly more Mexicans claim to “never” vote, although the difference is not statistically significant. A significant difference may emerge in a more comprehensive Mexican sample.

A fairly high rate of political attention also exists within the sample. Respondents were asked “How often do you pay attention to politics or political events in the news media?” Their responses are presented in Table 6.2 below. We find that Canadians in this sample are very attentive to politics, more so than either Americans or Mexicans. Canadians claim to pay attention to politics all or most of the time ($\chi^2=5.73$ $p=.057$).

Table 6.2: Political Attention				
	USA	Canada	Mexico	Total
Always	2 (8%)	3 (25%)	5 (38.5%)	10 (20%)
Most of Time	15 (60)	9 (75)	3 (23.1)	27 (54)
Once in While	7 (28)		5 (38.5)	12 (24)
Never	1 (4)			1 (2)
Total	25 (100)	12 (100)	13 (100)	50 (100)

A third indicator of civic engagement is political efficacy. Respondents were asked to rate their agreement with the statement “I can make a difference by voting” on a four point scale of strongly agree to strongly disagree.¹⁰⁴ The results are presented in Table 6.3 below. Almost three quarters of these respondents strongly agree that they can make a difference. Only three even fall on the “disagree” side of the scale, and none strongly disagree.

¹⁰⁴ This scale is the same as that described for survey results in Chapter 5.

Table 6.3: Political Efficacy			
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	36	73.5	73.5
somewhat agree	10	20.4	93.9
somewhat disagree	3	6.1	100.0
Total	49	100.0	

The fourth indicator of civic engagement is trust in government. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statement “We can generally trust our national government to do what is in our best interest.” The results are presented in Table 6.4 and 6.5 below. Here we find that a majority of the sample does not agree that they can trust government. We also observe significant variance by nationality. After collapsing the agree and disagree categories (as in Table 6.5 below) we find that Americans tend to *agree* they can trust government by a two to one margin. Meanwhile Canadians and Mexicans *disagree* by an almost four to one ratio ($\chi^2=9.02$ $p=.011$). We may expect a lower level of trust among respondents from Mexico, but less so from Canada.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵As mentioned before, severe budget cuts and economic strain of the time of the survey could be the reason for this observation.

Table 6.4: Trust in Government

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	2	4.1	4.1
somewhat agree	20	40.8	44.9
somewhat disagree	15	30.6	75.5
strongly disagree	12	24.5	100.0
Total	49	100.0	

Table 6.5: Trust in Government by Nationality (collapsed categories)

HOME	USA	Canada	Mexico	Total
Agree	16 (67%)	3 (25%)	3 (23%)	22
Disagree	8 (33)	9 (75)	10 (77)	27
Total	24 (100)	12 (100)	13 (100)	49

$\chi^2=9.02$ $p=.011$

The last indicator of civic engagement, hope in the future, was already discussed in the Q sort and incorporated into the world view names. In sum, we found significant disagreement on hope in the future. World views A-C are very optimistic in future. Types D, E, F are much more cynical about the future.

Civic Culture meets LDS Culture in Mexico

The “civic culture” of Mexico stands in stark contrast to LDS doctrines and norms that foster civic engagement among members. As stated before, the LDS church is widely noted for its’ high level of civic engagement. First, LDS doctrine encourages charitable service and relief efforts, self-sufficiency, “taking care of your own,” and officially

encourages civic engagement, political attention, voting, and running for political office (see Appendix H and Chapter 2). Second, the church network enhances the organizational capabilities, social networks and trust among the members (Wald, Owen and Hill 1988).

There are indications that the civic emphasis has materialized among Latter-day Saints, at least in Utah. I have already mentioned the high incidence of volunteerism. Utah also has a fairly high rate of voter turnout (Miles 1978; Magleby 1989), especially among active members. There is also a high level of interpersonal trust among Mormons in Utah, so much so that Utah has become known as the “scam capital” of the United States because criminals prey on the relatively trusting LDS population, often by portraying themselves to be “one of the fold.” While civic engagement is fairly high in Utah, the contributory effects of majority status, high socio-economic status, and the more participatory nature of US civic culture itself may have an equally important effect.

Is a high level of civic engagement shared by members in Mexico where the civic culture does not encourage these things? It may be surprising to find a high level of political efficacy, voting, and hope among Mexican members.¹⁰⁶ This is because the “civic culture” of Mexico does not encourage trust, hope, or civic engagement (Craig and Cornelius 1989). While there is widespread nationalistic support for Mexican political institutions, there are also high levels of corruption and distrust of government, very low

¹⁰⁶ It is doubtful this high level of political efficacy comes from political domination. As will be discussed below, Mexican Mormons have been reluctant to be involved politically due to fears of condescension toward the native population.

rates of volunteerism, and few civic organizations encourage civic engagement.¹⁰⁷ Craig and Cornelius (1989) write that “Mistrust and individualism have long been regarded by students of Mexico as important elements of Mexican culture” (371). This mistrust leads to “high levels of negativism about politics, politicians, and the functioning of political institutions, as well as the very limited willingness to join with one’s neighbors in cooperative efforts” (Craig and Cornelius 1989, 372; see also Almond and Verba 1963). Indeed, cynicism toward politics in Mexico spans the spectrum of people: sex, class, and educational levels. In fact, lower-status citizens have only slightly lower values on civic culture variables than high status citizens (Fagen and Tuohy 1972, 111-114).

Nevertheless, LDS directives do appear to have some influence among Anglo and native Mexican members *despite* Mexico’s civic culture. The historic influence of LDS cooperation and organization is quickly apparent as you drive into Colonia Dublan and Colonia Juarez. As you enter these communities you are suddenly teleported from Mexico to Utah. The wide, straight streets, are lined with well kept houses and yards, which stands in great contrast to the typical poor and unorganized rural Mexican community.

Part of the dichotomy between Nuevo Casas Grandes and Colonia Dublan is socio-economic--Anglo members in Dublan are economically better off than most native Mexicans. But economic success is itself a product of LDS organization and cooperative

¹⁰⁷Putnam argues that “horizontal” or hierarchical churches do not facilitate social capital formation. Thus, Catholic-dominated areas like Mexico are not expected to have as much social capital as other areas. Some people also conceptualize the LDS church as hierarchical. However, this view is theologically incorrect and overly simplistic. In fact, the LDS organization is a complex system of hierarchical instruction and local autonomy. It should also be noted that the cooperative norms of Mormons have often been transmitted through the instruction and direction of church leaders, in contrast to Putnam’s assertion.

efforts. Mormons settled the region before there were many native Mexicans in the area. They based their communities on a planned city grid and built it using cooperative norms espoused by the church. They built reservoirs and irrigation canals to supply water to their farms and families. The very fact that these common goods were created at all is a sure sign of the cooperation Putnam speaks of in his work. Cooperation and public works have led to farming success and relatively high economic success (although lower than in the US in many cases). In a word, the communities are highly organized and planned. Further, the members are socially well connected through church schools like the Juarez Academy and through numerous church functions.

Native Mexican members also share a hopeful outlook on the future and reasonably high trust and political efficacy with their Anglo counterparts. Several native Mexican church leaders explained to me in interviews that they strongly encourage members of their congregations to be civically engaged. One leader argues that LDS members can and must make a difference in their communities. He encourages congregational members (who are mostly poor, less educated, native Mexicans) to learn about their political rights, the stances of political parties, and to vote. He even encourages younger members to run for office. And since Mexican elections are held on Sunday, they postpone church meetings so that everyone can vote.

