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FROM IDEOLOGY TO IDEOLOGUE: HOW THE MORMON CHURCH UTILIZES THE
IDEOGRAPH TO INTERPELLATE IDENTITY

ALEXANDER EWERS

113 Pages

This study sought to form a more thorough understanding of how a prominent U.S. religion has utilized internally-generated media to interpellate its preferred identity onto members. Specifically, this research investigated how the ideograph was utilized as a tool for interpellation in the context of Mormonism. To do this, an ideological criticism of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' *Ensign* magazine was conducted. A single ideology was found: The ideology of the perfect order. Constitutive ideographs of this ideology were also discovered. In connection to the use of gender, sex, and sexuality language to express the perfect order ideology, the ideographs of <marriage>, <family>, and <priesthood> were located. The perfect order ideology was also expressed using class ideology and the following ideographs were found in connection to this: <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe> were described. These results evidenced the ideograph fulfilling three specific roles as a tool for interpellation: an intermediary role, a comparative role, and a regulative role. Each of these roles and how they are carried out in the *Ensign* were discussed at length. Lastly, implications and limitations for this research and directions for future research were discussed.

KEYWORDS: Ideology; Identity; Ideograph; Interpellation; Mormonism

FROM IDEOLOGY TO IDEOLOGUE: HOW THE MORMON CHURCH UTILIZES THE
IDEOGRAPH TO INTERPELLATE IDENTITY

ALEXANDER EWERS

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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FROM IDEOLOGY TO IDEOLOGUE: HOW THE MORMON CHURCH UTILIZES THE
IDEOGRAPH TO INTERPELLATE IDENTITY

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

As I approach this project, I reflect on my own religious identity. In particular, I reflect on my experience as my sense of religious identity evolved as I shifted from Evangelical Christianity to Christian Universalism. As I made the shift (I resist the term “convert” because Christian Universalism still recognizes, grew out of, and still is a form of Christianity), I felt the pressure from Evangelical Christians and the church through various media to maintain an Evangelical Christian identity as I drifted further from it. These were, as I would describe them, efforts to dictate my religious identity. This led me to consider how a religion might convey a preferred identity to members, especially when the religion seemed to be under threat as my own identity was.

To conduct the research in this thesis, I have chosen one specific religion in this thesis: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as the Mormon Church. The choice to study the Mormon religion is personal for me. At the same time my religious identity was shifting, my political identity was as well. The first U.S. election I was able to vote in was the 2012 General Election. Having been raised in a Republican, moderate home, I had not yet formed my own progressive views. As I debated whether I would vote for President Barack Obama or former Massachusetts Governor and Mormon Mitt Romney, I had to confront what Evangelical Christianity always taught me: Mormons were heretics. Confronting what I had always been taught was difficult and deciding that what I had been taught throughout my childhood was wrong was when I first became aware of how intertwined an Evangelical identity was with my own worldview.

The Mormon religion is under constant scrutiny from the outside, thus threatening the identity of each of its members. For example, the Mormon Church has “come under fire” for

maintaining its belief in marriage as between one man and one woman when reiterating its stance after same-sex marriage was legalized across the United States (Ziv, 2017, para. 7). This scrutiny has created an exigent need for the organization to both publicly defend itself and to bolster identification among its members to maintain membership and support, and an opportunity to analyze the church's publications to see how they achieve these goals. Three aspects of the church in particular warrant a focus on its publications in this thesis: its Americanness and therefore recent founding, its utilization of specific facets of identity, and its cultural location.

First, the Mormon religion is uniquely American—i.e., it was founded more recently than mainstream religions in the United States, and it was founded in the United States as well. Joseph Smith founded the Mormon Church in 19th century New York, and the religion quickly grew as it spread across the United States (Davies, 2007). This Americanness is pertinent to this research when considering the recency of the founding of the Mormon religion. Because the Mormon religion has been founded more recently than more mainstream U.S. religions, the overall identity of the religion is in its early stages of development which is possible to observe through reading the Mormon Church's official publications. The recency of the founding of the Mormon religion also opens it up to criticisms that older, more established religions do not face.

Particularly because, it might be argued, a time before the existence of the Mormon religion shifted the religious landscape can be readily remembered—a burden older religions do not face (Urbaniak, 2015). In other words, older religions such as mainstream Christianity which is over 2,000 years old are less expected to justify their existence because the time before their founding is difficult to remember. When a religion's origins are "ancient," there is much less questioning of the religion's right to exist than when a religion is recently founded.

Second, while religions like Mormonism form complex and nuanced identities, these complex webs of identity at times bring salience to a specific facet of identity. The Mormon Church largely relies upon masculinity and male identity to gain new membership and hierarchically organize the religion. Such male-oriented culture can be observed in the priesthood of the religion and its theology. To gain membership in the Mormon priesthood, an individual must be male—and only male (Welch, 2014). The presence of this identity in Mormonism and the salience the religion brings to the identity is particularly significant to this study because, while the facet may vary, similar techniques to manage the identities will be present in Mormonism.

Lastly, Mormonism exists on the periphery of American religion. By peripheral, I mean that Mormonism exists outside of what is often considered the mainstream of American religion and because of this is often viewed with suspicion. Duffy (2014) argued that peripheral religions “enjoy less social respectability than either churches or sects” because their cultural position represents the “perceived marginality of the groups” (p. 180). Mormonism is often viewed as a heretical cult rather than a Christian sect (Harrison, 2015). Further, Smith (2016) argued that those who identify more strongly with the mainstream of Christianity are less likely to view Mormons as Christians. When the religion is not being portrayed as heretical, it is depicted as a farce. An example of this tendency to mock Mormonism can be seen in the Broadway musical *Book of Mormon*. While the musical is technically labeled a satire, the creators unabashedly ridicule many aspects of Mormon culture in the name of comedy (National Public Radio, 2011). Regardless of how Mormonism is represented, the conclusion is that the religion occupies a position “not quite ... mainstream” (Schultz & Harvey, 2010, p.138). This demonstrates how Mormonism occupies a cultural location and space in the American religious landscape that

subjects it to intense scrutiny from the outside. Further, because of the public perception of Mormonism as a fringe religion, it is reasonable to assume that the church would have to put more work into maintaining member identities than would religions with a more mainstream profile. Thus, it is reasonable to study Mormonism in this thesis because the identity work occurring in the Mormon Church is more likely to be an active process rather than passively occurring.

While the previous discussion demonstrates the reasoning for the choice of Mormonism for this study, it also uncovers an issue: Mormonism is often portrayed as illegitimate and heretical—forcing it, as a newer religion, to exist in a hostile environment (Duffy, 2014; Keaten & Soukup, 2009). Gallagher (2007) demonstrated the impacts of this environment through a discussion of the politics at play in considering newer religions as cults rather than religions:

The use of the term “cult” thus becomes an exercise in social control, an attempt to defend the status quo against perceived threats, to reinforce the boundaries of a moral community and maintain the allegiance of its members to its central values, and to reassert a pattern of hierarchy between authoritative figures..., bodies of knowledge, and institutions and those subject to them. The marking of difference through the use of the term “cult” is a very political matter indeed. (p. 218).

The sacrosanctity of long-established religions in the United States is preserved through the diversion of the critical eye away from them and toward these newly established American religions. Such diversion creates a hostile environment within which these religions must exist. This, I argue, creates a necessity to understand how religions work to survive when existing means doing so in a less than hospitable setting. I suspect this hostile environment must impact how these new religions manage their members’ identities—the broad focus of this thesis.

In this thesis, I will investigate the relationship between the Mormon Church and its members with the social environment of these groups in mind. Specifically, I seek to understand how Mormonism utilizes the ideograph to interpellate its identity onto members—especially through the media the Mormon Church produces and makes available to the general public.

Therefore, I pose the following research questions to guide this work:

RQ1: What ideographs does the Mormon Church use in the *Ensign* during the period investigated?

RQ2: Do these ideographs function as a tool for the Mormon Church’s interpellation of its members? If so, how?

It is necessary to ask these questions because little research has been done—not just on this topic—but about the Mormon Church in general in the communication discipline. A review of the National Communication Association’s communication studies database reveals the extent of this problem. When an individual searches for the word “Mormon” in this database, he or she will see that 124 results appear. The majority of these results, however, do not address Mormonism. Of these 124 results, only nine actually address Mormonism as their subject. The topics of these studies include: Mormon theater (Robertson, 1958), Mormonism and plural marriage (Peterson, 1990), Mormonism and family values (Scott, 2003), Mormons and freedom of expression (Jensen, 1982), Mormon forms of persuasion (Armstrong & Argetsinger, 1989), performative critique of Mormonism (Goltz, 2007; Rowe, 2007), Mormons as the religious “other” (Keaten & Soukup, 2009), and Mormons and Mitt Romney (Coe & Chapp, 2017). Similar results are given when one searches “Latter-day Saints”: 384 results with an estimated 95 percent of them being unrelated to the Mormon Church. When “LDS” is searched, only ten results are shown. The problem is even worse when a person searches for the subject

“Mormonism”: There are zero results. Thus, this demonstrates the need for further study of the Mormonism in communication studies—a main contribution of my thesis.

Looking forward, this thesis will consist of five other chapters in addition to this introduction. In the second chapter, I will review the literature that establishes a foundation for and contextualizes my thesis research. The third chapter will focus on the methodology for my study. The main portion of this thesis, my analysis, will be presented in the fourth chapter. Throughout the fifth chapter, I will discuss what can be learned through my analysis. In the sixth and final chapter, I will conclude this thesis with a discussion of the implication and limitations of my research and future directions for research. This is the format which this thesis will follow.

Overall, there are several justifications for this research as I have demonstrated in this chapter. First, there has been little study on Mormonism in communication studies—a problem that the contribution of this thesis research will begin to ameliorate. Second, as Mormonism is one of the fastest growing religions in the United States and around the world (Merrill, Sloan, & Steele, 2015) and increasingly faces criticism and ridicule from outside of the religion, it is necessary to consider how the religion operates in the face of this criticism. Lastly, and most importantly, this research will allow for the development of a better understanding of how religions manage identity through their media. This is important to understanding how religions evolve in the 21st century. It is for these reasons that this thesis research is pertinent and necessary.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Prior to engaging in the research proposed in this thesis, it is necessary to form an understanding of the research that informs this research. To do so, I will thoroughly survey the literature necessary to contextualize this research. I will review the literature in two key areas: ideology and identity.

Ideology

The first section of this literature review will consider the topic of ideology generally. Within this section, I will discuss two specific subtopics under ideology: defining ideology and ideology formation and reinforcement.

Defining Ideology

Many individuals have researched the subject of ideology. Ideology is an important subject to consider as ideology is often a driving factor of action—especially when it is intertwined with religious belief (Junginger, 2013). Due to its widespread study, multiple definitions have been put forth. In this section, I will briefly review a few key definitions as proffered by important theorists. The authors I will discuss are Gramsci, Althusser, and Spivak. Considering these definitions, I will then also define ideology as I intend to use it in this thesis.

First, I will briefly discuss Antonio Gramsci's conceptualization of ideology. Woolcock (1985) provided an excellent summary of Gramsci. Gramsci thought of ideology as the “organic link connecting structure and superstructure” (p. 205). In other words, ideology links the individual's beliefs and understandings with the overarching organization that subtly dictates what those beliefs and understandings should be. This space between the structure and superstructure is “the battlefield, the terrain of the [class] struggle, since men's acquisition of consciousness does not come about individually, but through the intermediary of the ideological

terrain where two hegemonic principles confront each other” (pp. 205-206). Mouffe (1979) described Gramsci’s understanding of the role of ideology as organizational. By way of a brief summary, state organizations and the culture they create enable intellectual agents to “organize” ideologies among groups of people (Woolcock, 1985). In other words, Gramsci understood culture as the tool used to hegemonically organize groups of people and ideology as the marker through how that organization is determined.

Second, I will discuss Althusser’s conceptualization of ideology. Althusser (2009) borrowed heavily from Gramsci as he also approached the concept of ideology from a Marxist perspective (Zompetti, 1997). Althusser argued that ideology is necessary to the reproduction of labor:

To put this more scientifically, I shall say that the reproduction of labour power requires... a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class ‘in words.’ (p. 88).

From this excerpt, it is observable that Althusser views ideology as central to the continuation of the capitalist state. Further, Althusser understood ideology to be central to the proper functioning within a state:

In other words, the school (but also other State institutions like the Church, or other apparatuses like the Army) teaches ‘know-how,’ but in forms which ensure *subjection to the ruling ideology* or the mastery of its ‘practice.’ All the agents of production, exploitation and repression, not to speak of the ‘professionals of ideology’ (Marx), must

in one way or another be ‘steeped’ in this ideology in order to perform their tasks
‘conscientiously’... (p. 88, emphasis in original)

This excerpt establishes the premise of Althusser’s “ideological state apparatus” (ISA) (p. 92). According to Althusser (2009), the ISA, consisting of cultural institutions such as the church, schools, and the family, functions primarily “by ideology” (p. 93). Althusser argued that ideology is used through the power of the ISA in order to “ensure [the groups] cohesion and reproduction” (p. 93). The ISA is viewed as unifying the ideology functioning through it in order to maintain control over the labor class. Thus, Althusser viewed ideology as the unifying factor of the ISA and the tool of subjugation of the working class.

One of Althusser’s concepts is perhaps the most important to this research: interpellation. Interpellation is the method by which ideology *creates* the subject from the individual. Althusser (2004) wrote:

I say: the category of the subject is constitutive of all ideology, but at the same time and immediately I add that the category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of “constituting” concrete individuals as subjects. (p. 698)

In other words: subjects form ideologies but subjects may not be “known” without ideology to define them. Understanding this, Althusser made a more drastic claim: “All ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects” (p. 699). Ideology, Althusser argued, takes an individual and subjects them to the will of the ideology through the transformational process of interpellation. By way of interpellation, “ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ in such a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or ‘transforms’ the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all)” (p. 699). The interpellation succeeds when the

individual recognizes or responds to the “hailing” (p. 699) because the recognition of the call of the ideology to be a subject is a recognition of the power of the ideology over the individual. Thus, interpellation is an important concept to this thesis as I consider how the Mormon Church manages and conveys its identity to its members.

In addition to Gramsci and Althusser, I will discuss how Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak conceptualized ideology. Spivak’s notion of ideology is rooted in an understanding of the group, not the individual—a common starting point for many who have theorized about ideology. Spivak (1982) defined ideology by how it operates:

[Think of] ideology as larger than the concepts of individual consciousness and will. At its broadest implication between determinism and free will and between conscious choice and unconscious reflex. Ideology in action is what a group takes to be natural and self-evident, that of which the group, as a group, must deny any historical sedimentation. It is both the condition and the effect of the constitution of the subject (of ideology) as freely willing and consciously choosing a world that is seen as background. In turn, the subject(s) of ideology are the conditions and effects of the self-identity of the group as a group. (p.259).

Spivak viewed ideology as identification—group identification—and the contextual knowledge that allowed such identification to be possible. Ideology, in Spivak’s thought, is both the producer and sustainer of identity. Meanwhile, ideology masquerades the inner machinations of control and determinism under the guise of a seemingly natural existence.

Considering the three prominent theorists and their conceptualizations of ideology, it is necessary to establish how I will define ideology for the purposes of this present research. A common theme among these theorists is that ideology functions to organize groups and

individuals underneath it. I understand ideology as an organizing force as well. Further, I take Spivak's arguments toward ideology as identification-enabling to be instructive as well.

Therefore, in consideration of these theorists and for the purposes of this thesis, I define ideology as the subtle and often hidden discursive force that organizes individuals and groups for the purposes of creating, reproducing and maintaining identity, ensuring group cohesion, and justifying group actions. Further, ideology is the driving force that allows for culture to work.

Ideology Formation and Reinforcement

While I have discussed how some theorists define ideology and have provided my own definition, it is also important to review some of the literature studying how ideologies are formed and reinforced. Consideration of the "formation" of ideologies also entails consideration of how ideologies are communicated from one group or individual to another. The formation and communication of ideology is readily summarized in Brown (1978). Brown argued that ideology is "a function of symbolic process... [therefore, it] entails the notion of [the] communication process" (p. 124). In Brown's perspective, ideology itself is communicative—a perspective quite similar to Althusser's. Additionally, Brown posited three ways in which ideology as communication is formed: intrapersonally (how one internally processes the components of ideology), interpersonally (how the relations between two individuals influences the incorporation of ideology), and through communication systems (how communication incorporates ideology into itself).

Understanding Brown, it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that language is viewed as the primary medium for the formation and transmission of ideology (Thompson, 1987). Taking this into account, multiple models for how ideologies are formed have been proposed. Dworkin (1979) proposed three models of ideology formation: the structural

determinist model, the social psychological model, and the peer influence model. The structural determinist model represents ideology formation in an individual as determined by the person's position within a social structure. The social psychological model is similar to the structural determinist model but incorporates psychological influences such as alienation and social relativism. The final model is nearly the same as the social psychological model except it incorporates the influence of an individual's peers. Though Dworkin hypothesized these three models, she also suggested that any model for the formation of ideology must consider the connection between sociological, psychological, and cultural variables and the ideology itself. In other words, these variables are highly influential in the formation of ideology within an individual and/or group.

Also influential in the formation of ideology is the interest members of the same group hold in common (Bawn, 1999). Additionally, a collective consciousness influences the formation of ideology (Cloud & Gunn, 2011). The transmission of ideology is widely thought to primarily occur within familial settings such as between parent and child (Davis & Wills, 2010). Many studies have analyzed the ideology formation process in a variety of situations: the British colonial period (Bowden, 2004), parent-child relationships (Davis & Wills, 2010), Native American tribes (Nofz, 1987), white supremacy (Hartzell, 2018), and the workplace (Cotter & Marschall, 2006).

