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THE IDEAL MORMON WOMAN: AN ANALYSIS OF *ENSIGN* ARTICLES AND
COMPARISON TO LDS WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER ROLE
EXPECTATIONS

by

Julie Hollist

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Communication

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2008

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ABSTRACT

The Ideal Mormon Woman: An Analysis of *Ensign* Articles and Comparison to LDS
Women's Perceptions of Gender Role Expectations

by

Julie Hollist, Master of Arts

Utah State University, 2008

Major Professor: Dr. Cathy Ferrand Bullock
Department: Journalism and Communication

This study was conducted to identify what principles leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were teaching women about their gender roles and expectations from 2000 through 2007, and to investigate whether age, marital status, or media exposure correlated with women's perceptions of levels of importance of those concepts to both their leaders and to themselves personally. This study used deductive and inductive framing analyses to examine visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks published in the *Ensign*, the official magazine of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The study built on those results to create a survey conducted with LDS women living in Cache Valley, Utah, in 2008. Survey results provided insight into levels of importance LDS women living in Cache Valley assigned to doctrinal and cultural concepts surrounding the "ideal Mormon woman." The doctrine reflected an overwhelming emphasis on both inner spiritual characteristics and religiously

motivated actions. Lack of correlation between exposure to either visiting teaching messages or General Conference talks and what the women said Church leaders thought was important indicated some disconnect between what was being taught and what the LDS women reported. Although leaders' priorities were revealed by the frequency with which they taught individual components of the doctrine, the women did not recognize those priorities. Instead, they perceived that nearly everything was very important or important to their leaders. The women also indicated that although religiously motivated actions were very important, inner spiritual characteristics were even more important to them personally. Although the women reported inner spiritual characteristics as more important, they were also taking on responsibilities for those behaviors that may be more visible and easily compared to others. Exposure to General Conference talks correlated highly with how important survey items were to the women personally, which may indicate a channel of communication that is working for Church leaders. Statistically significant correlations in women's perceptions about what their leaders think and what they think personally were also found according to age and marital status, but there are not consistent trends that can be easily summarized.

(178 pages)

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Julie Hollist

CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW	3
Spirituality Versus Religiousness	3
Background on the LDS Church.....	4
Gender Roles in LDS Doctrine	6
Theoretical Foundations.....	12
Research Questions	20
METHODS	26
Deductive and Inductive Framing Analyses.....	26
Surveys.....	29
RESULTS	35
Deductive and Inductive Framing Analyses	35
Surveys.....	60
DISCUSSION.....	82
Deductive and Inductive Framing Analyses.....	83
Implications from Research Question 2.....	85
Implications from Research Question 3.....	87
Implications from Research Question 4.....	91
Summary	93
Study Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research.....	94
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	98
APPENDICES	108

Appendix A: Tables	109
Appendix B: How to Identify the Perfect LDS Woman— Indicators Found in Three Independent LDS Films: <i>The Singles Ward, The R. M., and Pride and Prejudice</i>	141
Appendix C: How to Identify the Perfect LDS Woman, as Identified by Focus Groups in Written Surveys and Oral Discussion.....	144
Appendix D: Codebook for Analysis of <i>Ensign</i> Articles.....	149
Appendix E: Survey of Cache Valley LDS Women.....	157
Appendix F: Letter of Information	165
Appendix G: Survey Announcement Script	168

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
A.1	Frequency of <i>Ensign</i> Articles Mentioning Codebook Items.....110
A.2	Most Commonly Occurring Items in <i>Ensign</i> Articles (in Percentages).....113
A.3	Means of Women’s Perceptions of Importance of Survey Items to Leaders and to Themselves114
A.4	Mean Importance of Items to Leaders as Perceived by Women by Age116
A.5	Mean Importance of Items to Leaders as Perceived by Women by Marital Status118
A.6	Marital Status and Age of Women Surveyed120
A.7	Women’s Perceptions of Importance of Items to Leaders by Level of Visiting Teaching Message Exposure121
A.8	Women’s Perceptions of Importance of Items to Leaders by General Conference Relief Society Message Exposure123
A.9	Mean Importance of Items to Women by Age.....125
A.10	Mean Importance of Items to Women by Marital Status.....127
A.11	Women’s Perceptions of Importance of Items by Level of Visiting Teaching Message Exposure.....129
A.12	Women’s Perceptions of Importance of Items by Level of General Conference Relief Society Message Exposure.....131
A.13	Ranking of Most Commonly Occurring Items in <i>Ensign</i> Articles and Women’s Perceptions of Their Importance to Leaders and Themselves.....133
A.14	Ranking of Survey Items in <i>Ensign</i> Articles and Women’s Perceptions of Their Importance to Leaders and Themselves.....134
A.15	Comparison of Women’s Perceptions of Importance of

Items to Leaders and Themselves138

A.16 Mean Differences Between Women’s Perceptions of Item
Importance to Leaders and Themselves.....139

INTRODUCTION

This study uses deductive and inductive framing analyses to examine the messages about gender roles (gender-specific social or cultural behavioral expectations) presented in the *Ensign*, the official magazine of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (followers are also referred to as LDS or Mormon). The study then utilizes survey results to compare (1) the messages found in the *Ensign*, (2) what female Church members who live within the dominant LDS culture in northern Utah's Cache Valley say modern LDS doctrine teaches about women's roles and expectations, and (3) these women's perceptions of the ideal Mormon woman and the level of importance they attribute to components of her gender roles. The results provide insight into the *Ensign's* messages (intended or unintended), the women's usage of the Church's official publication, and levels of importance LDS women who live in Cache Valley assign to doctrinal and cultural concepts surrounding the "ideal Mormon woman." There are important distinctions between the two. As Mitchell (2005) clarified, "Ideology is different from theology" (p. 13).

For this study, LDS doctrine is defined as scriptures, direction, or instruction given by those men and women who hold leadership positions over the general membership of the Church through two avenues: first, in annual worldwide General Conference Relief Society meetings that are broadcast and then published verbatim in the *Ensign*, the Church's official publication for adults; and second, in visiting teaching messages that are published in the *Ensign* 10 months each year. The doctrine is given by Church leaders and the *Ensign* is one channel used to convey this doctrine to Church members.

Culture has been defined in many ways. For this study, culture is defined as “learned, shared, and transmitted values, beliefs, norms, and life practices of a particular group that guides thinking, decisions, and actions in patterned ways” (Leininger, 1988, p. 156). This definition of culture provides a list of criteria that allows specific characteristics of culture to be identified through discussion and research with LDS women.

Although many researchers have conducted research with members of the LDS Church collectively or individually (for example, Scott, 2003; Stout, 1994, 2004; Stout, Scott, & Martin, 1996), they have not defined “LDS culture” or the culture’s concept of the “perfect” or “ideal” LDS woman. Efforts toward providing this definition will assist researchers across many disciplines who wish to investigate this rapidly growing religious group. In addition, examining the *Ensign* is important in its own right as I seek to understand how the publication is used to teach millions of LDS women about their gender roles.

In a broader application, perhaps others who live in areas of the country dominated by a particular religion and its accompanying culture, such as Baptists in the South, may find useful parallels to women in their society. LDS leaders may also use the information to adjust their approach to teaching or to elements of *Ensign* article presentation if they feel the findings are relevant.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Spirituality Versus Religiousness

In common discourse, the words “spiritual” and “religious” have been used interchangeably throughout history. Both reflect a belief in a higher power, a desire to connect with that higher power, and an “interest in rituals, practices, and daily moral behaviors that foster such a connection or relationship” (Fuller, 2001, p. 5). Adding to the potential confusion, either word could mean different things to different people. For example, regarding the word “religious,” Pargament (1997) said, “One may be speaking of being a good person and having a feeling of closeness to the sacred, the other may be talking about going to church and believing in the truth of religious claims” (p. 24).

For any scholarly study investigating tenets or members of an organized religion, it is important to distinguish between “spiritual” and “religious” to make sure the attendant principles and semantics are clarified. Fuller (2001) specified:

The word *spiritual* gradually came to be associated with the private realm of thought and experience while the word *religious* came to be connected with the public realm of membership in religious institutions, participation in formal rituals, and adherence to official denominational doctrines. (p. 5)

Because all organized religions inherently provide denominational doctrines that guide and accompany individuals in their quest for spirituality, the concepts explored in this study will transcend any one individual religion. In the context provided for this study, spirituality is defined as feelings, thoughts, and desires that inspire one to become closer to God and occur in a private realm. Religiousness is defined as behaviors or

actions that may assist in spirituality but are suggested or governed by direction from a church organization and occur in a more public realm.

Background on the LDS Church

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is currently one of the fastest growing religions in the world. The Church reported 279,218 new converts in 2007 and a total membership of 13,193,999 at year-end 2007 (“Statistical Report, 2007,” 2008). The Church’s Relief Society, the world’s largest women’s organization, boasts more than 5 million members (Hinckley, 2004, p. 20). This program for women 18 and older was founded in 1842 and emphasizes providing charitable service, exercising faith in Jesus Christ, strengthening and protecting families, and learning homemaking skills to help women meet daily challenges and live the gospel in the home (“Church Handbook,” n.d., pp. 193-194).

Visiting teaching is one Relief Society program of note. Members are assigned a partner and each partnership is assigned other women (usually two or three “sisters,” as female members of the Church refer to each other) to visit monthly. Visiting teachers are asked to teach the Church’s official one-page visiting teaching message as it appears in the *Ensign* (the Church’s official magazine targeted at members 18 and older) each month. This program provides a unique way for Church leaders to educate and influence female Church members because women read and study the material, then teach it. In addition, they are taught the same message by their own visiting teachers, so the message is emphasized and reemphasized. In studying the sociology of religion, Gay, Ellison, and Powers (1996) wrote, “Specific lifestyle norms may be relayed via ‘moral messages’

encoded in sermons and other formal communications from religious authorities, and may be reinforced through informal social interaction with coreligionists” (p. 14).

While members of the LDS Church believe that truth is eternal and unchangeable, they also believe that modern revelation is vital for the Church’s progression. Thus, there are changes in the leaders’ approaches to temporal issues over time. According to Vance (2002), “The *Ensign* . . . capture[s] Mormonism’s changing cultural accommodation and reflect[s] primary concerns, interests, and admonitions of the movement” (p. 95).

Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints base their faith in “God, the Eternal Father, and in His son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost” (Smith, 1978, p. 541). Like other Christians, they “believe the Bible to be the word of God” (Smith, p. 541). The *Old Testament* and *New Testament*, as well as the *Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants*, are the focus of Church teaching and the study of these scriptures is encouraged individually and within the family.

The Church is organized after the biblical example of the primitive church established during the ministries of Christ, Peter, and Paul. Namely, it is led by a prophet who has two counselors (the three are known as the First Presidency), and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Members of the LDS Church believe they are led by a modern-day prophet of God and recognize him as “prophet, seer, and revelator” (Faust, 2002a, p. 23). The prophet, his counselors, and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles have special authority to direct the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church. Because of that authority, their words are recognized as modern-day revelation that should be followed. Although these leaders may have differences of opinion as they confer with one another in private, they act in harmony and unity with one another when they address and interact

with members of the Church. These leaders, as well as other men and women in the Church's general leadership, speak to the international membership of the Church semiannually in General Conference. Those talks are published verbatim in the *Ensign*.

Gender Roles in LDS Doctrine

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a family-oriented church, with specific emphasis on the importance of marriage and having children: "The family is ordained of God. Marriage between man and woman is essential to His eternal plan" (Hinckley, 1995, p. 101). Single members of the LDS Church often feel great pressure to be married (Brough, 2004, p. 36). Brigham Young, who served as second prophet of the Church from 1847 to 1877, is rumored to have said that young men over the age of 25 who are still single are a "menace to society" (Brough, p. 37).

After couples are married, they are expected to raise children and meet their children's physical and spiritual needs. However, men and women have specific roles: "By divine design, fathers are to preside over their families in love and righteousness and are responsible to provide the necessities of life and protection for their families" (Hinckley, 1995, p. 101). Righteous men have the priesthood conferred upon them. The priesthood is a spiritual authority defined as "the power and authority of God delegated to man on earth to act in all things for the salvation of men" (McConkie, 1995, p. 594), with which they preside in their families. In addition to providing guidance to men in their roles as fathers, Hinckley also specified women's responsibilities as mothers and emphasized their equality in a marital relationship. "Mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture of their children. In these sacred responsibilities, fathers and mothers are

obligated to help one another as equal partners” (Hinckley, p. 101; see also Kimball, 1979, p. 102).

Women are encouraged to learn homemaking skills to provide a peaceful, uplifting environment for children (Hinckley, 1995, p. 101). Women are also discouraged from working outside the home after they have children. This emphasis on marriage and family has been a direct teaching for decades; thus, it is reasonable to assume that similar attitudes will be evident in the perceptions of LDS women of all ages. For example, 25 years ago, the Church’s prophet warned:

In the beginning, Adam was instructed to earn the bread by the sweat of his brow—not Eve. Contrary to conventional wisdom, a mother’s place is in the home! . . . Beguiling voices in the world cry out for “alternative life-styles” for women. . . . Some even have been bold to suggest that the Church move away from the “Mormon woman stereotype” of homemaking and rearing children. . . . [Moving away] is a misguided idea. . . . (Benson, 1981, p. 105)

Benson emphasized the importance of homemaking: “Radiate a spirit of contentment and joy with homemaking. You teach by example your attitude toward homemaking. . . . Homemaking is the highest, most noble profession to which a woman might aspire” (p. 107).

Vance (2002) wrote, “Sociologists have long postulated that gender ideals evolve within a religious movement as a consequence of the evolution of the relationship between the movement and its sociocultural context” (p. 92). One example of the way doctrinal emphasis has evolved is found by comparing Benson’s 1981 direction to that of Gordon B. Hinckley, who served as prophet from March 12, 1995, until his death January 27, 2008. Although Hinckley (1995, 1996) consistently emphasized the importance of motherhood and the value of mothers staying at home with their children, he was also

sympathetic toward, and supportive of, women who are unmarried and women who are forced to work outside the home to provide for their families—a shift from previous Church leaders, who rarely acknowledged that women may not fit the stay-at-home mother ideal. He also emphasized a woman’s individuality and contributions not only to her family, but also to society. In a General Conference address (2003a) to male members of the Church, Hinckley said:

May your marriage be blessed with an uncompromising loyalty one to another. Find your happiness with one another. Give your companion the opportunity to grow in her own interests, to develop her own talents, to fly in her own way, and to experience her own sense of accomplishment. (Hinckley, pp. 59-60)

Vance (2002) also identified shifts in gender role emphasis when she conducted a content analysis of ideals for LDS women as printed in the *Ensign* and its predecessor, the *Improvement Era*, from 1897 to 1999. From 1897 to 1940 and in the late 1960s and the year 1970, a “relatively wide range of possibilities for Mormon women” (p. 108) was presented. However, from the 1970s until the 1990s women’s domesticity and dedication to the home and family was emphasized. In the 1990s, “*Ensign* authors do not abandon the ideal . . . that women should place primary import on their roles as mothers, but do insist that the ideal will not be attainable for all, or even most, Mormon women” (p. 108). While “grudgingly” acknowledging that not all women fit that ideal, they still emphasized women’s preeminent responsibilities to their husbands and children.

Iannaccone and Miles (1990) conducted a quantitative content analysis on *Ensign* articles from 1950 to 1986 to identify women’s changing gender roles within the Church. They wrote, “The ‘ideal’ life situation for an adult woman always included marriage,

several children, and a husband who earned enough money that the woman need not work” (p. 1245).

For reference, since 2000, Church leaders have also acknowledged that not every woman fits a cookie-cutter mold of married, stay-at-home mother. In a General Conference Relief Society address Hughes (2002), a member of the Church’s General Relief Society Presidency, said:

It is important for us to realize that there is no one way that a righteous family looks. Some righteous families have two parents; but sometimes, through death or divorce, there is only one. Some righteous families have many children, and other families, at least for the moment, have none. . . .In some righteous families only the father works outside the home, and other times, both adults must work. So, though we may differ, what righteous families have in common are the covenants that they hold sacred. (p. 106)

The current study examines the *Ensign*’s direction to women as found in General Conference Relief Society messages and monthly visiting teaching messages from November 2000 to December 2007. These years provide a unique window for examination of women’s roles for two reasons. First, they represent leadership emphases and direction the General Relief Society Presidency and other general Church leaders are providing for LDS women today. Second, for the first time, a professional, single, and childless woman served as a leader in the General Relief Society Presidency, a surprising departure from past leaders who were married and all but one of whom were mothers.

Sheri Dew served in the presidency from April 1997 to April 2002. She reached celebrity status within the LDS Church (Robinson, 2002, ¶13) as she became a voice of empathy and hope for single female members of the Church, who may feel discouraged if they do not measure up to the Church’s heavy emphasis on marriage and family. For example, Dew was speaking to a packed crowd of more than a thousand young single

adult women in northern Utah's Cache Valley. A dozen women were seated 90 minutes early. I asked them why they wanted to hear her speak. One 28-year-old Utah State University graduate student said she could relate to Dew because they were both single. She added that Dew is an inspiration. "She reminds me of what I can be. The rest of our culture reminds me of what I should be" (personal communication, March 21, 2006). Dew (2004) alluded to her own struggle to "measure up" as a single LDS woman:

Have you ever wondered why prophets have taught the doctrine of motherhood—and it *is* doctrine—again and again, and without even the slightest variation? I have. I have thought long and hard about the work of women of God. And I have wrestled with what the doctrine of motherhood means to *all* women. Because my life has unfolded in a manner far different than I had hoped or expected, the issue of motherhood has driven me to my knees, to the scriptures, to the temple, and to the teachings of prophets, seers, and revelators—all of which teach an ennobling doctrine regarding the most crucial role any woman can be asked or allowed to assume. (p. 29)

Consistent with Dew's comments, a few dominant descriptive themes identifying LDS female gender roles have emerged in scholarly research. Beaman (2001) conducted life history interviews with 28 LDS women. From their comments she identified the "ideal" role for a female member of the LDS Church as "a stay at home mother, married in the temple, and committed to traditional roles within the context of her marriage" (p. 72).

In October 2007, newly called General Relief Society President Julie B. Beck gave a talk in General Conference that precisely and directly identified women's roles and expectations, including the priority of being in the home with their children.

Regarding homemaking, she said:

Mothers who know are nurturers....Another word for nurturing is *homemaking*. Homemaking includes cooking, washing clothes and dishes, and keeping an orderly home. Home is where women have the most power and influence;

therefore, Latter-day Saint women should be the best homemakers in the world. (2007a, pp. 76-77)

Beck's talk provided other direction about LDS women's responsibility to desire and bear children, keep covenants, become leaders, be teachers, and prioritize time and commitments to serve their families better. Her talk unleashed an uncharacteristic vitriolic backlash from LDS women on websites and blogs and through letters to the editor in several regional newspapers. More than 500 women and hundreds of men signed a petition rebutting the talk on the website www.whatwomenknow.org. Individuals quoted in Salt Lake City newspaper stories called it a "firestorm" (Moore, 2008, ¶6) and "subject of a furious debate" (Stack, 2007, ¶2). The debate continued nearly a year later in August 2008 at the annual academic Sunstone Symposium, where panelists discussed the response to Beck's talk in a session called "Mormon Motherhood: Choice or Destiny?"

Because of the Church's emphasis on marriage and family, a theme that may surface among single women is the perception that they need to be married to be fully accepted by other Church members. This context sheds some light on why Sheri Dew's calling to a high Church position may have seemed so remarkable and inspirational to other Church members. Beaman (2001) wrote, "An interesting tension emerges for those women who do not quite fit the ideal for Mormon women. As single Saints, women must negotiate the boundaries of church teachings to find a place for themselves" (p. 77; see also Darrington, Piercy, & Niehuis, 2005, pp. 639-661). This raises questions about women who have "accomplished" marriage. Is being married enough, or will their definition of the ideal LDS woman shift the emphasis from marriage to a need to have

children? Is having children enough, or will LDS mothers indicate a need for their children or grandchildren to be seen as “successful” in ways such as serving Church missions, being married in an LDS temple, or being active in the Church?