Ironically, Anglo Mormons in Mexico have traditionally been apprehensive to exercise their civic responsibilities outwardly. They have feared dominating politically and appearing condescending toward the native population. Thus, they have historically avoided the civic engagement common to Latter-day Saints in the United States and

Canada. They have participated little in concerns outside of their own families and churches. The Mormon ways that encourage civic engagement simply clash against the native “civic culture” and ethnic divisions in the community.

Nevertheless, the civic emphasis from church leaders may be changing the historical patterns of disengagement among both Anglo and native members. One prominent Anglo resident of one colony explained,

I never thought of running for [political] office. But there is a tremendous lack of leadership in the country . . . I really see the role of the church here being extremely important--what the church is doing to develop leadership skills We don't realize how much we've been given [as Mormons] . . . A lot of what is needed here is just basic honesty . . . people are so desperate for somebody they can trust

He also lamented the reticence of Anglo Mormons to be more involved in the community.

I think there has been so little involvement within our little community here . . . We need to be out there helping people. You have to be out there so people can see what we're about. I don't think that we've done that. [Native Mexicans] perceive us as a bunch of people who take care of their own, and they do all this, but they don't have anything to do with us. And they resent that. And it's not an ethnicity thing, it's an involvement thing. As soon as you get out there and get involved it just changes everything.

Local Mexicans appear to value the LDS way of life, which puts Anglo members in an advantageous political position (Tullis 1987). The respondent continued,

Politically you're sitting on a pedestal because of the heritage that we have. They [native Mexicans] want that. They want to know how to do that--to have communities work and take care of their own and watch out for each other and progress, you know. The idealism and the common good--we did that all, but we did it in our own little neighborhood.

Finally, there is also a historic reason for low levels of trust and involvement among Anglo settlers. The ancestors of these Anglo members fled the United States during the late

1800s in order to avoid prosecution by the US federal government for polygamy. This instilled a legacy of distrust of government that continues to influence the attitudes of members in Mexico and make them more libertarian than members elsewhere.¹⁰⁸ The same member stated:

The church has told us to get out and do that more I don't think the idea has completely filtered down here [to Mexico] as strong as it can I still think we have a lot of ideas that were brought from all the problems we had with the US government, and we kinda pretty much said, government is not a solution (that's dumb to me), government just causes problems, we don't want anything to do with government, stay out of our hair, government is worthless. I think we brought that with us . . . we're tired of it, we don't want anything to do with it, and so we don't get involved.

So in the Mexican case, Mexican civic culture, historical attitudes, and ethnic divisions work against exercising civic participation in the lives of Mexican Mormons to the degree of other members. While LDS leaders and members in the area clearly work to increase the civic engagement of members, their context and history has led to less trust in government, less direct involvement in the community and government, and less volunteerism outside of the community than we find among Canadian and American members. In sum, context counts.

The US Constitution in Canada

Another example of variation on an explicit LDS principle is Mormons' views on the US Constitution. One of Mormonism's clear political messages is the belief the US Constitution was inspired by God. This doctrine has been reiterated by every president of

¹⁰⁸Indeed this may be a historical legacy that applies to many members (in varying degrees) in the western US, Canada and Mexico.

the LDS church since its founding. Nevertheless, not all groups agree equally with this statement in the Q sort and surveys. World views A, B, C and D all had “high” views of the US Constitution. World views E and F had a significantly lower views, meaning they were ambivalent toward this statement. And since almost every Canadian loaded on Type E, an ambivalent-US view, we can conclude that Canadians generally share this lower view.

Americans (and Mexicans) tend to endorse statements about the Constitution very strongly in both the survey and Q sort statements.¹⁰⁹ They also see the Constitution as uniquely inspired among world governments and they have never considered whether other countries’ governments could also be “inspired.” Canadians, on the other hand, rate statements regarding the Constitution lower than others on the survey.

But it is not only less enthusiasm among Canadian members. The Canadian view is more qualified. Interviews reveal that Canadians interpret LDS leaders’ statements on the Constitution quite differently than Americans or Mexicans. When asked, Canadians (somewhat begrudgingly) agree with the church doctrine that the US Constitution is inspired. But, although Canadians generally agree with this statement, they interpret the message in a substantively different way that allows them to reconcile their own nationalism with LDS doctrine. Several respondents explained that the US Constitution is

¹⁰⁹Mexicans, like Americans, have a high view of the US Constitution and agree that it is inspired and is the best form of government. There is one interesting exception to this tendency among Mexicans. One Anglo Mexican woman explained that Mexican government must also be inspired because early Mormons had to seek refuge in Mexico in order to retain their religious freedom. Thus, Mexico must also have been inspired in order to serve as a refuge for the persecuted Mormons.

principally a product of British influence. It then stands to reason that there must have been a lot of “truth” in the British system. Thus, Canadian government, which contains many of the same principles, must also be inspired.¹¹⁰

The Canadian/US differences on this clear LDS doctrine is interesting in light of the debate about whether there is much difference between Canadian and US cultures. Some scholars argue that westerners in the US and Canada have little to no substantive cultural differences (Baer, Grabb and Johnston 1993). Despite the religious, geographical and racial similarities among these populations, there are still significant differences in the world views of LDS members from each nation.

Seymour Martin Lipset in his work *Continental Divide* (1990) writes that

...the two countries differ in their basic organizing principles. Canada has been and is a more class-aware, elitist, law-abiding, statist, collectivity-oriented, and particularistic (group oriented) society than the United States. These fundamental distinctions stem in large part from the American Revolution and the diverse social and environmental ecologies flowing from the division of British North America. The social effects of this separation were then reinforced by variations in literature, religious traditions, political and legal institutions, and socioeconomic structures (8).

The findings presented here support Lipset. If there are cultural differences between Canadian and US Saints, two otherwise homogenous populations, the effects must be real. The cultural effects even extend to how Canadian Latter-day Saints interpret well-known LDS views on the US Constitution. But the effects go beyond mere nationalism. Canadian

¹¹⁰ Canadians’ views tend to mirror LDS church leader and government leader J. Reuben Clark’s view that the Constitution was “the culmination of a long historical process which had its beginnings deep in the efforts of the English people to free themselves from tyranny of absolute monarchy” (quoted in Hickman 1972, 32). Americans, meanwhile, do not generally consider this possibility.

culture also seems to affect Canadians' world views concerning issues like communitarianism, isolationism, trust in government, deference to public officials, the government's role in defining morality, and health care.¹¹¹

Health Care

Health care is not directly addressed in LDS culture or doctrine. But judging from the political views of the most active Utah Mormons we might suspect that there is in fact a religious influence. The 1994 KBYU exit poll reveals that 70% of active Mormons answered "no" to the question "Does government have an obligation to provide health care for all of its citizens?" Only twenty three percent of active Mormons in Utah supported this statement. In contrast, between 37-43 percent of Mormons in the lower activity categories agreed government should provide health care.

In this study, however, we see a much wider range of opinions on the government's role in providing health care than we would expect from the Utah exit poll. Here we find that both race and political culture affects views on this issue. Non-whites and Canadians support it while Mexicans and whites tend to oppose it. As we saw in chapter 5, almost every active Canadian member supports socialized health care.¹¹² We may expect that

¹¹¹ There is still a legitimate suspicion that the communitarianism of Canadians is partially affected by the rural and majority LDS character of the area where the respondents reside. However, this is partially "controlled" in the sense that the same did not arise in the Mexican sample which is also isolated and agrarian.