Lastly, it is necessary to consider how ideology is reinforced. Ideology is understood to be reinforced linguistically as language helps individuals to understand their place in the world (Cotter & Marschall, 2006; Hertzog & Ross, 2017; Turner, 1992). In other words, these researchers argued that language reinforces ideology through a continual framing of lived experience. Language creates the lens through which an experience may be understood through

the provision of a specific language and descriptive system that limits how something may be described—an individual may only describe an experience through the language to which he or she has access. Expanding on this, ideology is also reinforced through communication systems within which ideology itself is incorporated (Brown, 1978). It has also been argued that ideology is reinforced through the denial of its existence (Happe, 2013). Through denying the existence of an ideology, that same ideology is reinforced because it is allowed to continue influencing individuals and groups insidiously. These researchers represent a review of the current understanding of how ideology is reinforced in individuals. This literature is important to this thesis research because ideology is highly prevalent in religion (and communication and rhetoric in general) as ideology provides a footpath for the individual to navigate an argument when confronted with one (Finlayson, 2012). In other words, ideology helps dictate how the individual thinks. A thorough knowledge of how ideology is defined, formed, and reinforced is necessary to understanding how ideographs function in this thesis research.

Identity

In addition to ideology, it is also important to discuss the literature surrounding identity because the primary goal of this thesis is to study the interpellation of identity in a religious context. The study of identity has crossed multiple disciplines, each contributing to a plethora of research on the subject. Defining identity is difficult because of the multitude of researchers who have addressed the subject. Kim (2007) summarized the extent of this research into five general themes about how identity is often defined (see also Jackson, 2011). First, identity is viewed “as an adaptive and evolving entity of an individual” (p. 242). Second, identity is thought of “as a flexible and negotiable entity of an individual” (p. 242). Third, identity is understood “as a discrete social category and an individual choice” (p. 242). Fourth, identity is theorized “as a

flexible and negotiable entity of an individual” (p. 242). Lastly, identity is conceived of “as a discrete and non-negotiable social category and group right” (p. 242). For the purposes of this thesis, I tend to align my work with Kim’s third conceptualization of identity. In this section I will review the literature concerning identity in three areas: identity formation, identity and identification, and identity management.

Identity Formation

The study of identity formation has occurred largely within the field of psychology. There are two major psychologists that warrant brief discussion: Erikson and Marcia. Erikson (1963) viewed psychological development as occurring in a series of stages within which the individual must complete a task necessary to the proper psychological development. The fifth stage, identity versus role confusion, occurs from ages 12 to 18. During this stage, Erikson argued, the individual explores his or her world in order to form a sense of identity. If an individual is unable to choose an identity, they then face the potential of crisis. Marcia (1980) expanded on Erikson’s original concept through his proposition that there are four identity statuses: identity achievement, foreclosure, identity diffusion, and moratorium. According to Marcia, an identity achievement is found in those persons “who have experienced a decision-making period and are pursuing self-chosen occupation and ideological goals” (p. 161). A foreclosure occurs when a person is “also committed to occupational and ideological position, but these have been parentally chosen rather than self-chosen” (p. 161). The identity diffusion status occurs in “young people who have no set occupational or ideological direction, regardless of whether or not they may have experienced a decision-making period” (p. 161). The final stage in Marcia’s theory of identity development is the moratorium status. The moratorium status occurs in “individuals who are currently struggling with occupational and/or ideological issues;

they are in an identity crisis” (p. 161). Erikson and Marcia represent an important sampling of the psychology literature addressing the formation of identity. Regardless of the stages of identification, multiple factors—in a similar fashion as ideology—are argued to influence the formation of identity such as language, culture, and ideology (Kassiem, 2017).

Identity and Identification

In addition to the previous discussion of how identity is formed, it is also important to consider how identity and identification have been studied. Perhaps the most notable theorist in rhetoric and communication studies addressing the subject of identification is Kenneth Burke. According to Burke (1969), identification is integral to persuasion because persuasion is not possible unless one individual identifies with another. In other words, one person will not be able to persuade another without first working to create a common “identity” between them first. This is observed in the next concept studied. Central to the Burkean concept of identification is consubstantiality. The concept of consubstantiality, according to Burke, argues that when one individual identifies with another, they become one (or consubstantial) with another.

Consubstantiation can be summarized in the logic exercise Burke (1969) presented:

A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes they are...to identify A with B is to make A ‘consubstantial’ with B. (pp.20-21)

There are three means for identification in Burkean thought: “(1) to establish rapport with an audience by the stressing of sympathies held in common; (2) identification by antithesis: congregation by segregation; and (3) identification by inaccuracy” (Baxter & Taylor, 1978, p. 176; see also Day, 1960). The first means of identification refers to focusing on an outward

object or subject with which both you and the other person sympathize. The second means of identification refers to noting how both you and the person you are seeking to identify with are not part of some larger group. The last means of identification, identification by inaccuracy, refers to the manipulation of an internal trait so that the individual identifies more with the subject with which identification is sought. Some have argued, however, that Burke's theory of identification has been viewed as limited to only rhetoric, and that it should be applied to other areas of study such as organizational communication (Cheney, 1983). Through the concept of consubstantiation, Burke provided a rhetorical perspective into identification.

Burke is not the only scholar to address identification from a rhetorical or communication perspective. Notable to this research is Flavia Monceri (2009), who argued that identity and identification are purely cultural constructions:

...I only need an identity in order to *identify* myself in favor of others, who question me about my being *something* in order to 'properly' collocate me within their perspective...Therefore, each one of the identities we perform can be understood as the outcome of the unavoidable process of (self)-identification, since we are compelled, urged, requested, etc. to solidify our 'self' precisely because identification (and self-identification) is needed in order to interact with 'the others'...Identity is not *natural*: it is inescapably *cultural*. (p. 50, emphasis in original).

Monceri's perspective is intriguing to consider because her argument is that the only reason an individual has an identity is because *others* need to know who the person is. The identity functions as an external marker for others. This conceptualization of identification is integral to understanding identification in this thesis because a person often identifies as a result of being identified (i.e., interpellated). My analysis will demonstrate how the *Ensign* is used to do this.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the literature in two primary areas: ideology and identity. Regarding ideology, I discussed how multiple authors such as Gramsci, Althusser, and Spivak, defined ideology. I also synthesized these authors to propose my own definition of ideology. Further, I reviewed how ideology is formed and reinforced and came to the understanding that there are multiple models for how ideology is formed. Amidst this discussion, I introduced Althusser's concept of interpellation. Also, I found that ideologies and their transmission and formation have been studied in a multitude of contexts—next to none of these of these being Mormonism.¹ This literature on ideology is important to this thesis because the Mormon Church, through the *Ensign*, has a vested interest in communicating and fostering that ideology in the reader and a better understanding of this needs to be had. Thus, it must be understood how previous research understands the concept of ideology in order to contextualize this thesis.

In addition to the literature on ideology, I have also reviewed the literature studying identity. In this section, I first defined identity. Then, I discussed Erikson's (1963) and Marcia's (1980) theories on the formation of identity. Next, I reviewed two main theories of identification: Burke's (1969) consubstantiality and Monceri's cultural view. Understanding the literature on identity and identification is integral to this thesis because it is the core subject of my research regarding the connection between identity and ideology. The current research is highly lacking in its understanding of how the Mormon Church interpellates its identity onto members.

Most importantly, while this literature establishes a foundation for and contextualizes my thesis research as I have demonstrated, it also reveals a gap in the research. This gap is an understanding of how ideology and identity is communicated through religious media. In

¹ One study has been conducted: White's 1986 study on the ideology of the family in 19th Century Mormonism.

consideration of this gap, little research has analyzed how the Mormon Church interpellates identity and reifies ideology through its media. In the case of this thesis, how the *Ensign* is used as a conduit to foster identity and ideology considering that it is a widely-available religious media. This thesis seeks to begin to fill this gap in the research. In the next chapter, I will describe the methodology for how I plan to conduct this study.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

To execute this thesis, I conducted a rhetorical criticism. Understanding the foundations of rhetorical analysis requires knowledge of the rhetorical situation. The rhetorical situation, according to Bitzer (1968), is “a natural context of persons, events, objects, relations, and an exigence which strongly invites utterance” (p. 5). The hostile environment within which the Mormon religion exists hints at the presence of a rhetorical situation that “invites utterance” from the Mormon religion (p. 5). Further, the hostile environment suggests that there is an urgent need for the religion to respond to its detractors. It is the utterances of the Mormon religion on which the rhetorical criticism of this thesis focused.

More specifically, an ideological rhetorical criticism was conducted. An ideological critique is appropriate to this research because “ideology is transcendent, as much an influence on the belief and behavior of the ruler as on the ruled” (McGee, 1980, p. 5). In other words, the study of an ideology provides insight into those who create the ideology and those on whom the ideology is placed. Through an ideological criticism, it is possible to analyze the effects of the utterances on both the religion as a whole and the members of the religion. The focus of ideological criticism centers on the ideograph. McGee described ideographs in the following way:

...Words...are more pregnant than propositions ever could be. They are the basic structural elements, the building blocks of ideology. Thus, they may be thought of as “ideographs,” for...they signify and “contain” a unique ideological commitment; further, they presumptuously suggest that each member of a community will see as a gestalt every complex nuance in them. (pp.6-7)

Additionally, ideographs represent a “one-term su[m] of an orientation...that...exist[s] in real discourse, functioning clearly and evidently as agents of consciousness” (p.7). In simpler terms, ideographs resemble—at least partially—an underlying ideology. Further, ideographs “define the difference between...communities...by comparing the usage of ideographs” (p. 7). Because ideographs resemble an underlying ideology, it is possible to compare how different groups use ideographs and thus ideologies to define their group identities. Using ideological criticism in this thesis to analyze the ideographs the Mormon religion utilizes allowed insight to be gained into who the Mormon religion is, who the Mormon religion believes it is, how both are communicated in discourse, and how this is used to influence the identities of its members.

Consideration of the philosophical assumptions of the ideograph are integral to this research because such assumptions provide a necessary context for understanding the usage of the ideograph as a tool to conduct this research. More important, however, is discussing how ideographs were identified in this work and in ideological analysis in general. Several authors provided insight into how the ideograph might be identified. Condit (1987) provided insight into the work of identifying ideographs, writing that the critic should focus on identifying those “abstract terms that serve as powerful normative warrants for public behavior,” i.e., ideographs (p. 3). McGee (1980) pointed to the frequency of a term as a potential marker of its status as an ideograph. He also noted that a term’s polysemy and the varied audiences that might view a term ideographically may also clue the critical reader into its status as an ideograph. Heeding Condit and McGee’s advice, I knew I had encountered an ideograph in the text either through a word’s abstract nature, its frequency, or its polysemy.

Additionally, it is necessary to consider how other researchers have used ideographs. Many authors have both conceptualized and utilized ideographs in their research to demonstrate

its utility as a method. Cloud (2004) analyzed how the <clash of civilizations> occurred in the United States' justification for invading Afghanistan. Through this research, Cloud also demonstrated how photographs might operate ideographically. Condit (1987) studied the effectiveness of <law>, <Constitution>, <democracy>, <states' rights>, <race purity>, and <segregation> in the debate and discord throughout the Civil Rights Era. Kelly (2014) demonstrated the potency of <freedom> surrounding the relationship between President Lyndon B. Johnson, his War on Poverty, and Native Americans. These examples demonstrate how the ideograph, while functioning as a unified means of conveying ideology, may represent to a multitude of meanings to many individuals.

While consideration of the philosophical foundation of ideographs and ideological criticism and how to identify ideographs is necessary to justifying the employment of this form of criticism to conduct this research, it is also important to discuss how I employed ideological criticism methodologically. McGee (1980) described three steps to performing ideological criticism that formed the general outline of how I conducted my analysis. First, I isolated the ideographs present in the text. Second, I analyzed how those ideographs came to be formed. McGee described this step as the “exposure and analysis of the diachronic structure of every ideograph” (p. 16). The final step of this analysis was to analyze how the ideographs, when considered together, perpetuate and contribute to the construction of an underlying ideology. Following these steps in this analysis “yield[ed] a theoretical framework with which to describe interpenetrating material and symbolic environments” (p. 16). These steps formed the general methodological approach to the research I conducted in this thesis.

In this thesis, I performed an ideological criticism of the internally-generated, publicly-available media of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Specifically, I analyzed the

Mormon Church's *Ensign* magazine. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (2018a) described *Ensign* in the following manner:

Published monthly, the *Ensign* magazine contains messages geared towards adults, including the First Presidency Message and other messages from the Latter-day prophets, the Visiting Teaching Message, personal experiences and testimonies of members, and curriculum support material. The May and November issues contain talks from general conference. (para. 1)

Although the magazine is published monthly, it operates largely on a six-month cycle in conjunction with the May and November issues. This seemingly odd publication cycle is due to the biannual general conferences held in April and October of each year. Thus, the May and November issues are largely transcriptions of the speeches presented at the general conferences and the next five months' issues focus on topics and themes presented in those issues.

Additionally, while an individual may choose to subscribe to *Ensign* for the print edition, it is available in its entirety for free online.

Specifically, I analyzed editions of the magazine covering a period throughout 2011 and 2012—approximately eight issues from 2011, and 11 from 2012. I have chosen this time period because two significant events occurred: prominent Mormon Mitt Romney's 2012 presidential campaign and the lowering of the missionary age. The value of studying the *Ensign* during a time period when specific events are occurring has been reinforced through research.

Considering Bitzer (1968), I have reason to believe that these events “invit[e] utterance” from the Mormon Church about their identity (p. 5). I argue that these events function as exigencies in Bitzer's formulation because each of these events represent an important shift in the status quo for the Mormon Church and Mormons in the United States, forcing the focus to be on Mormon

identity. Shahin (2015) conducted a study that further justifies this method. In his study, Shahin found that certain events when an identity seemed prevalent led religious publications to perform more identity talk in their coverage than would ordinarily occur (e.g., more talk about Black identity during President Barack Obama's 2008 election). Thus, studying the *Ensign* over this time period allowed me to investigate how ideographs are used as a tool for interpellation. As I studied the specific editions of the *Ensign*, I read each article of the magazine and isolated phrases within which some words seemed ideographic in nature into a single document. I then studied this compiled document using McGee's methods described earlier. A list of all *Ensign* articles cited in this study can be found in Appendix. Considering these methods, the next chapter will present the findings of my criticism.

CHAPTER IV: THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, more often referred to as the “Mormons” after one of the religion’s scriptures *The Book of Mormon*, was founded in 19th century New York (Davies, 2007). Founder Joseph Smith taught that the scripture revealed to Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, represented the restoration of the Christian Gospel which had been corrupted in other Christian sects (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 1989). While relatively young when compared to other world religions, Mormonism has grown rapidly around the world due to the church’s evangelistic efforts (William, 2016).

As discussed previously, Mormonism as a whole is a worthwhile subject of study. For the purposes of this thesis, however, I am not particularly interested in the doctrinal claims of the religion. Rather, I seek to determine whether the religion attempts to utilize its internally-generated, publicly-available media to as a medium to interpellate the church’s identity onto members, and if it does occur, how such interpellation takes place. While it is not the goal of this research to critique Mormon theology and doctrine, it is important to understand such doctrine, as one way through which the church might engage in interpellation is through the invoking of doctrine. To answer these questions, I have analyzed one of the church’s major magazines: *Ensign*. Specifically, I analyzed 19 issues of the magazine in a time frame from mid- 2011 to 2012. *Ensign* magazine issues operate generally on a six-month cycle, so the last six issues of the *Ensign* analyzed were largely repetitive of the first six. In other words, the subsequent five issues after each conference issue published in May and November tends to expand upon the themes presented in the preceding conference issue.

As previously discussed in Chapter III, my analysis was an ideological criticism in a similar manner to that which McGee (1980) originally theorized. As a brief reminder, McGee’s

method of criticism centered on the ideograph. The ideograph is a specific word that contains an underlying “ideological commitment” (pp. 6-7) to the reader and, in unison with other contemporaneous ideographs, begins to reveal an underlying ideology. To determine whether the Mormon Church was attempting to interpellate its identity onto members through *Ensign* content, I looked to the ideographs present in the *Ensign* and what the ideographs seemed to be communicating to the reader. Specifically, I considered how the ideograph communicated to the members how they should be and act, not only in worship, but in every aspect of their lives. Through this, a connection between interpellation and the ideograph was demonstrated. First, however, I considered the overarching ideology the interpellation seemed to be conveying.

Analysis

After performing an ideological criticism of the 19 issues of the *Ensign*, it became apparent that the Mormon Church seeks to interpellate the church’s identity onto its members through instilling and reinforcing ideographic meanings in two critical areas of the religion’s beliefs: messages about gender, sex, and sexuality, and messages about class. An important distinction must be made before delving into this criticism: between theology and ideology. In writing about theology, I mean the official doctrine of the religion—that which is taught in church meetings and written in church publications. I discussed ideology at length and how I define it for the purposes of this thesis in Chapter III. To reiterate, I understand ideology to be the subtle and often hidden discursive force that organizes individuals and groups for the purposes of creating, reproducing, and maintaining identity, ensuring group cohesion, and justifying group actions and as the driving force behind culture. It is important to note that I view the relationship between ideology and theology as this: Ideology communicates and reifies the strength of a theology while theology is the public face given to an ideology. It is necessary to

keep this relationship in mind throughout this analysis. This analysis is composed of two major sections: First, I will discuss the underlying Mormon ideology that is evident in my research: the perfect order. Second, I will discuss the ideographs that were located within that ideology.