Theoretical Foundations

The Social Identity Perspective

Social identity theory is based on the premise that who we are is in part defined by the groups to which we belong and that group affiliation in part determines and defines our place in society (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001; Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). Hornsey and Hogg (2000) wrote that people identify with groups for two reasons, “subjective uncertainty reductions and enhancement of self-esteem” (p. 144).

Those uncertainty reductions are addressed in social identity theory’s accompanying branch of self-categorization theory. “People strive to avoid uncertainty about who they are, how they should behave, and how other people will behave. . . . Self-categorization defines self in relation to other people and prescribes one’s perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors” (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000, p. 144). For example, LDS women living in Cache Valley may check their behavior by asking themselves “How do women in the Providence 3rd Ward behave?” They may also observe the larger context of Cache Valley LDS Church members in general. For example, “What do my LDS friends in Cache Valley do in a situation like this?”

Hornsey and Jetten (2004) combined social identity and self-categorization

theories into what they term the “social identity perspective” and summarized:

Self-definition consists not just of idiosyncratic attitudes, memories, and behaviors that distinguish ourselves from other individuals (our ‘personal identities’) but also the collective attitudes, memories, and behaviors drawn from the groups to which we belong (our ‘social identities’). (p. 249)

In this study, the social identity perspective raises questions about pressure to conform to culturally acceptable behavior that has become the group norm in a small geographic area where a majority of residents belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This study explores those feelings, perceptions, and behaviors of LDS women who are not only members of the Church, but who also live in an area where Mormon culture is prevalent. In a study about the relationship between religious group affiliation and self-identity, Hadaway and Roof (1979) tied church membership and culture together:

Because religious identity is inextricably bound with the dominant culture’s values, religious institutions not only affirm these values, but also symbolize them. . . . The decision to accept a religious preference implies a certain identification, however minimal, with the dominant culture. (p. 195)

Mitchell (2005) studied the importance of religious group affiliation in Northern Ireland, an area where a majority of citizens affiliate themselves with either Catholic or Protestant churches. It may be possible to draw a parallel to Cache Valley, where the most recent statistics indicate that 80.5% of Cache County residents belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (American Religion Data Archive, 2002). Mitchell wrote of Northern Ireland, “Religious affiliation often determines one’s place in the social and political structure, and where this is the case, religious identifications become deeply imbedded” (p. 5). She elaborated on the intertwining of religion and culture: “Religion does not just flag identity, but is substantively integrated into a sense

of communal belonging. When people attend church services and use the church for other social activities, group identity can be reinforced” (p. 10).

Hornsey and Hogg (2000) used social identity theory to suggest that group identity exists on several levels. They examined structural differentiation between subgroups that are united under a superordinate identity group. (For example, arts and sciences students were identified as a subgroup of the superordinate category of University of Queensland students.) In this study, the superordinate level would be the international Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its attendant doctrine taught by role models who serve in the Church’s hierarchical leadership. There are undoubtedly several subgroup affiliations for Cache Valley women, but one category might be individual congregations (wards) to which each woman is assigned. Another may be those who consciously or subconsciously affiliate or identify with the unattainable culturally determined ideal of the perfect LDS woman.

Hornsey and Hogg (2000) observed the potential impact of social identity threat on subgroups and noted, “Social harmony is most likely to be achieved by maintaining, not weakening, subgroup identities, provided they are nested within a coherent superordinate identity” (p. 143). For LDS women living in Cache Valley, social harmony might be preserved by maintaining and perpetuating gender roles and behavioral ideals that are found in their subgroups. These gender expectations may be unique from other LDS wards around the world and even LDS women in general if cultural infiltration occurs because so many residents are LDS.

Hornsey and Hogg (2000) said individuals are seeking to avoid identity threat by preserving and promoting their distinctiveness (p. 145). Because there are so many

members of the LDS Church living in Cache Valley, women may feel pressure to demonstrate their uniqueness in some way to preserve their social identity from being swallowed up in the broader group identity of just being LDS. Identity threat can be a powerful motivator.

Perceived threat accentuates subgroup solidarity, sharpens intergroup boundaries, . . . inhibits superordinate group identification, and produces a more focused and polarized ingroup prototype that renders the subgroup more orthodox with a more hierarchical leadership and power structure. (Hornsey & Hogg, p. 145)

In this study, the subgroup affiliation becomes important if women try to adhere to the ideals of the perfect LDS woman; intergroup boundaries may be sharpened because women striving to be the perfect LDS woman can delineate themselves from other women who are just “regular” Mormons, and superordinate group identification would be inhibited because women begin to conform and relate to their own expectations that are even more stringent than the Church’s teachings. The orthodox prototype as found in Mormon culture may indeed be the unattainable ideal of the perfect LDS woman. Hornsey and Jetten (2004) said, “By joining groups that have a strong sense of cohesiveness but also pride themselves on being different, group members can emphasize their sense of (in-group) belonging at the same time as promoting (intergroup) distinctiveness” (p. 252). Women who are trying to be the ideal LDS woman could have a sense of in-group belonging because they associate with other female members of the Church and may try to find their distinctiveness by setting themselves a notch above doctrinal expectations.

As religion becomes deeply imbedded in social structure, it can also become a social comfort zone. In exploring changes in LDS women's roles, Iannaccone and Miles (1990) said:

Church members recognize the costs associated with their church's demands, but nevertheless accede to them as long as they are outweighed by perceived benefits. These benefits take many forms, such as status, fellowship, psychological comfort, opportunities for service, and hope of salvation. When a church's benefits and costs are long standing and well-known, we can reasonably assume its members believe that the former outweigh the latter. (p. 1234)

Perfectionism Theory

Perfectionism theory also applies to this study. Hewitt and Flett (1991) identified three overarching categories of perfectionism research: self-oriented, where individuals set ultra-high standards for themselves; other-oriented, where individuals expect others to be perfect; and socially prescribed, where individuals believe others have perfectionistic expectations of them (p. 457). Although all three components are viable, socially prescribed perfectionism (Campbell & DiPaula, 2002; Flett, Hewitt, Shapiro, & Rayman, 2002) provides the most relevant component of perfectionism theory for this study as we look at women's perceptions of expectations that come from their leaders.

Socially prescribed perfectionism revolves around "the belief that others have high expectations for the self" and "the perception that one's acceptance by others is conditional on attaining superior performance" (Campbell & DiPaula, 2002, p. 187; see also Habke & Flynn, 2002).

These beliefs can have a powerful impact on behavior. Ellis (2002) wrote:

Their main condition for being a 'good person' is notable achievement, and to be a 'better person' than others requires outstanding achievement. . . . Perfectionists,

then, tend to be highly conditional self-acceptors who base their worth as persons on hypercompetitively besting others. (p. 226)

Hewitt and Flett (1991) suggested that perfectionists tend to engage in “setting unrealistic standards and striving to attain these standards, selective attention to and overgeneralization of failure, stringent self-evaluations, and a tendency to engage in all-or-none thinking whereby *only* total success or total failure exist as outcomes” (p. 456).

In addition to general motivations LDS women in Cache Valley may experience to affiliate with the dominant religious group, perfectionistic individual members of the religion may feel pressure from other LDS women they associate with or even create their own pressure for overachievement of gender ideals. If LDS women seek to express themselves by exemplifying talents, skills, or behaviors that are above and beyond Church doctrine requirements, they may begin to create and embrace a culture of their own—Mormon culture and the culture of the ideal Mormon woman.

Marleen Williams, professor of counseling psychology at LDS Church-owned Brigham Young University, said tenets of perfectionism theory

explain some of the external focus on overachievement and competitiveness in women. I don't believe that they are an LDS cultural phenomenon but rather more of a female vulnerability that gets enacted in an LDS context with LDS women (baking better cookies instead of competing for the highest level promotion at work). You see similar problems in other group cultures played with different issues. (personal communication, November 11, 2005)

Laurel Carter (personal communication, January 26, 2006), a licensed marriage and family therapist and director of the Family Institute of Northern Utah, said some LDS women “feel very pressured to look like they're fitting the culture. Their personal expectation is they're supposed to do everything right and do everything that looks good.” Carter is a member of the LDS Church and practices mental health therapy in

Logan, the largest city in Cache Valley. She estimates that 80% of her female clients are members of the religion.

These self-imposed pressures can strangle those who feel they don't measure up to either cultural or doctrinal expectations. In a study on Mormon and Protestant women and depression, Williams (1993) said that 10 of 10 mildly depressed Mormon women reported "conflicts between internal values and cultural expectations. Most of these centered around 'socially unacceptable' problems, inability to live idealized standards, interpretation of religious doctrine or gender role conflicts" (p. 46).

Carter applied the Mormon culture context:

Women that have a real strong personal spiritual belief based on their religion not on their culture can really work through . . . their trials much quicker than people that only have cultural belief instead. But just living in the culture without the personal belief is not very helpful. It can probably even be worse. . . . You're living something you don't really understand or believe and then it gets all whacked out. (personal communication, March 26, 2006)

Perfectionism theory raises questions about where LDS women living in Mormon culture get their gender role standards. Is it from the Church's doctrine? Is it from expectations they create for themselves? Is it from expectations they glean from observing other LDS women in the community? This study applies these questions in the context of Mormon culture in Cache Valley. My research is new in this area because it identifies the level of importance LDS women living in LDS culture place on specific personal characteristics and behaviors that contribute to the concept of the ideal Mormon woman.

Framing Theory

Framing has been defined from psychological and sociological perspectives in diverse ways. The definition of a frame that is most appropriate for this study is, “A central organizing principle that holds together and gives coherence and meaning to a diverse array of symbols” (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992, p. 384). Entman (1993) defined framing thus: “*To select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described” (p. 52, italics in original). Communicators may make some information more relevant through placement, repetition, or association with culturally familiar symbols (p. 53).

Framing theory states that media have the power to tell the public *how* to think about whatever issues the media bring to their attention (Iyengar, 1991; Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997; Valkenburg, Semetko, & De Vreese, 1999). In this study I am interested in identifying frames that reside in the text—the *Ensign* articles. There are texts and underlying subtexts, while an entire set of texts may have an “even more invisible metamessage” (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 381).

Researchers must not make the mistake of assuming that readers recognize, follow, or accept the framing as presented. Gamson et al. reminded us that researchers will find “various kinds of oppositional and negotiated readings of cultural texts” (p. 375). Those oppositional and negotiated readings occur in part because readers have frames in their own perceptions. They come to the table with their own experiences,

biases, knowledge, preferences, and dominant ideologies (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Valenti & Stout, 1996; Wilkins & Downing, 2002). Frames also exist within the communicator and in the culture (Entman, 1993). Frames reside in different places, but this study focuses on framing found in the text.

Reading and rereading seven years of monthly *Ensign* articles will help identify what messages are overtly being presented to women, and what other themes and patterns also appear. Framing research in the *Ensign* has interesting implications because the leaders of the Church directly oversee how and what is presented. There are no outside advertisers that might influence content or framing.

Research Questions

In an effort to better understand the concept of the ideal LDS woman, identify what messages Church leaders are sending to women through its official magazine, the *Ensign*, and to learn about women's perceptions regarding how important cultural and doctrinal items are to their leaders and to themselves personally, the research questions for this study are:

1. How was the image of the ideal LDS woman presented in visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks printed in the *Ensign* from November 2000 to December 2007?

Visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks are vital sources of communication because all LDS women are expected to read these forums where Church leaders provide guidance and insight on women's gender roles and expectations. I focused on November 2000 through December 2007 in order to include

the greatest number of General Conference Relief Society reports and to analyze the Church's most recent teachings. Additionally, Vance's (2002) study analyzed a century of gender ideals for LDS women as printed in the *Ensign* through 1999. This study builds on her efforts by picking up where her study ended and expanding on her work to provide a much more in-depth analysis of modern messages.

The years 2000 to 2007 also provide a unique window for examination of women's roles under the leadership of the prophet Gordon B. Hinckley (March 1995 to January 2008) and of Sheri Dew (April 1997 to April 2002), the first single woman to serve in the General Relief Society Presidency of the Church. Mormons revered Hinckley as their prophet and therefore strived to follow his counsel until he died January 27, 2008, and the position was assumed by Thomas S. Monson. The answers to this question will provide the foundation against which to compare LDS women's perceptions of what the doctrine teaches and will help determine whether other subtle and possibly unintended messages exist in the *Ensign's* content.

2. What do LDS women living in Cache Valley say the Church's doctrine teaches about women's gender roles?

- a. Do different age groups respond differently?
- b. Do women of different marital statuses respond differently?
- c. Do differences in responses correlate with use of and/or exposure to visiting teaching messages? If so, how?
- d. Do differences in responses correlate with exposure to General Conference Relief Society talks? If so, how?

Answers to this question will provide insight into whether LDS women recognize what the doctrine teaches about gender roles. In the context of this study, it is important to look at whether LDS women know the doctrine but try to uphold different cultural standards, or think the doctrinal and cultural standards are the same. With this question, I am investigating LDS women's *perceptions* of what the doctrine teaches, as opposed to what the doctrine teaches.

As noted, older women have lived through eras of more conservative gender roles for women in LDS Church doctrine and in society. I anticipate that their responses will differ from those of younger women, who have grown up in a mildly more progressive era and who have been exposed at a more impressionable age to the example of LDS Church leader Sheri Dew.

In addition, because the LDS Church highly values marriage and family, there may be a delineation in responses and opinions that correlates with marital status. For example, those who are married may feel more pressure to succeed in homemaking skills such as keeping a clean house and being a good cook than single women, who may excuse themselves from the role because they are not married and therefore do not find it necessary to practice those skills. Perhaps married women will place less emphasis on pursuing advanced education because they feel they have succeeded by having a husband who will provide for them, while single women may place a higher emphasis on the importance of pursuing advanced education. This is not to suggest that the doctrine changes according to marital status, but instead that women might perceive it differently or focus on different aspects of it based on their marital status.

Differences in responses that correlate with exposure to visiting teaching messages and/or General Conference Relief Society talks may shed light on the women's use of the two channels of communication, and provide illumination about whether the messages taught in the *Ensign* factor significantly in women's perceptions about how important doctrinal concepts are to their leaders.

3. How do LDS women living in Cache Valley define the ideal Mormon woman and her gender roles?

a. Do different age groups respond differently?

b. Do women of different marital statuses respond differently?

c. Do differences in responses correlate with use of and/or exposure to visiting teaching messages? If so, how?

d. Do differences in responses correlate with exposure to General Conference Relief Society talks? If so, how?

Both cultural and doctrinal teachings may influence women's perceptions about the ideal Mormon woman and their gender role expectations. This question is designed to help gain insight into these perceptions and whether age, marital status, and exposure to Church teachings through visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks correlate with those perceptions. For instance, I may find different cultural definitions of the ideal Mormon woman according to age groups because action and artifacts representing culture may have shifted over time. Mitchell (2005) wrote, "Religious traditions provide a wealth of cultural data from different sorts of values, lifestyles, expected behavior and decorum to different architectural styles, religious paraphernalia, memorials and calendars of sacred events" (p. 6). For example, while

women ages 20-29 may place more emphasis on daily scripture study or temple attendance as actions that define the ideal LDS woman, women ages 50-59 may instead emphasize homemaking skills such as cooking, canning fruits and vegetables, or keeping house as indicators of the ideal LDS woman because of the way gender expectations have shifted over time, parallel with both Church teachings and broader cultural gender expectations outside the religion.

Marital status may also correlate with responses. Single women may exhibit greater inclusiveness and flexibility in their definition of the ideal LDS woman because they have negotiated their own perceptions about their self-worth and marital status within the boundaries of Church doctrine that emphasizes marriage and family. Married women may have a narrower definition of the ideal LDS woman, focusing more on the importance of being married or having children. They may extend that definition to include the behavior of their children or grandchildren as a reflection on them. Again, difference in responses that correlates with exposure to visiting teaching messages and/or General Conference Relief Society talks may shed light on the women's use of the two channels of communication, and provide insight into whether the messages taught in the *Ensign* factor significantly in women's perceptions about how important doctrinal concepts are to them personally.

4. How do the findings from the deductive and inductive framing analyses of *Ensign* articles, what LDS women in Cache Valley say the doctrine teaches about women's gender roles, and how these women define the ideal Mormon woman and her gender roles compare?

As I compare the results of the deductive and inductive framing analyses to what the women *think* the Church leaders are teaching about gender roles, and then to how they themselves define the ideal Mormon woman and her gender roles, the observations may provide insight into social identity and perfectionism theory applications. Additionally, results may provide information about what dominant themes and messages are being taught longitudinally, whether visiting teaching and General Conference Relief Society messages make a significant difference in women's perceptions, and how those perceptions compare to what is being taught.

METHODS

Deductive and Inductive Framing Analyses

To answer Research Question 1 and to help answer Research Question 4, I conducted a deductive framing analysis paired with an inductive framing analysis of monthly visiting teaching messages and of talks given by Church leaders in annual worldwide General Conference Relief Society meetings, all of which were published in the *Ensign*. In this study, the deductive framing analysis was a quantitative content analysis. The analyses were done to identify major themes and patterns about women's gender roles presented in the doctrine.

Visiting teaching messages are specifically for women and are provided by the General Relief Society Presidency. The messages usually quote Church leaders and scriptures and address a variety of topics designed to help women improve themselves. As discussed previously, this channel of communication seems to indicate high priority to Church leaders because the message is read, taught, and discussed, ideally by every adult female member of the Church.

All LDS women are encouraged to attend or listen to the General Conference Relief Society meetings, which are held the last Saturday of September. They are also asked to subsequently study the talks, which are printed verbatim in the November issue of the *Ensign*. General Conference Relief Society messages are given by members of the General Relief Society Presidency and by at least one member of the First Presidency of the Church.

To facilitate analysis of the *Ensign* messages, I developed a codebook that “predefine[ed] certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94). I began to develop the codebook of items by analyzing three independent LDS films and conducting two focus groups with LDS women who lived in Cache Valley.

First, I examined films that provided examples of Mormon culture and stereotypical female gender roles found in Mormon culture: *The Singles Ward* (Hunter & Hale, 2002), *The R. M.* (Hunter & Hale, 2003), and *Pride and Prejudice* (Faller & Black, 2003). Independent LDS films do not represent doctrine of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. They have no official tie to the formal organization and are not endorsed or funded by the Church. It is relevant to acknowledge the ways in which LDS filmmakers portray and lampoon cultural artifacts pertaining to female gender roles in films about their own religious culture because their portrayals mock the extreme orthodox prototype of LDS femininity. Although not everyone sees LDS women this way, by lampooning the ideal LDS woman in their films, filmmakers are acknowledging that the concept of the ideal LDS woman exists either in reality or in the minds of their viewers. I watched each film twice and created a list of cultural identifiers, stereotypes, and vocabulary that reflected gender roles and expectations of LDS women (see Appendix A). These items were used to help create the content analysis codebook.

Second, I conducted two focus groups to gain insight into the perception of the ideal Mormon woman within the dominant LDS culture found in Cache Valley. Participants provided a lengthy list of identifiers including cultural artifacts, speech, and action that represent the ideal Mormon woman. For this study, cultural artifacts are

defined as physical objects that represent religious or cultural significance to a particular group. Examples of speech include words or references unique to the organization that give members a sense of exclusivity or inside knowledge: “a commonality of experience, discourse, and interpretive frameworks” (Lepter & Lindlof, 2001, p. 219). Religious communities “usually develop around a set of texts whose symbolic potency is either well-known and easily decoded . . . or closely bounded and enigmatic to outsiders (as in subcultures)” (p. 219). These shared artifacts, speech, and action represent shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices.