¹¹² Only two Canadian members disagreed with the statement "Government has an obligation to provide health care for all of its citizens." One somewhat disagreed and one strongly disagreed with this statement. Four strongly agreed and six somewhat agreed. Meanwhile, only about half of the American sample agreed. This proportion is higher among US respondents than

Canadians have a high level of support for socialized health care because it is a commonly accepted norm in Canadian political culture. But, there are several reasons why support may not be as high among Latter-day Saints in Canada than among other Canadians.

The first reason why we would not expect such clear support for government-run health care is that most Canadians members have heard of a speech given many years ago by LDS Apostle Ezra Taft Benson. In that speech, given when he was the US Secretary of Agriculture, Benson warned Canadians that adopting socialized health care in Canada would have dire consequences for Canada. To some members, this statement could be interpreted as prophetic or inspired.

Second, there is discontent about the actual services Albertans receive from their health care system. Waiting periods and limited resources have been a problem for years, but have increased recently due to large budget cuts in Alberta Health services. There has been an accompanying exodus of doctors from Canada to the United States. Further, the local hospital in the town where most of the members of this sample lived was closed about a year before my interviews due to budget cuts. The nearest small hospital is now 15 minutes away and the next comprehensive hospital is 30 minutes away. Under these conditions, some Canadians regularly cross the border to receive more immediate health care in the US.

Although most members have heard of Benson's speech and are angry about health care cuts, none of this changes their opinions of their health care system. Canadian Latter-day Saints like their health care system and continue to support the positive role of

the Utah polls indicate because of the Democratic over sample and racial diversity in this sample.

government in this sphere. Most Utah Mormons, on the other hand, strongly oppose socialized health care. Even Type C Optimistic Liberals in Utah (Utah Democrats) oppose government provision of health care. This is likely because, unlike Canada, government-run health care is not the norm in the United States. Nor do Mexicans have a legacy of government commitment to health care. This fact, plus a high level of distrust of government produces a low level of support for government provision of health care among Mexican Latter-day Saints. Indeed, not a single Mexican respondent expressed a desire for government to provide health care. Private insurance and direct payments were clearly the methods of choice.

Implications for the Study of Religion and Public Opinion

What can we finally conclude about the relationship between religion and public opinion among Latter-day Saints? And how does this research compare to conventional wisdom on religion and politics? The dominant view among religion and politics scholars is that religion provides only moderate opinion constraint on a limited range of issues. Jelen (1998) concludes in his review of the religion and politics literature that “Religion, however conceived and measured, has significant effects across a relatively limited range of dependent variables. With very few exceptions, the effects of religious variables are limited to issues of personal morality, such as abortion, drug use, moral traditionalism, and gay rights” (121). Citing previous studies, (Hart 1992; Iannaccone 1993; Jelen 1991; Wald 1992) he concludes that the “relationships between religious values and attitudes on nonmoral issues tend to be weak or nonexistent” (121).

This research has shown that, at least with regard to Latter-day Saints, this view is not altogether correct. It is true that a remarkable degree of “constraint” is manifest among respondents in this diverse sample. Overall, respondents exhibited similarities on almost forty percent of the Q sort statements. The Q sort analysis in Chapter 4 revealed that virtually all members *agree* that: problems cannot be solved by government, people must change, moral breakdown is the source of many of our problems, traditional family is necessary in society, government is not responsible for caring for everyone, the free market cannot make products safe and responsible, people can be moral even if they are poor, and military spending is not more important than social spending. There is also low support for private property and economic determination, low support for economic redistribution, low expectation of equal economic success, moderate support for people enjoying their wealth, high involvement in politics, high belief that the US is a light to the world, low deference to experts, and high agreement that the media causes moral breakdown.

Agreement is indeed especially strong on “moral issues” such as family and declining morality (Wald and Lupfer 1983). Even staunch Mormon Democrats in the United States generally agree with this moral outlook, albeit with some slight variations. On moral issues, there does appear to be a virtual consensus on values and issues. This comes as little surprise since the LDS Church has become virtually synonymous with “family values” and traditional morality.

But, while opposition to abortion, morality, the media, and family are unanimous and have LDS roots, the commonalities among Latter-day Saints are not all moral in nature.¹¹³ There is also evidence of religious effects on non-moral issues like the United States' role in the world, economic self-sufficiency, and civic engagement. And even though there is variation on support for the US Constitution, religion has at least some effect on this issue as well. Non-LDS Canadians would surely not support the US Constitution to the degree that these members do.

At the same time, we find there are also some systematic and statistically significant racial and political cultural variations among the sample. This study found considerably more ideological variation among active Mormons than Utah-based samples have revealed. The Latter-day Saints in this sample tend to *disagree* on the issues of affirmative action, support for non-traditional families, government regulation of morality, hope in the future, government provision of basic needs, success based on merit, foreign intervention, the importance of individual versus community rights, direct versus representative government, trust in government, military spending, law and order, and that the US Constitution as inspired. Views on political issues such as gun control, free trade and others also varied significantly.

Most importantly, many of these opinions vary systematically by race and political culture. Cultural variation even extends to typically LDS views on the US constitution, law and order, and gambling, which were expected to be common to all. Political culture

¹¹³ Attitudes on abortion have not been formally presented here because there is virtual unanimity among these respondents on the LDS church's stated position that abortion should be performed only in the cases of rape, incest, or the physical and mental well-being of the mother.

and race simultaneously exert a strong enough influence to impact even well-known LDS views. We must not forget, however, that even on some distinguishing issues, like the US Constitution and gambling, religion may be having an impact that is overpowered by cultural norms.

Finally, despite the important variation defined in the study, we must note that the LDS conservative stereotype is somewhat correct in a larger sense. It is very unlikely that one will find significant numbers of textbook liberals among church members; specifically, those who favor social libertarianism. The liberals in this sample support economic regulation but do not oppose regulation of moral issues.¹¹⁴ The conservatives, meanwhile, support regulation of moral issues, but do not strongly support *laissez faire* economics. There may be some true liberal Latter-day Saints somewhere in the world, but it would be hard to argue an LDS religious influence produces them since there are none found in this sample.¹¹⁵ In the end, it appears that LDS leaders' statements that no political party or ideology can truly represent them seems to be correct.

Implications for Research Methodology

This research also has major implications for the use of research methodology. Q researchers and conventional R method researchers seem to be locked in mortal combat. Many researchers view Q methodology and survey research as diametrically opposed. R-

¹¹⁴This is a nearly perfect description of members in Utah known as "Utah Democrats."

¹¹⁵ Caution must be used in this statement since the sample, while more diverse than previous samples, this one is still biased to the western North and Central America. We may yet find much more "liberal" views among European Mormons.

methodologists reject Q methodology because of its low sample size, reliance on factor analysis, and interpretive nature. Q researchers, meanwhile, are hesitant to integrate the two methodologies too tightly, arguing that surveys impose meaning and exclude critical detail. This research, on the other hand, has demonstrated that surveys (an objective method), and Q sorts and interviews (subjective methods) can be profitably used together. The broad views found in the Q sorts are reflected in the specific issue positions on the survey and in the interview questions. This indicates that each measure is valid and that there is a reasonable degree of agreement between values and specific policy positions.

Caveats and Future Research

We have learned a lot in the last decade about the effects of religion on politics in the United States but we have learned very little about these effects across cultures. The time is ripe to focus on these comparisons as a way to refine our knowledge about the theoretical link between religion and politics. This study has taken a first step into this important area. However, there is yet much to be learned and many improvements yet to be made over the current study.