The Perfect Order as Underlying Ideology

Underlying all of the ideographs that I will discuss later in this chapter is a prominent ideology that I have identified: The perfect order ideology. The perfect order is subtle in its existence but is foundational to understanding the power behind the ideographs the Mormon Church appears to be using to interpellate readers of the *Ensign*. Within the *Ensign* the perfect order ideology is largely represented using language of gender, sex, sexuality, and class. Because of how the ideology is expressed, it is important to reiterate that the perfect order ideology is not an ideology of gender, sex, and sexuality, nor is it an ideology of class. The perfect order ideology transcends these categorizations and is only temporarily expressed through language centering on gender, sex, sexuality, and class. Thus, to understand the perfect order ideology, I must look at the specific usages of the ideology in terms of gender, sex, and sexuality and of class. In doing so, however, it must be understood that these are expressions of the underlying perfect order ideology.

The perfect order as expressed through gender, sex, and sexuality language. The Mormon perfect order ideology as expressed through gender, sex, and sexuality language reveals an intricate ideological system dictating how gender, sex, and sexuality should operate within the perfect order ideology. Within this system, gender and sex are viewed as innate and natural when expressed in an improved manner. Porter (2011), Mormon elder and member of the First Quorum of the Seventy, is representative of this: “The difference between men and women are not simply biological. They are *woven into the fabric of the universe*, a vital foundational

element of eternal life and divine nature” (para. 2). Porter’s excerpt reveals an important aspect of the perfect order ideology: Because a “proper” gender and sex are “woven into the fabric of the universe” (para. 2), I argue that the perfect order ideology is presenting an “ordered” existence—not simply for the body but for the universe as well. Further, this structuring under the perfect order ideology is “God intended” (para. 8) as Brown (2011), Apostle and member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, argued. Man and woman are not only markers of the human body and of order, as the perfect order ideology when expressed through the language of gender, sex, and sexuality would argue, but the sun, the moon, and the stars are as well. When viewed through the perfect order ideology, the universe around the individual reflects how he or she is expected to live out his or her existence. As the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (2011c) wrote: “Our Father in heaven governs the heavens and the Earth. By his eternal power, the universe is kept in *perfect order*” (p. 1).

The expression of the perfect order ideology through gender, sex, and sexuality language reveals that deviation from the perfect order ideology is harmful to the individual. In a discussion of how a person might find true happiness, Cook (2011), elder and member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, described San Francisco, California as “a magnet for drug abuse and all manner of promiscuous and sinful conduct” (para. 22) because of the city’s embrace of LGBT individuals. Through this excerpt, Cook portrayed an individual straying from the perfect order ideology as one who greatly suffers. This is not the only deviation from the perfect order ideology as it is expressed through the language of gender, sex, and sexuality in *Ensign*. While non-heterosexuality was presented as deviant, so was being unmarried in adulthood. Church member Goodsell (2011) discussed how he was abnormal for being in his 30s an unmarried. More importantly, Goodsell thoroughly described all of the actions he was taking in preparation

to be married and have children. For instance, he described how he has bought a home in preparation for a wife and family and started a career. The actions he described communicate understanding that somehow his singleness reflects an imperfection and deviation from the perfect order ideology. Goodsell stated this more explicitly: “At times all I can do is remind myself that the Church exists as a means of helping imperfect people become perfected through the Atonement of Christ” (para. 12). Goodsell viewed his sexuality as a single person as disordered, in similar fashion to how non-heterosexual sexuality is portrayed as deviant from the perfect order ideology. This belief is communicated elsewhere in Brown (2011), where he argued an individual could not achieve the greatest spiritual reward unless he engaged in a marriage that abided by the perfect order ideology’s prescriptions. The description Goodsell provided of the actions he has taken to prepare himself also presents itself as prescriptive guidelines to the reader seeking to abide by the perfect order ideology. As these excerpts demonstrate, the perfect order ideology differentiates between what is perfect and imperfect, what is right and wrong.

The perfect order as expressed through class language. Through my analysis of the *Ensign*, it became apparent that the perfect order ideology is more widely expressed using the language of gender, sex, and sexuality than it is using class language. How the perfect order ideology is expressed using class language will become more evident as I discuss the specific ideographs that fall within this category. At the moment, however, it is important to summarize how the perfect order ideology seems to express itself through class language: Church members sustain themselves in their daily lives so that they may dedicate themselves in service to the cause of God and the church. They do this so that they may return what they produce to God and the church, because it is ultimately from them. Through returning to God and the church what

they have produced, they maintain and improve their position with God and the church through the blessing God and the church bestow upon them. These blessings enable the Mormons to further sustain themselves in their daily lives and dedicate themselves in service to the cause of God and the church.

Whether the perfect order ideology is expressed through class language or gender, sex, and sexuality language, it demonstrates a prescription for how the Mormon world *should* be. I do not argue that having an ideologically-determined worldview is unique to the Mormon religion, but I do think that the perfect order ideology represents a particularly interesting iteration of such an ideological worldview. Thus, the study of the perfect order ideology and its composite ideographs as will be shown below positions this research as another step into the research of religious ideologies.

Ideographs of Perfect Order Using Gender, Sex, and Sexuality in *Ensign*

Through consumption of the issues of *Ensign* included in my study, a reader would gain a sense of the Mormon ideology of the perfect order operating in terms of gender, sex, and sexuality. In my analysis of *Ensign*, I interrogated that sense more rigorously and uncovered several ideographs present that I argue comprise part of the overarching Mormon ideology of perfect order as it is represented through language of gender, sex, and sexuality. These ideographs are: < marriage >,² <family>, and <priesthood>. In this section, I will first discuss Mormon history and theology surrounding gender, sex, and sexuality. Lastly, I will discuss in detail each ideograph found through the research. This analysis will serve as the foundation for the next chapter where I will discuss how these ideographs not only function to reinforce ideology as previous authors have argued, but also function as a tool of interpellation—the

² The bracketing of an ideograph as I have done here (<ideograph>) is a notation first utilized in McGee (1980) to demarcate whether a term is an ideograph.

subject of this thesis. A final note, the ideographs that I describe in this section and in the next section should not be thought of as the only ideographs present in the Mormon ideology of the perfect order. Rather, these are the only ideographs that I found within the time frame of the *Ensign* I studied.

Mormon history and theology surrounding gender, sex, and sexuality. Prior to analyzing the results of this study, it is necessary to form a basic understanding of Mormon history and theology surrounding gender, sex, and sexuality. This is an important task as this history and theology together work to establish a foundation for the Mormon perfect order ideology as it is represented through gender, sex, and sexuality language which has come to be represented (at least partially) through the ideographs of <marriage>, <family>, and <priesthood>. Moreover, these ideographs construct (again, at least partially) and reinforce an ideology that concretizes the Mormon Church's interpellated identity.

Theological and historical roots of <marriage>. Many non-Mormon individuals know the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints because of the Church's former practice of plural marriage that began in Nauvoo, Illinois (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2014). Marriage, however, is central to the Mormon religion and forms a rich theological and historical foundation upon which <marriage> as an ideograph is built, even when separated from the plural marriage context. In Mormon theology, there is a differentiation between earthly marriage and celestial marriage. In its simplest sense, celestial marriage is a marriage between a man and woman that does not end in death, but continues for all eternity (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011f).³

³ It should be noted that the concept of plural marriage, though banned in practice in 1890 (Woodruff, 1890), remains an eternal concept. In other words, it may be practiced in the afterlife even though it is not practiced in the mortal life (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2015). Because of this, plural marriage is not a

There are several requirements for a celestial marriage to be “sealed”—the act of a marriage becoming eternal (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011f). First, celestial marriages can only occur in a Mormon temple, which are only accessible to Mormon individuals who have been deemed acceptable. In Mormonism, the temple represents the place where “the Earth touches the divine” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2018c, para. 4). In other words, it is the building where specific Mormon rites must occur and are representative of the Kingdom of God which Mormons look forward to coming. The rites that must occur within the Mormon temple are sealings, endowments, and baptisms for the dead. Second, only a priesthood holder⁴ may perform a celestial marriage. Such a requirement is stated in the Mormon scriptures:

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, *by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power and the keys of this priesthood*; and it shall be said unto them—Ye shall come forth in the first resurrection. (Doctrine & Covenants [D&C] 132:19, emphasis added)

Thus, the requirement of a priesthood holder performing a celestial marriage is presented less as a requirement and more as an incentive.

Celestial marriage is also presented to Mormons as a necessary component to living a fulfilling existence on Earth and receiving an exalted position in the afterlife. Doctrine & Covenants 131:1-3 reads:

topic that is widely discussed in church meetings and surely is not mentioned in *Ensign*. Due to this, a further understanding of plural marriage is not possible in this thesis.

⁴ While it may be simpler to refer to the priesthood holder as a ‘priest,’ I use the terminology ‘priesthood holder’ throughout this these because it is the term the Mormon Church uses.

In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees; and in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into this order of the priesthood [meaning the new and everlasting covenant of marriage]; and if he does not, he cannot obtain it.

Theologically, celestial marriage is presented as central to one's future in the afterlife. Without entering into celestial marriage, an individual cannot possibly achieve the most optimal afterlife.

Considering the historical context of celestial marriage in Mormonism reveals a more varied past than the current theological teachings—one highly intertwined with plural marriage. The first celestial marriage in the Mormon Church occurred in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1843 between Mercy Thompson and her deceased husband Robert (Woodworth, 2015, see also Bergera, 2002). The Thompsons were close friends of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum when Robert died in an illness that lasted only ten days. Shortly after Robert's death, Joseph Smith conveyed a revelation to his brother Hyrum that a husband and wife may be married not only to death, but for all eternity—a revelation that Woodworth argued could be viewed as an extension of the Mormon practice of baptism for the dead. Mercy Thompson was then celestially married to Robert Thompson, even though he was already deceased. This revelation Joseph Smith gave to Hyrum became the basis for Doctrine & Covenants 132. From the previous discussion, it is possible to observe portions of the theological and historical foundations to which an ideograph like <marriage> refers, for validation and to validate.

Theological and historical roots of <family>. While later in this chapter I will analyze how family functions as <family> the ideograph, it is necessary to form an understanding of the theological and historical foundations of the family in Mormonism. The family in Mormon theology is sacred—as it is a reflection of God's relationship to humankind (Irving, 1974). As Irving wrote:

God, according to Mormon belief, had joined Adam and Eve for eternity as husband and wife and placed them at the head of the human family. Since their union was affected by the authority of God, their children were natural ‘heirs of the priesthood’ and were ‘born in the covenant’ and recognized by God as legitimate members of his family and legal heirs to his kingdom. As each new family came into being, it became another link in the chain of families stretching back to Adam, who was linked to God. Thus the “family of God” became more than metaphor. (p. 294)

This linking of individuals to families and families to God occurred because of the sealing ordinances described in the previous section regarding celestial marriage (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011f).

Further, and as the previous discussion suggests, the theology of the family reflects a specific ordering to how the family is to function. This can be observed in the writings of second Church President Brigham Young. Young wrote:

When we conclude to make a Zion we will make it, and this work commences in the heart of each person. When the father of a family wishes to make a Zion in his own house, he must take the lead in this good work, which it is impossible for him to do unless he himself possess the spirit of Zion. Before he can produce the work of sanctification in his family, he must sanctify himself, and by this means God can help him to sanctify his family. (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 1997, p. 113)

As can be observed in this excerpt, God is the true head of the family, then the father and husband, and after that the rest of the family. The family is ordered patriarchally.

Moreover, the family in Mormon theology is integral to God’s plan for humans to come to Earth. Mormon theology teaches that before individuals are born on this Earth, they exist as

spirits with God (Abraham 3:22, *The Pearl of Great Price*; D&C 93:29, 33; Moses 6:51, *The Pearl of Great Price*). According to Mormon theology, some of these spirits are assigned specific duties which they are expected to carry out in their mortal life. Theologically, this is called “foreordination” (Top, 1992). These spirits are eventually sent to Earth as demonstrated in a passage from *The Pearl of Great Price*:

And God saw these souls that they were good, and he stood in the midst of them, and he said: These I will make my rulers; for he stood among those that were spirits, and he saw that they were good; and he said unto me: Abraham, thou art one of them; thou wast chosen before thou wast born.

And there stood one among them that was like unto God, and he said unto those who were with him: We will go down, for there is space there, and we will take of these materials, and we will make an Earth whereon these may dwell... (Abraham 3:23-24).

How do these spirits enter the Earth? Through the procreation of spouses within a family. Church Elder Christofferson (2015) reiterated this when he claimed in a General Conference speech that “God ordained that men and women should marry and give birth to children, thereby creating, in partnership with God, the physical bodies that are key to the test of mortality and essential to eternal glory with Him” (para. 15). Mormon theology positions the family as the conduit through which human spirits meet their human bodies. Thus, within the Mormon theology, the family is central to the continuation of humankind.

Historically, the family in Mormon society fulfilled a prevalent sociocultural role. When the practice of family sealings first began in Mormonism, individuals who were not biologically related to Mormon leaders were sealed⁵ to them as a sign of reverence and as a means of

⁵ Recall from earlier that sealing is the practice of eternalizing a family relationship (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011f).

ensuring salvation (Irving, 1974). As Irving reiterated, this practice was referred to as the “law of adoption.” This practice created “families” oriented around Mormon leaders such as Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. These families were then utilized to structure how the Mormons were sent out as they fled westward to Utah, creating bands of men, women, and children according to the families into which they were sealed. The practice of using law of adoption for the creation of non-biological sealed families was popular until 1894 when then-Church President Wilford Woodruff encouraged the ending of this practice and the formation of sealed families only with one’s biological kin (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2005). This is one historical example of how the family has been conceptualized in Mormon history.

Further, the historical foundation of the family in Mormonism is often demonstrated in the prevalent use of genealogy in the Mormon Church. Genealogy is integral to the fulfillment of the Mormon plan of salvation because each individual who has ever existed must hear the Mormon gospel (Eyring, 2017). The Church encourages individuals to utilize genealogy to establish their ancestry so that they may perform baptisms for the dead so that all may hear the Mormon gospel.⁶ Because of this call, Mormons utilize genealogical research to gather information on as many of their ancestors as possible because, as Eyring argued, “to gather and unite God’s family requires more than just warm feelings. It requires sacred covenants made in connection with priesthood ordinances” (para. 18). Therefore, the use of genealogy to reconstruct family histories can be demonstrated as a historical foundation of <family>. Within the context

⁶ The practice of baptism for the dead is a practice unique to Mormon Christianity. In particular, the Mormon Church argues that their practice is a restoration and continuation of the ancient Christian practice alluded to in 1 Corinthians 15 (Stendahl, 1992). Baptism for the dead allows for the dead ancestors of practicing Mormons to receive the Mormon gospel through their living relatives’ baptism by proxy (Burton, 1992). Once an individual has been baptized by proxy, Mormon theology holds that the deceased person has the Mormon gospel preached to them and are given the choice to accept or reject the gospel and receive salvation.

of this history and theology, I will further discuss how the family operates as the <family> later on in this chapter.

Theological and historical roots of <priesthood>. Prior to analyzing the priesthood as ideograph further on in this chapter, it is important to form a general understanding of the theological and historical foundations of the priesthood in Mormonism. The historical (and theological) beginnings of the Mormon priesthood (at least in this dispensation)⁷ may be found when in 1823 the angel Moroni declared to Joseph Smith that he would “reveal unto you [Joseph Smith] the Priesthood, by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord” (D&C 2:1). As Moroni predicted, Smith reported that the Prophet Elijah conveyed the power of the Mormon priesthood to him in an 1836 vision in the Kirtland, Ohio temple: “Therefore, the keys of this dispensation are committed into your hands; and by this ye may know that the great and dreadful day of the Lord is near, even at the doors” (D&C 110:16). Alongside the passing of control over the priesthood to Joseph Smith, further developments within the Mormon Church regarding the priesthood also occurred—specifically pertinent to the structure of the priesthood (Smith, 2013).

While there are peripheral sources that discuss the Mormon priesthood, the primary source of the theology on the structure of the Mormon priesthood can be found in the 107th section of *Doctrine and Covenants*⁸. The Mormon priesthood is divided into two branches: the Melchizedek priesthood and the Aaronic priesthood (D&C 107:6). The member of the Melchizedek priesthood is able to fill any office within the church (D&C 107:7-12). The Aaronic

⁷ In Mormonism, a dispensation refers to a time period where God is actively communicating a plan for salvation through one or more living prophets (McConkie, 1980). According to the Mormon Church, the world is currently within one such dispensation.

⁸ The *Doctrine and Covenants* is one of four official Mormon scriptures alongside the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the Pearl of Great Price. The Doctrine and Covenants (often referred to as the D&C) is an open scripture and further revelations are capable of being added to the scripture (Dunn, 1985).

priesthood is connected directly to the Old Testament priest, Aaron (verse 13), and is responsible for holding the “keys of the ministering of angels, and to administer in outward ordinances, the letter of the gospel, [and] the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins” (verse 20). The Melchizedek priesthood is positioned as more important to the functioning of the church than the Aaronic priesthood (verse 14).