A total of 15 women participated and, through written survey answers and the discussion that followed, generated 140 identifying characteristics of the ideal LDS woman. Those characteristics were then classified into the following categories: cultural artifacts, family, homemaking skills, personality traits, physical characteristics, random items, spiritual characteristics, and religiously motivated actions (see Appendix B). The quantitative analysis was conducted after developing the codebook from the items identified through the films and focus groups.

The inductive framing analysis involved reading and rereading each article to identify common themes that may have been missed in the quantitative examination. I examined articles from November 2000 through December 2007. The study included 104 articles comprised of 33 General Conference messages and 71 visiting teaching messages. The article was the unit of analysis.

The 72 items in the codebook were divided into seven general categories to make the approach to coding more organized and logical (see Appendix C). These categories are not to be interpreted as concrete because, although they and their assigned items were

reviewed many times before the codebook was finalized, the assignment of codebook items was ultimately subjective.

The categories were: Family (12 items addressing marital status and relationships with spouse and children), Homemaking (seven items identifying traditional homemaking skills and other concepts dealing with the home), Personality Traits of the Women (five items gleaned from the lengthy list of traits provided by early focus group discussion), Physical Characteristics of the Women (two items identifying self-care and modesty), Spiritual Characteristics of the Women (16 items similar to personality traits but delineated in a way that identifies those characteristics that align with spirituality), Religiously Motivated Actions (20 items identifying actions that may be spiritual or religious in nature), and Other Doctrinal Concepts (10 items covering matters of doctrine that didn't logically fall in another category).

To begin the analysis, I trained two assistants, one who was a member of the LDS Church and one who was a member of another faith. We randomly selected 20 articles from the pool of 104, coded them, and discussed our responses. I adjusted the codebook and retrained the coders. We repeated the process two times, each time with a newly selected sample of 20 articles. We used Holsti's formula on each round of coding until intercoder reliability was 90% or higher for all closed-ended items. I then coded all 104 articles.

Surveys

To answer Research Questions 2 and 3 and to help address Research Question 4, I conducted surveys of women who are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-

day Saints and live in Cache Valley, Utah. The survey was based on items from the content analysis codebook and from responses given by the women in the focus groups. It was designed to explore LDS women's perceptions of LDS doctrine, their gender roles, and their definitions of the ideal Mormon woman (see Appendix D).

Survey respondents rated a variety of characteristics and actions according to how important they thought LDS Church leaders would say the items were. The scale used was 1 to 5, with 1 being very important; 2, important; 3, neither important nor unimportant; 4, unimportant; and 5, very unimportant. Ten weeks before full distribution of the survey, it was pretested by 12 women of different ages and marital statuses who lived in different areas of Cache Valley.

Women living in Cache Valley were surveyed because they would more likely struggle with or be exposed to Mormon culture than others who live outside geographic areas with such high concentrations of members of the Church. As mentioned previously, most recent statistics indicate that 80.5% of Cache County residents belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (American Religion Data Archive, 2002). Logan, population 43,675 ("Subcounty Population," 2000), is the largest northernmost city in the state of Utah, and home to Utah State University and the largest LDS Institute of Religion in the Church. The Institute is a center for religious instruction for young adults ages 18-30 and also provides classes for adults 31 and older. In addition, Logan is the county seat of Cache Valley, an agricultural area that is relatively secluded and insulated from larger metropolitan areas and influences. Many residents trace their ancestry to early Mormon pioneers who settled in Utah and in Cache Valley specifically.

To achieve a representation of women of different ages and marital statuses (single [defined as never married], married, divorced/separated, and widowed), I used a stratified sample of four university wards and 27 family wards. Single LDS students who attend Utah State University are organized into their own wards. Because of the large number of university wards, which have large Relief Societies with strong attendance, I stratified the sample so the students would not overweight the sample with single women ages 18-30. Family wards include women of all ages and marital statuses, although there is an extremely low number of single women ages 18-30 because they usually attend a university ward.

I obtained two comprehensive alphabetical lists: one for the 186 family wards and one for the 70 single adult and university wards in Cache Valley. Branches, or church congregations that are smaller than wards, were omitted because they usually contain special populations such as nursing home residents and Spanish-language groups. Family wards were selected randomly by using a random numbers table to select a starting point, and then selecting every fifth entry. I intentionally oversampled in case wards refused to participate or because of potential scheduling conflicts. The wards were then contacted in random order to avoid skew that might have been introduced because the original listing was alphabetical so those earlier in the alphabet would have had a higher chance of being selected. The same process was used to select a pool from Cache Valley's single adult and university wards.

I called a regional Church leader, and was told the church has a strict policy against research being conducted during church meetings (personal communication, February 15, 2008). I received permission to have a researcher or ward member make an

announcement at church to inform women they had been randomly selected to participate in a research study. At the end of the meeting I could make the survey and a postage-paid envelope available to them. They could take a survey if they chose to, fill it out at home, and mail it.

I contacted the bishop of each ward selected to explain the project, coordinate dates, and get contact information for the Relief Society and Primary (children's organization) president in each ward. Since a majority of teachers in the Primary are adult women, I wanted to make sure they were included even though they were not in Relief Society where the researcher would be making the announcement. On Sundays, researchers took copies of the survey, a letter of information (see Appendix E), and a typed announcement (see Appendix F) to Primary leaders and to adult women leaders in the Young Women's organization (who oversee young women ages 12-17). Because there are usually a maximum of seven adults who work with the young women, I did not coordinate with them in advance. The researcher then visited each Relief Society, made the announcement (see Appendix G) at the beginning of the meeting, and made surveys available after the meeting.

I trained three LDS female researchers and we visited 31 wards over the course of 6 weeks. The anonymous responses were mailed to the university's Department of Journalism and Communication, where I retrieved them. Of the approximately 926 surveys distributed to women in Relief Society, 642 were returned for a response rate of 69.3%.¹

¹ An additional 256 copies were given to Primary and Young Women's presidents to distribute to women who teach youth instead of attending Relief Society. There was no way to ensure the copies were

All surveys received on or before April 7 were included in the study. The cut-off receipt date was determined because the Church's semiannual General Conference is held the first weekend in April. It was possible that exposure to conference messages would impact women's responses even though the General Conference Relief Society meeting is held in September.²

To answer components of the research questions regarding exposure to visiting teaching and General Conference Relief Society messages, it was necessary to create a variable to represent the level of exposure the women had to those messages. For visiting teaching messages, the survey only asked about the women's exposure to the articles during the last year. The message is published 10 months of the year, and women recorded how many months they shared the message, heard the message, or read the message. The highest possible score was 30, with one point per month for each of the three avenues of exposure. The scale for visiting teaching message exposure was: 0-10 = low exposure, 11-20 = medium exposure, and 21-30 = high exposure.

Women were asked about their exposure to conference messages from 2000 through 2007 but many chose not to provide information for the years before 2005, possibly because they were unsure or could not remember. Thus, for the General Conference exposure variable, only the data for 2005 through 2007 was included. Respondents received a 1 for each year they participated in conference either by attending in Salt Lake City, watching the broadcast, or reading the messages later in the *Ensign*. They were assigned a 75 representing "no response" for any year they left blank.

distributed or that the announcement was read. It is likely that many of the surveys were not distributed, but if they were, the adjusted survey return rate would be 54.3%.

² Forty-eight responses were received after the cut-off date.

If the women responded to all three years, they were included in the final calculations because they could be categorized by exposure. They were omitted if they did not respond to one or more years because their exposure to the messages could not be accurately determined. The scale used was: 0-1, low exposure; 2, medium exposure; and 3, high exposure.

I entered the responses to closed-ended items into SPSS and recorded the answers to open-ended questions in a word-processing program. I took a random sample of 15% of the responses to double-check data entry accuracy. Out of those 96 surveys and 13,824 data entries, I made 7 mistakes for 99.95% accuracy.

RESULTS

Deductive and Inductive Framing Analyses

The analysis of visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks printed in the *Ensign* reflected many suggestions for not only women's spirituality, but also their actions and the core of who they are. In a Relief Society General Conference talk in 2006, Relief Society General President Bonnie D. Parkin said, "We must make every effort to follow His [Jesus Christ's] supreme example—to demonstrate such love through our thoughts, our speech, our actions—in all the things we do and are" (p. 110). The analysis and framing suggested there are many things for LDS women to do and be.

The number of articles in which each codebook item appeared is found in Table A.1, with breakouts for monthly visiting teaching messages and annual General Conference Relief Society talks. With the idea that some women might more highly value either monthly visiting teaching messages or annual General Conference Relief Society talks (which was later confirmed by survey responses) and that the two might emphasize different messages, I separated the article types and looked at frequencies within each. In some instances, the differences in frequencies between the two categories were sizeable.

Family

Considering the Church's emphasis on marriage and family, it is not surprising that when looking at all 104 articles, being married was the most frequently mentioned marital status (44.2%) and that mother and/or motherhood was mentioned in 53.8% of the

articles (see Table A.1). Forty-two of 46 articles that mentioned being a wife also talked about being a mother, but 14 articles mentioned mothers or motherhood without mentioning being a wife. Little attention was paid to those who are divorced (divorce was acknowledged in 6.7% of the articles), to widows (12.5%), and to grandmothers (14.4%). Single women who have never married were recognized in 25.0% of the articles.

Suggestions or tips for building a strong marriage relationship were only mentioned in 5.8%. Spending time with family and holding Family Home Evening also ranked low, with 6.7 and 9.6%, respectively. (The Church has officially designated Monday nights for Family Home Evening, a program dedicated to activities and education within the family.)

The concept of teaching children ranked highly—35.6% of the articles referred to it—and the responsibility of teaching children was not limited to wives and mothers. Seventeen of 26 articles that mentioned single women also talked about teaching children. These numbers suggested framing that emphasized the importance of motherhood, even to the point that although women are single and have no children, they can still fill a motherly role by teaching youth. In a poignant example of the Church's doctrinal emphasis on motherhood, Sheri Dew devoted a conference address to the topic under the title "Are We Not All Mothers?" She said: "As daughters of our Heavenly Father, we are all mothers and we have always been mothers. And we each have the responsibility to love and help lead the rising generation" (2001, p. 97).

When conference talks and visiting teaching messages are analyzed separately and frequencies compared, results are much higher in conference talks. Being a wife was mentioned in 75.8% of conference articles and 29.6% of visiting teaching messages.

Being a mother and/or motherhood was mentioned in 93.9% of the General Conference articles and 35.2% of the visiting teaching messages. Other marital statuses were mentioned more often in conference talks as well, sometimes in a list form. For example, in a General Conference Relief Society talk, Pingree (2002) said, “It matters not whether we are new converts or lifelong members; single, married, divorced, or widowed. . .” (p. 108). However, divorce was never mentioned in a visiting teaching message. Being a widow was mentioned twice and being a grandmother was mentioned three times.

One General Conference talk subtly warned women not to judge others by their family status. Hughes (2002) said:

It’s important for us to realize that there is no one way that a righteous family looks. Some righteous families have two parents, but sometimes, through death or divorce, there is only one. Some righteous families have many children, and other families, at least for the moment, have none. Most members are single for part of their lives, but Elder Marvin J. Ashton taught us that God and one are a family. (p. 106)

Homemaking

Although independent LDS films and focus group members were quick to point out homemaking skills as a vital part of the ideal Mormon woman’s persona, they were hardly mentioned in the doctrine (see Table A.1). Canning fruits or vegetables was mentioned once in the 104 articles, cleaning four times, cooking six times, and gardening twice. Making crafts—a broad description that included any type of handwork, painting, or scrapbooks—was mentioned in seven articles. Only 14.4% of articles mentioned one or more items in the homemaking category.

When the articles were divided by type, and frequencies compared, homemaking skills were rarely mentioned in either—five articles mentioned one or more items in 71 visiting teaching messages and 10 of 33 conference addresses mentioned one or more items. These topics were more frequently addressed in conference talks, and usually in passing or in jest. Bonnie D. Parkin, president of the Church’s worldwide Relief Society, said, “I need to somehow find the laundry room floor, empty my in-box, and serve my husband something other than cold pizza” (2003, p. 104).

In retrospect, one item in this category doesn’t seem to fit: the concept of making the home a safe haven. It was placed in this category because of the reference to the home, but further examination indicated that the context was a bit different than standard homemaking skills. This item focused more on creating a peaceful home environment that is a refuge and strength to the family and appeared in 23.1% of the articles.

Personality Traits

Although there were only five items in the personality traits category, 88.5% of the 104 articles referenced one or more of them (see Table A.1). They were: compassionate (14.4%), courageous (32.7%), having a positive attitude (67.3%), kind (26.9%), and patient (18.3%). One or more of these items was found in 97.0% of conference addresses and 84.5% of visiting teaching messages.

Having a positive attitude was the highest ranking item in this category and second highest ranking of all items in all categories, just behind having faith, which was found in 71.2%. It was a broad category because its definition in the codebook was “anything to do with a positive attitude or outlook, being cheerful, joyful, hopeful, happy,

or optimistic. Include the word ‘delight.’” In looking at conference talks only, having a positive attitude jumped to a frequency of 81.8%.

Physical Characteristics of the Women

The physical characteristics category contained only two items, which were intended to identify counsel regarding care of the physical body and modesty. The first item, self-care, included direction about good health such as exercising, eating healthy, and getting enough sleep. One of 104 articles mentioned self-care. The second item, modesty, included any direction about physical grooming, cleanliness, and appropriate dress. Eleven articles referred to modesty.

The Spiritual Life

The 34 items that constituted the spiritual life component of the codebook were organized under two subheadings: Spiritual Characteristics of the Women, which intended to identify spiritual attributes, and Religiously Motivated Actions, a distinction that focused on directives or instructions about tasks that should be accomplished. The doctrine reflected an overwhelming emphasis on the spiritual life: 96.2% of the 104 articles mentioned one or more spiritual characteristics and 97.1% mentioned one or more religiously motivated actions.

Inner Spiritual Characteristics of the Women

One item in the Inner Spiritual Characteristics section of the codebook appeared in the top 10 most commonly occurring items overall (see Table A.2): faith. Faith was the highest ranking item of all, with 71.2% of all articles referencing having faith in God.

Spiritual items that appeared in 20% or more of the articles were: having or being at peace (32.7%); acting Christlike or following Christ's example (33.7%); gaining, having, or building a testimony (29.8%); being humble or having humility (26.0%); charity (26.9%); and being a good example (20.2%).

When I separated the General Conference addresses and visiting teaching messages, the most frequently mentioned items overall appeared more frequently in conference addresses (see Table A.2). Having faith was found in 87.9% of conference addresses versus 63.4% of visiting teaching messages; testimony in 60.6% versus 15.5%; Christlike thoughts/behavior in 54.5% versus 23.9%; and charity, being a good example, humble, and having peace, 42.4% versus 19.7%, 9.9%, 18.3%, and 28.2%, respectively. When looking at conference addresses only, three additional items appeared in more than 20% of the articles: forgiving others, 21.2%; accepting and not judging others, 24.2%; and virtuous, 33.3%. No additional items appeared in 20% or more of the visiting teaching messages.

Looking at all articles, the two lowest scoring items in this category were not being perfect (4.8%) and leading a balanced life (6.7%). Four conference talks and one visiting teaching message acknowledged or told women directly that they did not need to be perfect. During the time period examined, November 2000 through December 2007, the concept of not being perfect remained unmentioned until November 2003 (Hinckley, 114). In a visiting teaching message, Elder Joseph B. Wirthlin, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles ("Serving and Supporting," 2006), said:

The Church is not a place where perfect people gather to say perfect things, or have perfect thoughts, or have perfect feelings. The Church is a place where

imperfect people gather to provide encouragement, support, and service to each other. (p. 53)

Seven articles acknowledged the idea of having balance in one's life by mentioning taking care of individual physical, emotional, spiritual, and mental needs, or any combination of those; juggling many responsibilities; or being well-rounded. However, even the articles that said women did not need to be perfect or that they should have a balanced life provided lengthy lists of things to be or do. These lists are explored in a later section, "Lists of Instruction."

One inductive frame that emerged is that if women have faith and obey the commandments (the latter was mentioned in 61.5% of articles) they will be happy. Smoot (2000) said, "If we want to experience the inexpressible joy of gospel living and feel of Christ's atoning mercies, obedience to all, and not just a select few, of God's commandments is the only way" (p. 90). Dew (2000) said if women

live like disciples of Christ should live, . . . others will be drawn to us because we are 'distinct and different—in happy ways,' . . . Happy about the way we've chosen to live, happy because we're not constantly reshaping our selves in the world's image, happy because we have 'the gift and the power of the Holy Ghost; (1 Ne. 13:37), happy to stand tall so that we will stand out. (p. 96)

Although most articles did not contain an oversimplified formula that "having faith plus being obedient equals happiness," all three concepts appeared together in 30.8% of the articles. That percentage combined with the frequent occurrence of these three items individually may have implied that message.

In these articles there were few acknowledgments that there may be times women are doing all they can but still feel unhappy. One word of counsel that broached the subject was found in a visiting teaching message ("Feeling the Love of the Lord through

Exercising Faith,” 2004) in a quote by Elder Richard G. Scott, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. “Don’t look for a life virtually free from discomfort, pain, pressure, challenge, or grief, for those are the tools a loving Father uses to stimulate our personal growth and understanding” (p. 65).

Religiously Motivated Actions

Five of 18 closed-ended items in the Religiously Motivated Actions section of the codebook appeared in the top 10 most commonly occurring items overall (see Table A.2). Praying and/or prayer was mentioned in 63.5% of the articles; obedience and keeping covenants or commandments in 61.5%; serving others in 58.7%; studying scriptures in 41.3%; and attending the temple or temple work in 37.5%. In many instances, more than one of these items is mentioned together. For example, Parkin (2002) said, “The spiritual integrity to keep our covenants comes from consistency in scripture study, prayer, service, and sacrifice” (p. 105). One other religiously motivated action appeared in 20% or more of the articles: attends church meetings (20.2%).

In several examples, readers were reminded of the Bible’s parable of the 10 virgins where five women were prepared by having oil in their lamps and five women were foolish because they did not have enough to provide light while they waited outside to be invited into an evening wedding feast with the Bridegroom, who symbolizes Christ. In one quote alone, seven items from the codebook were used and all except one (teaching gospel principles) were in the Religiously Motivated Actions category. The women were reminded (“Prepare to Be Strong,” 2003):

The oil of preparation is accumulated drop by drop through daily righteous living. Consistently attending sacrament meetings adds oil to our lamps. So too will

fasting, praying individually and as a family, controlling our bodily appetites, teaching gospel principles, nourishing and nurturing, watching over one another, studying the scriptures. . . keeping the commandments and following the words of the prophet. (p. 65)

When General Conference addresses and visiting teaching messages were separated, all of the highest ranking items overall except keeping covenants appeared more frequently in conference addresses (see Table A.2). Praying or prayer was found in 87.9% of conference addresses versus 52.1% of visiting teaching messages; serving others in 84.8% versus 46.5%; attending the temple or temple work in 63.6% versus 25.4%; and scripture study in 57.6% versus 33.8%. When looking at conference addresses only, six additional items appeared in 20% or more of the articles: fasting (24.2%), magnifies calling (33.3%), missionary work (42.4%), pays tithing (21.2%), talents (24.2%), and visiting teaching (48.5%).

In one example of religiously motivated actions being taught in conference addresses, Pingree (2005) listed five in one sentence: “My first lesson in the process of becoming an instrument in God’s hand had been to search the scriptures, fast, pray, attend the temple, and live faithful to the covenants I had made in the house of the Lord” (pp. 113-114). In many instances where articles mentioned actions such as prayer, scripture study, and service, women were told they should be done daily (see Hughes, 2004; “Prepare Youth,” 2003; “Putting on the Whole,” 2001).

Serving others was a religiously motivated action that I examined carefully for several reasons. First, many of the focus group responses included a variety of service-oriented responses. Second, the concept is complex and broad because service can take different forms, including serving physical needs; serving spiritual, mental, and

emotional needs; and serving community. Third, from the Church's very beginnings there were foundational directives about serving both physical and spiritual needs of others. Smoot (2000) said, "The Prophet Joseph [Smith], who organized the Relief Society in 1842, made it clear that the purpose of this divinely inspired organization was to not only 'relieve the poor, but to save souls' (*History of the Church*, 5:25)" (p. 90).

