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the Name of Hawaiians.² One aspect of the story that Kester was not able to tell, yet one that does not diminish the overall significance of this book, is the impact of Mormon settlement on the indigenous nations in what is now Utah. For additional reading on this topic, I recommend Ned Blackhawk's *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*.³

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Review of Armand L. Mauss. *Shifting Borders and a Tattered Passport: Intellectual Journeys of a Mormon Academic*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012. 280 pp. \$25.00 hardcover.

Reviewed by David E. Campbell

In *Shifting Borders and a Tattered Passport: Intellectual Journeys of a Mormon Academic*, Armand Mauss details how he has spent his lengthy career crossing the borders between Mormonism and the secular academy, suffering slings and arrows from both sides along the way. As a sociologist, perhaps his major accomplishment is a highly compelling theory to explain the dynamism found within Mormonism. With his theory, he has managed to (1) show social scientists why they should care about Mormonism and (2) demonstrate to Mormons why they should care

2. Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

3. Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

what social science says about their religion and culture. Mormons generally have a strong grasp of history and appreciate its importance. As is often said, Mormons do not have theology; they have history. But why should they care about social science as applied to Mormonism? Mauss's own life story tells us why. On the surface, he has written a memoir recounting the inside story of some significant events within Mormonism over the last fifty or so years. Yet the deeper story of Mauss's biography is the very theory he has developed to understand the ebbs and flows of Mormons' distinctiveness. While some readers may not be especially interested in the internal struggles of *Dialogue* or a blow-by-blow account of how the Howard W. Hunter Chair in Mormon Studies at Claremont Graduate University came to be, all readers should be interested in understanding the challenges facing the LDS Church as an institution and Mormonism as a culture.

Mauss tells the tale of living through three eras of Mormonism. First, he grew up during a period of Mormon assimilation into American society. During this time, the LDS Church welcomed and even encouraged scholarly inquiry, and in some respects the boundaries between Mormons and "Gentiles" were becoming blurred. Next, the bulk of his career as a sociologist was spent during a time of what Mauss calls retrenchment, in which LDS leaders sharpened the boundaries between the Saints and "the world." While the retrenchment took many forms, most prominently the consolidation of church programs and curriculum under the Correlation initiative, Mauss was affected most personally by a new wariness toward the academic study of the church and its people. Elder Boyd K. Packer's words in an oft-cited talk encapsulate this boundary maintenance: "the mantle is far, far greater than the intellect."¹ Scholars doing Mormon-related research were often met with distrust and, in some cases, faced church discipline and even excommunication. During this era, Mauss himself was even periodically called on the carpet by various stake presidents, at the behest of particular General Authorities, to confirm his

1. Boyd K. Packer, "The Mantle Is Far, Far Greater Than the Intellect," *BYU Studies* 21/3 (1981): 259–78.

loyalty to the church. More recently, however, the church has moved into a new period of relative openness and is again renegotiating its boundaries. As part of that process, the LDS hierarchy appears to have largely made its peace with the academic study of the church.

What Mauss has done, however, is far more than chronicle a series of happenings within Mormonism. His seminal book *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation*² offers an explanation for why Mormonism goes through these different periods. His approach introduces two felicitous metaphors: the angel and the beehive. Periods of sharp boundaries and high tension are characterized by the angel, a symbol of what makes Mormons a “peculiar people,” while periods of blurred boundaries and low tension are symbolized by the beehive, representing Mormons’ industriousness and engagement with the world. As social scientists like Rodney Stark, Roger Finke, and Laurence Iannaccone have argued, peculiarity feeds the vitality of a religion.³ Too little of it and a religion risks fading away into irrelevance. Religions win converts and retain members by standing for something—as President Gordon B. Hinckley titled one of his books.⁴ That’s the angel side of Mormonism. However, too much peculiarity and a religious group can suffer an exodus of members, or in extreme cases become completely marginalized. Historically, Mormonism has swung from periods of “angel-ness,” in which its peculiarity was emphasized (think polygamy in the nineteenth century and the prohibition on alcohol and tobacco in the twentieth), to periods of “beehive-ness,” in which common ground with others was emphasized over peculiarity.

The significance of a good social scientific theory is that it not only explains what has been but can tell us what will be. Mauss’s theory passes

2. Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

3. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776–2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005); and Laurence R. Iannaccone, “Why Strict Churches Are Strong,” *American Journal of Sociology* 99 (1994): 1180–211.