This priesthood, however, is further described and subdivided into a hierarchy that forms the hierarchy of the leadership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Smith, 2013). This subdivision occurs within the Melchizedek priesthood and forms three levels of church hierarchy as is described in the *Doctrine and Covenants* 107. The highest office of the Melchizedek priesthood and of the Mormon Church is the First Presidency (D&C 107:22). The First Presidency consists of three positions: President of the Church, First Counselor, and Second Counselor (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2018b). The current officeholders of the First Presidency are Church President Russell M. Nelson, First Counselor Dallin H. Oaks, and Second Counselor Henry B. Eyring (West, 2018). The second layer of the Mormon Church hierarchy is the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (D&C 107:23-24). This group of twelve is commanded:

to officiate in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Presidency of the Church, agreeable to the institution of heaven; to build up the church, and regulate all the affairs of the same in all nations, first unto the Gentiles and secondly unto the Jews. (verse 33).

Specifically, the members of the Quorum of the Twelve are uniquely called to be “special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world” (verse 23). The third group and rank in the hierarchy of the Mormon priesthood and church is the Quorum of the Seventy (verses 25-26). This quorum is similarly called to assist in the building up of the church (verse 34). The call of

the members of the Quorum of the Seventy is unique, however, in that the call is to be “witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world” (verse 25). The members of the Quorum of the Seventy are specifically meant to function as missionary leaders in the Mormon Church. These three groups—the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Quorum of the Seventy—represent the hierarchy of the Mormon Priesthood at the highest levels. This theological structuring of the priesthood demonstrates both a theological and historical foundation for the <priesthood>.

<Marriage>. The ideograph <marriage> is integral to understanding the perfect order ideology as it is iterated through the language of gender, sex, and sexuality and, as will be discussed in the next chapter, is fundamental to understanding how ideographs may be a tool through which the Mormon Church interpellates its identity onto members. <Marriage>, especially Mormon <marriage>. is portrayed as the highest standard of human existence in *Ensign*. Thus, <marriage> reflects the perfect order ideology. Church member and convert Virginia Gillis (2011) claimed Mormon <marriage> to be “the strongest and most equal” (para. 2) of all marriages—a reflection of the perfect order (see also Hernández & Hernández, 2011). Not only is Mormon <marriage> presented as the strongest of all marriages, <marriage> is also presented as the gateway to happiness (Cook, 2011). As will be seen in the next section, <family> is viewed as happiness, but <marriage> is the first step in achieving that happiness.

Through its position as the gateway to happiness, <marriage> is the intended state of existence for humanity. This state, however, is only intended for a man and woman to enter into together. The establishment of <marriage> as the intended state for humanity and then the restriction of being only for a man and woman is a clear establishment of the perfect order ideology in the daily lives of the Mormons to whom the *Ensign* authors are communicating.

Cook recalled the teaching of other Mormon leaders (in this case, former Church President David O. McKay), viewing <marriage> between a man and a woman as “one of the noblest things on Earth” (para. 10). While noble, Brown (2011) argued that it ought to be evident to the reader that men and women are created to be married to one another. Brown wrote that <marriage> is “a normal, healthful, and desirable state and was instituted to fulfill God’s purpose in the Earth” (para. 8). Brown’s statement, I argue, can be viewed as a further reflection of the perfect order ideology ingrained in the Mormon usage of gender, sex, and sexuality language. Moreover, Brown wrote: “Man has certain basic needs—moral, social, biological, and spiritual—and these can only be fully realized in the God-ordained institution of eternal <marriage>” (para. 15). Notably absent is a focus on woman’s needs. From Brown, it is possible to observe the gendered nature of the <marriage> ideograph: While <marriage> is intended, it is intended only for men and for women to enter into with the opposite sex.

Goodsell (2011) demonstrated that <marriage> is expected of Mormon individuals. Further, Goodsell showed that not entering into <marriage> is viewed as a violation of the cosmic order, simultaneously reflecting the perfect order and reifying its positions as an underlying ideology:

On a practical level, I want to learn how to be a good husband and father before I get there. On a spiritual level, I want to feel the Spirit when we talk about the gospel of Jesus Christ—not the sense of emptiness that comes when we skip some portion of the gospel out of fear or distaste. (para. 8).

What is the “portion of the gospel” (para. 8) Goodsell was afraid of skipping? <Marriage>. Brown (2011) provided greater depth to this in his exposition of Mormon beliefs surrounding

<marriage>, particularly regarding how failing in <marriage> has penalties far greater than divorce:

When one accepts the conditions and obligations of this eternal partnership, he must realize that failure here is almost total failure. Whatever his successes may be in other fields of activity, if a man fails to discharge the obligations imposed by the eternal covenant, the appalling penalty will be the loss of celestial glory, accompanied by responsibility for the losses sustained by those with whom he made the contract and for whom he is responsible. (para. 22).

This excerpt from Brown reinforces Goodsell's (2011) fear of "skip[ping] some portion of the gospel" (para. 8) and harkens back to former President David O. McKay's statement that "no amount of success can compensate for failure in the home" (Uda, 2004 p. 118). The fear of not fulfilling what <marriage> is calling the reader to do may not be unfounded as Brown (2011) reflected upon what is at stake: Eternity. This further reflects how prevailing the perfect order ideology is: An individual would not want to fail his or her duty because the person would then be excluded from the perfect order.

The previous discussion of Brown and Goodsell begins to make evident the gendered nature of not only <marriage>, but how such gendering occurs through the spiritualization of the ideograph when it is interwoven with the perfect order ideology. Men, as Goodsell (2011) argued, are responsible for the spiritual preparation necessary to enter <marriage>. Brown (2011) demonstrated this gendering of the ideograph through its spiritualization further when he wrote: "Surely such a concept and practice, with its accompanying obligations, makes the permanence of the home, the glorifying of the institution of marriage, and the glorification of the souls of men" (para. 1). The gendering of <marriage> is not only seen in the initiation of the

spiritualization of the ideograph, but as this example from Brown reflects, the gendering of <marriage> is also readily observed in the benefits produced from <marriage> when its spiritual nature as *Ensign* would describe it is followed. Men, Brown argued, are the primary recipients of the spiritual and temporal benefits of <marriage>—women only receive the spiritual benefits of <marriage> through their husbands. Women, then, are portrayed more as a utility for men than a partner in <marriage>: “Don’t be afraid of marriage, I have been much more effective and much more able to accomplish things in my life with Barbara at my side than I ever would have been alone” (Ballard, 2011, para. 8)⁹. Such gendering of <marriage> through its spiritualization is also observed when Brown (2011) claimed that a man’s failure in <marriage> means that his “appalling penalty will be the loss of celestial glory” (para. 22). Due to the gendering and the spiritualization of <marriage>, spiritual penalties for failing in <marriage> are assessed based on one’s gender: Men bear the most guilt because they are supposed to care for their wives and children.

This discussion provides a deeper understanding to the following example. Dutton (2011) recalled the bishop of her ward asking her husband for permission for her to work for the local ward. <Marriage> denotes a requirement for the consent of the husband for the wife to act. Because of this, it seems that <marriage> is not only gendered, but also hierarchical: Men before women. I would argue that this is highly related to the spiritual nature of the <marriage> ideograph which incentivizes the creation of a gender hierarchy in order to receive eternal rewards. Elder Hales (2011), of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles reflected this hierarchy in his own writing about <marriage> when he questioned a woman who criticized her husband: “Why do you do this to a man you should love and sustain?” (para. 21). There was no

⁹ Ballard is the current acting president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

simultaneous assumption from Hales that men should do the same because “a man needs praise in order to respect himself” (para. 20). Such a gender hierarchy finds greater weight in former First Counselor to the First Presidency N.E. Tanner’s (2011) words through the explicit spiritualization of the hierarchy created through <marriage>. Tanner wrote: “Yes, <marriage> is ordained of God, and ... when [God] gave Eve to Adam in <marriage>, that union would be eternal” (paras. 8-9). Through a spiritual act, woman was given over to man in <marriage> making the woman transferrable property (though this transferability is lost once the marriage is sealed) is to fulfill a spiritual goal and reinforcing the gender hierarchy <marriage> creates.

Additionally, <marriage> calls the reader to defend Mormon teachings. Church member Rosana Neves (2011) demonstrated this well. In her article, Neves wrote about her and her husband’s orientation toward <marriage>. Neves wrote: “Defend the institution of <marriage>. Whenever we have a chance—and especially if we are around people who are criticizing the institution of <marriage>—we stand up for families and what we believe in” (para. 7). It would seem that such a large, worldwide phenomenon as <marriage> would not need defending, yet the *Ensign* portrays a reality in which <marriage> does need ardent defenders. The ideograph <marriage>, however, reveals more than one manner in which it might be defended. Church member Vicki Casto (2011) demonstrated this as she discussed feeling driven to proselytize about Mormon <marriage>. Casto wrote: “My husband and I work hard to teach our daughters the importance of eternal <marriage>, but we struggle because in our area there are very few examples for the rising generation of young couples marrying in the temple” (para. 2). Casto revealed that <marriage> positions itself as defensible not only through arguing for its sanctity against retractors, but also in proselytizing the ideograph’s importance to further generations.

Overall, *Ensign* portrays <marriage> as fulfilling several specific goals. First, Mormon <marriage> is presented as both the strongest and most equal of all marriages as Gillis (2011) demonstrated. Second, <marriage> makes clear that opposite-sex marriages are the only acceptable form of matrimony. Third, <marriage> is presented as the duty of every individual (though specifically the Mormon individual) and details the consequences should an individual choose not to embrace <marriage> or embrace it and fail. Fourth, <marriage> is observed to play a large role in creating a gender hierarchy. Finally, <marriage> calls to the reader to defend it and spread its message. As has been demonstrated, the ideographic nature of <marriage> communicates several important concepts regarding Mormonism's perfect order ideology utilizing gender, sex and sexuality language.

<Family>. As an ideograph, <family> operates in multiple manners. Most important of all functions, however, is that the <family> is portrayed "as the foundation for happiness" (Cook, 2011, para 9). Such a foundation that <family> seeks to convey is not simply for the purposes of happiness, but as Elder Quentin Cook, member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, argued further, <family> has a more religious element that *Ensign* seems to attempt to convey. As Cook wrote: "The <family> is an eternal institution ordained of God from before the foundation of the world" (para. 9). Along this same line, Elder Bruce D. Porter of the Quorum of the Seventy (2011) argued that the <family> has the "potential to continue on forever beyond this mortal sphere" (para. 1). *Ensign* presents the <family> as existing before time and in perpetuity.

Thus, <family> is presented as a bridge between Earth and eternity. Porter (2011) wrote: "The <family> is intended by God as the great entryway into mortal life. It is central to the salvation of the human race, the perpetuation of civilization and the birth and rearing of each new generation" (para. 3). Porter argued that human existence cannot continue on without the

<family> at the center of it. Porter seems to claim that the <family> is the bridge between Earth and eternity because it is the <family> that allows for the mortal world to continue. In other words, the <family> is the key to allowing the world the Mormon individual constructed in this life to pass into the afterlife. Without the <family>, one's passage into and position in the afterlife is mediocre at best. Porter's logic is clearer when he wrote: "So vital to the cycle of human life and the renewal of each generation that it is fair to say that if the <family> breaks down, everything breaks down" (para. 4). Further, Elder Neil L. Andersen of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (2011b) argued that "the <family> is ordained of God. Families are central to our Heavenly Father's plan here on Earth and through the eternities" (para 4). The <family> is presented as the vital link between the mortal and eternal human existence.

Because <family> is presented as a bridge between Earth and eternity in *Ensign*, it is observed also that <family> is expected to be eternal. Tanner (2011) reflected this expectation of the <family> in the following:

These scriptures indicate that celestial marriage, ordained by God and performed by His authority in His holy temples, is eternal, and couples so united are sealed for time and all eternity, and their children are born in the covenant of the everlasting gospel. They will be an eternal <family> according to their faithfulness. (para.14).

From this excerpt, it is not only possible to see the expectation of the family to be eternal, but also the intertwining of the <family> and <marriage>. Church member Stacy Vickery (2011) affirmed this argument when she told the story of being sealed to her husband in the temple after their infant son's death. Vickery recounted how her infant son died and their <family> grew soon after his death when Vickery and her husband adopted two other children—each of the three children entering into the sealing covenant of the <family>. Vickery (2011) wrote: "I now realize

that I did not understand all the blessings” of the eternal <family> (para. 7). Church member Kelly Peterson (2011) also demonstrated this expectation of the <family> as eternal when she recounted her experience being sealed as a family in her childhood: “Going to the temple meant a great deal to her because it meant that dad and I could be sealed to her and that we could be a <family> eternally. That is what she chose” (para. 2). Peterson shows the nuance of <family> in her story: While the <family> is expected to be eternal, the eternal nature of the <family> must be chosen.

Because the eternal nature of the <family> contains some element of choice within it, the ideograph of family additionally communicates that the <family> is meant to support and help each other adhere to Mormonism’s teachings—an explicit example of the Mormon Church interpellating its identity onto members through the ideograph. In an article entitled “God Sent Us to Earth as a Member of a Family,” the writer provides a list of activities families might engage in to support one another. Several of these recommendations include: “Have <family> prayer every morning and night;” “Teach children the gospel in weekly <family> home evenings;” “Study the scriptures regularly as a <family>,” and “Do things together as a <family>, such as eating dinner, working together, going on outings, and participating in decision making” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011e, para. 4). Church member Ann Singleton (2011) also demonstrated this expectation of the <family> to support one another as she retold the story of how her <family> fasting for her gave her strength. <Family> communicates the expectation of support for one another.

While the *Ensign* portrays the <family> as the means to gaining eternity, <family> also presents a specifically gendered version of itself: a father, a mother, and children. This communicates a model of the <family> to which he or she is expected to adhere. Andersen

(2011a) reflected this when he wrote that “the Book of Mormon begins with a <family>, a father and mother, sons and daughters...” (para. 27). Such gendering of <family> is explicitly observed in the assumption that <family> and childbearing are intrinsically linked. Andersen (2011b) wrote:

We express deep gratitude for the enormous faith shown by husbands and wives (especially our wives) in their willingness to have children. When to have a child and how many children to have are private decisions to be made between a husband and wife and the Lord. (para. 5).

Men and women as husbands and wives choose to have children. This excerpt reveals a gendering of <family>. This gendering occurs through the presumption that a <family> is automatically comprised of a mother and a father—a male and a female. Also evident is a resorting to biological distinctions of parentage to determine whether a group of individuals comprises a <family> or not. This is observed more explicitly further on in Andersen (2011b):

The bearing of children can also be a heartbreaking subject for righteous couples who marry and find that they are unable to have the children they so anxiously anticipated or for a husband and wife who plan on having a large family but are blessed with a smaller family. (para. 25).

<Family> calls for the reader to privilege families with a mother and a father and biological families over non-biological families.

The <family> is also presented as something a woman intrinsically wants but men must constantly be reminded of their commitment. Recall Andersen’s (2011b) thankfulness for every woman’s “willingness to have children” (para. 5). Former Young Women General President Elaine S. Dalton (2011) confirmed this. About men, Dalton wrote: “Fathers, you are the

guardians of your homes, your wives, and your children” (para. 6)... “[Men] don’t let any influence come into your life or your home that would cause you to compromise your covenants or your commitment to your wife and family” (para. 3). Dalton’s excerpt seems to reflect a certain perceived fragility to the relationship between a father and his <family> so he must consistently be reminded of his duties. Dalton then asks to the men: “So how do you raise a girl? Love her mother, lead your family to the temple...Fathers, you have been entrusted...model virtuous behavior” (para. 18). Men are portrayed as needing to be prodded to adhere to the <family>.

Regarding women, Dalton wrote: “[Women] express that their greatest desire is to be united eternally as a family” (para. 4). In the <family>, women are portrayed as desiring it most while men only pursue it because it is their duty. This portrayal of women and her understanding of the mother’s role in the <family> which is presented as inseparable is contrasted with her presentation of the relationship between a father and his family. This is also portrayed in former President of the General Relief Society Julie B. Beck’s (2011b) retelling of a story about the Prophet Joseph Smith and his wife Emma Smith. About Emma, Beck wrote: “In her calling to help the Lord build his kingdom, she was given instruction about how to increase her faith and her personal righteousness, how to strengthen her family and her home, and how to serve others” (para. 6). Beck demonstrated the incorporation of the woman’s desire for the <family> as an integral part of a woman’s spiritual call. Further, through this example, *Ensign* teaches the female reader that this is also expected of them. This is also observed in former First Counselor of the General Relief Society Silvia H. Allred’s (2011) General Conference speech:

I conclude with an invitation with an invitation to all the women in the Church to plead for a desire to be filled with a gift of charity, the pure love of Christ. Use all your

resources to do good, bringing relief and salvation to those around you, including your own <family>. The Lord will crown your efforts with success. (para. 33)

Essentially, <family> tells women that they are to give of themselves in order to carry out the mission of the Mormon and of God.

Despite the privileging of the biological over the non-biological, former Second Counselor to the First Presidency Dieter F. Uchtdorf (2011b) claimed that women who do not have children are still obliged to adhere to <family>. Uchtdorf relayed a story about “one woman who more than anything else to marry a righteous priesthood holder in the temple and be a mother and a wife” (para. 25). Unfortunately, the woman found out that she was unable to have biological children. Uchtdorf wrote that the woman “became more disappointed and withdrawn” over time (para. 28). Admonishing her for her bitterness, Uchtdorf, a man, wrote:

The tragedy of this story is that this dear woman, in all her disappointment about her golden ticket, failed to notice the blessings she did have. She did not have children in her home, but she was surrounded by them in her classroom. She was not blessed with a <family>, but the Lord had given her an opportunity a few people have—the chance to influence for good the lives of hundreds of children and families as a teacher. (para. 29).