The articles gave many illustrations of numerous ways women can and should consider serving. Hughes (2003) mentioned checking on an elderly neighbor, encouraging a young mother, and including another family in our prayers. She also said, "If we are truly sisters, we should know each other's needs" (p. 109). Hinckley (2003b) said, "May you reach down to lift up those whose burdens are heavy" (p.115). Smoot (2000) said women of Relief Society had donated 140,000 quilts in the previous year to help those in distress. She added, "We have championed motherhood and the family, waged war against illiteracy, and rendered untold hours of service throughout the world" (p. 90). President Hinckley was quoted in a 2006 visiting teaching message ("Serving and Supporting"):

Who. . . can fathom the uncountable acts of charity that have been performed, the food that has been put on barren tables, the faith that has been nurtured in desperate hours of illness, the wounds that have been bound up, the pains that have been ameliorated by loving hands and quiet and reassuring words, the comfort that has been extended in times of death and consequent loneliness. (p. 53)

In part due to strong focus group responses, I anticipated that the religiously motivated actions doing genealogy work and doing visiting teaching would occur frequently in this study. However, genealogy was mentioned in just 4.8% of the total

articles. Visiting teaching appeared in 19.2% of the articles, and 16 of those 20 references were in conference addresses.

Other Doctrinal Concepts

This smattering of concepts provided additional insight into other doctrine that may impact women's perceptions. First, teaching about the atonement of Jesus Christ, through which divine forgiveness of sins is made possible, appeared in 28.8% of the sample. Teachings about the healing power of God were found in 17.3% of the articles, and God's forgiveness of our sins was found in 8.7%. Avoiding debt was referenced in 6.7% of the sample.

Procuring food storage for emergency preparedness, which was common in the focus group responses and found in independent LDS films, only appeared in 4.8% of articles. The Word of Wisdom, the Church's directive to avoid addiction by not drinking alcohol, doing drugs, or smoking, was found in 2.9%. References to education, going to school, or literacy efforts appeared in 15.4% of the sample. However, in some instances articles encouraged women to get their education, not so they could have a career, but just in case they don't end up being a full-time mother or if something happens to their husband and they are required to become the breadwinner (see Hinckley, 2006, p. 116). For example, Monson (2001) said:

Statistics reveal that at some time, because of the illness or death of your husband or because of economic necessity, you may find yourself in the role of financial provider. I urge you to pursue your education and learn marketable skills so that, should an emergency arise, you are prepared to provide. (p. 99)

Inductive Framing Considerations

Chronological Themes

Building on the deductive content analysis in the previous section, I examined each year's messages to identify themes in the context of leaders' directives about women's roles and expectations. I examined themes that were incorporated each year as an overarching framework for visiting teaching messages and themes that could be identified in each year's General Conference Relief Society meetings. Where those themes existed in visiting teaching messages, they revealed a concerted effort by church leaders to endorse those concepts because the theme is repeated monthly. For example, in 2004 every message title began with "Feeling the love of the Lord through . . ." followed by a specific principle.

From the beginning of this period of analysis in Fall 2000 through Spring 2002, the Church's First Presidency members were Gordon B. Hinckley, prophet and president; Thomas S. Monson, first counselor; and James E. Faust, second counselor. The Church's General Relief Society Presidency members were Mary Ellen Smoot, president; Virginia U. Jensen, first counselor; and Sheri Dew, second counselor. As a reminder, General Conference Relief Society meeting is held the last Saturday in September and is broadcast worldwide. The addresses are then published verbatim in the *Ensign* in November.

In 2000, conference messages had no consistent theme. Topics included becoming instruments in the hands of God through developing faith, keeping covenants, and serving others (Smoot, 2000); the power of righteous women (Jensen, 2000); bearing one

another's burdens, leading others to Christ, and building the kingdom of God by being women of God (Dew, 2000); and the responsibilities of mothers (Hinckley, 2000).

Looking at the items that appear most frequently each year may help to identify a possible theme or topic of emphasis. In 2001, the item praying and/or prayer appeared in the greatest number of articles, 85.7%; followed by faith, 78.6%; mothers and/or motherhood, 71.4%; and being married, courage, positive attitude, and keeping covenants all appeared in 64.3%.

General Conference Relief Society talks incorporated the concept of standing steadfast and immovable in the context of having courage against evil (Dew, 2001; Jensen, 2001; Monson, 2001; Smoot, 2001). Smoot said, "Being steadfast and immovable is a personal quest that has eternal rewards" (p. 92). She warned women to keep themselves centered on spiritual things even when the "demands of life are so pressing" (p. 92). These talks were framed in a way that suggested women are in a war against evil. The motif can be found in examples from all talks (all italics added). "We must not *surrender*. We must not *retreat*" (Smoot, p. 92); "create homes that are a *fortress* against a rising tide of evil. It is our charge to be the *defenders* of the home and family wherever we may find ourselves on this earth" and "The truths of the gospel and knowledge of the plan of salvation are *weapons* your family members can use for *victory* over Satan's *evil forces*" (Jensen, p. 94); "Satan has declared *war* on motherhood" (Dew, p. 96); and women should "be *citadels* of constancy midst a sea of change" (Monson, p. 98). In this frame, if women want to be on the winning team, they must follow the instructions of these leaders.

Monthly visiting teaching messages in 2001 had no dominant common theme. January began the year with “Putting on the whole armor of God” and a sample of later topics ranged from “Living within our means” to “Increasing our spirituality through fasting and prayer” to “Strengthening our families through Family Home Evening” to “Safety in keeping divine covenants.” All visiting teaching messages contained first-person examples of how individual women applied the principle being taught in their own lives.

In 2002, the item faith appeared in the greatest number of articles, 64.3%, followed by mothers and/or motherhood, having a positive attitude, keeping covenants, praying or prayer, and serving others, which all appeared in 57.1%. In April 2002, the Church’s General Relief Society Presidency members were released and new leaders were Bonnie D. Parkin, president; Kathleen H. Hughes, first counselor; and Anne C. Pingree, second counselor. Change in leadership is noted because individuals have their own leadership styles and a new presidency may shift its priorities or emphases in the principles or concepts it teaches. This presidency was released in April 2007. Two general themes throughout their leadership seemed to be becoming an instrument in the hands of God and feeling the love of the Lord. Specific examples are explored in the continued chronological analysis.

General Conference Relief Society talks in 2002 focused on the theme “Here am I; send me” (Faust, 2002b; Hughes, 2002; Parkin, 2002; Pingree, 2002;). All conference addresses mentioned early Mormon pioneers or used specific examples through pioneer journal accounts to teach spiritual principles. Three of the four talks acknowledged many marital statuses by listing them, and President Faust, second counselor in the First

Presidency, dedicated much of his talk to individual counsel to groups of women he specifically identified by marital status and age.

Monthly visiting teaching messages in 2002 again had no dominant common theme. Topics included “Living as women of virtue,” “Strengthening our marriages, families, and homes,” “Finding nobility in motherhood and joy in womanhood,” “Loving lifelong learning,” and “Sustaining priesthood leaders.”

Beginning in January, first-person experiences were removed and discussion questions were added at the end of most visiting teaching articles. Additionally, each message was prefaced with this note: “Read the following with the sisters you visit, and discuss the questions, scriptures, and teachings from our Church leaders. Share your experiences and testimony, and invite those you teach to do the same.” The introductory paragraph was not coded as part of the analysis because it would have skewed the results. The instructions provided a fairly simple formula for the way visiting teaching was to be done. However, when the women were asked to share their experiences and testimony, they were parenthetically being told that they should *have* a testimony of the truthfulness of the principles they were teaching, which is more than just reading, understanding, and teaching the message. According to McConkie, “To bear one’s testimony is to make a solemn declaration, affirmation or attestation that personal revelation has been received certifying to the truth of those realities which comprise a testimony” (p. 786).

In October, the wording in the first sentence of the preface changed to “Prayerfully select and read from this message the scriptures and teachings that meet the needs of the sisters you visit” (“Sustaining Priesthood Leaders,” 2002). The remainder of

the preface is verbatim. The women were now also being instructed to be sensitive to and meet the emotional and spiritual needs of the sisters they visited.

In 2003, the item faith was referenced in the greatest number of articles, 92.9%; followed by keeping covenants, 78.6%; praying and/or prayer, 71.4%; and serving others, 57.1%. General Conference Relief Society talks incorporated the theme “Choose that good part,” a scriptural reference that prioritized spiritual things above temporal things. Although instances where the doctrine instructed women to relax their expectations of themselves were rare across the years of this study, three of the four speakers did so in one way or another during conference. For example, Parkin (2003) told women not to judge each other and to quit comparing themselves to others.

We also lose sight of that good part when we compare ourselves to others. Her hair is cuter, my legs are fatter, her children are more talented, or her garden’s more productive—sisters, you know the drill. We just can’t do that. We cannot allow ourselves to feel inadequate by focusing on who we *aren’t* instead of who we are! (p. 105)

Hughes (2003) reminded, “As women, we should never think that our role in the Church is a lesser role than that played by men” (p. 108). In another of the few examples acknowledging the existence of women’s personal weaknesses, Hughes said weekly Relief Society meetings should be a place “where we would be able to say to one another, ‘Sisters, . . . I’m struggling right now. Will you help me?’” (p. 109). Hinckley (2003b) said:

You are doing the best you can, and that best results in good to yourself and to others. Do not nag yourself with a sense of failure. Get on your knees and ask for the blessings of the Lord; then stand on your feet and do what you are asked to do. Then leave the matter in the hands of the Lord. (p. 114)

Even with these examples of patience with self, the speakers still provided many lists of things to do. Parkin (2003) said women should see, listen, and follow the Lord daily; do acts of service, patience, compassion, and understanding for one another; and pray and read the scriptures daily (pp. 104-106). Pingree (2003) encouraged them to practice Christlike behavior each day and teach families to do the same; teach repentance; and pray daily, read the scriptures, attend the temple, and pay tithing (pp. 111-112). Hinckley (2003b) told them to strengthen those whose burdens are heavy; bring light and beauty to the world, to their homes, and children; pray with faith; be wise in their expenditures; and count their blessings (pp. 114-115).

Starting in 2003, visiting teaching messages had a common general theme. That year it was preparedness. The year started and ended with messages dedicated to direction about temporal preparedness. January's message was "If ye are prepared ye shall not fear" and December's was "Prepare by living providently and paying tithes and offerings." Both mentioned getting an education, avoiding debt, and storing as much food as possible in case of emergency. Both also told women not to overreact to this counsel. "Members should be prudent and not panic or go to extremes in this effort" ("If Ye Are Prepared," 2003). Other messages throughout the year pertained to spiritual preparedness. Examples included "Prepare for temple worship," "Prepare to resist temptation," and "Prepare to be strong through trials."

In 2004, having a positive attitude appeared in the most articles, 85.7%, followed by faith, 71.4%; and praying and/or prayer, 64.3%. General Conference Relief Society talks used the theme that if women are spiritually prepared they need not fear. Three of the four talks mentioned examples of people who lived in countries outside the United

States. Hughes (2004) acknowledged the stereotype of unnecessary overachievement when she said women do not need fancy table decorations and handouts if they are teaching lessons, but instead, “Let’s prepare to create an interesting exchange of ideas through discussion, not through extra, invented work that makes us so weary we come to resent the time we spend fulfilling our callings” (p. 110).

The general theme of the monthly visiting teaching messages in 2004 was feeling the love of the Lord. January started with “Feeling the love of the Lord daily in our lives” and included this injunction from Elder Gene R. Cook (2002, p. 83), “Receive it. *Feel* it. It is not enough just to know that God loves you. The gift is to be *felt* continually day by day. It will then be a divine motivator throughout your life” (2004, p. 67). Other messages included feeling the love of the Lord through “exercising faith,” “obedience,” “self-mastery,” and “humility.” Four articles included discussion questions; the others did not.

In 2005, having a positive attitude again appeared in the greatest number of articles, 93.3%; followed by acting Christlike or following Christ’s example, 80%; keeping covenants, 66.7%; and praying and/or prayer, 53.3%. General Conference Relief Society talks focused on being instruments in the hands of God. This is the only General Conference meeting in the course of this study that featured a video presentation (“Video: Instruments in the Hands of God,” 2005), and it was coded as part of the study because the script was printed in the *Ensign* along with the other conference talks. The production featured a reenactment of Joseph Smith organizing the Relief Society among pioneer women in 1842. Parkin (2005) used examples that included single women, mothers, and divorced women. She encouraged women to give themselves a break: “Believe me when

I say each of us is much better than we think. We need to recognize and celebrate what we're doing right" (p. 107). She also gave a list of ways to be instruments in the hands of God:

For example, be the kind of visiting teacher you've always wanted; ask a young single adult about what she likes to do rather than why she's not married; share instead of accumulate; carefully choose your dress, speech, and choice of entertainment; smile at your husband or child who knows they've caused frustration and heartache; put your arm around a young woman; teach in nursery with a happy heart; show by your attitude that you are finding joy in the journey. (p. 109)

The general theme of the monthly visiting teaching messages in 2005 was to rejoice in knowing and understanding a variety of gospel principles. For example, January began with "Rejoice in the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ." Other articles included rejoicing in "missionary work," "understanding the purpose of life," and "the knowledge of eternal families." Discussion questions disappeared, but many articles incorporated a couple of questions embedded in the text that were then answered by the doctrine. This format continued through 2007. For example, in the January 2005 issue, the questions were, "Why is the restoration such a glorious event?" and "How can you rejoice in the restoration?" In another article ("Rejoice in the Book of Mormon," 2005), the questions were, "How can I increase in spiritual capacity as I rejoice in the Book of Mormon?" and "How can I share my joy in the coming forth of the Book of Mormon?"

The way the questions are presented is another way leaders can teach. The questions implied how the women *should* think and feel. In the latter example, through use of the questions, women were taught they should find and share their joy in the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. The article format encouraged women during

visiting teaching to pose questions that of themselves teach doctrine, then guided the women's discussion back to the doctrinal answer provided in the article.

From June 2005 through December 2007, the Relief Society's organizational seal was inserted into each visiting teaching message. The seal contains the motto "Charity Never Faileth" and "1842," the year of the organization's establishment. The word "charity" from the logo was not coded in the results so it would not skew the tabulations, but through use of this repetitive element, women were consistently reminded of the importance of charity.

In 2006, the item has faith was referenced in the most articles, 85.7%; followed by mothers and/or motherhood, 71.4%; and having a positive attitude and service, 64.3% each. General Conference Relief Society talks taught women about feeling the love of the Lord. Parkin (2006) said that since 2002 when she was called as the organization's president, feeling the love of the Lord daily had been and would continue to be the presidency's message to the women of the Church (p. 108). She said she hoped women would feel the love of the Lord daily as "you keep your covenants, exercise charity, and strengthen families" (p. 110). She also told women they do not have to be perfect: "We don't need to be immediately perfect. We must acknowledge that perfection is a process" (p. 108). President Hinckley (2006) reminded women of their importance in the Church:

[Y]ou are not second-class citizens in the kingdom of God. You are His divine creation. Men hold the priesthood. Yours is a different role, but also extremely important. Without you, our Father's plan of happiness would be frustrated and have no real meaning. . . . No one can dismiss you lightly. (p. 118)

There was no general theme in the 2006 monthly visiting teaching messages.

Topics ranged from January's "The Purpose of Relief Society" to "Exercising Charity

and Nurturing Those in Need” to “Protecting Families” and “Receive the Blessings of the Priesthood.” Although it was not the year’s overarching theme, a new section entitled “Blessings of Belonging to Relief Society” was added to each article.

In the context of this study, there were two acknowledgments of note. First, President James E. Faust (“Emphasizing the Divine,” 2006) recognized the value of married *and* single women. He said, “A woman can and must have an identity and feel useful, valued, and needed whether she is single or married.” His statement implied that women of one marital status or another may feel undervalued. In 2006, being married was acknowledged in 35.7% of articles and being single in 28.6%. Second, in a visiting teaching message (“Serving and Supporting”) women were told the Church is a place for *imperfect* people (see Wirthlin quote on p. 40). Not being perfect was referenced in 14.3% of articles in 2006.

In 2007, the item serving others appeared in the greatest number of articles, 85.7%; followed by faith, 71.4%; and keeping covenants and prayer, 64.3% each. In April 2007, the Church’s General Relief Society Presidency members were released and new leaders were called. They were Julie B. Beck, president; Sylvia H. Allred, first counselor; and Barbara Thompson (the second single woman to serve in the General Relief Society Presidency), second counselor.

General Conference Relief Society talks in 2007 had no common theme. Beck (2007a) mirrored the 2001 conference theme by telling women they must be “strong and immovable in *faith*, strong and immovable in *family*, and strong and immovable in *relief*” (p. 109). Allred spoke about visiting teaching and serving others. Thompson spoke about strengthening families. President Monson (2007) discussed three goals: “1. Study

diligently. 2. Pray earnestly. 3. Serve willingly” (p. 118). He also told the women, “You are a mighty force for good, one of the most powerful in the entire world” (p. 120).

The general theme of the monthly visiting teaching messages was to become an instrument in the hands of God by understanding and following a variety of gospel principles. Examples included the admonition to become an instrument in the hands of God by: “strengthening your personal testimony of Jesus Christ,” “caring for the poor and needy,” “practicing holiness,” and “exercising charity.”

Lists of Instruction

Across the years of this study a common method of instruction seemed to be lists of things to do or be (for example, “Building Faith in the Lord,” 2006; Faust, 2002b; “Feeling the Love of the Lord through Exercising Charity,” 2004; Parkin, 2005; Pingree, 2005; “Prepare to be Strong through Trials,” 2003). In the context of this study, this use of lists may be important if the women use them as instruments to judge their ability to “measure up” or to compare themselves to others around them.

One of the lengthiest examples was found in a 2001 visiting teaching message (“Putting on the Whole”). It is a quote by N. Eldon Tanner (1979, pp. 44, 46), given when he was a member of the Church’s First Presidency, and contains nine items from the codebook. The paragraph before this quote said that in order to withstand the adversary (Satan) one must keep “*all* the commandments of God” (p. 74). All ellipses are in the original.

‘Are we studying the scriptures so that we can increase our knowledge and faith and testimony regarding the gospel? . . . Are we honest and truthful in our dealings? Do we keep the Sabbath day holy? Do we observe the Word of

Wisdom? Do we pay an honest tithing? . . . Are we virtuous and clean and pure in heart and mind and deed?

‘Do we fight against the evils around us . . . ? Do we have the courage to stand up for our convictions? Can we truly say we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ? Do we live peaceably with our neighbors and avoid gossip and backbiting and spreading unfounded rumors? Do we truly love our neighbors as ourselves?’

‘If we can answer yes to these questions, then we will have on the whole armor of God, which will protect us from harm and preserve us from our enemies.’

Other lists are shorter (“Increasing Our Faith,” 2001): “Our faith in Jesus Christ is nourished as we study, search, and ponder the scriptures; fast and pray; participate in sacred ordinances; keep our covenants; serve the Lord and others; sustain our Church leaders; and obey the commandments” (p. 53). Some of the items in the list are conceptually complex and in some form or other behaviorally demanding. This single sentence contains eight items from the content analysis codebook, and all but one (faith) are in the Religiously Motivated Actions category. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, there are many articles that said actions such as prayer, scripture study, and service should be done daily.