4. Gordon Bitner Hinckley, *Standing for Something: Ten Neglected Virtues That Will Heal Our Hearts and Homes* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2000).

this test. Written in the midst of an angel (retrenchment) period, the logic of *The Angel and the Beehive* predicts the current swing back toward the beehive. Mauss offers a long list of evidence for the beehive-ness of today's Mormonism that includes rapprochement with Catholics and outreach to evangelicals, Jews, and Muslims; the "muting" of some distinctive doctrines, including quotations from Joseph Smith's King Follett sermon in church manuals; rewording the preface to the Book of Mormon so that it now says that only "some" (not "all") American Indians are descended from the Lamanites; the rewriting of some chapter headings in the Book of Mormon to downplay their racist connotations; ending the publication of Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine*; encouraging opinion leaders to tour temples before they are dedicated; granting greater access to church archives; and a warming of relations with scholars of Mormonism (both LDS and not) (pp. 92–93). In recent years, the church has even officially clarified that Mormons in good standing can indeed drink caffeinated colas (although they are still not sold at Brigham Young University—the wheels of change turn slowly).⁵ And in yet another sign of the beehive era, the most recent excommunication of an LDS scholar has been for objecting to what he sees as the liberalizing trend within the church.⁶

The evolving LDS position on homosexuality is an excellent illustration of the institutional church's careful calibration between the angel and the beehive. In the wake of church members' heavy, well-publicized, and controversial involvement in California's Proposition 8, the LDS Church then supported a municipal ordinance in Salt Lake City to ban discrimination against homosexuals.⁷ There was also a telling change made in the published version of a general conference talk by Elder

5. Peggy Fletcher Stack, "OK, Mormons, Drink up—Coke and Pepsi Are OK," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 September 2012, <http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/news/54797595-78/church-drinks-caffeine-lds.html.csp>.

6. Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Controversial Mormon Writer Gets the Word: He's Out of the Church," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 September 2013, <http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/blogs-faithblog/56861798-180/church-snuffer-book-lds.html.csp>.

7. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Church Supports Nondiscrimination Ordinances," 10 November 2009, <http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/church-supports-nondiscrimination-ordinances>.

Packer. In the spoken version, he said that God would not have created anyone with “in-born tendencies” toward homosexuality, suggesting that homosexuality is a matter of choice. The published version instead implicitly acknowledges that people are not gay by choice.⁸ More recently, the LDS Church has created a website that acknowledges “same-sex attraction is a complex reality for many people” and that “individuals do not choose to have such attractions.”⁹ There is also an officially sanctioned club at BYU named “Understanding Same Gender Attraction.” The church has also given its tacit consent to the policy of the Boy Scouts of America to allow gay boys to participate in scouting (although not gay leaders).¹⁰ Even on the public policy issue of same-sex marriage, the church has tempered its active opposition. In September 2012, a letter read during LDS meetings in Hawaii acknowledged that church members may have differing views on whether same-sex marriage should be legalized in the state. Rather than receiving a call to overtly oppose same-sex marriage per se (as in California and elsewhere), church members were asked to advocate for legal protection on behalf of religious organizations that do not condone such marriages between people of the same gender.¹¹

The predictive ability of Mauss’s theory is impressive, but perhaps even more important is its useful insights for the future of the LDS Church. I would suggest that Latter-day Saints from church headquarters down through the ranks should take heed of Mauss’s conclusions—too much beehive-ness and Mormons cease to stand for something distinc-

8. Joanna Brooks, “Controversial LDS Conference Talk Edited for Publication,” *Religion Dispatches*, 8 October 2010, http://www.religiondispatches.org/dispatches/joannabrooks/3519/controversial_lds_conference_talk_edited_for_publication.

9. “Love One Another: A Conversation on Same-sex Attraction,” The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed 11 November 2013, <http://www.mormonsandgays.org>.

10. Erik Eckholm, “Mormons Endorse Plan to Admit Gay Scouts,” *New York Times*, 26 April 2013, <http://mobile.nytimes.com/2013/04/27/us/mormon-church-backs-boy-scouts-plan-to-lift-ban-on-gay-youths.html>.

11. Peggy Fletcher Stack, “Mormons Join Hawaii’s Gay Marriage Fight, but with a New Approach,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 September 2013, <http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/news/56890226-78/church-hawaii-lds-legislation.html.csp>.

tive, but too much angel-ness and the costs of membership become too high. Either one puts the church's long-term viability at risk. The key to the LDS Church's vitality has been finding the sweet spot—the equilibrium—between the angel and the beehive.

The LDS Church's position on homosexuality, and same-sex marriage in particular, again highlights this balancing act. The softening in the LDS approach to homosexuality does not mean that the church has swung away from its firm stance against same-sex marriage, although there has nonetheless been a subtle but significant shift in the scope of its opposition. Notably, in an October 2013 general conference address, Elder Dallin H. Oaks reiterated that the church opposes the legal recognition of marriages between people of the same gender: "Laws legalizing so-called 'same-sex marriage' do not change God's law of marriage or His commandments and our standards concerning it."¹² However, in spite of his obvious disdain for such secular laws, Elder Oaks did not call for political action or civil disobedience to change them. Instead, he compared them to the end of legal prohibitions on adultery and fornication, both of which the church finds immoral regardless of their legality. The church appears to have adopted the view that opposition to same-sex marriage is a matter of private morality and not public activism—a position that, I would suggest, sits between the poles of angel-ness and beehive-ness.