While <family> is portrayed as an integral component to the happiness of the Mormon individual, Uchtdorf is simultaneously arguing that the individual who does not or is not able to create a <family> ought to be equally as joyful and participative in the system of beliefs regarding the <family>. Uchtdorf’s argument is problematic, however, because while he argues that those who cannot form a <family> ought to be happy and included his usage of <family> reifies its exclusionary qualities. In other words, those who cannot form families out to be happy

and included, but in reality cannot be as the <family> is the means by which one gains happiness and inclusion.

Ideographically, <family> functions on multiple levels and communicates several messages to the reader regarding the family structure and gender. First, <family> asks the reader to believe that it has existed before time and throughout all time. Second, <family> bridges mortality and immortality, providing a gateway between the two. Third, *Ensign* portrayed the <family> as eternal and pushes the reader to similarly believe in its eternal nature. Fourth, the <family> is argued to provide a support system for those who accept the ideograph. Fifth, the <family> is portrayed as consisting of only a man, a woman, and their children. From this it is also observed that <family> privileges the biological over the non-biological. Sixth, *Ensign* presents the woman as naturally buying into the <family> ideograph while men have to be prodded into doing so. Seventh, women are expected to wholly embrace the <family> as it is presented as being their spiritual duty to do so. Finally, women are expected to embrace the spiritual mission of <family> regardless of whether or not they are biologically capable of creating their own while they are simultaneously excluded from the benefits of <family>. Throughout this section, the <family> has been demonstrated to be ideographically strong as it is communicated in the *Ensign*.

<Priesthood>. An additional ideograph that is present in *Ensign* is <priesthood>. <Priesthood> represents a component of the perfect order ideology as it is demonstrated through language of gender, sex, and sexuality in large part because the <priesthood> itself is gendered—to the exclusion of the female and women. An example of this exclusion is readily observed in an article titled “We Are All Enlisted” (Holland, 2011).¹⁰ What is instructive is who the “we” is.

¹⁰ Elder Jeffrey R. Holland is a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Holland made this clear in several instances in his article, writing: “I wish to speak rather candidly tonight, brethren, and I include in that candor the young men of the Aaronic Priesthood” (p.1); “Brethren, if that is the case, I am looking tonight for men young and old who care...” (p.5); and “From every man, young and old, who bears the <priesthood>, I ask for a stronger and more devoted voice...” (p.17). These excerpts from Holland demonstrate that the “we” in “We Are All Enlisted”, and if extrapolated to the <priesthood> as a whole, is men only. Bishop W. Christopher Waddell (2011) alluded to this “we” exclusion as well when he wrote of the “<priesthood> holder *we* are capable of becoming” (para. 3, emphasis added). Since women are not able to become <priesthood> holders, it is evident that women are not included in the “we.” Former Church President Thomas S. Monson (2011) also hinted at the exclusion of women from we: “We who hold the priesthood of God form a great bond and brotherhood” (para. 1). Uchtdorf (2011a) stated this exclusion more explicitly: “Men make covenants with the Lord when they are ordained to the <priesthood>” (para. 7). Are women, then, similarly capable of making covenants with the Lord if they are excluded as a whole from the <priesthood>? Uchtdorf would seem to suggest this is not possible.

Though women are excluded from the <priesthood>, any negative backlash from this exclusion is preemptively argued against. Despite the exclusion of women from the <priesthood>, Mormon convert Virginia Gillis (2011) wrote that she saw the Mormon priesthood as equally beneficial to men and women. More specifically, regarding the <priesthood>, she wrote: “I knew that only men in the Church held the <priesthood>, but I sensed that they used the <priesthood> to benefit all” (para. 2). Through Gillis’ anecdote, it seems that the authors of *Ensign* are arguing that the Mormon Church knows women are excluded from the <priesthood> but argues for its acceptability because both men and women

are supposed to benefit from it equally. Former Second Counselor in the Presiding Bishopric McMullin (2011) argued for this possibility as well. He wrote that when men embrace the <priesthood> to the exclusion of women, “women will adore you and become better because of you” (para. 12). The authors in the *Ensign* make it difficult to argue against the exclusion of women from the <priesthood> without going against God, the church, and the perfect order itself. As Dalton (2011) argued, those who hold the <priesthood> do so “because [their] valiance in the premortal realms, [they] qualified to be leaders and to possess <priesthood> powers” (para. 9). Under Dalton’s argument, how is it then possible that not a single woman demonstrated enough honor and courage to be included in the <priesthood>? The authors in the *Ensign* seem to be arguing that women will be better specifically because they are unable to hold the <priesthood>.

Women are not included in the <priesthood>, but they are expected to be full-hearted endorsers of it. Church member Jerry Stringam (2011) provided an important example of this. In his article, Stringam recalled how the men in his family struggled to attend the priesthood meetings. When Stringam desired to date a young woman as a teenager, however, she refused. Stringam relayed that she did so because she was uncomfortable with Stringam’s family not faithfully attending priesthood meetings. Driven by this rejection, Stringam did not miss a meeting after that “because a righteous young woman stood up for her beliefs” (p. 11). A woman was the impetus behind Stringam adhering to the <priesthood>. Women are not only portrayed as full-hearted endorsers of the <priesthood> but are often passive endorsers as well (Singleton, 2011). Church member Mark Grover (2011) demonstrated this when he discussed his wife’s illness and how that drove him to be more attentive to the abilities of the <priesthood> he held.

Grover's wife did not do anything particularly active, but her mere presence in the story reflected her endorsement of the priesthood.

Further, while <priesthood> excludes women, it also demands women work as hard for the church without any inclusion in the <priesthood>. Not only does <priesthood> demand women work, it equivocates what men and women have to give up while doing so. Elder Jeffrey R. Holland (2011), member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles wrote:

Brethren...tell your wives that if you can leave your recliner and the remote control for a few short months, they can leave the grandchildren. Those little darlings will be just fine, and I promise you will do things for them in the service of the Lord that, worlds without end, you could never do if you stayed home to hover over them. What greater gift could grandparents give their posterity than to say by deed as well as word, "In this family wee serve missions!" (p.15)

Holland is equating men giving up television viewing time with women not spending time with their grandchildren! From Holland, a hierarchy perpetuated through the <priesthood> is able to be observed. Beck (2011a) and Beck (2011b) demonstrated this through her retelling of the history of the Relief Society, the Mormon women's auxiliary. In both instances, Beck paraphrased Joseph Smith to argue that women were rightfully subordinated to men in the <priesthood>. Reading Beck, I argue that the <priesthood> creates the appearance of a gender hierarchy while simultaneously obscuring its presence among the men and women who read *Ensign*.

While the <priesthood> occupies an integral component of Mormon theology, <priesthood> ideographically functions in several ways that reinforces Mormon theology as has been demonstrated in the previous section. First, <priesthood> functions to exclude women from

its ranks. Second, <priesthood> functions to justify the exclusion of women from the upper ranks of the Mormon Church and obscure the reasonings behind it. Third, <priesthood> functions to draw consent from women in order to condone its exclusionary model. Lastly, <priesthood> begins to reveal the presence of a gender hierarchy while simultaneously obscuring its existence from fully being known or challenged.

“Work Is an Eternal Principle”: Ideographs of Perfect Order Using Class in *Ensign*

By reading the issues of *Ensign* magazine I have included in this study, a reader also comes away with a strong sense of the Mormon Church’s ideology of the perfect order operating through language of class. In my research, I have identified several ideographs utilizing class language that comprise portions of the perfect order ideology. As I have mentioned previously, I will discuss how the Mormon Church utilizes these ideographs to interpellate its identity onto its members in the next chapter. In this section, I will first discuss Mormon history and theology surrounding class in general. Then, I will describe in detail each of the ideographs isolated that represent the nuances of Mormon perfect order ideology utilizing class language. The ideographs to be discussed are: <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe>.

Mormon theology and history surrounding class. Prior to analyzing the results of this study, it is necessary to form a basic understanding of Mormon history and theology surrounding class. This is an important task as this history and theology together establish a foundation for the Mormon perfect order ideology utilizing class language which has come to be represented (at least partially) through the ideographs of <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe>.

Theological and historical roots of <self-reliance>. <Self-reliance> is prevalent in current Mormon thought and theology—especially as presented in the Church Welfare Plan. The Church Welfare Plan was first established in 1936 and originally named the Church Security

Plan (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011a). The Church Welfare Plan was created in struggling to provide for themselves and their families in the economy of the Great Depression and to stress “<self-reliance> as a way of life” (para. 2). Over time, the plan came to represent a series of Church-owned industries around the world that dispense foodstuffs and clothing to struggling Mormons. The Church Welfare Plan, however, has far greater goals than temporarily assisting families who were struggling to provide. This underlying goal is demonstrated in the following excerpt, Elder Albert E. Bowen declared:

The real long-term objective of the Welfare Plan is the building of character in the members of the Church, givers and receivers, rescuing all that is finest down deep in the inside of them, and bringing to flower and fruitage the latent richness of the spirit.

(Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2002, p. xxiv)

The Church Welfare Plan is positioned as a means of creating <self-reliance> in individuals who are struggling to be self-reliant, contributing to both the historical and theological foundation of <self-reliance>.

Theologically, the roots of <self-reliance> may be observed in the early teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith. During his dedication of the Mormon temple in Kirtland, Ohio, Smith is recorded to have said:

The advancement of the cause of God and the building up of Zion is as much one man’s business as another’s. The only difference is that one is called to fulfill one’s duty, and another, another duty...Brethren and sisters, be faithful, be diligent, contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints; let every man, woman and child realize the importance of the work, *and act as if success depended on his individual exertion alone...*

(Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2007, p. 144, emphasis added)

While this excerpt to an extent demonstrates the theological roots of <work>, it additionally reflects how the Mormon individual is taught theologically to work toward “building up Zion” (p. 144) for all Mormons while simultaneously remaining reliant on themselves alone.

From Joseph Smith’s instruction in Kirtland, Ohio, the theological and historical roots of <self-reliance> may be observed in the concept of Zion which will now be discussed. Zion, according to the teachings of Joseph Smith, is a “holy city, a peaceful refuge for the righteous fleeing the wickedness of the world” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day saints, 2007, p. 183). Zion, however it was referred to in the teachings of Smith, was not meant as metaphor but was intended to be a physical city. The first location where the Mormon’s attempted to build Zion was in Jackson County, Missouri, after Joseph Smith received a vision in 1831. This location, however, worked only for a short time as the Mormon settlers were forced to flee as the result of severe persecution in 1833. Over time, however, Zion came to represent the central area where the Mormons were gathering as the group was collectively pushed westward toward Utah (Bushman, 2006; Bushman, 2007). These locations would include Kirtland, Ohio, Jackson County, Missouri, Nauvoo, Illinois, and Salt Lake City Utah—although eventually Zion was where the Mormons were. Through the theological and historical attempts at building Zion, I argue a foundation for the future ideograph of <self-reliance> that will be discussed further can be observed.

Theological and historical roots of <work>. <Work>, which will be discussed later, has important theological roots that are integral to fully understanding the ideograph. <Work> can be understood in the differentiation between “work” and “works”—each integral to understanding the ideograph. Such a differentiation is ultimately rooted in the Mormon theology of salvation.

Mormonism teaches that an individual may receive salvation, but such salvation must be worked out:

The power to achieve justification does not reside in man. Man requires the power of the atonement of Christ flowing into him. If no power is being generated, one does not—indeed cannot—turn the generators by hand (justification by works); but rather, an effort is made to remove those things which have blocked the power from flowing into the generators (working righteousness as a result of faith). With this background then, one can understand why the scriptures clearly stress that faith *includes* works; that is, obedience, commitment, and repentance—these are the works of faith that open up the channels so that the power of the atoning sacrifice of Christ can flow into us, redeem us from sin, and bring us back into the presence of God...The righteous works in themselves do not save us. The atoning power of God save us. But our righteous works, activated by our faith in the Savior, are the condition for the operation of that power. (Lund, 1981, para. 57)

From this lengthy excerpt, it is possible to understand a conflation between working (the action verb) and works (that which is done in order to ensure salvation). It is also observed that the individual believer is expected to put forth their own effort in achieving their salvation and idly standing by is not tolerable in Mormonism.

As mentioned in the previous section, Zion demonstrates the theological roots of not only <self-reliance>, but also <work>. This can be explicitly observed in the teachings of Brigham Young. Describing how the early Mormons should orient themselves toward the work of building Zion, Young wrote:

Many Latter-day Saints think when they have obeyed the Gospel, made a sacrifice in forsaking their homes, perhaps their parents, husbands, wives, children, farms, native lands, or other things held dear, that the work is done; but it is only just commenced. The work of purifying ourselves and preparing to build up the Zion of God...has only just begun with us when we have got as far as that. (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 1997, pp. 114-115)

Young presented work as an integral component of the theology of Zion. In doing so, work itself is theological. Though theological, the teachings of Brigham Young further established how the theological nature of work and Zion are foundational to the future ideographic nature of <work>. This may be observed in the following excerpt:

Everything connected with building up Zion requires actual, severe labor. It is nonsense to talk about building up any kingdom except by labor; it requires the labor of every part of our organization, whether it be mental, physical, or spiritual, and that is the only way to build up the Kingdom of God. If we are to build up the Kingdom of God, or establish Zion upon the Earth, we have to labor with our hands, plan with our minds, and devise ways and means to accomplish that object. (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 1997, p. 115)

In this excerpt, Young is arguing for the intertwining of the physical and the spiritual—creating a spiritual foundation for what would become <work>. Former Church President Heber J. Grant also demonstrated this intertwinement when he wrote: “<Work> is to be re-enthroned as the ruling principle of the lives of our Church membership” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saint, 2002, p. xxiii). Thus, a connection may be drawn between the theological background of work and its ideographic nature as will be analyzed further in this chapter.

<Work> can also be demonstrated to have a strong historical foundation as well. Perhaps most exemplary of this is the Deseret. The Deseret “by interpretation, is a honey bee” (Ether 2:3, The Book of Mormon). While the Deseret is only mentioned once in the Book of Mormon, it has been symbolically tied to Mormon culture since the mid-19th Century (Black, 2011). As Black recalled, initial efforts were made to name what is now Utah, Deseret. As these efforts failed, then-territorial governor Brigham Young attempted to tie the symbol of the beehive to the Deseret through the incorporation of the beehive symbol in architecture around Salt Lake City, Utah, and in the territorial seal. This symbol additionally became connected with the eventual state motto of “industry”—synonymous with <work>. Black argued that the symbol of the Deseret and beehive represents the hardiness of the Mormon work ethic in establishing and sustaining what eventually became Utah. Thus, through the historical nature of the beehive and Deseret, it is possible to observe a historical foundation of <work>. Both the theological and historical roots of <work> in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints can be summarized in the admonition of former Church President Heber J. Grant: “The law of success, here and hereafter, is to have a humble and prayerful heart, and to work, *work*, WORK” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2002, p. 112, emphasis in original).

Theological and historical roots of <tithe>. Tithing is a foundational concept to the Mormon Church. Because of its centrality in the church, it is important to discuss some of the historical and theological foundations of the practice of giving tithe prior to the further analysis of tithe as an ideograph. The earliest historical practice of what would eventually become tithing in the Mormon Church was known as consecration and given in 1831 when the church was stationed in Kirtland, Ohio (Harper, 2016). Under the practices of consecration, church members were encouraged to give whatever they could to the church leadership with no specific

requirement for how much they were to give. As Harper noted, this was the general understanding of what tithing meant at the time in the church.

This understanding of tithing, however, changed as it became more difficult for the church to support itself as it expanded from Ohio to Far West, Missouri (Harper, 2016). During an 1838 meeting of church leaders, as Harper recalled, Joseph Smith received a revelation directing the church in how to support itself. This revelation is laid out in *Doctrine and Covenants* Section 119:

Verily, thus saith the Lord, I require all their surplus property to be put into the hands of the bishop of my church in Zion, for the building of mine house, and for the laying of the foundation of Zion and for the priesthood, and for the debts of the Presidency of my Church. And this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people. And after that, those who have thus been tithed shall pay one-tenth of all their interest annually; and this shall be a standing law unto them forever, for my holy priesthood, saith the Lord. Verily I say unto you, it shall come to pass that all those who gather unto the land of Zion shall be tithed of their surplus properties, and shall observe this law, or they shall not be found worthy to abide among you. And I say unto you, if my people observe not this law, to keep it holy, and by this law sanctify the land of Zion unto me, that my statutes and my judgments may be kept thereon, that it may be most holy, behold, verily I say unto you, it shall not be a land of Zion unto you. And this shall be an ensample unto all stakes of Zion. Even so. Amen. (verses 1-7)

As *Doctrine and Covenants* 119 demonstrated, a new requirement for the practice of tithing in the Mormon Church was laid out: Members of the church were now expected to give one-tenth

of their annual earnings. The early Mormons were no longer encouraged to freely give; they were now required to give or risk their sanctification.

In the modern Mormon church, tithing is still practiced. Specifically, each individual is still expected to contribute one-tenth of their income to their local church (Swainston, 1992). The bishop of each church ward is responsible for collecting the tithes of all the individuals in that ward. The bishop then forwards the tithing funds on to the church headquarters in Salt Lake City, Utah. As Swainston described, the bishop meets with each individual every year to determine whether the amount each individual contributed was truly one-tenth of what they had to give. This step is important in the modern Mormon Church as faithfully giving tithe to the church is one requirement for receiving a recommendation to enter the temple.¹¹ From this brief discussion, a historical and theological foundation for what would become <tithe> can be observed.