In these two specific examples there was no reference to an all-encompassing atonement that makes up for weaknesses, imperfections, or inability to master all the concepts in the lists. In fact, in the years of this study, there was never an example that included a list of instructions that was directly preceded or followed by discussion about what happens if women cannot do it all. More recent conference messages contained some instances where women were told they do not have to be perfect or that they should be patient with themselves, yet the same articles also contained fairly comprehensive lists

of things to do or be. One example of that combination was found in a visiting teaching message that quoted Gordon B. Hinckley (“Living as Women of Virtue,” 2002):

‘I feel to invite women everywhere to rise to the great potential within you. I do not ask that you reach beyond your capacity. I hope you will not nag yourselves with thoughts of failure. . . . I hope you will simply do what you can do in the best way you know.’ (*Teachings of Gordon B. Hinckley* [1997], 696) (p. 72)

The article then said the world needs women who are tender, kind, refined, faithful, good, virtuous, and pure (p. 72).

Summary

The deductive framing analysis of *Ensign* articles revealed an overwhelming emphasis on direction regarding both inner spiritual characteristics and religiously motivated actions. One or more personality traits (compassionate, courageous, having a positive attitude, kind, and patient) were also mentioned often. When it came to family status, being married was the most frequently mentioned while divorce was acknowledged least. Mother and/or motherhood was referenced in more than half the articles. Homemaking skills were hardly mentioned.

The inductive framing analysis identified annual themes in visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks. Some years visiting teaching messages had no theme, while other years featured overarching themes such as feeling the love of the Lord and rejoicing in gospel principles. General Conference talks more commonly revolved around a theme, such as prioritizing spiritual things above temporal things, being spiritually prepared, or being instruments in the hands of God. The analysis also explored the teaching method leaders used of providing lists of things for LDS

women to do and be. These deductive and inductive results provide a doctrinal framework with which to compare the women's survey results about how important these items are to Church leaders and to themselves personally as they consider the concept of the ideal LDS woman.

Deductive and Inductive Framing Implications

I will discuss some implications from the deductive and inductive framing analysis here because I built upon the results and implications to create the surveys used in the next section of my research. The analysis of November 2000 through December 2007 *Ensign* articles revealed an overwhelming emphasis on direction regarding inner spiritual characteristics and religiously motivated actions. Not all references specifically told the women they needed to develop these characteristics, but textual acknowledgment does indicate a level of importance to the authors. If these dominant themes differ from the women's perceptions of the doctrine, Church leaders may wish to examine the content of their magazine messages, mount a campaign to encourage greater readership, or clarify doctrinal expectations versus cultural expectations of women's gender roles.

References to being married and/or a mother were also frequent. Do LDS women who are not married or mothers feel relegated to a lower status in the Church even though Church leaders have not overtly identified a marital status hierarchy?

The analysis also suggests there was a lack of balance between lists of ideals provided in the doctrine and examples of reassurance where women are reminded that the doctrine of the atonement covers mortals' inability to perfect all desirable traits and behaviors. How do the women respond to these lists of instruction? Is there a sense of

being overwhelmed? As Entman suggested, the women may come to the texts with their own internal frames that help or hinder their negotiation of expectations.

Surveys

Survey Data Analysis

I initially began analysis of the 642 surveys by running factor analyses on how important LDS women thought items were to their leaders and how important the items were to themselves personally. I applied different rotations to sharpen the results. With both sets of items, two factors emerged: Inner Spiritual Characteristics and Religiously Motivated Actions. I applied Cronbach's alpha to test the reliability of the factors and retained the combination of items with an alpha of at least .8 for how important the women thought the items were to their leaders and how important the items were to them personally. This calculation resulted in indexes that could be used to compare the two views.

The Inner Spiritual Characteristics factor included charity, Christlike thoughts/behavior, compassion, faith, keeping covenants, praying and/or prayer, scripture study, and testimony (Cronbach's alpha = .917 for women's perception of importance to leaders, .850 for the women personally). The Religiously Motivated Actions factor included Family Home Evening, missionary work, modesty, participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities, service, staying out of debt, temple attendance, visiting teaching, and weekly church attendance (Cronbach's alpha = .837 for women's perception of importance to leaders, .801 for the women personally).

To answer the research questions about what LDS women in Cache Valley say the doctrine teaches about women's gender roles and how the women define the ideal Mormon woman, the Brown-Forsythe test was used to determine whether there were significant differences according to age, marital status, and exposure to visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks. Brown-Forsythe was chosen over standard ANOVA for its usefulness in comparing groups that violate the homogeneity-of-variance assumption and have unequal *ns*. Here, Levene's test confirmed that variances were heterogeneous. Dunnett's C post hoc test was selected because it is not based on the assumption that variances are homogeneous. This test was used to determine which age group responses were significantly different from each other and whether visiting teaching message exposure correlated with significant differences. With marital status and General Conference Relief Society talks, Dunnett's C failed to identify the significant differences between groups, so Scheffé's test was used instead.

After the Brown-Forsythe calculation, Dunnett's C post hoc test was used to detect between-group differences on questions about how important items were to the women personally. Dunnett's C failed to show the differences in the questions about how important women said survey items were to their leaders, so Scheffé's post hoc test was used instead. A repeated measures *t* test was used to compare women's perceptions about the importance of survey items to leaders with importance of the items to themselves personally.

Research Question 2

The second research question asks what LDS women living in Cache Valley say the Church's doctrine teaches about women's gender roles, and whether and how age, marital status, and exposure to visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks correlate with responses. Overall, the women rated nearly all items as very important or important to the leaders; 27 of 31 items yielded means between 1.04 and 1.99 (see Table A.5).³ Exceptions were appearance of financial wealth, fitting in with ward members, having well-behaved and/or successful children, homemaking, physical fitness, and spouse has important church calling. Women rated items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index as very important (mean = 1.06). The means of the eight items in this index ranged from 1.04 to 1.08. The Religiously Motivated Actions index mean was 1.25, with means of the nine items ranging from 1.09 to 1.78.

Age

Women of all age groups rated almost every item as very important to the leaders (see Table A.4). Still, the Brown-Forsythe test and Dunnett's C post hoc test showed significant differences among the groups. When significant differences occurred in the Inner Spiritual Characteristics and Religiously Motivated Actions indexes and in individual items on those indexes, they were between women 70 and older and one or more younger groups. The younger women reported that items were more important to the leaders than did the 70 and older group. Women ages 15-29 and 40-59 said the items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index were significantly more important to leaders than did those ages 70 and older. Five of eight items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics

³ There were 32 items on the survey, but having a career outside the home was inadvertently omitted from the section about leaders.

index showed significant difference among ages. Those ages 15-49 reported charity as more important to the leaders than did those 70 and older. Women ages 15-29 said scripture study, testimony, and Christlike thoughts/behavior were more important than did those 70 and older. Compassion was also significant, but the post hoc test did not identify differences among groups. However, those ages 40-49 said it was most important (mean = 1.04) while those ages 70 and older said it was least (1.18).

The youngest women reported that the items on the Religiously Motivated Actions index were significantly more important than did the oldest women. Five of nine items on the Religiously Motivated Actions index showed significant difference among ages. Women ages 15-49 reported temple attendance as significantly more important to leaders than did those ages 70 and older. The youngest women (15-29) said visiting teaching was significantly more important than did the oldest women. Women ages 15-29 and 40-59 said service was significantly more important than did those 70 and older. Women ages 30-39 said Family Home Evening was significantly more important to leaders than did those 70 and older. Women ages 50-59 said modesty was more important than did those ages 70 and older.

When items fell outside spiritual characteristics and religiously motivated actions, the responses were reversed: women ages 70 and older said the items were more important to leaders than did younger women in all instances except one (motherhood). There were seven items outside the two indexes with statistically significant differences among the age groups. The oldest women reported fitting in with ward members, having well-behaved/successful children, and physical fitness were significantly more important to the leaders than did the youngest women. The youngest women said motherhood was

more important than did the oldest women. Dunnett's C post hoc test did not show which groups were significantly different from each other on the having a balanced life item, but after reviewing other similarly structured items, the difference most likely occurred between the youngest group (mean = 1.36) and the oldest group (mean = 1.63).

Appearance of financial wealth was unimportant to all ages, but those ages 15-49 said it was significantly more unimportant to the leaders than those ages 70 and older. Spouse has important church calling was also unimportant to all ages except those 70 and older, who rated it as neither important nor unimportant (mean = 2.84). Women ages 15-49 said it was significantly less important than those ages 60 and older, and those ages 50-59 said it was significantly less important than those ages 70 and older. Four women ranging in age from 20s to 50s wrote in the margin of the survey that *all* callings are important. It appears they were resisting the idea of a calling as a form of status, but instead said all callings are important and therefore important to leaders. Other responses could have reflected the same mindset, but the women may not have commented.

Appearance of financial wealth and spouse has important church calling were included in the survey because I thought they might be viewed as a form of status within the culture.

Marital Status

When comparing opinions of women of different marital statuses, Scheffé's post hoc test showed that single women reported items on both the Inner Spiritual Characteristics and the Religiously Motivated Actions indexes ($p < .001$) as significantly more important to leaders than did those who were married or widowed (see Table A.5). Divorced women did not differ significantly from any other group. However, the sample size was smallest for divorced women ($n = 35$ compared to 106 single women, 452

married women, and 43 widowed women), which would make differences more difficult to detect.

Five of eight items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index showed significant differences among different groups. Women who were single, married, and divorced reported that Christlike thoughts/behavior, charity, and compassion were significantly more important to leaders than widows did. Single and married women said scripture study and testimony were more important than widows did.

The Religiously Motivated Actions index contained seven items with significant differences. Single women said visiting teaching, temple attendance, and Family Home Evening were significantly more important to the leaders than widows did. Single and married women said missionary work and service were significantly more important than widows did. Single women reported participation in enrichment/extracurricular activities as significantly more important than married women did. Scheffé's post hoc test did not detect the differences among groups on modesty, but the significant difference may have occurred between single women (mean = 1.09) and widows (mean = 1.26).

In addition to the items included in the indexes, there were five other items with statistically significant differences among the groups. Widows said fitting in with ward members was significantly more important to the leaders than single and married women did. Single and married women said motherhood was significantly more important than widows did. Single women said motherhood was more important to leaders than any other group. Widows reported that having a spouse with an important church calling was somewhat important but all other groups said it was fairly unimportant. It was significantly less important to single and married women than to widows. Single women

said having a positive attitude was significantly more important than married women did. Scheffé's post hoc test did not detect differences among the groups on the item of having a balanced life, but they likely occurred between single women (mean = 1.33) and widows (mean = 1.64).

It was initially supposed that there would likely be differences among the groups when it came to homemaking, gaining advanced education, and having well-behaved/successful children. However, the three items were not statistically significant; all women thought these items were important to leaders.

It is possible that some differences by marital status group might partly reflect differences among age groups. For example, the younger women were more commonly single and the older women were more commonly widows (see Table A.6). Sixty-one percent of respondents in the single category were age 29 or younger, and 77% of widowed respondents were age 70 or older. When comparing calculations organized by age and marital status, both indexes and 10 of 11 significant items showed differences between both youngest and oldest age groups *and* between singles and widows.

Media Exposure

There was very little correlation between exposure to doctrine through visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks and how important the women said survey items were to LDS Church leaders. By their self-selected exposure to the messages and talks, the women seemed to indicate that General Conference Relief Society messages were more important than visiting teaching messages. This correlates with survey answers, where 65.3% of respondents said General Conference Relief Society talks were very important to them compared to 38.7% who said visiting teaching

messages were very important. If I combine the women who said their exposure to the media messages was very important or important, the numbers are closer: 94.1% for General Conference talks and 88% for visiting teaching messages.

There were 31 items on the survey, and the Brown-Forsythe test showed only two items with significant differences that correlated with exposure to visiting teaching messages (see Table A.7): fitting in with ward members and physical fitness. According to Scheffé's post hoc test, women with high exposure said fitting in with ward members was significantly more important to leaders than those with medium exposure. Those with high exposure also said physical fitness was significantly more important to leaders than those with low exposure. The remaining items were far from significant, indicating that exposure to visiting teaching messages did not correlate with women's opinions about how important survey items were to Church leaders.

Three items correlated significantly with exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages (see Table A.8): faith, having well-behaved/successful children, and praying and/or prayer. Scheffé's post hoc test showed that medium and high exposure groups said faith and prayer were significantly more important to leaders than did the low exposure group. The post hoc test did not identify differences between groups on having well-behaved/successful children but the largest difference was between those with high exposure (mean = 2.16) and those with low exposure (mean = 2.39).

Summary

Overall, the women rated 27 of 31 items as very important or important to the leaders. Exceptions were items that had more to do with status: appearance of financial

wealth, fitting in with ward members, having well-behaved/successful children, and physical fitness. Women rated items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics and the Religiously Motivated Actions indexes as very important to their leaders. When looking at the data by age and by marital status, in both comparisons both indexes and 17 items (not identical) had significant differences among different combinations of groups. There was very little correlation according to media exposure. Only two of 31 items showed significant differences that correlated with exposure to visiting teaching messages and three with General Conference Relief Society talks.

Research Question 3

The third research question asks how LDS women living in Cache Valley define the ideal Mormon woman and her gender roles, and whether and how age, marital status, and exposure to visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks correlate with responses. Overall, the women rated nearly all items as very important or important; 25 of 32 items yielded means between 1.06 and 1.99 (see Table A.3). Exceptions were appearance of financial wealth, college-level education, fitting in with ward members, having a career outside the home, participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities, spouse has important church calling, and stay-at-home mom/wife. The Inner Spiritual Characteristics index mean was 1.12, very important. The means of the eight items in this index ranged from 1.06 to 1.22. The Religiously Motivated Actions index mean was 1.48, with means of its nine items ranging from 1.17 to 2.20.

Age

Running the Brown-Forsythe test revealed no significant differences among ages on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index (see Table A.9). Only one item in this index, scripture study, was significant but Dunnett's C post hoc test did not detect the differences. The greatest difference in means occurred between women ages 15-29 years old, who said it was most important (mean = 1.12), and those 70 and older, who said it was least important (mean = 1.31).

The Religiously Motivated Actions index had significant differences among the age groups, but Dunnett's C post hoc test did not detect specifics. Those ages 15-29 and 70 and older reported the items on the index as most important (mean = 1.41), while those ages 40-49 reported them lowest (mean = 1.55). Three items on the Religiously Motivated Actions index were significant: Family Home Evening, where women ages 15-29 and 30-39 reported the item as significantly more important than those ages 60-69; staying out of debt, where women ages 70 and older said it was significantly more important than those ages 40-49; and temple attendance, where those ages 15-29 said it was significantly more important than those ages 40-49. When the women reported level of importance of items (both significant and not significant) on the Religiously Motivated Actions index *to their leaders*, there was a consistent pattern: the youngest women said all the items were more important than the older women. However, there was no consistent pattern when the women responded regarding level of importance to themselves personally.

Of the remaining 15 items outside the indexes, four were significant ($p < .05$) and four were highly significant ($p < .003$). Although some women saw fitting in with ward

members and spouse has an important church calling as slightly important and others saw them as slightly unimportant, women ages 70 and older said both items were significantly more important ($p < .001$) than women ages 15-59. College-level education was most important to women ages 15-29, who said it was significantly more important than those ages 40-49 and 60-69. Women 70 and older responded that homemaking was significantly more important than those ages 15-29 and 40-49.

Food storage, no tattoos/only one set of earrings, physical fitness, and being a stay-at-home mom/wife were significant at $p < .05$ or better. Women ages 70 and older said food storage was significantly more important than those ages 15-29. Having no tattoos/only one set of earrings was significantly more important to women ages 50-59 than to those ages 15-29. Women 70 and older said physical fitness was significantly more important than those ages 15-29 and 40-49.

All women saw motherhood as very important, with means that ranged from 1.18 to 1.36. Women ages 30-39 said being a stay-at-home mom was significantly more important than those ages 40-49. In open-ended survey questions, many women mentioned friction they felt between women who worked inside the home versus those who worked outside the home.

Marital Status

When results were compared by marital status, the Brown-Forsythe test revealed no significant differences on either the Inner Spiritual Characteristics or the Religiously Motivated Actions indexes (see Table A.10). One item on the Inner Spiritual

Characteristics index, scripture study, was significantly more important to single women than to widows.

The Religiously Motivated Actions index contained two items with significant differences: staying out of debt and temple attendance. Scheffé's post hoc test did not detect difference between groups on either item, but staying out of debt was most important to single women (mean = 1.26) and least important to divorced women (mean = 1.46). Temple attendance was most important to single women (mean = 1.15) and least important to widows (mean = 1.34).

Four of the 15 remaining items showed significant differences between groups. Single women said college-level education was significantly more important than did married women. Widows said fitting in with ward members was significantly more important than did single and married women. There was also significant difference between the groups when it came to having a career outside the home, although Scheffé's post hoc test failed to detect the differences. All groups rated it as unimportant, but it was less unimportant to widows (mean = 3.19) and most unimportant to married women, (mean = 3.51). Spouse has important church calling was significantly more unimportant to single and married women than to widows, who said it was slightly important. Divorced women did not differ significantly from any other group on any item, which might be due to the small sample size of divorced women.

There was no significant difference between women in different marital statuses on the issues of having well-behaved/successful children, homemaking, and motherhood. I suspected there would be significant differences between the single women and those

who were married or had been married. Instead, results showed these concepts were important to all women, no matter their marital status.

Again, it is possible that some differences that occurred based on marital status group might partly reflect differences among age groups. However, when comparing calculations organized by age *and* marital status, there were too few items in common to determine a pattern.

Media Exposure

Visiting Teaching messages. There was very little correlation between exposure to doctrine through visiting teaching messages and how important the women said survey items were to them personally. Neither the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index nor the Religiously Motivated Actions index was significant. There were 32 items on the survey, and the Brown-Forsythe test showed five items with statistically significant differences that correlated with exposure to visiting teaching messages (see Table A.11). They represented spiritual characteristics, religiously motivated actions, and miscellaneous concepts so there was no common thread. The items were faith, food storage, having a career outside the home, no tattoos/only one set of earrings, and visiting teaching.

According to Dunnett's C post hoc test, women with high exposure said faith was significantly more important than did those with medium exposure; those with low exposure said having a career outside the home was less unimportant than those with medium and high exposure; and women with high exposure said no tattoos/only one set of earrings and visiting teaching were significantly more important than those with low exposure. Dunnett's C did not identify group differences on the item of food storage, but

the largest difference occurred between those with high exposure (mean = 1.54) and those with low exposure (mean = 1.68). Those with high exposure also said visiting teaching was significantly more important than those with low exposure.

General Conference Relief Society talks. In evaluating all media exposure correlations, the greatest number of significant items was found between exposure to General Conference Relief Society talks and importance of items to the women personally. In every instance where there were significant differences, those with high exposure to General Conference Relief Society talks reported items as more important than did those with low exposure. Four of eight items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index were significantly more important to those with high exposure compared to those with low exposure: charity, Christlike thoughts/behavior, scripture study, and testimony. Eight of nine items on the Religiously Motivated Actions index were also significantly more important to women with high exposure than to those with low exposure. The only item on the index that was not statistically significant was modesty.

The Brown-Forsythe test showed 18 of 32 survey items with significant differences that correlated with exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages (see Table A.12). Dunnett's C post hoc test showed that those with high exposure reported items as significantly more important than those with low exposure in all but one item: staying out of debt (which was significantly more important to the high than to the medium group). The items scripture study and stay-at-home mom/wife were significantly more important to high *and* medium exposure groups than to low. Dunnett's C did not provide specifics but significant differences likely occurred between high and low

exposure groups for Family Home Evening (high = 1.45, low = 1.81) and food storage (high = 1.56, low = 1.77).

Leaders in General Conference meetings frequently used lists of things to do and be to teach women. When the women were asked what they thought about an example of a list given by a Church leader, 75.4% of respondents said the items were “realistically achievable now.” An additional 18.8% said the items on the list were “not realistically achievable now, but goals to aim for in the future.”

Summary

Overall, the women rated a majority of the items as very important or important to themselves personally. Similar to their responses about perceptions of survey item importance to their leaders, most exceptions seemed to relate to status. The Inner Spiritual Characteristics index was very important, and more important than the Religiously Motivated Actions index, which was also very important.