There are many shortcomings in this study. First, neither my study or David Magleby's work in Utah are optimal for making a definitive statement on LDS political views. Utah surveys have very large sample sizes, but fail to capture the very important cultural diversity existing among members of the LDS church. This study has taken a small step toward capturing that diversity, but due to cross-cultural sampling difficulties has produced a much smaller sample size than is needed to generalize more confidently. In

other words, this study maximizes internal validity through its racial and cultural diversity at the same time its generalizability and controls are weakened by its small sample size. An even more systematic and inclusive sample is needed to make comprehensive generalizations about LDS political views.

Ultimately, sampling Mormons with the appropriate diversity and adequate sample size to generalize will be extremely difficult indeed. Great caution will be required. As this research has shown, ethnicity and nationality are themselves important determinants of political opinion. Studies which over sample Anglo members and US members will not reveal the proportional existence of LDS political opinions as much as they measure the proportional ethnic or national makeup of the sample. Only carefully structured samples that represent the full diversity of LDS members is adequate to generalize about “what Mormons think,” what percentage of Mormons hold each world view, and ultimately, to what extent religion rather than culture influences these views. Quite simply, available samples are not necessarily good samples. We should avoid being slave to easily obtainable data and instead obtain data that is appropriate for the question at hand.

Second, while this study has taken an important step in diversifying the sample of Mormons studied, there are members from many other countries and backgrounds which we still know little or nothing about. It is likely that more variation would emerge as more countries and ethnic groups are brought into the sample. For example, Mormons in the liberal democracies of northern Europe would likely favor a more activist government than any group identified here. If true liberals exist among Mormons, this is likely where we would find them. Indeed this sample yet has a bias toward rural, western North

Americans. It is also biased toward English-speakers who may share some values due to their familiarity and knowledge of English and the United States. A multi-lingual sample may reveal even less constraint in political attitudes. Finally, the perceived link between religion and politics would be further circumscribed if less active members of the church were included in this study.

Third, to fully understand the relationship between religion and politics, there needs to be a greater comparison of LDS and non-LDS attitudes within each racial and cultural group. Are Canadian Mormons really that different from non-LDS Canadians? Are Scandinavian Mormons less supportive of activist government than their fellow citizens? If so, this further confirms a religious influence. This is a second critical question which must be answered to fully understand the “whole picture” of the effects of LDS doctrine and culture on political attitudes.

Subsequent research could also further validate the importance of religion and political culture on beliefs by doing research similar to this for other denominations. In each case the results may differ--some denominations will induce greater constraint than others, and will induce constraint on different issues. But such efforts would help us further define the universe of religious effects without confound from factors which have too often been ignored--race and political culture.

Finally, better measures of critical control variables need to be conceptualized and implemented. For example, cross-national income measures proved to be extremely problematic in this study. While this data was collected, it became clear that the standard measures used were not valid. For example, there is no common metric in income

measures across cultures. It means something very different to have an income of \$25,000 US dollars if you are an administrator in the United States, a teacher in Canada or a farmer in Mexico (if you can even determine what a farmer makes in the first place).

The Future of the LDS Church

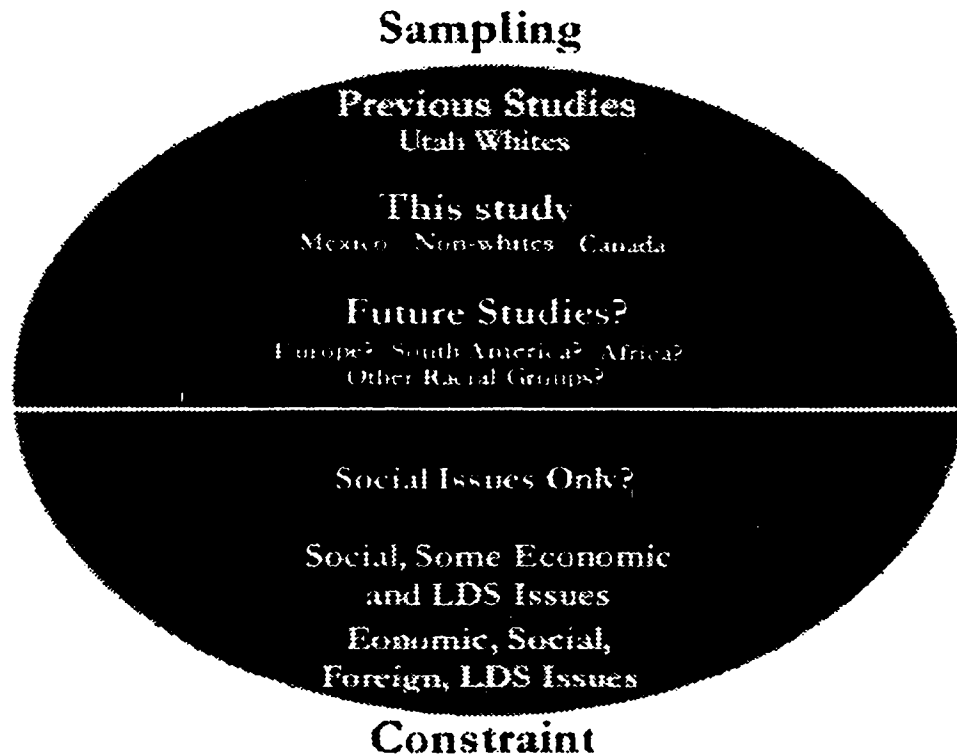
The dual findings presented in this dissertation have important implications for our understanding of the future impact of the LDS church on its members in other countries. The controls applied in this study have allowed us to distill the essence of the LDS message--the part that is common to members both in Utah and other cultures. Thus, this study lets us, in effect, look into the future of the LDS church worldwide, and assess its potential religious and cultural impacts abroad. We may expect Mormons from all cultures to focus on traditional families and morality, work toward self-sufficiency, and participate in public and civic affairs. These are the core political effects that are likely to be transmitted to practicing Mormons from virtually all backgrounds. In sum, we find that the religious messages within the church have political impacts in the personal behavior of members.

At the same time that we recognize the significance of local cultures and norms on members' political views and behaviors. Religious and cultural norms sometimes clash, and compromises are made in reconciling sometimes competing norms. Thus, we may predict that church members from other nations and cultures will hold political views that are unique mixtures of their cultural and religious views, just as is the case in Utah.

Conclusion

This study has been a theory-building effort to define the political views within a sample of active Latter-day Saints. Figure 6.1 below helps summarize the findings of this study and place them in the context of past and future research. We have learned in this research that religion has an important impact on the political thinking of active Mormons. Overall, I find the sphere of influence of LDS beliefs is important. This sphere extends beyond merely social issues. Simultaneously, I find that the sphere of religious influence is also smaller than the conventional wisdom suggests. Contextual and cultural effects are also key contributory variables. When we expand the sample to more fully represent the diversity of views among active Mormons, the sphere of influence begins to shrink. We can only conclude from this that religion, although very important, is not as powerful among Latter-day Saints as previously thought. Further, the commonalities are greatest for social and moral issues, but not limited to them alone. Self-sufficiency, American exceptionalism and civic participation are also affected.

**Figure 6.1: Comparison of Findings on
The Extent of Religious Influence**



In the case of Latter-day Saints, the characterization of Mormons' political beliefs from Utah surveys alone is misleading because it is such a tiny and unrepresentative microcosm of Mormonism. Non-whites, a large and quickly growing segment of the church turn out to be more progressive on a host of issues. Furthermore, members from different countries hold distinct world views that reflect their unique political cultures. An even broader sample may reveal even more differences across cultures. Thus, it may not be exactly true that Mormonism breeds conservatism as Fowler and Hertzke and others argue. A more correct statement might be that Mormonism in the United States has bred white, western Americans who exhibit strong "conservative" tendencies independent of their religion. But

white western Saints are a homogenous minority within a diverse majority. The failure to distinguish between race, culture and religion has led us to overstate the otherwise significant influence of LDS religion.