<**Self-reliance**>. It is possible to observe the presence of the perfect order ideology using class language in *Ensign* through <self-reliance>. *Ensign* defined <self-reliance> as “the ability to care for ourselves and our families” (Relief Society, 2011, para. 1). McGee (1980) described ideographs as containing a “unique ideological commitment” (pp. 6-7). <Self-reliance> demonstrates McGee’s statement and extends it: ideographs contain a “unique ideological commitment” to do something (pp. 6-7). <Self-reliance> calls on the reader to work toward integrating the perfect order ideology into his or her life. <Self-reliance> demonstrates this call through the author’s thorough description of how to become self-reliant: “We become self-reliant when we learn to love work, as we seek inspiration to find the best ways to provide for ourselves,

¹¹ A Mormon may not enter a Mormon temple whenever he or she so desires. Rather, the individual must receive a recommendation to enter the temple (i.e., the temple recommend) from their local church leader (Tucker, 1992). This temple recommend allows the Mormon individual to enter the temple and perform ordinances.

and as we work with family members to meet basic needs” (Relief Society, 2011, para. 1). The authors provided a list of many activities that can be used to learn <self-reliance>: “budgeting, debt relief, employment qualifications, the scriptures and the gospel, teaching others to read and learn, technology, physical health, fitness, addiction prevention and recovery, social and emotional health, preventing illness, gardening, food production and storage, [and] emergency preparedness” (para. 3). From this article, it is possible to see how <self-reliance> is defined in *Ensign* and how <self-reliance> calls readers to accept the perfect order ideology .

Consider also this excerpt from a church handbook section on self-reliance and welfare which church member Alice A. Lewis (2011) quoted:

<self-reliance> is the ability, commitment, and effort to provide to provide the spiritual and temporal necessities of life for self and family. As members become self-reliant, they are also better able to serve and care for others.

Church members are responsible for their own spiritual and temporal well-being. Blessed with the gift of agency, they have the privilege and duty to set their own course, solve their own problems, and strive to become self-reliant. Members do this under the inspiration of the Lord and with the labor of their own hands.

When Church members are doing all they can to provide for themselves but cannot meet their basic needs, generally they should first turn to their families for help. When this is not sufficient or feasible, the Church stands ready to help. (The Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2010, §6.1.1)

The handbook then continues to list areas in which all church members should seek <self-reliance>. These areas include health, education, employment, home storage, finances, and spiritual strength. The previous excerpt is a prime example of how <self-reliance> is not simply

a quality the reader ought to possess; rather, it demonstrates the underlying perfect order ideology the Church is attempting to interpellate onto its members. Specifically, the ideograph seems to be communicating to the member that he or she is expected to be successful or prosperous in the work performed, but only if it is carried out within the acceptable means of doing so. Through the *Ensign*, the Mormon Church seems to be prodding the reader toward individual <self-reliance>, but simultaneously maintains strict control over what that may or may not look like.

Elsewhere, it is possible to see how <self-reliance> operates less visibly. <Self-reliance> can be observed at work in an article purporting to teach the reader about debt elimination. Paraphrasing then-Church President Thomas S. Monson, personal and family finance educator Luke V. Erickson (2011) argued “living within our means” (para. 4) and not relying on others to provide for oneself (i.e., avoiding debt) will lead to greater happiness. In this article it should be understood that “debt” represents a lack of <self-reliance> and thus a failure to embrace the Mormon ideology of class. Further in that same article, Erickson discussed an individual who followed the plan of “living within our means” (para. 4) and became a “living embodiment” (para. 7) of <self-reliance>. Additionally, Erickson wrote about “overcoming the accepted cultural norm” (i.e., going into debt) (para. 11) because the “words of our prophets that are decades old are now being verified” (para. 11) that

we live in a day when the adversary is using his most cunning tools in an effort to destroy our spirituality. Debt could put us into predicaments of choosing either to honor debts to our fellow men or to pay tithing...No man can serve two masters, and in doing so, we can hinder our spiritual growth. On the other hand, as we permanently remove debt from our lives, we will find that a portion of our agency has also been restored. Our Father’s plan

of salvation is also a plan of agency. We should never willingly forfeit even a portion of that agency by being bogged down by unnecessary debts. (paras. 13-14)

This text demonstrates that <self-reliance> is not only a choice, but the expectation for Mormons as the Mormon Church interpellates its preferred identity onto members via the ideographs comprising the underlying perfect class ideology. This can also be observed in the title of Erickson’s article: “Getting Out of Debt—for Good.” Through my previous discussion it is possible to understand that “for good” does not impart a sense of finality, rather an argument that the option to accept <self-reliance> is good and all other options are bad. Through Erickson, I have established how <self-reliance > as an ideograph operates as a constitutive part of the ideological undercurrent in *Ensign* magazine. More importantly, the process of how ideology might become ideologue can be observed through the labelling of the acceptance of <self-reliance> as the only proper choice.

<**Work**>. Alongside <self-reliance>, <work> also operates ideologically. On an ideological level, <work> imparts a sense of religious sanctity to duty and class. <Work> is understood as “a part of our Heavenly Father’s plan for us in heaven and on Earth. If we are righteous, we will return to live with Him. There we will continue to have opportunities to work as we build the kingdom of God” (Christofferson, 2012; Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011d, para. 5). In fact, members are told <work> predetermines their existence: “You were born in this age to do...work” (Beck, 2012, para. 5). By accepting <work>, the audience is led to believe they are mimicking the actions of the divine (Wirthlin, 2012).¹² This can be observed in the previously cited church article: “Our Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ *worked* to create the heavens and the Earth” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011d, para. 1,

¹² Elder Joseph B. Wirthlin was a former member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

emphasis added). The author then recounts the Genesis creation story and how the divine worked to create it all. The perfect order ideology may be observed at work in these examples as the Mormon individual is invited to reflect the actions of God and Jesus Christs in his or her lives—to reflect the perfect order in the work he or she does.

Additionally, <work> reifies the ideological commitment “to do” discussed in the previous section. Mormonism’s perfect order ideology demands the reader to <work> because it is “what the Lord needed [him or her] to do” (Hansen, 2011, para. 6).¹³ Through <work>, the members are also rewarded in their daily lives (Anderson, 2012, Beck, 2012). Several writers discuss the difficulty in balancing religious practice and <work> (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011d; Hansen, 2011). Understanding the ideographic nature of <work> and the perfect order ideology, however, leads me to conclude that <work> *is* religious practice and therefore no need to balance religious practice and work is present (Beck, 2012, Ishii, 2012). Hansen (2011), oddly enough, proved my conclusion later on in her article: “Though I felt unqualified for the position, I worked hard to fulfill my calling. And as I did, I felt God’s hand guiding me and qualifying me for *His* work” (para. 11, emphasis added). Church member VanDenBerghe (2011) also supported this conclusion when he wrote about a young Mormon man who encouraged his peers to “<work> on fulfilling their Duty to God (sic)” (para. 7). It is important to note here that the Mormon Church actually provides multiple opportunities for members to <work> through “callings” (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2010, §19.1.1). Even if the task is menial, by labeling it as a “calling,” church members are thus performing the <work> of the church. Thus, <work> demonstrates how fulfilling the ideological commitment “to do” could be considered ideological practice—in this case represented as

¹³ Joelyn Hansen is a church member.

religious practice. Further, this functions as evidence for the Mormon Church attempting to interpellate its identity onto members through the *Ensign*.

I argue further that <work> unifies personal actions with attributions of divine action and the absorption of the individual into the perfect order ideology. Multiple authors demonstrate the unification of their personal actions with more sacred <work>. Church member Mat Carter (2011) wrote about how he <worked> to aid Mormon youth in performing baptisms for the dead and observed their spiritual growth. Church member Al VanLeeuwen (2012) wrote that “we are His hands when we serve the one” (para. 6). Schulte (2011) provided numerous examples of this unification. Examples included a couple for whom the timing worked out perfectly for them to serve a mission, a couple who worked spreading an addiction recovery program that led to the recovery of an addict, and a couple who were assigned to work in Turkey when they did not speak the language yet were successful in their mission. All of this <work>, while performed by the individual, was credited to their God.

Overall, <work> operates in several important ways. First, <work> demonstrates to the reader how the labor performed in the mortal life is connected with the eternal. Second, <work> functions to connect the perfect order ideology to the religious practice of the Mormon reader. Lastly, <work> urges the reader to unify his or her own actions with that of God. Through the ideograph <work>, it is possible to see the connection between the Mormon perfect order ideology and the everyday life of the Mormon individual. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this connection between the Mormon perfect order ideology as seen in <work> and the everyday life of the Mormon individual can be understood as the Mormon Church interpellating its identity onto its members.

<Tithe>. Although <self-reliance> and <work> are integral components of Mormonism's perfect order ideology, they are not the only ideographs present that utilize class language. I also uncovered the ideographic nature of <tithe> in my analysis of *Ensign* magazine. <Tithe> represents an interesting component of Mormonism's perfect order ideology. <Self-reliance> represents how the reader is to be. <Work> functions as a set of guidelines for how the reader is expected to act. <Tithe>, however, presents itself as a *telos*¹⁴. That is to say <tithe> represents the ultimate purpose of Mormonism's use of class-related ideographs in its perfect order ideology. Such *telos* could be summarized as the <work> that is done through <self-reliance> is ultimately for God and the Mormon Church and to be given over to God and the Mormon Church. Moreover, <tithe>, as it is represented throughout *Ensign*, should not be understood in its simplest sense of giving one-tenth of all income to the church. Rather, as a component of the perfect order ideology, <tithe> is the generalized giving over of what one has and is to God and the church.

Ensign presents examples of how <tithe> and thus Mormon perfect order ideology might be incorporated and enacted in the lives of readers, even to the point that enactment would lead to possibly detrimental sacrifice of an individual's livelihood. In one example, church member Greg Burgoyne (2011) recalled his duty to <tithe> even though he did not have enough income to live:

I had just started my final year of medical school and had many school expenses. I sat there fiddling with the R100 bill¹⁵, thinking about paying tithing. My summer job had ended, and it was unlikely I'd find a job that would fit into my busy schedule. However,

¹⁴ In rhetorical study, *telos* is generally understood as the purposed end of an argument or action.

¹⁵ Rand. R100 is about 8 U.S. dollars.

my parents taught me to pay a full tithe. This money belonged to the Lord, and I knew it.

With that thought, I placed the money in the envelope and paid my tithing. (para. 2)

Burgoyne demonstrated a dedication to the ideology over his own well-being. This could be understood as indicating to the readers what is also expected of them. This anecdote also serves as an example of how the reader could recall how the expectation to abide by the ideology was taught to him (e.g., "...my parents taught me to pay a full tithe....") (para. 2) and thus by the perfect order. In another example, dos Santos da Silva (2011) showed this willingness to sacrifice. He recalled how he had little money and no income other than a small pension from his deceased mother. He wrote that he continued to pay his tithe and the expensive transportation costs to reach the meetinghouse each week and miraculously, the money never ran out. These anecdotes reflect a willingness (or, perhaps, an ideological call to be willing) on the members' behalf to sacrifice for the Mormon Church's perfect order ideology. These examples also beg the question: How much is too much to sacrifice for Mormonism's perfect order ideology? Eyring (2011) answered this: "It makes us feel gratitude that He asks only 10 percent of what He has already given us" (para. 6). No sacrifice is too great (Oaks, 2012). These anecdotes also lead to my next point.

<Tithe> teaches that those who accept the Mormon perfect order ideology will be rewarded handsomely—thus presenting incentive for integrating the ideology into their lives. Burgoyne's (2011) story recounting how after he paid his <tithe>, he found employment embodies this well: "The Lord had opened the windows of heaven and showered me with blessings far greater than I had ever expected. As a result, my faith was strengthened in the principle of tithing" (para. 9). I understand Burgoyne's statement about the strengthening of his faith to simultaneously mean that he found greater reason to incorporate the perfect order

ideology into himself. Eyring (2011) exhibited this facet of <tithe> well. He argued that the embrace of <tithe> would lead to “an increase in their love of God and all God’s children” (para. 8). Further, Eyring claimed that the reader would have a greater assurance of his or her place with their God and the church if he or she fulfilled the obligation to pay <tithe>. I interpret this to mean that the member who fully incorporates <tithe> into his or her life will have a greater awareness of and security in their position in the Mormon Church’s perfect order ideology. Positional security seems to be one of the most prevalent “blessings” accompanying the incorporation of <tithe> and the wider Mormon perfect order ideology into a member’s life.

The summation of the impact of <tithe> can be observed in a single, small portion of the *Ensign*. In the June 2011 edition of *Ensign*, the authors presented an activity for children titled “I Can Pay Tithing” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011b). In this activity, children are presented with illustrations of three children performing three different jobs. The children are then asked to complete two different tasks. First, they were asked to estimate how much income each occupation earned. After this, the child was then asked to calculate how much of that estimated income would comprise a ten percent <tithe>. This task seems simple enough when considering the ideographic role of <tithe> and the efforts to teach it to younger church members. It is what the children are asked next that demonstrates the ideographic potency of <tithe>. Once the child has completed the tasks, he or she is asked “Which of these tithe payers would receive the most blessings?” (para. 2). Through this activity, younger members of the church are actively being taught how much one produces and then gives away to their God and the Mormon Church is directly related to how much reward (i.e., blessings) one receives. <Tithe> demonstrates the interconnectedness of productivity and sacrifice with the maintenance of position and role in the Mormon Church (and thus within the perfect order).

In the *Ensign*, <tithe> reveals several aspects of itself. First, <tithe> is presented as the reason for the existence of a Mormon perfect order ideology. Second, <tithe> provides a reason for members to adhere to the Mormon perfect order ideology. Lastly, <tithe> demonstrates the interconnected nature of productivity and sacrifice with the maintenance of position and role in the Mormon Church. *Ensign* demonstrates the potency of <tithe> as an ideograph within the Mormon Church's perfect order ideology.

Conclusion

Through the analysis presented in this chapter I have accomplished two important tasks. First, I have discussed the historical and theological foundations of the ideographs that comprise (at least in part) the Mormon perfect order ideology. Through this discussion, it is possible to gain an introductory knowledge of the factors that may have influenced the formation of the ideographs I uncovered and discussed. Second, I presented and analyzed six ideographs. The first three ideographs presented were <marriage>, <family>, and <priesthood> and represented the use of gender, sex, and sexuality language in the Mormon perfect order ideology. The last three ideographs were <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe>. These ideographs represented the use of class language in the Mormon Church's perfect order ideology. In the next chapter I will consider and discuss how these ideographs might operate as a tool for the Mormon Church to interpellate its identity onto its members.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter, I conducted an ideological criticism of several issues of the Mormon Church's *Ensign* magazine. Through my analysis, I located six specific ideographs functioning that comprise (at least in part) the Mormon perfect order ideology. The three ideographs related to the perfect order ideology that were expressed through gender, sex, and sexuality language are <marriage>, <family>, and <priesthood>. The three ideographs related to the class language expression of the perfect order ideology are <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe>. I also performed an in-depth analysis of how these ideographs were formed and how they function.

Overview

In this chapter, I will discuss the ideograph in a broader scope. Specifically, I will consider how the ideograph may function as a tool for interpellation utilizing the extensive analysis performed on the *Ensign* magazine as support for such conclusions. I will make arguments not only about how the Mormon Church utilizes ideographs in the *Ensign* (which I have covered in the previous chapter), but what implications the Mormon Church's usage of the ideograph in *Ensign* has for our understanding of how ideographs are a tool for interpellation. To do this, I will discuss three roles of the ideograph in interpellation as uncovered through my research. These three roles of ideographs in interpellation are: the intermediary role, the comparative role, and the regulative role. I will consider them in this order.

The Intermediary Role of the Ideograph in Interpellation

Perhaps one of the most important outcomes of the ideological critique of *Ensign* is a further understanding of how the ideograph fulfills an intermediary role in interpellation. By this I mean the ideograph operates as a link between an ideology and the identity the ideology seeks

to interpellate onto its subjects. Additionally, the ideograph functions as an intermediary between the subjects of an ideology. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter and as I will expand on further in this section, the Mormon Church—through *Ensign*—does both of these things. There are several facets of the intermediary role of the ideograph in, as derived from my rhetorical criticism of *Ensign*, that will be discussed in this section. First, I will discuss how the ideograph functions as a mediator between ideology and identity. Second, I will consider how the ideograph provides warrants the subject to identify with an interpellating ideology. Next, I will reflect on how the ideograph facilitates interpellation through encouraging the subject to make the ideology the central focus of the subject’s life. Then, I will discuss how the ideograph seems to drive the interpellated subject to encourage others to be interpellated as well. Lastly, I will consider how the ideograph is not only used to interpellate the subject, but also calls the subject to identify with other interpellated subjects as well.

The ideograph as mediator. First, the ideograph functions as a mediator between ideology and identity. This is perhaps the most important finding of this thesis research. Previous research such as McGee (1980), Condit (1987), Cloud (2004), and Kelly (2014) has positioned the ideograph as a “building block” of ideology (McGee, 1980, p.6) which I accept. The ideograph, however, does more: The ideograph functions as an explicit link between an ideology and an identity. McGee (1980) began to lay out this possibility when he wrote the following: “Ideographs are culture-bound, though some terms are used in different signification across cultures. *Each member of the community is socialized, conditioned, to the vocabulary of ideographs as a prerequisite for ‘belonging’ to the society*” (p. 15, emphasis added). McGee argued that being educated in a group’s ideographs is necessary for an individual to claim membership in a group. He also argued that the ideograph obscures reality for the individual

through a false consciousness (p. 15). I argue, however, that this link is both more prevalent and more integral: As ideographs are the “building blocks” (McGee, 1980, p. 6) of ideology, so too are they the links of a chain connecting identity and ideology. Ideographs make identification possible through providing a concrete intermediate point of reference between an ideology and its subjects.¹⁶ In other words, the ideograph provides a concrete access point into an abstract ideology through which interpellation might occur.