When looking at the data by age and marital status, there were very few items with significant differences on either index. Eight of 15 remaining items had significant differences among different combinations of age groups, but only three items were significantly different by marital status. Very few items showed significant differences that correlated with exposure to visiting teaching messages, but more than half the survey items had significant differences that correlated with exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages. Those with high exposure reported items as significantly more important than those with lower exposure in every instance.

Research Question 4

Research Question 4 asks how the deductive and inductive framing analyses findings of *Ensign* articles, what LDS women in Cache Valley say the doctrine teaches about women's gender roles, and how these women define the ideal Mormon woman and her gender roles compare. First, comparing framing analyses findings and the women's perceptions of levels of importance of those items to their Church leaders revealed parallels and disparities. Second, statistical analysis established that there was a significant difference in a majority of survey items when comparing what women said was important to Church leaders and what was important to them personally. Also, when women were asked if they perceive any difference between doctrinal expectations of women and expectations that may stem from the culture, 46.2% said yes. In the following results, any items from the survey that were not included in the content analysis codebook were eliminated since there would be no results with which to compare them.

Ensign Analysis Compared to Women's Perceptions of Level of Importance of Doctrine Being Taught

The deductive and inductive framing analyses of 2000 to 2007 *Ensign* articles revealed an intense emphasis on direction regarding the spiritual life: Ninety-six percent of the articles mentioned one or more spiritual characteristics and 97% mentioned one or more religiously motivated actions. Seven of the top 10 most frequently mentioned concepts were inner spiritual characteristics or religiously motivated actions, while the other three were motherhood, being a wife, and teaching children.

According to the means from survey responses, the women's perception of the top five most important items to Church leaders were all inner spiritual characteristics. The items were Christlike thoughts/behavior, faith, praying and/or prayer tied with testimony, and keeping covenants tied with scripture study. In three instances (faith, praying and/or prayer, and keeping covenants), those items were also found in the top five most frequently occurring items in the *Ensign* articles (see Table A.13). The differences between the remaining items were fairly large. According to means, women said Christlike thoughts/behavior was the most important item to Church leaders, but it only ranked 11th in frequency of occurrence in the *Ensign*. While positive attitude was the second most frequently occurring item in the *Ensign*, it landed at 18th in women's perception of importance to the leaders. Motherhood was fifth in the *Ensign*, but it tied for 11th and 12th place in women's perception of what the leaders think is important.

The complete deductive and inductive framing analyses explored visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks printed in the *Ensign* from 2000 to 2007. When women were surveyed about their exposure to the conference talks, missing data indicated women most easily recalled the years from 2005 to 2007. I used their responses on those years to determine their level of media exposure to conference messages. To more accurately compare the women's responses with what messages were being taught in the doctrine, I also narrowed the General Conference Relief Society talks to those given in 2005 to 2007. The sample is relatively small ($n = 13$), but conference messages are quite lengthy—three to four pages long (including headline and photos)—as published in the *Ensign*.

The survey only asked women about their use of and/or exposure to visiting teaching messages during the last year. The entire deductive framing analysis results were included ($n = 71$) because only 10 visiting teaching messages are published each year, and the messages are short: one page, including headline, artwork, and additional graphic design elements.

The five most frequently occurring items in the 2005 to 2007 General Conference Relief Society messages were faith, service, having a positive attitude, praying and/or prayer, and motherhood (see Table A.14). The five most frequently occurring survey items in 2000 to 2007 visiting teaching messages were faith, keeping covenants, having a positive attitude, praying and/or prayer, and service. Four of the top five items were identical.

We can also compare the percentage of General Conference Relief Society (2005-2007) and visiting teaching messages (2000-2007) that contain survey items to the women's responses according to their level of exposure to those messages. The comparison will see if women who reported higher exposure to conference and/or visiting teaching messages rated frequently occurring items as more important to their leaders and to themselves personally than did women with lower exposure. We would suppose that women's responses would be noticeably different according to exposure to items that appear most often in the conference and visiting teaching messages, but that they would not differ greatly in items that appear less frequently.

When survey responses were organized by women's perceptions of level of importance to Church leaders compared to exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages (see Table A.8), faith and praying and/or prayer were significantly

more important to those with medium and high exposure versus those with low exposure. They were the only two items in the top five most frequently occurring items in the 2005 to 2007 conference talks that showed significant differences.

When responses were organized by level of importance to Church leaders and compared to exposure to visiting teaching messages (see Table A.7), none of the items found in the top five showed significant differences. In fact, physical fitness was the only item that reflected significant difference and it was never mentioned in the visiting teaching messages. Physical fitness was significantly more important to those with high exposure than to those with low.

Ensign Analysis Compared to Level of Survey Item Importance to Women Personally

The five most important items to the women personally were all items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index: keeping covenants, faith, Christlike thoughts/behavior tied with testimony, and praying and/or prayer (see Table A.13). The items keeping covenants, faith, and praying and/or prayer were also in the top five most frequently occurring in the 2000 to 2007 *Ensign* articles. However, Christlike thoughts/behavior ranked 11th in the articles and testimony ranked 14th.

When looking at the General Conference talks from 2005 to 2007, keeping covenants was tied for 11th /12th place. While service was tied for first place in article frequency, it ranked 11th in importance to the women. Motherhood was tied for third, fourth, and fifth place in the articles, but ranked 14th to the women. Looking at the 2000 to 2007 visiting teaching messages, faith, praying and/or prayer, and keeping covenants were in the top five items on both lists. While Christlike thoughts/behavior and testimony

were tied for third and fourth place for the women, they were 10th and 12th in the articles, respectively.

The women's responses to how important survey items were to them personally were then organized according to level of exposure to visiting teaching messages (see Table A.11). The top five items that appeared in the highest number of messages were faith, keeping covenants, having a positive attitude, praying and/or prayer, and service. Of those, only faith showed a significant difference; it was more important to those with high exposure than to those with medium exposure. Visiting teaching was the other survey item with a significant difference between groups. It was more important to those with high and medium exposure than to those with low, but the item only appeared in 5.6% of visiting teaching messages.

Results were also organized by level of exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages (see Table A.12). In 2005 to 2007 the most frequently occurring items were faith and service (two-way tie), and having a positive attitude, praying and/or prayer, and motherhood (three-way tie). Service was the only item in the top five with a significant difference between groups. It was more important to those with high exposure than to those with low. There were 13 additional significant items that represented a variety of categories and that had no apparent correlation to the level of frequency in articles. All items were more important to women with high message exposure than to those with low exposure. Christlike thoughts/behavior and temple attendance ranked seventh and eighth, respectively, while staying out of debt, stay-at-home mom/wife, and physical fitness represented three of the four items that appeared in the least number of articles. The remaining items fell in-between.

*Comparison of Women's Perceptions of Survey
Item Importance to Leaders and Themselves*

A repeated measures *t* test compared how important women said survey items were to Church leaders with how important they were to them personally (see Table A.15). The test included only the 24 items in common with the 2000-2007 visiting teaching message and 2005 to 2007 General Conference Relief Society talks deductive framing analysis. Seventeen of the 24 items reflected a highly significant difference among groups ($p < .001$), as did the Inner Spiritual Characteristics index.⁴ With only two exceptions, having a positive attitude (mean = 1.24 for the women, 1.32 for leaders) and physical fitness (mean = 1.95 for the women, 2.17 for leaders), the women said these items were significantly more important to the leaders than to themselves.

Seven of the highly significant items were part of the eight-item Inner Spiritual Characteristics index: charity, Christlike thoughts/behavior, compassion, faith, praying and/or prayer, scripture study, and testimony. Six were classified as Religiously Motivated Actions because the items were part of that nine-item index, and all were highly significant: Family Home Evening, missionary work, service, staying out of debt, temple attendance, and visiting teaching. Additional items significantly different at $p < .001$ were college-level education, food storage, having a positive attitude, motherhood, physical fitness, and stay-at-home mom/wife.

Survey items without significant differences between groups are noteworthy because the spread between means is so narrow: courage (mean = 1.38 for the women

⁴ The Religiously Motivated Actions index was not included in the calculations because two index items, participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities and weekly church attendance, did not appear in the content analysis codebook.

and 1.37 for the leaders), having a balanced life (mean = 1.43 for the women, 1.47 for the leaders), homemaking (mean = 1.99 for the women, 2.00 for the leaders), keeping covenants (mean = 1.06 for the women, 1.07 for the leaders), and modesty (mean = 1.16 for the women, 1.18 for the leaders).

I performed a separate calculation to address significant and nonsignificant items and to assist with the comparison between what the women said was most important to the leaders with what was most important to them personally (see Table A.16). Ten of 31 items were more important to the women. Modesty and keeping covenants were the only two items in the overarching category of the spiritual life. Most of the remaining items seemed to relate to outward appearance and status. They included having well-behaved/successful children, physical fitness, appearance of financial wealth, spouse has important church calling, fitting in with ward members, having a positive attitude, having a balanced life, and homemaking. The greatest difference in means occurred in having well-behaved/successful children (mean to women = 1.92, leaders = 2.20).

The women said the remaining 21 items were more important to the leaders than to them personally. The items included seven of eight inner spiritual characteristics and eight of nine religiously motivated actions. The remaining items were no tattoos/only one set of earrings, motherhood, college-level education, and food storage. The items with the greatest difference in means were missionary work (difference = .43; mean to leaders = 1.19, women = 1.62), visiting teaching (difference = .42; mean to leaders = 1.23, women = 1.65), and participation in enrichment/extracurricular activities (difference = .42; mean to leaders = 1.78, women = 2.20).

DISCUSSION

This study identified both doctrinal and cultural indicators of the ideal LDS woman. The codebook created to conduct the deductive framing analysis is itself a substantial contribution to the literature because of its comprehensiveness. First, it identified relevant items across a wide range of categories to help identify ideals and gender roles being taught to LDS women. Second, it provided a framework with which to analyze what doctrine was being taught and how frequently.

The results of this study provided several noteworthy implications. Lack of correlation between exposure to either visiting teaching messages or General Conference Relief Society talks and what the women said Church leaders thought was important indicates some disconnect between what was being taught and the women's perceptions. The women reported that nearly everything was very important or important to their leaders. Exposure to General Conference Relief Society talks correlated highly with how important items were to the women personally, with those with high exposure reporting the items as more important than those with lower exposure in every significant instance. One possible way of interpreting this correlation is that the General Conference Relief Society talks are a channel of communication that is working for Church leaders. However, they may work in one way, but not another. One complexity that surfaced was that exposure to those talks tended not to correlate with what women thought leaders thought was important but did tend to correlate with what was important to the women personally.

Finally, when comparing means of survey items, LDS women reported that items of a spiritual nature were more important to them than outwardly manifested religiously motivated actions. The women also indicated that although religiously motivated actions were very important, those private, inner spiritual characteristics were even more important to them personally. On one hand, this is positive because it shows that what is most important to the leaders is most important to the women. However, although the women reported inner spiritual characteristics as more important, they were also taking on responsibilities for those behaviors that may be more visible and easily compared to others. These implications and others will be discussed in the following text.

Deductive and Inductive Framing Analyses

There are several implications derived from the results of the framing analyses. First, Entman (1993) said communicators, or in this case LDS leaders, may choose to make some information more relevant through repetition. The deductive analysis revealed a high frequency of reference to motherhood and being a mother and, conversely, a low frequency of reference to other life positions such as being divorced, single, widowed, childless, and even married with grown children who live outside the home. Hornsey and Jetten (2004) suggested that those who belong to various organizations are looking for a sense of in-group belonging. The General Conference Relief Society addresses and visiting teaching messages may inadvertently create an element of alienation for women who find themselves in life stations other than mothers with children at home. When LDS women were asked what their most desired family

status was, 95.9% said married with children, but only 67.6% of the respondents fall in that category.

Second, the frequency of occurrence of the concepts having faith, keeping one's covenants (being obedient), and having a positive attitude may suggest to some women that having faith and exercising obedience should equal happiness. What happens if women are doing everything in their power to live gospel principles and are still unhappy? The women may be left to wonder if God has abandoned them, what they are doing wrong, or why they are not "good enough" to be happy. Although women were often counseled to strengthen their faith or turn to the Lord in times of difficulty, across the years of this study there was no acknowledgment that women may suffer from medical or psychological conditions that require medication and/or counseling in addition to their faith to help them find happiness.

Third, another framing implication comes from the frequency of occurrence of spiritual characteristics and religiously motivated behavior of women without a significant counterbalance. There are few acknowledgments that women need balance between physical, emotional, and spiritual responsibilities, and that they do not have to be perfect. In the context of social identity theory (Hornsey and Jetten, 2004), women want to fit in with a group but also want to distinguish themselves as individuals in the group by becoming the superlative or most orthodox example of an affiliate. By combining that theoretical premise with concepts in socially prescribed perfectionism where those who are perfectionists believe others have high expectations for them and that their "acceptance by others is conditional on attaining superior performance" (Campbell & DiPaula, 2002, p. 187), we begin to see how LDS women living in Mormon culture

might feel overwhelmed by their perceptions of leaders' expectations. Church leaders may wish to consider including contextual reference about the power of the Lord's atonement to make up for weaknesses or what cannot be done, the concept that women don't have to be perfect now, or the idea that women also need a balance.

Implications from Research Question 2

Through surveys of LDS women living in Cache Valley, I discovered there are significant differences in their perceptions about what the leaders think according to age, marital status, and exposure to visiting teaching messages and conference messages. I also learned that the women value General Conference Relief Society talks more highly than visiting teaching messages.

The second research question asks what LDS women living in Cache Valley say the Church's doctrine teaches about women's gender roles, and whether and how age, marital status, and exposure to visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks correlate with responses. Perhaps one of the most significant insights that can be gained from this study is that LDS women do not perceive much of a sense of priority in teachings that come from their leaders because they reported nearly every survey item as "very important" to the leaders.

Women who are struggling with perfectionism set unrealistic standards and overgeneralize their failure (Hewitt & Flett, 1991). Survey results showed that the women thought all but four of the 31 items were very important or important to their leaders. If LDS women struggle with perfectionism, one can begin to see the mounting pressures for

those who perceive that their leaders want them to be successful in so many ways. It is also possible that some of the women's responses reflect social desirability. For example, if there were principles in the survey that were important to the women, and they desire to belong to the mainstream LDS group, they might think or say the same principles were important to their leaders because having those principles in common validates their status of belonging to the group.

When looking at women's responses by age, two implications stand out. First, women in their 60s and 70s might perceive fitting in with ward members as more important to the leaders and to themselves because the ward becomes their family and support group as children move away or if their spouse dies. Second, motherhood may seem less important to those in their 60s and 70s because of their life stage compared to younger women who have children at home.

By observing responses by marital status we see that widowed women identified fitting in with ward members as significantly more important than did single and married women. As mentioned previously, the data could be reflecting differences due to age as much as to marital status since older women are more commonly widows and younger are more commonly single and married. The widows have lost their spouses and more likely depend on ward members to fill familial roles. Widows also said having a spouse with an important church calling was more important to leaders than the single and married women did, which may be an attempt to reclaim a form of status associated with their former spouse or with them having a spouse. The widows may in turn be projecting their feelings onto the directions of their leaders to validate their own need for in-group belonging. Perhaps the most surprising result was that single women reported that

motherhood was more important to the leaders than married, divorced, and widowed women did. This could be for many reasons, such as sensitivity to the concept of motherhood since they are not currently fulfilling the role or because it may be their unrealized hope.

When we look at the results according to level of exposure to visiting teaching messages, only two survey items reflected a significant difference. When organized by exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages, there were only three items with significant difference. This seems strange because one would think that those with high exposure to the messages would respond significantly differently from those with low exposure. There are several possible explanations. First, the women might recognize that doctrinal concepts should be important to the leaders, so they rate them as important or very important no matter their personal level of exposure to the messages. It is possible that the messages are not clear, so women do not recognize level of importance to the leaders. The women could also be getting their ideas about the level of importance leaders give to doctrinal items from other, unrelated sources or influences such as other women in the ward or personal assumptions.

Implications from Research Question 3

The third research question asks how LDS women living in Cache Valley define the ideal Mormon woman and her gender roles, and whether and how age, marital status, and exposure to visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks correlates with responses. Survey results revealed significant differences in several responses that correlate with age and marital status, but there are no easily identifiable

trends that can be generalized. However, the greatest number of significant differences by age and marital statuses were found outside the items on the Inner Spiritual Characteristics and Religiously Motivated Actions indexes. By comparing means, we observe subtle differences in levels of importance, but in general, the women are in agreement about levels of importance on items encompassed in the overarching category of the Spiritual Life, which is also the doctrine that appears most frequently in the *Ensign* messages. Their significant differences appear more often in items that are referred to less frequently in the doctrine. One way of interpreting this finding is that the women are recognizing the doctrinal items that are being taught most frequently through the messages in the *Ensign*. The women reported that the items in the Spiritual Life, which are mentioned most frequently in the doctrine, are important to them too, for the most part regardless of their age or marital status.

Women of all age groups have grown up with different historical events and societal expectations that impact their perceptions. For example, women ages 70 and older reported that staying out of debt, food storage, and homemaking were more important than any other age group. These women lived through or were children of the Depression and World War II, and grew up through times that were traditionally more patriarchal. In contrast, women ages 15-29 said college-level education was more important than any other age group. These women have grown up in a time of greater equality for women.

Women ages 70 and older also said physical fitness and fitting in with ward members was more important to them personally than any other age group. Their response to the item could be due to increased health concerns as they age. Fitting in with

ward members may be more important because older women are more often widows and could be relying on ward members for friendship and support.

When we look at the results according to level of exposure to visiting teaching messages, only three survey items reflected a significant difference that correlate with message exposure: faith, food storage, and visiting teaching. There is no logical order of levels of importance reported according to level of message exposure. Again, it is possible that visiting teaching messages may not be effectively communicating to the women because we would expect to see a larger difference in means between those with low and high exposure. Women may also be getting their ideas about what they think is important from other, unrelated sources such as word of mouth, other popular media, or cultural expectations. Or, the women may simply decide doctrinal concepts *should* be important to them because they are most likely important to the leaders and the women around them. This behavior falls in line with the tenets of self-categorization theory previously discussed (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Therefore, the women may report the items as important or very important regardless of their personal exposure to the messages.

The largest number of significant differences occurred when results were organized by women's exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages. In all 18 of 32 significant survey items, those with high exposure reported items as more important than those with low exposure. One reason could be that 65.3% of respondents reported that conference messages were very important to them compared to 38.7% who said visiting teaching messages were very important. It is possible that women perceive the direction provided in General Conference talks as more applicable or vital to them. It

is logical that those who are exposed to the messages they deem as very important would also respond that concepts contained therein are significantly more important to them than to those who are not exposed to the messages. We cannot identify cause and effect with this data, but questions are raised. Do the women get these ideas and/or priorities by being exposed to the General Conference Relief Society messages? Or, do the women already think the principles are important so they purposely expose themselves to the conference messages to validate their perceptions and reduce uncertainty about their roles and expectations (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000)?

Eight of nine items on the Religiously Motivated Actions index were significantly more important to those with high exposure than those with low. These items are actions that are more visible to others. It is possible that those who have high exposure to conference messages also live their lives in a way that promotes their distinctiveness by adhering in a more stringent way to externally visible group requirements (Hornsey & Hogg, p. 145). These requirements might be reported as very important by perfectionists as well, because they “base their worth as persons on hypercompetitively besting others” (Ellis, 2002, p. 226) and these actions provide a checklist they might use for comparison.

Several of the items that are significantly more important to women with high exposure do not appear frequently in the doctrine, which raises additional questions. What other factors might correlate with these differences? Societal influence? LDS culture?