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APPENDIX 1

Q SORT STATEMENTS AND FACTOR SCORES

Statement
 Factor Scores: Factors 1-6

System Orientation

10.	The future looks bleak for the next generation.					
	-3	-3	-4	3	0	0
26.	The future looks brighter for the next generation than it did for past generations.					
	0	2	1	-4	-1	-1
33.	There is no use in worrying about politics, we can't change it anyway.					
	-5	-4	-3	-3	-4	-4
34.	People can have an influence on government if they just speak up.					
	2	3	4	4	3	5
44.	It is essential that citizens participate in all governmental decisions.					
	-1	1	2	2	3	3
45.	Many decisions are best made by experts rather than directly by voters.					
	0	0	-3	-4	-2	-1

Role of US and Constitution

36.	The US Constitution is a direct manifestation of God's preferred form of government.					
	3	4	3	3	0	1
37.	The US Constitution is no better than many other types of government.					
	-4	-5	-3	-5	-1	0
38.	God intended the United States to be a light unto the world.					
	3	5	3	5	2	1
39.	The United States is not much better in its principles or behavior than any other country.					
	-2	0	-2	0	2	2

General Government Orientation

1	Society's problems cannot be solved by government, people must change things on their own.					
	2	2	-1	2	3	-2
14.	Government is responsible to provide basic needs to everyone, like housing, food, job training and education.					
	-2	-4	2	-1	-1	-3

15. It is not government's responsibility to care for everyone, people must take care of themselves.
2 2 0 1 4 3
16. Government should take an active, leading role in solving societal problems.
2 -1 3 2 -2 -2
17. Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.
-1 -1 -2 -3 0 -3
35. Government cannot be trusted to do what is in our best interest.
-3 -2 -4 0 1 0
47. Government has proven that it is incapable of helping solve our complex problems.
-1 0 -3 -1 0 0
49. Government can be trusted to help find solutions to our problems and help improve our lives.
0 -3 2 -1 -4 0

Government Social Role

8. It is not government's business to define what is morally correct.
-4 1 1 0 2 0
9. It is necessary for government to set basic bounds on individual moral behavior.
3 -2 0 -2 -2 -3
24. Freedom means government not telling us how to live our personal lives.
-2 2 0 2 1 1

Government Economic Role

5. Many of society's problems are caused by too much government interference in the free market.
0 1 -1 0 0 -2
14. Government is responsible to provide basic needs to everyone, like housing, food, job training and education.
-2 -4 2 -1 -1 -3
15. It is not government's responsibility to care for everyone, people must take care of themselves.
2 2 0 1 4 3
17. Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.
-1 -1 -2 -3 0 -3
28. An equal chance is not enough, we should do more to make economic outcomes more equal.
0 -2 0 0 -1 -1

32. Government should make sure wealth is distributed more equally in society.
-1 -3 0 -1 -2 -2
50. We need government to protect us from abuses by business which always occur in a free market.
1 0 1 1 0 3

Interventionism/Isolationism/Military

19. Spending money to maintain a strong military is more important than spending on social programs.
-2 -2 -2 -4 -3 -4
20. We are obligated to intervene in other countries' affairs to make the world a better place.
1 -1 -2 0 -1 -1
21. We should worry about our own problems rather than those of other countries.
-2 0 -1 0 1 -2
22. Governments spend too much money on guns and bombs and not enough helping people.
1 -1 2 1 1 2

Morality and Family

3. Moral breakdown and decay is the source of most of society's problems.
5 5 5 3 5 2
6. The traditional family structure is necessary to build a good society.
5 4 4 5 5 5
7. Non-traditional families are just as good, if not better, than traditional ones.
-5 -5 -1 -5 -5 -5
8. It is not government's business to define what is morally correct.
-4 1 1 0 2 0
9. It is necessary for government to set basic bounds on individual moral behavior.
3 -2 0 -2 -2 -3
18. People can always choose to live moral, law-abiding lives even if they are poor.
4 4 5 4 4 4
29. We would have fewer problems if people had more respect for law and authority.
4 3 3 1 4 4
41. The media is blamed too often for our social problems.
-1 0 2 -2 -3 -1

46. The permissive content of television and movies is one of the main reasons for the moral breakdown of society.
4 3 1 4 3 1
48. It is difficult for people to live perfect moral lives when they can't even put food on the table.
-3 -4 -5 -1 -5 3

General Economic Orientation

5. Many of society's problems are caused by too much government interference in the free market.
0 1 -1 0 0 -2
11. Those who succeed work hard; those who haven't succeeded haven't worked hard enough.
-4 0 -5 -2 -3 -4
12. Wealth often comes from abusing others and not playing by the rules.
1 -2 -1 -1 0 -1
13. A large gap between rich and poor is unhealthy for society.
1 1 1 0 1 1
17. Left to itself, free market forces can make business and its products safe and socially responsible.
-1 -1 -2 -3 0 -3
23. The most important freedoms are ownership of private property and economic self-determination.
-1 2 -2 -2 2 0
25. The best and brightest should make it to the top.
-1 1 0 -3 -1 0
30. All people are different so we should not expect or demand equal economic success.
1 1 0 1 0 2
31. If a person has the ability to acquire wealth, they should have the right to enjoy it.
1 3 1 3 1 1
32. Government should make sure wealth is distributed more equally in society.
-1 -3 0 -1 -2 -2
50. We need government to protect us from abuses by business which always occur in a free market.
1 0 1 1 0 3

Equality

2. We need to give some groups in society special protections and opportunities in order to overcome injustices.
0 -1 0 2 -2 -5

4. Problems in our society are mostly caused by economic injustice and discrimination.
0 -1 -1 1 -3 -3
25. The best and brightest should make it to the top.
-1 1 0 -3 -1 0
27. We would have fewer problems if people were treated more equally.
3 0 4 1 1 -1
28. An equal chance is not enough, we should do more to make economic outcomes more equal.
0 -2 0 0 -1 -1
30. All people are different so we should not expect or demand equal economic success.
1 1 0 1 0 2
40. It is not right to have special protections or opportunities for specific ethnic and racial groups.
0 1 -1 -3 -1 4
42. Government must protect people's individual rights, even if it is harmful to the community as a whole.
-3 -3 -4 -1 -4 1
43. We focus too much on individual rights and not nearly enough on what is good for the community as a whole.
2 -1 1 -2 2 2

Q SORT RESPONSE MATRIX

[illegible]

Okay to call back for further questions? ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPENDIX 3

PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

This is an opportunity to provide more detail about how you feel about important political issues today. While answering the questions, please feel free to ask me for clarification if a question or option is unclear. All results will be anonymous.

1. Do you generally favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the US, Canada, and Mexico?

- ☐ Favor ☐ Oppose ☐ Don't know

2. Which of the following best represents your views on the ABORTION issue?

- ☐ Abortions should be legal at any time during a woman's pregnancy, for any reason.
- ☐ Abortions should be legal for any reason, but not after the first six months of pregnancy.
- ☐ Abortions should be legal for any reason, but not after the first three month of pregnancy.
- ☐ Abortions should be prohibited except in cases of rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother.
- ☐ Abortions should be prohibited in all circumstances.
- ☐ Other (please specify): _____

3. Many people feel that we have to choose between protecting our environment and ensuring economic growth. Which do you think should be given higher priority?