Moreover, further reflection on McGee (1980) provides additional insight into the ideograph fulfilling an intermediary role. McGee hypothesized that “if a mass consciousness exists at all, it must be empirically ‘present,’ itself a thing obvious to those who participate in it, or, at least, empirically manifested in the language which communicates it” (p. 4). Through my research, I argue that *Ensign* and the Mormon Church support McGee’s hypothesis. Specifically, I posit that McGee’s argument for the need for an empirical point of reference for the “mass consciousness” (p. 4) is not only reflected in the ideograph (which he argued), but that the creation of such a “mass consciousness” is the process of the ideograph bridging the gap between identity and ideology. This is, I contend, subject-creation and thus interpellation.

Throughout *Ensign*, this positioning of the ideograph between identity and ideology as a tool for interpellation is readily observable. In fact, this positioning can be observed at work in every ideograph described in the previous chapter. First, <marriage> is a bridge between the Mormon perfect order ideology and the Mormon individual. As briefly described in the previous chapter, the Mormon theology and history surrounding the institution of marriage are complex, leading to an even more complex ideology. The ideograph of <marriage>, however, makes this complex ideology more able to be used for interpellation and thus subject-creation. Brown

¹⁶ This may be understood in the following diagram: [Ideology \leftrightarrow Ideograph \leftrightarrow Identity]

(2011) utilized <marriage> to summarize the wide spanning Mormon perfect order ideology as “a normal, healthful, and desirable state [that] was instituted to fulfill God’s purpose in the Earth” (para. 8). Through this example, it is possible to conclude that the ideograph functions as a mediator between ideology and identity¹⁷ through presenting a condensed, simpler version of an ideology for interpellation.

In <family>, it is also possible to see how the ideograph functions as the link between ideology and identity enabling interpellation. Mormon church leaders and theology present the family as the bridge between the mortal world and eternity. Additionally, the <family> is another link between the Mormon perfect order ideology and the Mormon allowing for interpellation. As Elder Porter (2011) argued, “the family is intended by God as the great entryway into mortal life” (para. 3), presenting a complex subject in a simplified manner. Porter’s presentation utilizes <family> to present a complicated portion of the Mormon perfect order ideology in a consumable manner. This allows the subject to view <family> and simultaneously understand a portion of the ideology and to incorporate the ideology into their own lives—thus demonstrating another instance of the ideograph functioning as a mediator in the interpellation process occurring between ideology and identity.

<Priesthood> as well demonstrates how the ideograph functions as the link between ideology and identity. This ideograph is interesting because, while women are officially excluded from the Mormon priesthood, <priesthood> still functions as a link between identity and ideology. This is possible because the ideograph <priesthood>—as a matter of being a link—extends its argument to incorporate women in the created subject while simultaneously excluding them from the fullness of the ideology. The perfect order ideology obscures the need for

¹⁷ Understand “identity” as a specific subject creation in the interpellation process.

gendered language to exclude women. This can be observed in Dalton (2011) when she argued that those who hold the <priesthood> do so “because [of their] valiance in the premortal realms, qualified [them] to be leaders and to possess <priesthood> powers” (para. 9). This demonstrates how <priesthood> functionally operates as a link between ideology and identity, but contextually restricts who may be interpellated by the ideology if this ideograph is used as the avenue to do so.¹⁸

Another example of the ideograph functioning as the link between ideology and identity is also observed in <self-reliance>. <Self-reliance> functions to connect the reader with the Mormon perfect order ideology. In *Ensign*, <self-reliance> is described as “the ability to care for ourselves and our families” (Relief Society, 2011, para. 1). While the Mormon perfect order ideology is a relatively complex and nuanced subject, <self-reliance> presents it to the individual in a simple manner that allows interpellation to occur more readily. Without ideographs like <self-reliance>, I contend that the Mormon perfect order ideology would be relatively incommunicable to those individuals who are being sought to be interpellated into subjects. <Self-reliance> presents the ideology in a manner that makes interpellation possible or at least more probable.

In addition to the aforementioned ideographs, it is also possible to see an example of the ideograph operating as a tool for interpellation in <work>. <Work> functioning as a tool for interpellation between the Mormon perfect order ideology and the subject can be observed in this quote from the previous chapter: <work> is “a part of our Heavenly Father’s plan for us in

¹⁸ As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, <marriage>, <family>, and <priesthood> are all ideographs that comprise, at least in part, a Mormon perfect order ideology. Since these are different ideographs connecting the same ideology with an identity, I suppose it is possible to utilize one ideographic avenue for interpellation when another seems more restricted. For example, a woman while restricted in <priesthood>, may be interpellated through <family> or <marriage> in the interpellation process. That this is a possibility is a suspicion I have from this study, but I do not believe the current data support this conclusion. Further study is needed.

heaven and on Earth. If we are righteous, we will return to live with him. There we will continue to have opportunities to <work> as we build the kingdom of God” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011d, para. 5). <Work> presents a digestible form of the Mormon perfect order ideology making interpellation more readily possible.

Similarly, <tithe> demonstrates how the ideograph functions as a link between an ideology and an identity. Burgoyne (2011) reflected this function of <tithe>: “The Lord had opened the windows of heaven and showered me with blessings far greater than I had ever expected. As a result, my faith was strengthened in the principle of tithing” (para. 9). In other words, Burgoyne found that his adherence to the Mormon perfect order ideology was fostered through <tithe>. Thus, <tithe> reflects how the ideograph is a bridge between ideology and identity for interpellation.

The ideograph as warranting. Second, the ideograph provides warrants for an individual to consent to interpellation. To be more specific, I argue that ideographs not only provide the “how” for interpellation as discussed in the previous section, but they also present the “why” an individual should consent to interpellation. This warranting is observed in <marriage>. Specifically, Goodsell (2011) demonstrated this. In the previous chapter, I analyzed an excerpt that Goodsell wrote regarding why his belief in <marriage> was strong. He wrote:

On a practical level, I want to learn how to be a good husband and father before I get [married]. On a spiritual level, I want to feel the Spirit when we talk about the gospel of Jesus Christ—not the sense of emptiness that come when we skip some portion of the gospel out of fear or distaste. (para. 8)

Through this excerpt, <marriage> can be seen as warranting the interpellation by the Mormon perfect order ideology. Amended to reveal the underlying logic, this warrant may be found:

Goodsell adheres to <marriage> and is thus created a subject of the Mormon perfect order ideology because he wants “to learn to be a good husband and father” (para. 8) and because he wants “to feel the Spirit when we talk about the gospel of Jesus Christ” (para. 8). This warrant to be interpellated by the Mormon perfect order ideology is provided through the significance of <marriage>.

Such warranting may also be observed in <work>. In the previous chapter, I described how the audience is led to believe that they are mimicking the actions of God when they engaged in <work> (Wirthlin, 2012). Moreover, I quoted Julie Beck (2012) when she told her audience that they “were born in this age to do...<work>” (para. 5). Both of these examples can be understood as an ideograph warranting interpellation by an ideology. <Work> seems to be telling the reader to allow interpellation by the Mormon perfect order ideology because it is (a) what God created them to do and (b) how they reflect God in their own lives. Thus, <work> provides an additional example of how part of the intermediary role of ideographs in interpellation is to provide warrants for the individual to allow interpellation to occur.

The ideograph as centralizing. Third, as part of its intermediary role in interpellation, the ideograph manages interpellation through encouraging the subject to make the ideology the central focus of the subject’s life and to identify with it more strongly. This facet of the intermediary role of the ideograph in interpellation is readily seen in the ideographs that have been identified as comprising, at least in part, the Mormon perfect order ideology: <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe>. Erickson’s (2011) use of <self-reliance> is demonstrative of this role of the ideograph. In his example, he argued that the Mormon individual should strive for <self-reliance> through the paying off of debt so that they may become a “living embodiment” (para. 7) of the Mormon perfect order ideology—i.e., so he may become a subject of the

ideology. This is also seen occurring in <work> when readers are encouraged to allow for interpellation by the Mormon perfect order ideology to occur and to adhere to it strongly because it is part of the “Heavenly Father’s plan for [Mormons] in heaven and on Earth” (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011d, para. 5). Additionally, this is observed in <tithe> through Burgoyne’s (2011) anecdote where he described his dedication to his subject position in the Mormon perfect order ideology, even in a time of great economic need, because of his dedication to <tithe>. With these three ideographs serving as examples, it is possible to observe how the ideograph encourages the reader to adhere to an ideology’s interpellation more strongly and to make their newfound subject position central in his or her life.

The ideograph as proselytizing. Fourth, the ideograph drives those who are interpellated by an ideology to encourage others to be interpellated as well. Vicki Casto (2011) demonstrated this when she described the urge she felt to communicate <marriage> with her daughters. As I first presented in the previous chapter, Casto wrote: “My husband and I work hard to teach our daughters the importance of eternal <marriage>, but we struggle because in our area there are very few examples for the rising generation of young couples marrying in the temple” (para. 2). From Casto, it is understood how the ideograph is seen as so central to a subject’s subject position that the desire to create that same centrality in another is created. Rosana Neves (2011) as discussed in the previous chapter demonstrated how the ideograph encourages proselytizing as well. Neves issued a call to the individuals she was speaking to when she said: “Defend the institution of <marriage>. Whenever we have a chance—and especially if we are around people who are criticizing the institution of <marriage>—we stand up for families and what we believe in” (para. 7). In comparison to Casto, Neves is much more explicit about her call to others to allow interpellation by the perfect order ideology to occur. Although Neves

is plainer in her language, the same process is occurring in both Casto and Neves. Through both Casto and Neves and their usage of <marriage>, it is possible to see how the ideograph, as a facet of the intermediary role of interpellation, encourages those subjects whom an ideology interpellates to encourage others to be interpellated by it as well.

The ideograph as incentivizing intragroup identity among subjects. Lastly, the ideograph not only pushes the subject to allow interpellation and encourage others to do so as well, but also encourages subjects to identify with each other as well. This role not only strengthens the identification of a subject with the ideology but increases intragroup identity among subjects as well. <Priesthood>, as comprising a portion of the Mormon perfect order ideology, is exemplary of this. Specifically, Elder Jeffrey R. Holland's (2011) general conference speech to the men of the Mormon priesthood demonstrates how <priesthood> incentivizes intragroup identification among subjects. Holland said: "Brethren...I am looking tonight for men young and old who care..." (para. 5). Further, Holland declared that he desired "from every man, young and old, who bears the <priesthood>, *I ask for a stronger and more devoted voice...*" (para. 17, emphasis added). This same process occurring through <priesthood> can be seen in Gillis' (2011) rationalizing of the exclusion of women from the <priesthood>: "I knew that only men in the Church held the <priesthood>, but I sensed that they used the <priesthood> to benefit all" (para. 2). While not as explicit as Holland's exhortation, Gillis demonstrates the ideograph encouraging intragroup identification among subjects while simultaneously rationalizing her inability to fully be interpellated by the perfect order ideology via <priesthood>. It is through both Holland's request and Gillis' rationalization that it is possible to observe how the ideograph, as a tool for interpellation, encourages intragroup identification among subjects.

The Comparative Role of the Ideograph in Identity Management

In addition to the intermediary role of the ideograph in interpellation, it is also important to consider further roles of the ideograph as tool for interpellation. In this section, I will be discussing the comparative role of the ideograph in interpellation. There are two specific facets of this role I will discuss in this section. First, ideographs lead the subject to compare its ideological understandings under one ideology with other subjects of other ideologies understandings while positioning the first subject's understanding as superior. As a variation of the first facet, the ideograph encourages interpellation by a specific ideology through the presentation of non-interpellation or interpellation by other ideologies as unattractive alternatives. Lastly, the ideograph reflects a hierarchy among those who are interpellated by an ideology.

The ideograph, the comparison of significance, and the presentation of alternatives. First, the ideograph leads the subject to compare its ideological understandings under one ideology with other subjects of other ideologies understandings while positioning the first subject's understanding as superior. An example of the ideograph fulfilling this role can be observed when church member Virginia Gillis (2011) described Mormon <marriage> as “the strongest and most equal” of all marriages (para. 2). Significantly, Gillis is a convert to Mormonism denoting that the ideograph is not only useful in interpellating lifetime members of the Mormon Church, but also those that choose to enter the religion later in life. <Marriage>, within the Mormon perfect order ideological conception, calls those who are interpellated through it to compare it with others' denotations of the word—regardless of whether they are subjects of the ideology or not.

Similarly, the ideograph encourages interpellation by a specific ideology through the presentation of non-interpellation or interpellation by other ideologies as unattractive alternatives. <Self-reliance> is exemplary of this aspect of the comparative role of the ideograph. Consider Erickson's (2011) appeal to the reader to become self-reliant and allow for interpellation by the perfect order ideology when he told the reader to "overcome[e] the accepted cultural norm" (para. 11). Erickson compares <self-reliance> and thus the Mormon perfect order ideology with the "accepted cultural norm" (para. 11)—i.e., all other ideologies. When Erickson does this, he encourages the reader to view all other ideologies negatively. Simultaneously, through the degradation of other ideologies, Erickson is positioning the Mormon perfect order ideology as superior to other ideologies. How does this encourage interpellation by the Mormon perfect order ideology? Through the positioning of the Mormon perfect order ideology as superior to other ideologies, interpellation by such ideology is similarly shown to be superior to other potential subject positions. Erickson is exemplary of how the ideograph functions to aid interpellation in a comparative role.

The ideograph and hierarchy. Lastly, the ideograph reflects a hierarchy among those who are interpellated by an ideology. I am not specifically arguing that ideographs *create* a hierarchy (though that possibility is not excluded), but that the ideograph reveals an underlying hierarchy at work among the interpellated subjects. Such a trait leads me to the conclusion that merely being interpellated by the same ideology does not necessarily mean such similarly interpellated individuals are on equal footing. The Mormon ideograph of <marriage> does this. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, <marriage> reflects a hierarchy of the husband leading and then the wife following the husband. These individuals both may similarly identify with the Mormon perfect order ideology and hold <marriage> in high regard, but that does not

make them equal. This is similarly observed in the linked ideograph of <family> where God inspires the husband, the husband then leads the wife, and then the wife corrals the family.

While several of the ideographs linked with the Mormon perfect order ideology utilizing gender, sex, and sexuality language reveal a hierarchization of those who identify with the ideology, such hierarchization among those who identify can also be observed in the ideographs linked to the Mormon perfect order ideology using class language. <Self-reliance> implies such a hierarchy. As the church encourages <self-reliance> among its members, it may be inferred that those who are more self-reliant are more valuable or more highly ranked within the perfect order ideology. This does not necessarily mean that one knows one's place within the hierarchy, simply that a subject is aware that they are being ranked against others within the hierarchy. A hierarchy is also at work in <tithe>. In the previous chapter, I discussed the children's activity titled "I Can Pay Tithing" where the child reader was encouraged to establish how much each person was required to tithe and how many blessings each person would receive for their tithing amount (Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints, 2011b). I argue that this reflects a hierarchy among those who adhere to <tithe> and are interpellated by the perfect order ideology: Those who tithe more to the Church and to God are in better standing with the ideology. Thus, as demonstrated in the findings of my research, a function of the comparative role of the ideograph in interpellation is to reflect or reveal (and possibly construct) a hierarchy among those subjects interpellated.

The Regulative Role of the Ideograph in Interpellation

While I have discussed the intermediary and comparative roles of the ideograph in interpellation, a third and final role is evident in this research: a regulative role. I argue that the regulative role reflects how the ideograph is used to establish and maintain the boundaries of

interpellation by an ideology and the ideology's interpellated subject. In the case of this research, the Mormon Church uses <marriage>, <family>, <priesthood>, <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe> to establish and maintain rules for how Mormons (and, perhaps, those who wish to become Mormons) are to be interpellated by the Mormon perfect order ideology. From this research, four unique aspects of the regulative role of the ideograph in interpellation were discovered. First, the ideograph positions the interpellation by a specific ideology as the natural, expected subjectivity. Second, the ideograph teaches the individual what is required to be interpellated. Third, the ideograph portrays interpellation not as a one-and-done deal, but as a continual process in which the subject is expected to participate. Lastly, the ideograph communicates the repercussions an individual might face for not accepting or adequately embodying an ideology's interpellated subject.

The ideograph and identity expectations. First, the ideograph positions the interpellation by a specific ideology as the natural, expected subjectivity. In doing so, the ideograph communicates who and what are acceptable to be interpellated by an ideology. Within the context of the Mormon Church, this aspect of the regulative role of the ideograph is observed in Goodsell's (2011) discussion of his preparation for entering into <marriage>. Throughout his discussion of his singlehood, Goodsell positions it all in preparation for entering into <marriage>—marking that interpellation as expected of him. His positioning also portrays his current relationship status (i.e., single) as unnatural and thus <marriage> as the natural, expected state within the perfect order. Through the portrayal of a specific identity as “natural,” the ideograph encourages the individual to be interpellated by the ideology of which the ideograph is a component.