Implications from Research Question 4

Research Question 4 is, How do the deductive and inductive framing analyses findings of *Ensign* articles, what LDS women in Cache Valley say the doctrine teaches about women's gender roles, and how these women define the ideal Mormon woman and her gender roles compare? The women's perceptions about levels of importance of concepts to their leaders and to themselves personally paralleled what was found in the doctrine in three of the top five most frequently occurring items in the *Ensign*: faith, praying and/or prayer, and making covenants. However, many other items showed large differences between how often doctrine was taught and how important the women thought those items were to leaders and themselves.

For example, according to means, women said Christlike thoughts/behavior was the most important item to Church leaders, but it only ranked 11th in frequency of occurrence in the *Ensign*. The mean for positive attitude was 18th in perceptions of importance to the leaders, but it ranked second in frequency in the articles. The mean for motherhood and many other items also showed large differences in rankings. These results raise questions about why there is such a disparity between what the women think the leaders are teaching and what is being taught in these and other instances.

When the women were asked how important their Church leaders thought concepts in the survey were and how important the items were to them personally, four of the top five items were the same: Christlike thoughts/behavior, faith, testimony, and keeping covenants. In the context of self-categorization theory (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), the items are likely held in common because the women belong to a group (the LDS

Church) and are seeking to identify with it on many levels. One of those levels is the superordinate level, the international Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its attendant doctrine taught by role models who serve in the Church's hierarchical leadership.

When frequency of occurrence in articles is broken out by visiting teaching messages versus General Conference talks from 2005 to 2007, leaders are consistent in the messages they are making relevant because similar items "consistently appear in a narrative and convey thematically consonant meanings" (Entman, 1991, p. 7). Faith, service, having a positive attitude, mothers or motherhood, and prayer are five of the top six items that occur in both visiting teaching messages and conference talks. However, when it comes to level of importance to the women personally, only one item was found in common: faith, which ranked second in importance to them. The principle is important to the women, and the leaders are teaching it frequently through the doctrine, but why is it the only item that is highly important to the women and that parallels with what is being taught in the most recent doctrine?

While positive attitude, service, and motherhood appeared most frequently in the articles, women reported their level of importance as 10th, 11th, and 14th, respectively. It is possible that the disparity between the lists comes from a variety of factors, such as external influences besides the doctrine taught through General Conference Relief Society and visiting teaching messages, messages that come from the culture, and women's personal backgrounds and experiences.

Looking at the items that the women said are most important to them reveals their priorities: inner spiritual characteristics. Observing the items that are least important to

them also provides insight. Of 24 items, the five least important to the women are visiting teaching, physical fitness, homemaking, stay-at-home mom/wife, and college-level education. Only one item, visiting teaching, is included in the broader category of the Spiritual Life. To have this item rank so low in importance to the women may raise questions for Church leaders. Do the women feel the program is relevant? Does the performance (or possible lack thereof) of monthly visiting teaching responsibilities by women living in LDS culture reflect this self-professed lower priority? Overall, the women have reported that items that fall under the broader category of the Spiritual Life are most important to them personally.

Summary

After reviewing the results and implications of this study, there are several findings that deserve attention. First, frequency of codebook items appearing in *Ensign* messages identified definite priorities of principles to Church leaders. However, there is some disconnect between what is being taught and what the LDS women think is important to their leaders. The women did not recognize the priorities indicated by the frequency of the doctrine being taught. Instead, they perceived that nearly everything was very important or important to their leaders. One possible way of interpreting that information is that the women have predetermined what is important to their leaders and their opinions are unaffected by the content of the articles.

Second, lack of correlation between exposure to either visiting teaching messages or General Conference Relief Society talks and what the women said Church leaders thought was important indicates some disconnect between what was being taught and the

women's perceptions. The leaders may not be direct enough in openly identifying their own priorities.

Third, the women reported that the items in the overarching category of the Spiritual Life, which are mentioned most frequently in the doctrine, are important to them too, for the most part regardless of their age or marital status. Exposure to General Conference Relief Society talks correlated highly with how important items were to the women personally, with those with high exposure reporting the items as more important than those with lower exposure in every significant instance. This may indicate a channel of communication that is working for Church leaders, although exposure to those talks tended not to correlate with what women thought leaders thought was important but did tend to correlate with what was important to the women personally.

Finally, when comparing survey item means, LDS women reported that items of a spiritual nature were more important to them than outwardly manifested religiously motivated actions. Although religiously motivated actions appear more frequently in the doctrine than inner spiritual characteristics, the women indicate that those private, inner spiritual characteristics are most important to them personally.

Study Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

There were two main limitations for this study. First, surveys were distributed after church on Sundays. There are undoubtedly LDS women who do not regularly attend their meetings and whose voices remain unheard. Meanwhile, the majority of responses came from women who actively attend their meetings. Several comments written on surveys indicated that groups of women were not in attendance due to the pressures of

cultural expectations and perceived disenfranchisement because of marital status.

There are certainly a variety of reasons for inactivity, but if these two reasons are viable, the results of this study may well underestimate the significance of marital status and perceptions of importance of gender role expectations.

Second, this study only looked at media messages about women's roles and expectations that come from leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. There are myriad sources from which women draw to both define themselves and to identify societal expectations.

A third consideration is that there are most likely instances in which the women's perception of what the survey question was asking differed from the definition the item was given in the content analysis codebook. For example, the meaning of the phrase "having a positive attitude" could be subjectively interpreted by a survey respondent, but the codebook had to provide an objective definition: "Anything to do with a positive attitude or outlook, being cheerful, joyful, hopeful, happy, or optimistic. Include the word "delight...."

My study provides an extensive examination of current doctrinal instruction being taught to LDS women. It is also one of the only surveys that has explored and compared what concepts LDS women living in Mormon culture report are important to leaders and to themselves, and what correlation exists between Church media usage and women's perceptions about their roles and expectations.

This study provides a foundation for many avenues of future research. A longitudinal deductive framing analysis of all visiting teaching messages and General

Conference Relief Society addresses could be conducted to illustrate the evolution of the priorities church leaders set in their messages to women.

Although it may not be possible to obtain permission for further surveys without official endorsement from the LDS Church leadership in Salt Lake City, replication of this survey in other parts of the country outside the Wasatch Front where LDS women are the minority would provide researchers the opportunity to explore perceptions of women who live outside the influence of Mormon culture. Is there a similar correlation between media exposure and women's opinions about level of importance of survey items?

On a larger scale, similar surveys could be conducted with women who belong to other religions in areas of the country that are predominantly affiliated with a particular faith. For example, do Baptist women living in the South or Catholic or Presbyterian women living in the Northeast identify spiritual concepts as more important than religiously motivated actions?

Additional research could be done to find out what other sources women use to define their roles and responsibilities and to determine broader cultural expectations. For example, do the messages they receive come from friends, family, Hollywood, magazines, newspapers, Web images, religious leaders, or other sources? How do women use them and what level of importance do they attach to each source?

The information obtained through this study has many practical applications for Church leaders. Open-ended responses identified issues women are struggling with that leaders could address through visiting teaching messages or General Conference Relief Society talks. This data could also be used as a foundation to launch focus group research to compare women's experiences and perceptions about doctrinal teachings, life

experiences, and Church media usage both inside and outside the culture. Another study could examine accompanying artwork in the *Ensign's* visiting teaching messages to explore themes such as marital status, family status, age, and race presented in the illustrations.

My study has contributed to the body of knowledge about media usage, both by communicators and receivers. The results provided insight into the *Ensign's* messages (intended or unintended), the women's usage of the Church's official publication, and levels of importance LDS women who live in Cache Valley assigned to doctrinal and cultural concepts surrounding the "ideal Mormon woman." The doctrine reflected an overwhelming emphasis on the spiritual life and the women did not recognize priorities in what was being taught. The women reported nearly every survey item as "very important" to their leaders, and a majority of items as "very important" or "important" to them personally.

Statistically significant correlations in women's perceptions about what the leaders think and what the women think personally were found according to age, marital status, and exposure to visiting teaching messages and General Conference Relief Society talks. This study has also provided a foundation for many avenues of future research, not just in the field of communication but in other disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and education.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Tables

Table A1
Frequency of Ensign Articles Mentioning Codebook Items

Codebook item	Article type ^a					
	Conference addresses <i>n</i> = 33		Visiting teaching messages <i>n</i> = 71		All articles <i>n</i> = 104	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Family</i>						
Single	19	57.6	7	9.9	26	25.0
Married	25	75.8	21	29.6	46	44.2
Divorced	7	21.2	0	0	7	6.7
Widow	11	33.3	2	2.8	13	12.5
Mother	31	93.9	25	35.2	56	53.8
Grandmother	12	36.4	3	4.2	15	14.4
Stay-at-home mom	3	9.1	1	1.4	4	3.8
Working mom	8	24.2	1	1.4	9	8.7
Holds Family Home Evening	5	15.2	5	7.0	10	9.6
Strong marital relationship	4	12.1	2	2.8	6	5.8
Teaches children	19	57.6	18	25.4	37	35.6
<i>One or more family items</i>	31	93.9	35	49.3	66	63.5
<i>Homemaking</i>						
Canning	1	3.0	0	0	1	1.0
Church art in home	1	3.0	1	1.4	2	1.9
Clean house	3	9.1	1	1.4	4	3.8
Cooks	4	12.1	2	2.8	6	5.8
Crafts	6	18.2	1	1.4	7	6.7
Gardens	2	6.1	0	0	2	1.9
Home is a safe haven	9	27.3	15	21.1	24	23.1
<i>One or more homemaking items without home is a safe haven</i>	10	30.3	5	7.0	15	14.4
<i>One or more homemaking items with home is a safe haven</i>	17	51.5	18	25.4	35	33.7
<i>Personality traits</i>						
Compassionate	10	30.3	5	7.0	15	14.4
Courageous	15	45.5	19	26.8	34	32.7
Positive attitude	27	81.8	43	60.6	70	67.3
Kind	16	48.5	12	16.9	28	26.9
Patient	8	24.2	11	15.4	19	18.3

Table A1 (continued).

Codebook item	Article type ^a					
	Conference addresses <i>n</i> = 33		Visiting teaching messages <i>n</i> = 71		All articles <i>n</i> = 104	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>One or more personality traits</i>	32	97.0	60	84.5	92	88.5
<i>Physical characteristics</i>						
Self-care	0	0	1	1.4	1	1.0
Modesty	9	27.3	2	2.8	11	10.6
<i>One or more physical characteristics</i>	9	27.3	3	4.2	12	11.5
<i>Spiritual characteristics</i>						
Balanced life	3	9.1	4	5.6	7	6.7
Charity	14	42.4	14	19.7	28	26.9
Christlike thoughts/behavior	18	54.5	17	23.9	35	33.7
Enduring	2	6.1	8	11.3	10	9.6
Faith	29	87.9	45	63.4	74	71.2
Forgiving	33	21.2	5	7.0	12	11.5
Good example	14	42.4	7	9.9	21	20.2
Humble	14	42.4	13	18.3	27	26.0
Integrity	5	15.2	4	5.6	9	8.7
Knows she's a child of God	5	15.2	10	14.1	15	14.4
Not judgmental	8	24.2	4	5.6	12	11.5
Not perfect	4	12.1	1	1.4	5	4.8
Peace	14	42.4	20	28.2	34	32.7
Testimony	20	60.6	11	15.5	31	29.8
Understands her role	6	18.2	2	2.8	8	7.7
Virtuous	11	33.3	6	8.5	17	16.3
<i>One or more spiritual characteristics</i>	33	100	67	94.4	100	96.2
<i>Religiously motivated actions</i>						
Attends church meetings	13	39.4	8	11.3	21	20.2
Attends temple	21	63.6	18	25.4	39	37.5
Church media (uses)	2	6.1	1	1.4	3	2.9
Fasting	8	24.2	6	8.5	14	13.5

Table A1 (continued).

Codebook item	Article type ^a					
	Conference addresses <i>n</i> = 33		Visiting teaching messages <i>n</i> = 71		All articles <i>n</i> = 104	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Genealogy	2	6.1	3	4.2	5	4.8
Honors priesthood	4	12.1	2	2.8	6	5.8
Hymns	1	3.0	2	2.8	3	2.9
Keeps covenants	20	60.6	44	62.0	64	61.5
Magnifies calling	11	33.3	4	5.6	15	14.4
Missionary work	14	42.4	3	4.2	17	16.3
Patriarchal blessing	3	9.1	1	1.4	4	3.8
Pays tithing	7	21.2	5	7.0	12	11.5
Praying and/or prayer	29	87.9	37	52.1	66	63.5
Repents	4	12.1	16	22.5	20	19.2
Scripture study	19	57.6	24	33.8	43	41.3
Serves others	28	84.8	33	46.5	61	58.7
Talents	8	24.2	4	5.6	12	11.5
Visiting teaching	16	48.5	4	5.6	20	19.2
<i>One or more religiously motivated actions</i>	33	100	68	95.8	101	97.1
<i>Other doctrines</i>						
Atonement	14	42.4	16	22.5	30	28.8
Forgiveness	1	3.0	8	11.3	9	8.7
Healing	7	21.2	11	15.5	18	17.3
Resurrection	1	3.0	5	7.0	6	5.8
Staying out of debt	3	9.1	4	5.6	7	6.7
Education	11	33.3	5	7.0	16	15.4
Food storage	3	9.1	2	2.8	5	4.8
Word of Wisdom	2	6.1	1	1.4	3	2.9

^aColumns total more than 100% because articles mention more than one codebook item.

Table A2
Most Commonly Occurring Items in Ensign Articles (in Percentages)

Codebook item	Article type ^a		
	<i>Conference addresses</i> <i>n = 33</i>	<i>Visiting teaching</i> <i>messages</i> <i>n = 71</i>	<i>All articles</i> <i>n = 104</i>
Faith	87.9	63.4	71.2
Positive attitude	81.8	60.6	67.3
Praying and/or prayer	87.9	52.1	63.5
Keeps covenants	60.6	62.0	61.5
Mother	93.9	35.2	53.8
Serves others	84.8	46.5	58.7
Married	75.8	29.6	44.2
Scripture study	57.6	33.8	41.3
Attends temple	63.6	25.4	37.5
Teaches children	57.6	25.4	35.6
<i>One or more of most common items</i>	100	98.6	99.0

^aColumns may total more than 100% because articles may mention more than one item.

Table A3
Means of Women's Perceptions of Importance of Survey Items to Leaders and to Themselves

Survey item	Mean ^a	
	<i>Importance to leaders</i>	<i>Importance to women</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.06	1.12
Charity	1.09 (n = 634)	1.19 (n = 640)
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.04 (n = 635)	1.10 (n = 641)
Compassion	1.08 (n = 635)	1.11 (n = 641)
Faith	1.05 (n = 635)	1.08 (n = 638)
Keeping covenants	1.07 (n = 635)	1.06 (n = 641)
Praying and/or prayer	1.06 (n = 636)	1.12 (n = 640)
Scripture study	1.07 (n = 636)	1.22 (n = 640)
Testimony	1.06 (n = 635)	1.11 (n = 640)
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.25	1.48
Family Home Evening	1.19 (n = 632)	1.51 (n = 639)
Missionary work	1.19 (n = 634)	1.62 (n = 639)
Modesty	1.19 (n = 634)	1.16 (n = 640)
Participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities	1.78 (n = 635)	2.20 (n = 641)
Service	1.09 (n = 635)	1.25 (n = 637)
Staying out of debt	1.22 (n = 635)	1.40 (n = 637)
Temple attendance	1.11 (n = 635)	1.27 (n = 640)
Visiting teaching	1.23 (n = 634)	1.65 (n = 639)
Weekly church attendance	1.23 (n = 635)	1.26 (n = 635)

Table A3 (continued).

Survey item	Mean ^a	
	<i>Importance to leaders</i>	<i>Importance to women</i>
<i>Remaining items</i>		
Appearance of financial wealth	3.82 (n = 632)	3.65 (n = 638)
Courage	1.37 (n = 632)	1.38 (n = 639)
Education (college level)	1.88 (n = 626)	2.14 (n = 634)
Fitting in with ward members	2.38 (n = 630)	2.29 (n = 638)
Food storage	1.33 (n = 634)	1.61 (n = 636)
Having a balanced life	1.46 (n = 635)	1.43 (n = 637)
Having a career outside the home	-	3.43 (n = 640)
Having a positive attitude	1.32 (n = 631)	1.24 (n = 641)
Having well-behaved/successful children	2.20 (n = 632)	1.92 (n = 639)
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	2.00 (n = 633)	1.99 (n = 640)
Motherhood	1.78 (n = 634)	1.29 (n = 638)
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.62 (n = 635)	1.66 (n = 639)
Physical fitness	2.17 (n = 633)	1.95 (n = 636)
Spouse has important church calling	3.50 (n = 627)	3.33 (n = 632)
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1.83 (n = 632)	2.09 (n = 634)

^aSurvey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

The item “Having a career outside the home” was not included in the importance-to-leaders section of the survey.

Table A4
Mean Importance of Items to Leaders as Perceived by Women by Age

Survey item	Age*							Brown-Forsythe	
	15-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total	F*	Sig.
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.03 _a	1.06 _{ab}	1.04 _a	1.05 _a	1.08 _{ab}	1.17 _b	1.06	4.82	.001
Charity	1.03 _a	1.07 _a	1.05 _a	1.09 _{ab}	1.10 _{ab}	1.25 _b	1.08	5.38	.001
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.01 _a	1.03 _{ab}	1.03 _{ab}	1.04 _{ab}	1.07 _{ab}	1.14 _b	1.04	3.30	.007
Compassion	1.07	1.07	1.04	1.05	1.08	1.18	1.08	2.71	.020
Faith	1.02	1.06	1.05	1.04	1.08	1.12	1.05	1.82	.107
Keeping covenants	1.03	1.06	1.07	1.05	1.10	1.14	1.07	1.71	.133
Praying and/or prayer	1.03	1.08	1.05	1.04	1.07	1.14	1.06	2.13	.061
Scripture study	1.03 _a	1.06 _{ab}	1.05 _{ab}	1.06 _{ab}	1.05 _{ab}	1.21 _b	1.07	4.46	.001
Testimony	1.01 _a	1.06 _{ab}	1.04 _{ab}	1.05 _{ab}	1.05 _{ab}	1.18 _b	1.06	3.98	.002
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.18 _a	1.24 _{ab}	1.23 _{ab}	1.24 _{ab}	1.26 _{ab}	1.39 _b	1.25	3.98	.002
Family Home Evening	1.16 _{ab}	1.15 _a	1.18 _{ab}	1.17 _{ab}	1.19 _{ab}	1.36 _b	1.19	2.70	.020
Missionary work	1.13	1.17	1.18	1.18	1.22	1.32	1.18	1.93	.088
Modesty	1.15 _{ab}	1.21 _{ab}	1.17 _{ab}	1.13 _a	1.19 _{ab}	1.33 _b	1.19	2.25	.049
Participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities	1.63	1.83	1.84	1.83	1.75	1.85	1.78	1.91	.092
Service	1.05 _a	1.08 _{ab}	1.06 _a	1.07 _a	1.08 _{ab}	1.24 _b	1.09	3.62	.003
Staying out of debt	1.18	1.23	1.17	1.21	1.20	1.38	1.22	1.78	.118
Temple attendance	1.04 _a	1.07 _a	1.08 _a	1.12 _{ab}	1.13 _{ab}	1.30 _b	1.11	5.84	.001
Visiting teaching	1.12 _a	1.22 _{ab}	1.22 _{ab}	1.26 _{ab}	1.27 _{ab}	1.43 _b	1.23	4.29	.001
Weekly church attendance	1.16	1.24	1.23	1.21	1.32	1.31	1.23	1.29	.266
<i>Remaining items</i>									
Appearance of financial wealth	3.90 _a	3.94 _a	3.96 _a	3.82 _{ab}	3.59 _{ab}	3.42 _b	3.82	3.73	.002
Courage	1.38	1.42	1.40	1.27	1.33	1.40	1.37	.950	.448
Education (college level)	1.85	1.78	2.01	1.83	1.97	1.99	1.88	1.67	.141

Table A4 (continued).