- ☐ Protecting the environment.
- ☐ Ensuring economic growth.
- ☐ Not sure
- ☐ Other _____

Please use the scale below to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each policy statement.

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

1. Views on Government Programs:

Government programs give people new freedom by creating opportunities for those who may not have them otherwise.	
The country would be better off if government just got out of our lives.	
Government programs tend to take away individual liberty by making us dependent on government.	

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
+-----+				

2. Views on Taxes:

The upper class should pay much higher percentage of income in taxes than the middle or lower classes.	
We should have a flat tax where everyone pays the same tax rate.	
The upper class should pay less taxes than the middle or lower classes because this money allows them to invest and create more jobs.	
Government should not tax its citizens at all.	

3. Views on Funding for Education:

The amount of money per student should be the same everywhere so that there are no rich or poor schools.	
Government should give each student a funding voucher and allow them to choose among competing schools.	
The existence of rich and poor schools is natural, and therefore, not much of a worry.	

4. Views on Families:

Government should promote the traditional family because it is the foundation of society.	
Government should promote all types of families, not just "traditional" ones.	
Government should not promote any particular definition of family.	
Government should be able to intervene in family affairs to ensure the welfare of spouses and children.	
Government should provide classes to help people learn how to be good parents.	

5. Views on the Environment:

We currently do too much to protect the environment.	
We should <i>not</i> increase efforts to protect the environment if it slows the economy or increases unemployment.	
New technology and expertise will be able to solve the environmental problems created by development.	
Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high.	

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
+=====+				

6. Views on Gun Control:

There should be no restrictions on the number or type of guns we can own.	
Assault weapons and handguns should be outlawed, but rifles and shotguns should be allowed.	
All guns should be illegal for everyone except police and authorized persons.	

7. Views on Health Care:

Government has an obligation to provide health care for all of its citizens.	
Health care ought to be run by private business, but should be highly regulated by government to control costs and insure easy access to all citizens regardless of income.	
The free market will provide the best health care system, better than government can.	

8. Views on Aid for the Poor:

Government should provide a comfortable level of aid to those who are less fortunate.	
Government should provide all necessary aid, but limit the time people can receive this aid.	
Government should change welfare because it demeans recipients and makes them stop trying to take care of themselves.	
Government should leave aid for the poor to private charity and volunteer organizations.	

9. Views on the Distribution of Wealth:

A large gap between rich and poor is harmful to society and should be decreased by government redistributive programs.	
People should be free to earn as much as they can according to their skills and hard work.	
Government should require that employers pay adequate living wages to workers to keep them out of poverty.	
People are not equal in skills or work initiative; therefore, having rich and poor is not a problem.	

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
+-----+				

10. Views on School Prayer

Non-denominational prayer should be allowed in school and public meetings.	
Schools should not allow prayer, but should allow a moment of silence.	
No opportunity for prayer or silence should be given because government should not be endorsing religion in schools.	

11. Views on Stopping Crime:

Government should strengthen law enforcement and increase punishments.	
Government needs to do more to strengthen the family, thereby alleviating crime.	
Government should develop better social programs to help people stay away from crime.	
Government should spend more money on existing social programs in order to keep kids out of crime in the first place.	

12. Views on Gambling:

Gambling and lotteries are destructive and should not be allowed anywhere in any form.	
Gambling and lotteries are acceptable if they help fund education or decrease taxes.	
Gambling and lotteries should be allowed in special circumstances, such as to increase the economic well-being of Indian tribes.	
Gambling and lotteries should be allowed wherever and whenever people want them.	

13. Views on the US Constitution:

The United States Constitution was inspired by God, word for word, so its original meaning should not be changed.	
The United States Constitution was inspired in certain principles, but not every one.	
The United States Constitution was inspired in general, but is only a rough guide which we should adjust to meet present day needs.	
The United States Constitution could not have been inspired by God given some of its provisions.	

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

14. Views on Church and State:

Religion is a vital part of society so religious ideas should be accepted as an equal basis for discussion of public issues.	
Religion is a vital part of society, but should not be intimately involved in politics.	
Religious beliefs are relative and divisive, so should be kept out of politics.	

15. Views on International Trade:

Government should pursue free trade even if it hurts workers or industries.	
Government should pursue free trade, but stop if we lose jobs or industries.	
Government ought to tax imports (tariffs) to protect our nation's jobs and businesses, even if it means paying more for goods.	

16. Views on the Military:

Government spends too much money on the military and not enough money helping people.	
Government should spend large amounts of money on the military because staying strong helps keep us from having to go to war.	
It is not Christian to spend so much money on armaments.	

17. Views on Foreign Relations:

Government ought to take an active part in world affairs, including membership in the United Nations.	
We would be better off if the government worried more about problems at home than problems in other parts of the world.	
Government should never get involved in the affairs of other nations.	

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
+-----+				

18. Views on Aid to Ethnic and Minority Groups:

Government must work to aid ethnic and minority groups by punishing discrimination.	
Government needs to enforce policies that help and recognize ethnic and minority groups.	
Government should not recognize or help one group over another, even to remedy discrimination.	

19. Views on Multiculturalism:

When immigrants enter the country, they should be assimilated into the dominant culture, as in a "melting pot."	
Stressing diversity and multiculturalism merely divides us by stressing our differences.	
When immigrants enter the country, they should be encouraged to keep their culture and language.	

20. Views on Political Decision Making:

Political decisions should be made by a vote of all of the people.	
Political decisions should be made by officials elected by the people.	
Political decisions should be made by a king or queen.	
Political decisions should be made by clan, tribe, or family councils.	

21. Views on the Best Form of Government:

The best way to govern society is found in the US Constitution.	
The best way to govern society is by a parliamentary system.	
The best way to govern society is by a wise king or queen.	
The best way to govern society is by clan, tribe, or family councils.	

1	2	3	4	X
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

Use the same scale (at the top of the page) to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1. The best way to address social problems is to change the hearts of individuals _____
2. The best way to address social problems is to change the distribution of wealth and power in society _____
3. Religion's main function is to encourage individual morality _____
4. Religion's main function is to encourage social justice and political reform _____
5. Individuals are poor because of individual inadequacies _____
6. Individuals are poor because of social, economic, and political factors _____
7. People should concentrate most on their relationship with God _____
8. People should concentrate most on creating better relationships among people and groups in society _____
9. My religious beliefs influence the way I think about politics _____
10. A person cannot be a good Mormon and a Democrat _____
11. A person cannot be a good Mormon and a Republican _____
12. My ethnic background influences the way I think about politics _____
13. We can generally trust our national government to do what is in our best interest _____
14. My nationality influences the way I think about politics _____
15. I can make a difference by voting _____
16. How many political parties would you prefer a political system have?
☐ One major party ☐ Two major parties ☐ Three or more major parties ☐ No parties
17. How often do you pay attention to politics or political events in the news media?
☐ All of the time ☐ Most of the time ☐ Every once in a while ☐ Never
18. How often do you vote in government elections?
☐ Always ☐ Sometimes ☐ Rarely ☐ Never
19. Which national political party do you tend to agree with the most? _____
20. What do you think are the three most important problems facing society today?
(Please list three starting with the most important.)
Problem 1 _____
Problem 2 _____
Problem 3 _____
21. Now, for each of the problems you listed, please indicate who you believe can best fix each of these problems. (Please list only one group or body for each problem).
Group for problem 1 _____
Group for problem 2 _____
Group for problem 3 _____

22. For each problem, please list the most important thing the **group** you named could do to **fix** the problem. (Please list only one activity for each problem).