Personally, I have long taken heed of Mauss's work because encountering it for the first time was an intellectually formative experience for me. I read *The Angel and the Beehive* while an undergraduate at BYU. It was the first systematic, social scientific account of Mormonism that I had ever encountered, and in my opinion it remains the best ever written. He opened my eyes to how the tools of social inquiry could be applied to understanding the church and its people; his work has influenced my thinking on Mormonism ever since. And I am merely one in a whole generation of scholars who have been shaped by Mauss's ideas.

12. Dallin H. Oaks, "No Other Gods," October 2013 general conference address, <http://www.lds.org/general-conference/2013/10/no-other-gods?lang=eng>.

If all Mauss had done was write the most compelling theory of Mormonism, that would have made for an impressive legacy. However, Mauss has also written the magisterial *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage*, the most comprehensive book on Mormon beliefs, doctrines, attitudes, and policies regarding race. As Mauss describes in *Shifting Borders*, the book *All Abraham's Children* gestated for a long time. Over the course of decades, it went from being solely about the fraught topic of blacks and the priesthood to a much broader discussion of Mormon attitudes toward lineage, including their beliefs regarding Jews and aboriginals. The result is a book that contextualizes the church's history on race and helps Mormons today understand the policies of the past.

Race is the issue on which Armand Mauss has arguably done the most to build bridges, both within Mormonism and between Mormons and those outside the faith. Through the course of his career, he has long advocated that the church disavow the "folk doctrines" that were once widely repeated, including by some prominent church leaders, to justify the racial restriction on the priesthood. Mauss has argued for such repudiation since well before the 1978 policy change that enabled priesthood ordination without regard to race, the way it had been during Joseph Smith's lifetime. It was not easy going; Mauss describes how he was "somewhat embattled from both inside and outside the kingdom" (p. 95) because he spoke out on race. Outside the kingdom he was branded a racist for his association with the church, even though his surveys of Mormons showed that, the race-based priesthood ban notwithstanding, they were no more prejudiced than other Americans (although neither were they any less so). He describes how, inside the kingdom, "many of my more conservative Mormon friends were unhappy with my public entry into this controversy" (p. 98).

Fittingly, the LDS Church's position on its own racial history is yet another illustration of Mauss's theory of the pendulum swings within Mormonism. While there has not been the official disavowal of the folk doctrines that Mauss has long advocated, these beliefs no longer receive any official affirmation from the church. In 2012 a BYU Religion profes-

sor was publicly rebuffed by the Church's Public Affairs department for repeating such doctrines in the *Washington Post*,¹³ while the new edition of the Doctrine and Covenants acknowledges that in Joseph Smith's lifetime some blacks were ordained to the priesthood and that "Church records offer no clear insights into the [cessation] of this practice" (Official Declaration 2, headnote). This sea change in racial attitudes has not happened only at the top, for we see it among the rank-and-file membership too. In 2012 John Green, Quin Monson, and I conducted a scientific survey of Mormons and found that a relatively small number have even heard the old folk doctrine that blacks could not hold the priesthood because they were ambivalent during the war in heaven—and a vanishingly small percentage believe it.¹⁴ While I am sure that Armand Mauss is intellectually satisfied by the real-world confirmation of his theory, I suspect that, above all, he is personally gratified to see the changes in Latter-day Saints' beliefs regarding race.

Mauss's life story should give hope to those Latter-day Saints who engage in the study of their church and its culture, and it should reassure those LDS leaders who might be wary of such research. As both a Latter-day Saint and a scholar, he has used his passport to move between the church and the academy, and in so doing has built bridges between them. He has shown his fellow Saints that they need not be suspicious of rigorous, scholarly inquiry; and he has shown his fellow scholars how Mormonism is an important example of a "peculiar people" who have survived, and thrived, in a religiously pluralistic society. While no one will ever fill Armand Mauss's shoes, I hope that many others will follow in his path. Both the Saints and scholars will be better off for it.

13. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Church Statement Regarding 'Washington Post' Article on Race and the Church," 29 February 2012, <http://www.mormon-newsroom.org/article/racial-remarks-in-washington-post-article>.

14. David E. Campbell, John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson, "What Others Say: Survey Clarifies Mormons' Beliefs about Race," *Deseret News*, 30 March 2012.

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