Similarly, in the portrayal of a single identity as “natural,” the ideograph also delineates who and what are acceptable to be interpellated by that ideology. <Family> reflects this as can be seen in the following quote: “...The Book of Mormon begins with a <family>, a father and mother, sons and daughters” (Andersen, 2011a, para. 27). Consider the <priesthood> and the discussion of the ideograph in the previous chapter. The <priesthood> portrays interpellation by the Mormon perfect order ideology as natural and expected of the viewer as can be observed in Elder Jeffrey R. Holland’s (2011) declaration that “we are all enlisted” (p. 1). This fulfills the first portion of this facet of the ideograph’s role in interpellation. Further reading reveals, however, that the same presentation of the ideology through <priesthood> as “natural” simultaneously marks individuals as acceptable or unacceptable for interpellation. This is supported through Dalton’s (2011) declaration that only those who have demonstrated their “valiance in the premortal realms” (para. 9) are worthy of fully utilizing the <priesthood>. Through the Mormon perfect order ideology’s <priesthood>, it can be observed how the ideograph is used to delineate who and what is acceptable for interpellation under a specific ideology.

The ideograph and identity adoption (i.e., interpellation). Second, the ideograph teaches the viewer what is required to be interpellated. Specifically, the ideograph informs the reader of the necessary steps to be taken to fully be interpellated by an ideology. The Mormon Church, through my analysis of *Ensign*, does this in <self-reliance>. The steps of how one is properly interpellated by the Mormon perfect order ideology through <self-reliance> are laid out explicitly: “We become self-reliant¹⁹ when we learn to love work, as we seek inspiration to find the best ways to provide for ourselves, and as we work with family members to meet basic

¹⁹ Self-reliant, the marker of identification with the Mormon ideology of class when <self-reliance> is utilized.

needs” (Relief Society, 2011, para. 1). The same authors write that an individual may become self-reliant through “budgeting, debt relief, employment qualifications, the scriptures and the gospel, teaching others to read and learn, technology, physical health, fitness, addiction prevention and recovery, social and emotional health, preventing illness, gardening, food production and storage, [and] emergency preparedness” (para. 3). Both of these excerpts from *Ensign* can be understood as an explicit establishment of the steps necessary to identify with the Mormon ideology of class. Further, this demonstrates how the ideograph conveys the necessary steps to be taken to identify with a specific ideology.

The ideograph and the continual process of interpellation. Third, the ideograph portrays interpellation not as a one-and-done deal, but as a continual process in which the subject is expected to participate. More specifically, the ideograph may be viewed as a catalyst for continual interpellation by an ideology. <Work> may be understood as demonstrative of this role. Throughout my analysis of <work> in the previous chapter, it became evident that <work> is an actional ideograph—i.e., it demonstrates an action the viewer is expected to take. I argue that this communicates two significant expectations to the reader: First, the reader is expected to engage in <work>. Second, and more importantly, the ideograph encourages the subject to continually allow interpellation by the ideology. That is, <work> is not meant to be utilized once to be interpellated by the Mormon perfect order ideology, but rather the ideograph is meant to be engaged with continually in a constant process of interpellation. An example of this process of interpellation can be seen in Hansen’s (2011) discussion of her embrace of <work>: “Though I felt unqualified for the position, I <work>ed hard to fulfill my calling. And as I did, I felt God’s hand guiding me and qualifying me for His <work>” (para. 11). Hansen continually engaged with <work> and in doing so, was continually interpellated by the Mormon perfect order

ideology. Thus, as demonstrated through Hansen, it is observed that the ideograph works as a tool for interpellation through encouraging the subject of the ideology to allow for continual interpellation.

The ideograph and behavior regulation. Lastly, the ideograph communicates the repercussions an individual might face for not accepting or adequately embodying an ideology's interpellated subject. In my analysis of *Ensign*, this function of the regulative role of the ideograph is observed in several ideographs. First, <marriage> demonstrates this. This is explicitly observed when Brown (2011) warns that a man's failure in <marriage> could result in the "loss of celestial glory" (para. 22). In other words, <marriage> offers a warning to the subject as a form of identification management: Adhere properly to the subject you are made to be or face eternal consequences. If anything, the ideograph communicates that an interpellated subject identity is intended for eternity. <Family>, closely intertwined with <marriage>, also reflects this role of the ideograph. This can be observed in the lengthier quote of Brown (2011) discussed above:

When one accepts the conditions and obligations of this eternal partnership, he must realize that failure here is almost total failure. Whatever his successes may be in other fields of activity, if a man fails to discharge the obligations imposed by the eternal covenant, the appalling penalty will be the loss of celestial glory, *accompanied by responsibility for the losses sustained by those with whom he made the contract and for whom he is responsible.* (para. 22, emphasis added)

I argue that the ideograph need not communicate exactly what the consequences for failing to properly adhere to a subject identification may be, as long as it communicates that there will be consequences. This is not an issue for Mormons as the *Ensign* presents the consequences *ad*

nauseum: A loss of eternal life, and a failure to be together with God and family in the afterlife.

With Brown as an example, it is not difficult to see how the ideograph conveys consequences for failing to abide by a proper interpellated subject identity.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Ideographs, and Interpellation

The previous discussion focused primarily on how ideographs function as a tool for interpellation. While utilizing my analysis of *Ensign* as evidentiary support for my conclusions about ideographs, little attention was paid to the Mormon Church. In this section, I will discuss the importance of this research in forming an understanding of how the Mormon Church uses the ideograph to interpellate its identity onto members more holistically.

Considering the research questions I posed,²⁰ this analysis has provided evidence to begin to answer them. To the first question, the ideographs of <marriage>, <family>, <priesthood>, <self-reliance>, <work>, and <tithe> are all present in the *Ensign* in the time period investigated. The answer to the second question is a resounding “yes.” It has become evident that the Mormon Church utilizes the ideographs presented in the *Ensign*, as discussed in the previous sections and in Chapter IV, as a tool to interpellate members into its perfect order ideology. It is important to note that the viewers are being pushed to engage with Mormon perfect order ideology and not Mormon theology or history. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, Mormon ideology is derived from Mormon theology and history. Therefore, the use of ideographs in *Ensign* as a tool to be interpellated by the perfect order ideology might foster greater identification with Mormon history, theology, and the Mormon Church itself within the subject.

²⁰ RQ1: What ideographs does the Mormon Church use in the *Ensign* during the period investigated?
RQ2: Do these ideographs function as a tool for the Mormon Church’s interpellation of its members? If so, how?

While the Mormon Church uses the ideograph as a tool to interpellate individuals into its perfect order ideology, this same process may be understood as a form of identity management. The Mormon Church's use the ideograph (via interpellation) to manage member identities occurs in several steps: First, the Mormon Church uses the ideograph to establish a link between its ideology and the identity the church desires its members to hold (the intermediary role). Second, the Mormon Church uses the ideograph to establish and communicate rules and regulations for identifying with its ideology. It further establishes procedures and regulations for how that identification is to be carried out (the regulative role). Lastly, the Mormon Church use its ideographs to position its ideology (and the identification with it) as superior to other ideologies. These are the three general steps of how the Mormon Church manages member identities as revealed through analysis of the *Ensign*.

Conclusion

Throughout this discussion I have accomplished three significant tasks. First, I have theorized and described three roles ideographs fulfill in the interpellation process. Those roles were the intermediary role, the comparative role, and the regulative role. Second, I have described at length what those roles look like as they are carried out using my analysis of *Ensign* as evidence. Lastly, I have demonstrated how those roles answer the research questions posed in this thesis. As the discussion in this chapter has shown, ideographs play a central role in bridging the gap between identity and ideology, making identification possible. In the next chapter, I will discuss the implications and limitations of my research and some potential directions for future research.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

Over the course of this thesis, I have sought to accomplish several tasks. In the first chapter, I introduced the topic for my research and why it was necessary to be conducted now. In the second chapter, I provided a review of the literature pertinent to this thesis. The third chapter focused on the methodology employed to conduct the research presented in this thesis. Throughout the fourth chapter, I conducted an ideological criticism of select issues of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' *Ensign* magazine. The subject of the fifth chapter was a detailed discussion of the ideograph's role as a tool for interpellation and how the Mormon Church utilized them. In this final chapter, I present three concluding aspects of this thesis: implications, limitations, and directions for future research.

Implications

There are three specific implications of this research that are important moving forward. First, the complex role of ideographs must be kept in mind. Ideographs are not simply "building blocks" (McGee, 1980, p. 6) of ideology, but are more complex in that they link identity with ideology by functioning as a tool through which interpellation might occur. Second, an ideology's use of the ideograph to interpellate individuals into subjects provides greater understanding and context to interpersonal, intergroup, intragroup, and intercultural communication. This occurs through the recognition that any ideograph used may be an attempt to interpellate an individual into a subject of an ideology. Lastly, the power of the ideograph as a tool for interpellation in a religious context such as Mormonism must be considered when analyzing religious groups in general, but more also in ideologies in general when trying to understand ideologies and their ability to spread. These three implications should impact rhetorical and critical research going forward.

Limitations

There are several limitations that are evident in the analysis and criticism that I have conducted in this thesis that ought to be mentioned. First, due to the rhetorical nature of the research conducted, it is not possible to gauge the actual impact of the ideographs described here on the audience. I could only analyze Mormon text to see whether attempts to use the ideograph as a tool for interpellation occurred. In actuality, it is difficult to say that these were actually “attempts” since that is purely my interpretation of the selected *Ensign* issues. Second, this research only focused on church-curated and published media. There is often a gap between how an individual sees his or herself and who they actually are. It is within reason to suspect that the portrayals of “ideal” church members are depicted as the church desired them to be and not as they actually were—an effort to bridge that gap. However, this may not be a limitation but a strength of the research in demonstrating how the church uses the perfect order ideology to interpellate Mormon individuals. Lastly, I am not Mormon. As is often the case in this kind of research, I have no personal experience with the topic of my study. It is quite possible that because I am not enculturated within Mormonism myself, I have not noticed or fully appreciated the nuance of certain passages throughout my rhetorical analysis. Further, I have my own biases and ideologies. These most definitely impact how I read these texts. These three limitations should be included in the consideration of this research.

Directions for Future Research

Through my thesis research, I have identified several directions for future research. These directions fall within two general categories: Regarding the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and outside of the Mormon religion. Concerning the Mormon Church, there are several topics that deserve further investigation. First, an understanding of how the same ideograph

“translates” when the Mormon Church addresses its members in various world cultures needs to be developed. For example, how does the Mormon Church maintain and manipulate the meaning of an ideograph such as <family> when it addresses church members in the United States, Brazil, or Mozambique? Does the ideograph bridge the cultural divide in the same way it bridges the gap between identity and ideology? This ought to be considered. Second, consideration should be given to how ideographs may have fallen out of use or evolved over time. Notably absent in this thesis is a discussion of race in the *Ensign*. This was intentional, as an ideology of race and comprising ideographs were not evident through my ideological criticism. An important study would analyze whether there were racial ideographs present in *Ensign* prior to the 1978 declaration allowing Black men to enter the <priesthood>. Third, it would be worthwhile to consider these same ideographs in other Mormon media content such as the magazine *New Era*, which is aimed at teen members, or *The Friend*, which targets pre-teen members. Observing these ideographs in other media texts could offer further validity to the findings of this study. Fourth, the ideographs I located are simply the only ideographs I found within the time period I investigated. More research should be done into other ideographs present in the *Ensign* at different time periods. Lastly, the discussion presented in Chapter V, footnote 13 about how an ideology might use another ideograph to interpellate an individual when another ideograph (such as <priesthood>) is restricted to the individual deserves greater attention.

There are also several areas of research outside of the Mormon Church that present potential areas for future research. First, other religions should be considered beyond Mormonism because I do not think Mormonism is unique in using the ideograph as a tool for interpellation demonstrated in this thesis. I suspect religions such as the Church of Scientology and the Nation of Islam would be excellent for further ideological criticism and ideographic

research because they are similarly viewed as fringe belief systems and because they also seem to be producing rhetoric that might help their members to deal with this external criticism. Second, research like that presented in this thesis should focus on non-religious groups and their usage of ideographs as tools for interpellation. How does the ideograph as a tool for interpellation function outside of a context that is not supported through the theology of a religion? Lastly, the concept of power and the usage of ideographs in interpellation needs to be better understood. I suspect that the role ideographs play in interpellation strongly links them to a potentially hegemonic use. In other words, ideographs not only need to be analyzed rhetorically, but they need to be analyzed critically. All of these areas are worthy of the attention given through future research.

The Mormon Church is one of the fastest growing religions in the world (Merrill, Sloan, & Steele, 2015). As a peripheral Christian group, often ostracized from mainstream Christianity, the Mormon Church must double their efforts to engage non-members and foster identity with Mormon perfect order ideology. Through the ideological criticism of *Ensign* presented in this thesis, I have described and theorized one manner in which the Mormon Church might do work to engage and foster identity with its perfect order ideology. Regardless of whether or not one agrees with Mormon theology, the present research has provided one potential explanation for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' success in evangelizing across the United States and around the world: Ideology's potent use of the ideograph as a tool for interpellation.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF *ENSIGN* ARTICLES USED

Author	Allred, S.H
Article Title	Charity Never Faileth
Author Credentials	Former First Counselor of the General Relief Society

Author	Andersen, N.L.
Article Title	The Book of Mormon
Author Credentials	Elder, Member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Author	Andersen, N.L.
Article Title	Children
Author Credentials	Elder, Member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Author	Anderson, T.
Article Title	Working Hard, Working Together
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Ballard, M.R.
Article Title	Preparing For The Future
Author Credentials	Former acting president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Author	Beck, J.B.
Article Title	Relief Society History: A Look at The Lord’s Vision for His Daughters
Author Credentials	Former President of the General Relief Society

Author	Beck, J.B
Article Title	What I Hope My Granddaughters (and Grandsons) Will Understand About Relief Society
Author Credentials	Former President of the General Relief Society

Author	Beck, J.B.
Article Title	This Is Your Work
Author Credentials	Former President of the General Relief Society

Author	Brown, H.B.
Article Title	The Latter-day Concept of Marriage
Author Credentials	Apostle, Member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Author	Burgoyne, G.
Article Title	Could I Find A Job?
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Carter, M.
Article Title	Fulfillment Through My Calling
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Casto, V.P.
Article Title	Setting Their Sights On The Temple
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Christofferson, D.T.
Article Title	Brethren, We Have Work To Do
Author Credentials	Elder

Author	Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints
Article Title	I Can Pay Tithing
Author Credentials	N/A

Author	Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints
Article Title	Priesthood Is The Authority To Act In God's Name
Author Credentials	N/A

Author	Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints
Article Title	Work Is An Eternal Principle
Author Credentials	N/A

Author	Church of Jesus Christ, Latter-day Saints
Article Title	God Sent Us To Earth As A Member of A Family
Author Credentials	N/A

Author	Cook, Q.L.
Article Title	The True Path To Happiness
Author Credentials	Elder, Member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Author	Dalton, E.S.
Article Title	Love Her Mother
Author Credentials	Former Young Women's General President

Author	Dos Santos da Silva, F.
Article Title	Enough Money
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Dutton, R.
Article Title	Called By God
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Erickson, L.V.
Article Title	Getting Out of Debt—For Good
Author Credentials	Personal & Family Finance Educator, Church Lay Member

Author	Eyring, H.B
Article Title	The Blessings of Tithing
Author Credentials	Second Counselor to the First Presidency

Author	Eyring, H.B.
Article Title	Gathering The Family of God
Author Credentials	Second Counselor to the First Presidency

Author	Goodsell, T.L.
Article Title	Single In A Family-Oriented Church
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Gillis, V.
Article Title	Blessed By The Priesthood
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member and Convert

Author	Grover, M.L.
Article Title	Priesthood Blessings
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Hales, R.D.
Article Title	A Little Heaven on Earth
Author Credentials	Elder, Member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Author	Hansen, J.
Article Title	Did He Really Ask Me That?
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Hernández, L., & Hernández, K.
Article Title	Mi Vida, Mi Historia
Author Credentials	Church Lay Members

Author	Holland, J.R.
Article Title	We Are All Enlisted
Author Credentials	Elder, Member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles

Author	Ishii, K.
Article Title	Should I Choose Work or Church?
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	McMullin, K.B.
Article Title	The Power of The Aaronic Priesthood
Author Credentials	Former Second Counselor to the Presiding Bishopric

Author	Monson, T.S.
Article Title	Dare To Stand Alone
Author Credentials	Former Church President

Author	Neves, R.P.B.
Article Title	Building My Eternal Marriage
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Niebergall, C.
Article Title	Daughters In My Kingdon: A Historical Work for Today's LDS Woman
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Oaks, D.H.
Article Title	Sacrifice
Author Credentials	First Counselor to the First Presidency

Author	Peterson, KA.
Article Title	Mom's Commitment to Modesty
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Porter, B.D.
Article Title	Defending The Family In A Troubled World
Author Credentials	Elder, Member of the First Quorum of the Seventy

Author	Relief Society
Article Title	Strengthening Families Through Temporal Self-Reliance
Author Credentials	N/A

Author	Schulte, A.
Article Title	No Better Time To Serve
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Singleton, A.
Article Title	A General Conference Just For Me
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Stringam, J.
Article Title	The Power of A Righteous Example
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Tanner, N.E.
Article Title	The Eternal Nature of Marriage
Author Credentials	Former First Counselor to the First Presidency

Author	Uchtdorf, D.F.
Article Title	Brother, I'm Committed
Author Credentials	Former Second Counselor to the First Presidency

Author	Uchtdorf, D.F.
Article Title	Forget Me Not
Author Credentials	Former Second Counselor to the First Presidency

Author	VanDenBerghe, P.
Article Title	Duty to God With Dad
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	VanLeeuwen, A.
Article Title	Serving The One
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Vickery, S.
Article Title	Temple Blessings Now and Eternally
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member

Author	Waddell, W.C.
Article Title	The Opportunity of A Lifetime
Author Credentials	Bishop

Author	Withlin, J.B.
Article Title	Learn Your Duty
Author Credentials	Church Lay Member