Fix for problem 1 _____

Fix for problem 2 _____

Fix for problem 3 _____

23. What, if anything, can **you personally** do to help **fix** each of the problems you have identified? (Please list only one activity for each problem).

Fix for problem 1 _____

Fix for problem 2 _____

Fix for problem 3 _____

APPENDIX 4

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Respondent # _____

Which Mexican [US, Canadian] political party do you tend to agree with and support the most? _____ US party? _____

In the previous exercises, you've dealt a lot with the role the government should have in society. I would like you to think again in terms of general tendencies, your "gut reaction" to these issues. As a general rule,

Should the government regulate free markets or are we better off leaving business and the economy to itself?

☐ favor reg.
☐ oppose reg.

Should the government set rules for acceptable moral behavior or not?

☐ favor reg.
☐ oppose reg.

Should government get involved in other countries' problems or should worry first about our own problems?

☐ favor reg.
☐ oppose

Do you think that being LDS influences the way you think about government ought to do, or not do? Do you think the church implicitly or explicitly urges members toward a particular set of political views?

Can you think of any specific political issues that are influenced by your religion? If so, what beliefs and which Mormon doctrines?

Do you think that [living in Mexico//being Mexican] makes you think differently about the world than other LDS members, say other Anglo members in the United States?

You have probably heard in church statements that the **US Constitution** is inspired by God. Being from another country, what are your thoughts on this? In what way is it inspired? Are other countries' governments inspired also?

Some countries have a comprehensive **health care** plan. Should the United States do more to insure basic health care to everyone? Should health care be a right?

In the church, we hear a lot about **free agency**. What does that term mean to you as applied to political issues? Does this mean we should allow free economic markets, freedom of personal behavior, or something else? [none, both, other?]

Do you feel that something has **changed** or gone wrong in society in recent decades? What? What are your feelings about the future? Do you have fear or feel anxiety about the future of society as we know it? If so, what are your biggest fears?

APPENDIX 5

DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS SECTION 134

Date: August 17, 1835, Place: Kirtland, Ohio

1 WE believe that governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man; and that he holds men accountable for their acts in relation to them, both in making laws and administering them, for the good and safety of society.

2 We believe that no government can exist in peace, except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life.

3 We believe that all governments necessarily require civil officers and magistrates to enforce the laws of the same; and that such as will administer the law in equity and justice should be sought for and upheld by the voice of the people if a republic, or the will of the sovereign.

4 We believe that religion is instituted of God; and that men are amenable to him, and to him only, for the exercise of it, unless their religious opinions prompt them to infringe upon the rights and liberties of others; but we do not believe that human law has a right to interfere in prescribing rules of worship to bind the consciences of men, nor dictate forms for public or private devotion; that the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control conscience; should punish guilt, but never suppress the freedom of the soul.

5 We believe that all men are bound to sustain and uphold the respective governments in which they reside, while protected in their inherent and inalienable rights by the laws of such governments; and that sedition and rebellion are unbecoming every citizen thus protected, and should be punished accordingly; and that all governments have a right to enact such laws as in their own judgments are best calculated to secure the public interest; at the same time, however, holding sacred the freedom of conscience.

6 We believe that every man should be honored in his station, rulers and magistrates as such, being placed for the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty; and that to the laws all men show respect and deference, as without them peace and harmony would be supplanted by anarchy and terror; human laws being instituted for the express purpose of regulating our interests as individuals and nations, between man and man; and divine laws given of heaven, prescribing rules on spiritual concerns, for faith and worship, both to be answered by man to his Maker.

7 We believe that rulers, states, and governments have a right, and are bound to enact laws for the protection of all citizens in the free exercise of their religious belief; but we do not believe that they have a right in justice to deprive citizens of this privilege, or proscribe them in their opinions, so long as a regard and reverence are shown to the laws and such religious opinions do not justify sedition nor conspiracy.

8 We believe that the commission of crime should be punished according to the nature of the offense; that murder, treason, robbery, theft, and the breach of the general peace, in all respects, should be punished according to their criminality and their tendency to evil among men, by the laws of that government in which the offense is committed; and for the

public peace and tranquility all men should step forward and use their ability in bringing offenders against good laws to punishment.

9 We do not believe it just to mingle religious influence with civil government, whereby one religious society is fostered and another proscribed in its spiritual privileges, and the individual rights of its members, as citizens, denied.

10 We believe that all religious societies have a right to deal with their members for disorderly conduct, according to the rules and regulations of such societies; provided that such dealings be for fellowship and good standing; but we do not believe that any religious society has authority to try men on the right of property or life, to take from them this world's goods, or to put them in jeopardy of either life or limb, or to inflict any physical punishment upon them. They can only excommunicate them from their society, and withdraw from them their fellowship.

11 We believe that men should appeal to the civil law for redress of all wrongs and grievances, where personal abuse is inflicted or the right of property or character infringed, where such laws exist as will protect the same; but we believe that all men are justified in defending themselves, their friends, and property, and the government, from the unlawful assaults and encroachments of all persons in times of exigency, where immediate appeal cannot be made to the laws, and relief afforded.

12 We believe it just to preach the gospel to the nations of the earth, and warn the righteous to save themselves from the corruption of the world; but we do not believe it right to interfere with bondservants, neither preach the gospel to, nor baptize them contrary to the will and wish of their masters, nor to meddle with or influence them in the least to cause them to be dissatisfied with their situations in this life, thereby jeopardizing the lives of men; such interference we believe to be unlawful and unjust, and dangerous to the peace of every government allowing human beings to be held in servitude.

APPENDIX 6

THE FAMILY: A PROCLAMATION TO THE WORLD

This proclamation was read by President Gordon B. Hinckley as part of his message at the General Relief Society Meeting held September 23, 1995, in Salt Lake City, Utah.

The First Presidency and Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints.

We, the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, solemnly proclaim that marriage between a man and a woman is ordained of God and that the family is central to the Creator's plan for the eternal destiny of His children.

All human beings--male and female--are created in the image of God. Each is a beloved spirit son or daughter of heavenly parents, and, as such, each has a divine nature and destiny. Gender is an essential characteristic of individual premortal, mortal, and eternal identity and purpose.

In the premortal realm, spirit sons and daughters knew and worshiped God as their Eternal Father and accepted His plan by which His children could obtain a physical body and gain earthly experience to progress toward perfection and ultimately realize his or her divine destiny as an heir of eternal life. The divine plan of happiness enables family relationships to be perpetuated beyond the grave. Sacred ordinances and covenants available in holy temples make it possible for individuals to return to the presence of God and for families to be united eternally.

The first commandment that God gave to Adam and Eve pertained to their potential for parenthood as husband and wife. We declare that God's commandment for His children to multiply and replenish the earth remains in force. We further declare that God has commanded that the sacred powers of procreation are to be employed only between man and woman, lawfully wedded as husband and wife.

We declare the means by which mortal life is created to be divinely appointed. We affirm the sanctity of life and of its importance in God's eternal plan.

Husband and wife have a solemn responsibility to love and care for each other and for their children. "Children are an heritage of the Lord" (Psalms 127:3). Parents have a sacred duty to rear their children in love and righteousness, to provide for their physical and spiritual needs, to teach them to love and serve one another, to observe the commandments of God and to be law-abiding citizens wherever they live. Husbands and wives--mothers and fathers--will be held accountable before God for the discharge of these obligations.

The family is ordained of God. Marriage between man and woman is essential to His eternal plan. Children are entitled to birth within the bonds of matrimony, and to be reared by a father and a mother who honor marital vows with complete fidelity. Happiness in family life is most likely to be achieved when founded upon the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Successful marriages and families are established and maintained on

principles of faith, prayer, repentance, forgiveness, respect, love, compassion, work, and wholesome recreational activities. By divine design, fathers are to preside over their families in love and righteousness and are responsible to provide the necessities of life and protection for their families. Mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture of their children. In these sacred responsibilities, fathers and mothers are obligated to help one another as equal partners. Disability, death, or other circumstances may necessitate individual adaptation. Extended families should lend support when needed.

We warn that individuals who violate covenants of chastity, who abuse spouse or offspring, or who fail to fulfill family responsibilities will one day stand accountable before God. Further, we warn that the disintegration of the family will bring upon individuals, communities, and nations the calamities foretold by ancient and modern prophets.

We call upon responsible citizens and officers of government everywhere to promote those measures designed to maintain and strengthen the family as the fundamental unit of society.

APPENDIX 7

STATEMENT ON POLITICAL NEUTRALITY AND THE NON-USE OF CHURCH BUILDINGS

June 9, 1988

To General Authorities and the following priesthood leaders in the United States:
Regional Representatives; Stake, Mission and District Presidents; Bishops; and Branch
Presidents (To be read in Sacrament meeting.)

Dear Brethren:

In this election year, we reiterate the long-standing policy of the Church of strict political neutrality, of not endorsing political candidates or parties in elections, and of not using Church facilities for political purposes, including voter registration.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints does not favor one political party over another. We have no candidates for political office and we do not undertake to tell people how to vote.

We do urge all voters to involve themselves in the political process and to study carefully and prayerfully candidates' positions on issues and to vote for those who will most nearly carry out their views of government and its role.

The use of branch, ward, or stake premises, chapels or other Church facilities or equipment in any way for voter registration or political campaign purpose is contrary to our counsel and advice. This stricture applies to speech-making, class discussion, fund-raising, or preparation or distribution of campaign literature. Church directories or mailing lists should not be made available for any purpose to candidates for distribution of campaign literature or fund solicitation or to those involved in voter registration.

Those who attempt to use Church meetings or facilities or equipment to further their own or another's political ambitions injure their own cause and do the Church a disservice. We appeal, therefore, to all candidates for public office to take notice of this instruction and to conduct their campaigns in strict compliance with this requirement pertaining to use of Church facilities, equipment, meetings and membership lists.

We also call on all political candidates who are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints neither to state nor imply the endorsement of their candidacy by the Church or its leaders.

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY

Ezra Taft Benson

Gordon B. Hinckley

Thomas S. Monson

APPENDIX 8

"PARTICIPATION AS CITIZENS" LETTER FROM THE FIRST PRESIDENCY

February 2, 1998

We wish to reiterate the divine counsel that members "should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness," while using gospel principals as a guide and while cooperating with other like-minded individuals (D&C 58:27). Through such wise participation as citizens, we are then in better compliance with this scripture:

Governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man; and that he holds men accountable for their acts in relation to them (D&C 134:1).

Therefore, as in the past, we urge members of the Church to be full participants in political, governmental, and community affairs. Members of the Church are under special obligations to seek out and then uphold those leaders who are "wise," "good," and "honest" (see D&C 98:10).

Thus we strongly urge men and women to be willing to serve on school boards, city and county councils and commissions, state legislatures and other high offices of either election or appointment, including involvement in the political party of their choice.

While the Church does not endorse political candidates, platforms, or parties, members are counseled to study the candidates carefully and vote for those individuals they believe will act with integrity and in ways conducive to good communities and good government. Hence, political candidates are asked not to imply that their candidacy is endorsed by the Church or its leaders.

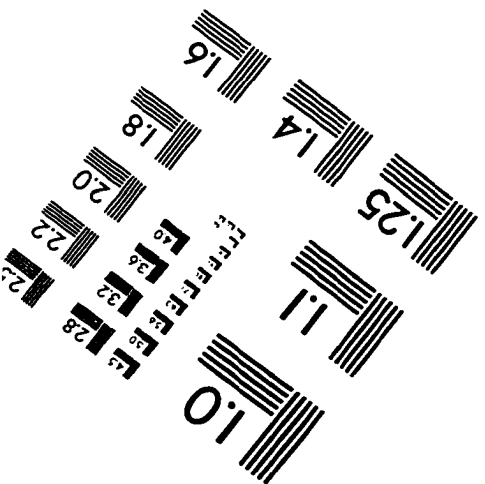
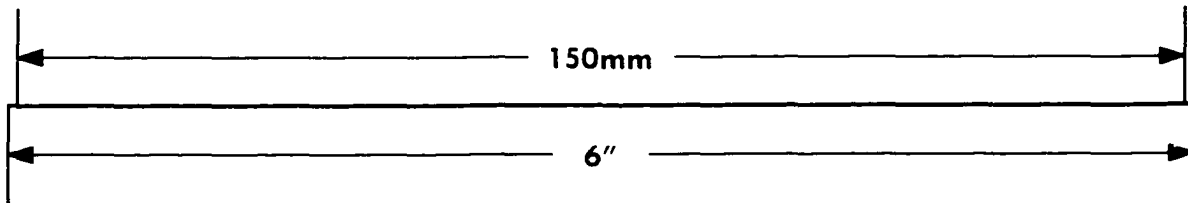
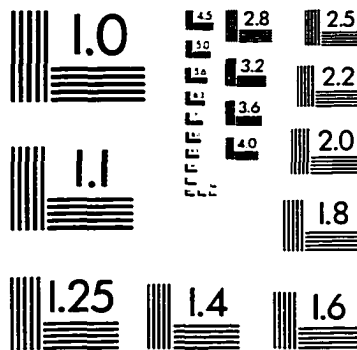
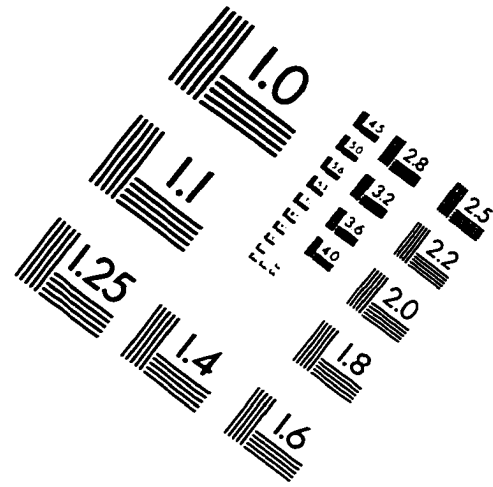
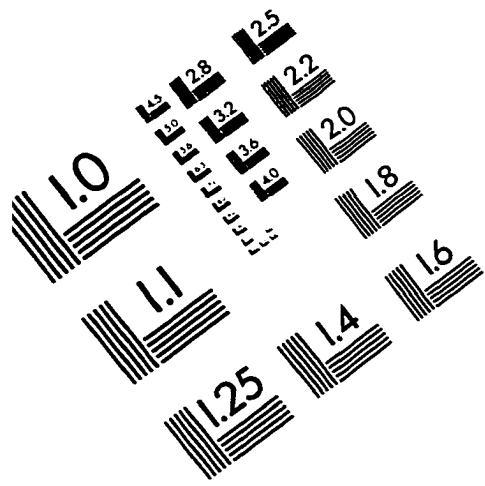
As always, Church facilities may not be used for political purposes, nor Church directories or mailing lists.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon B. Hinckley
Thomas S. Monson
James E. Faust

The First Presidency

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