Survey item	Age*							Brown-Forsythe	
	15-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total	F*	Sig.
Fitting in with ward members	2.57 _a	2.50 _{ab}	2.35 _{ab}	2.38 _{ab}	2.15 _{bc}	1.96 _c	2.38	5.63	.001
Food storage	1.27	1.33	1.35	1.31	1.36	1.45	1.33	1.04	.392
Having a balanced life	1.36	1.40	1.49	1.45	1.59	1.63	1.46	2.62	.024
Having a career outside the home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Having a positive attitude	1.26	1.31	1.37	1.31	1.31	1.42	1.32	.955	.445
Having well-behaved/successful children	2.30 _a	2.38 _a	2.27 _{ab}	2.15 _{abc}	1.92 _{bc}	1.89 _c	2.21	5.72	.001
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	1.87	2.08	2.09	2.05	1.86	2.00	2.00	1.78	.116
Motherhood	1.10 _a	1.14 _a	1.19 _{ab}	1.16 _{ab}	1.25 _{ab}	1.36 _b	1.18	3.90	.002
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.61	1.72	1.78	1.52	1.49	1.51	1.62	1.89	.095
Physical fitness	2.34 _a	2.34 _a	2.17 _{ab}	2.01 _{bc}	1.98 _{bc}	1.86 _c	2.17	7.38	.001
Spouse has important church calling	3.67 _a	3.79 _a	3.65 _a	3.41 _{ab}	3.10 _{bc}	2.84 _c	1.13	10.07	.001
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1.82	1.80	1.83	1.81	1.70	2.00	1.82	1.13	.341

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Dunnett's C post hoc test.

The item "Having a career outside the home" was not included in the importance-to-leaders section of the survey.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 144-146 for 15-29 year-olds, 143-145 for 30-39 year-olds, 93-95 for 40-49 year-olds, 111-114 for 50-59 year-olds, 58-60 for 60-69 year-olds, 68-73 for 70+ year-olds, and 622-632 for the total.

Table A5
Mean Importance of Items to Leaders as Perceived by Women by Marital Status

Survey item	Marital status*					Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Widow</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.03 _a	1.06 _b	1.06 _{ab}	1.17 _b	1.06	3.83	.001
Charity	1.06 _a	1.08 _a	1.03 _a	1.23 _b	1.08	4.09	.009
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.01 _a	1.04 _a	1.03 _a	1.18 _b	1.04	5.19	.003
Compassion	1.07 _a	1.07 _a	1.03 _a	1.20 _b	1.08	3.22	.026
Faith	1.03	1.05	1.06	1.14	1.05	1.82	.149
Keeping covenants	1.02	1.07	1.09	1.11	1.07	1.37	.258
Praying and/or prayer	1.02	1.07	1.09	1.09	1.06	1.45	.232
Scripture study	1.02 _a	1.06 _a	1.09 _{ab}	1.20 _b	1.07	3.52	.018
Testimony	1.02 _a	1.05 _a	1.06 _{ab}	1.18 _b	1.06	3.11	.031
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.16 _a	1.26 _b	1.24 _{ab}	1.37 _b	1.25	5.47	.001
Family Home Evening	1.12 _a	1.19 _{ab}	1.15 _{ab}	1.37 _b	1.19	3.49	.018
Missionary work	1.14 _a	1.18 _a	1.18 _{ab}	1.39 _b	1.19	2.96	.035
Modesty	1.09	1.20	1.24	1.26	1.19	2.91	.037
Participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities	1.58 _a	1.82 _b	1.79 _{ab}	1.86 _{ab}	1.78	3.63	.014
Service	1.07 _a	1.08 _a	1.09 _{ab}	1.23 _b	1.09	2.67	.050
Staying out of debt	1.13	1.24	1.18	1.32	1.22	2.27	.083
Temple attendance	1.05 _a	1.11 _{ab}	1.06 _{ab}	1.25 _b	1.11	3.93	.011
Visiting teaching	1.11 _a	1.24 _{ab}	1.24 _{ab}	1.43 _b	1.23	5.93	.001
Weekly church attendance	1.14	1.25	1.26	1.30	1.23	1.82	.146
<i>Remaining items</i>							
Appearance of financial wealth	3.84	3.86	3.76	3.41	3.82	2.22	.088
Courage	1.34	1.37	1.31	1.49	1.37	.90	.440
Education (college level)	1.72	1.90	1.89	2.04	1.88	2.09	.105

Table A5 (continued).

Survey item	Marital status*					Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Widow</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Fitting in with ward members	2.40 _a	2.43 _a	2.24 _{ab}	1.89 _b	2.38	5.52	.001
Food storage	1.27	1.33	1.44	1.42	1.33	1.17	.322
Having a balanced life	1.33	1.47	1.50	1.64	1.46	2.82	.041
Having a career outside the home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Having a positive attitude	1.17 _a	1.35 _b	1.38 _{ab}	1.36 _{ab}	1.32	4.10	.008
Having well-behaved/successful children	2.16	2.23	2.24	1.98	2.20	1.28	.285
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	1.85	2.04	1.94	1.98	2.00	1.74	.161
Motherhood	1.08 _a	1.17 _a	1.26 _{ab}	1.44 _b	1.18	5.43	.002
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.56	1.64	1.79	1.48	1.62	1.13	.341
Physical fitness	2.14	2.20	2.15	1.88	2.17	2.23	.087
Spouse has important church calling	3.61 _a	3.55 _a	3.39 _{ab}	2.88 _b	3.51	4.53	.005
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1.71	1.84	1.82	2.02	1.83	2.05	.109

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

The item “Having a career outside the home” was not included in the importance-to-leaders section of the survey.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Scheffé’s post hoc test.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 102-106 for single women, 444-449 for married women, 33-34 for divorced women, 40-44 for widowed women, and 622-632 for the total.

Table A6
Marital Status and Age of Women Surveyed

Marital status	Age						Total
	15-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	
Single	65	28	8	3	2	0	106
Married	81	113	76	104	41	37	452
Divorced/separated	1	4	9	9	9	3	35
Widowed	0	0	3	0	7	33	43
Total	147	145	96	116	59	73	636

Table A7
Women's Perceptions of Importance of Items to Leaders by Level of Visiting Teaching Message Exposure

Survey item	Means by visiting teaching exposure*			Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.07	1.07	1.06	0.36	.697
Charity	1.11	1.09	1.07	0.65	.522
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.07	1.05	1.04	0.45	.637
Compassion	1.10	1.08	1.07	0.23	.798
Faith	1.07	1.06	1.04	0.57	.566
Keeping covenants	1.08	1.07	1.06	0.07	.929
Praying and/or prayer	1.05	1.08	1.06	0.71	.492
Scripture study	1.07	1.09	1.06	0.64	.530
Testimony	1.05	1.08	1.05	0.86	.422
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.21	1.26	1.25	0.79	.456
Family Home Evening	1.18	1.18	1.19	0.03	.975
Missionary work	1.12	1.21	1.19	1.53	.219
Modesty	1.14	1.17	1.21	1.08	.339
Participation in enrichment/ extracurricular church activities	1.68	1.76	1.82	1.42	.243
Service	1.09	1.10	1.09	0.11	.894
Staying out of debt	1.15	1.21	1.25	1.63	.198
Temple attendance	1.11	1.12	1.10	0.35	.706
Visiting teaching	1.18	1.28	1.22	1.70	.185
Weekly church attendance	1.22	1.27	1.21	1.13	.324
<i>Remaining items</i>					
Appearance of financial wealth	3.76	3.82	3.84	0.21	.807
Courage	1.32	1.40	1.36	0.74	.477
Education (college level)	1.86	1.87	1.91	0.23	.796
Food storage	1.28	1.35	1.34	0.46	.633
Fitting in with ward members	2.47 _{ab}	2.49 _a	2.28 _b	3.54	.030
Having a balanced life	1.49	1.44	1.48	0.34	.713
Having a positive attitude	1.29	1.32	1.33	0.18	.831
Having well-behaved/successful children	2.13	2.26	2.20	0.72	.488
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	1.93	2.00	2.01	0.34	.714
Motherhood	1.13	1.21	1.17	1.46	.234
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.66	1.67	1.58	0.79	.455
Physical fitness	2.37 _a	2.20 _{ab}	2.09 _b	3.93	.021
Spouse has important church calling	3.41	3.60	3.49	1.03	.357

Table A7 (continued).

Survey item	Means by visiting teaching exposure*			Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1.85	1.82	1.82	0.06	.943

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Scheffé's post hoc test.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 90-92 for low visiting teaching message exposure, 215-218 for medium exposure, and 309-316 for high exposure, and 617-627 for the total.

Table A8
Women's Perceptions of Importance of Items to Leaders by Level of General Conference Relief Society Message Exposure

Survey item	Means by conference exposure*			Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.13	1.05	1.06	2.73	.069
Charity	1.15	1.09	1.07	1.90	.154
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.09	1.06	1.04	1.22	.299
Compassion	1.11	1.08	1.07	0.51	.603
Faith	1.12 _a	1.02 _b	1.05 _b	3.41	.036
Keeping covenants	1.12	1.06	1.06	1.64	.198
Praying and/or prayer	1.15 _a	1.04 _b	1.05 _b	3.68	.028
Scripture study	1.15	1.06	1.06	2.91	.058
Testimony	1.12	1.04	1.05	2.43	.092
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.28	1.24	1.24	0.50	.607
Family Home Evening	1.26	1.17	1.18	1.02	.362
Missionary work	1.19	1.13	1.19	0.59	.558
Modesty	1.20	1.15	1.19	0.16	.853
Participation in enrichment/ extracurricular church activities	1.79	1.74	1.78	0.13	.876
Service	1.15	1.07	1.09	1.23	.297
Staying out of debt	1.27	1.26	1.21	0.62	.539
Temple attendance	1.15	1.13	1.10	0.73	.486
Visiting teaching	1.25	1.24	1.23	0.07	.933
Weekly church attendance	1.30	1.26	1.22	1.08	.344
<i>Remaining items</i>					
Appearance of financial wealth	3.87	3.98	3.80	0.87	.421
Courage	1.38	1.41	1.37	0.15	.859
Education (college level)	2.07	1.88	1.86	2.45	.089
Fitting in with ward members	2.60	2.44	2.34	2.52	.084
Food Storage	1.36	1.32	1.33	0.11	.899
Having a balanced life	1.62	1.45	1.44	2.71	.069
Having a positive attitude	1.37	1.26	1.32	0.63	.533
Having well-behaved/ successful children	2.39	2.36	2.16	3.15	.046
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	2.02	1.96	2.00	0.10	.908
Motherhood	1.26	1.23	1.16	1.38	.254
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.72	1.77	1.59	1.36	.259

Table A8 (continued).

Survey item	Means by conference exposure*			Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Physical fitness	2.25	2.30	2.15	1.37	.256
Spouse has important church calling	3.58	3.69	3.49	1.04	.356
Stay-at-home mom/wife	2.00	1.89	1.79	2.54	.083

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Scheffé's post hoc test.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 79-81 for low conference exposure, 52-54 for medium exposure, and 485-492 for high exposure, and 617-627 for the total.

Table A9
Mean Importance of Items to Women by Age

Survey item	Age*							Brown-Forsythe	
	15-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total	F*	Sig.
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.09	1.11	1.14	1.12	1.16	1.15	1.12	.83	.529
Charity	1.18	1.22	1.15	1.16	1.22	1.20	1.19	.56	.738
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.10	1.08	1.09	1.09	1.14	1.16	1.10	.82	.534
Compassion	1.13	1.14	1.06	1.10	1.08	1.15	1.11	.98	.432
Faith	1.07	1.06	1.11	1.06	1.16	1.10	1.08	1.28	.270
Keeping covenants	1.04	1.04	1.09	1.07	1.09	1.06	1.06	.91	.473
Praying and/or prayer	1.09	1.10	1.18	1.11	1.20	1.05	1.11	2.11	.063
Scripture study	1.12	1.19	1.28	1.23	1.28	1.31	1.22	2.74	.019
Testimony	1.08	1.09	1.16	1.10	1.12	1.13	1.10	.91	.472
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.41	1.48	1.55	1.51	1.53	1.41	1.48	2.73	.019
Family Home Evening	1.39 _a	1.39 _a	1.60 _{ab}	1.54 _{ab}	1.75 _b	1.57 _{ab}	1.51	3.91	.002
Missionary work	1.48	1.67	1.71	1.62	1.70	1.61	1.62	2.09	.066
Modesty	1.14	1.19	1.22	1.16	1.15	1.12	1.17	.84	.523
Participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities	2.11	2.20	2.26	2.34	2.22	2.04	2.20	2.03	.072
Service	1.20	1.27	1.22	1.26	1.28	1.33	1.25	1.13	.344
Staying out of debt	1.32 _{ab}	1.39 _{ab}	1.55 _a	1.43 _{ab}	1.45 _{ab}	1.25 _b	1.39	3.10	.009
Temple attendance	1.17 _a	1.23 _{ab}	1.38 _b	1.32 _{ab}	1.30 _{ab}	1.31 _{ab}	1.27	2.34	.041
Visiting teaching	1.62	1.70	1.69	1.72	1.64	1.48	1.65	1.39	.227
Weekly church attendance	1.22	1.28	1.35	1.22	1.30	1.21	1.26	1.30	.265
<i>Remaining items</i>									
Appearance of financial wealth	3.68	3.65	3.79	3.64	3.59	3.49	3.65	1.04	.391
Courage	1.47	1.39	1.36	1.34	1.32	1.34	1.38	1.05	.388
Education (college level)	1.91 _a	2.09 _{ab}	2.29 _b	2.17 _{ab}	2.35 _b	2.30 _{ab}	2.14	3.70	.003
Fitting in with ward members	2.49 _a	2.40 _a	2.45 _a	2.26 _{ab}	1.95 _{bc}	1.78 _c	2.29	10.93	.001

Table A9 (continued).

Survey item	Age*							Brown-Forsythe	
	15-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total	F*	Sig.
Food storage	1.71 _a	1.68 _{ab}	1.60 _{ab}	1.54 _{ab}	1.50 _{ab}	1.45 _b	1.61	2.78	.017
Having a balanced life	1.34	1.41	1.46	1.46	1.52	1.50	1.43	1.12	.348
Having a career outside the home	3.39	3.63	3.44	3.92	3.32	3.34	3.43	2.00	.077
Having a positive attitude	1.25	1.25	1.29	1.24	1.17	1.22	1.24	.68	.638
Having well-behaved/successful children	2.03	1.88	2.01	1.93	1.80	1.78	1.93	1.67	.141
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	2.11 _a	1.94 _{ab}	2.15 _a	2.03 _{ab}	1.82 _{ab}	1.79 _b	2.00	3.60	.003
Motherhood	1.24	1.32	1.36	1.27	1.36	1.18	1.29	1.26	.282
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.82 _a	1.68 _{ab}	1.77 _{ab}	1.45 _b	1.62 _{ab}	1.60 _{ab}	1.67	2.49	.030
Physical fitness	2.01 _a	1.98 _{ab}	2.07 _a	1.90 _{ab}	1.90 _{ab}	1.74 _b	1.95	2.78	.017
Spouse has important church calling	3.42 _a	3.57 _a	3.51 _a	3.28 _{ab}	2.87 _{bc}	2.82 _c	3.33	9.49	.001
Stay-at-home mom/wife	2.19 _{ab}	1.88 _a	2.24 _b	2.13 _{ab}	2.03 _{ab}	2.07 _{ab}	2.09	2.56	.027

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by using Dunnett's C post hoc test.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 145-146 for 15-29 year-olds, 142-145 for 30-39 year-olds, 95-96 for 40-49 year-olds, 113-116 for 50-59 year-olds, 58-60 for 60-69 year-olds, 68-74 for 70+ year-olds, and 630-637 for the total.

Table A10
Mean Importance of Items to LDS Women by Marital Status

Survey item	Marital status*					Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Widow</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.09	1.12	1.19	1.18	1.12	1.60	.091
Charity	1.14	1.18	1.26	1.25	1.19	1.00	.397
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.09	1.09	1.23	1.18	1.10	1.91	.132
Compassion	1.10	1.10	1.20	1.18	1.11	1.20	.313
Faith	1.08	1.08	1.09	1.09	1.08	0.04	.991
Keeping covenants	1.05	1.06	1.09	1.07	1.06	0.23	.877
Praying and/or prayer	1.08	1.12	1.17	1.07	1.11	0.93	.432
Scripture study	1.14 _a	1.22 _{ab}	1.23 _{ab}	1.41 _b	1.22	3.17	.027
Testimony	1.08	1.10	1.23	1.17	1.11	2.17	.095
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.40	1.49	1.57	1.47	1.48	2.21	.091
Family Home Evening	1.47	1.49	1.63	1.63	1.50	0.95	.420
Missionary work	1.49	1.63	1.80	1.67	1.62	2.58	.055
Modesty	1.17	1.16	1.26	1.16	1.17	0.70	.557
Participation in enrichment/extra-curricular church activities	2.13	2.21	2.31	2.07	2.20	1.04	.377
Service	1.20	1.25	1.29	1.40	1.25	2.10	.103
Staying out of debt	1.26	1.43	1.46	1.29	1.40	3.79	.012
Temple attendance	1.15	1.29	1.29	1.34	1.27	3.00	.033
Visiting teaching	1.53	1.67	1.84	1.63	1.65	1.84	.143
Weekly church attendance	1.22	1.28	1.31	1.19	1.26	0.89	.446
<i>Remaining items</i>							
Appearance of financial wealth	3.65	3.64	3.83	3.63	3.65	0.41	.746
Courage	1.32	1.39	1.40	1.40	1.38	0.49	.689
Education (college level)	1.87 _a	2.20 _b	2.11 _{ab}	2.30 _{ab}	2.14	3.88	.010
Fitting in with ward members	2.41 _a	2.32 _a	2.23 _{ab}	1.75 _b	2.29	7.44	.001
Food Storage	1.65	1.62	1.53	1.45	1.61	1.31	.272
Having a balanced life	1.31	1.45	1.37	1.56	1.43	2.62	.053

Table A10 (continued).

Survey item	Marital status*					Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Widow</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Having a positive attitude	3.24	3.51	3.20	3.19	3.43	4.41	.005
Having well-behaved/successful children	1.26	1.23	1.26	1.27	1.24	0.22	.881
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	1.94	1.93	1.94	1.82	1.92	0.32	.812
Motherhood	2.02	2.02	1.83	1.84	2.00	1.47	.224
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.30	1.28	1.34	1.31	1.29	0.21	.891
Physical fitness	1.74	1.63	1.91	1.66	1.67	1.05	.373
Spouse has important church calling	1.91	1.97	1.94	1.86	1.95	0.39	.758
Stay-at-home mom/wife	3.46 _a	3.34 _a	3.35 _{ab}	2.87 _b	3.33	3.37	.020

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Scheffé's post hoc test.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 104-106 for single women, 446-452 for married women, 34-35 for divorced women, 39-44 for widowed women, and 621-637 for the total.

Table A11
Women's Perceptions of Importance of Items by Level of Visiting Teaching Message Exposure

Survey item	Means by VT exposure*			Brown-Forsythe	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.13	1.14	1.10	2.83	.060
Charity	1.20	1.25	1.13	5.27	.060
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.13	1.11	1.09	0.66	.516
Compassion	1.17	1.13	1.09	2.31	.101
Faith	1.09 _{ab}	1.12 _a	1.05 _b	3.04	.049
Keeping covenants	1.04	1.09	1.04	2.44	.089
Praying and/or prayer	1.13	1.14	1.09	1.74	.177
Scripture study	1.20	1.23	1.21	0.14	.871
Testimony	1.10	1.13	1.09	0.81	.447
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.53	1.49	1.44	2.61	.075
Family Home Evening	1.65	1.47	1.49	2.63	.073
Missionary work	1.52	1.65	1.62	1.46	.233
Modesty	1.17	1.20	1.13	2.20	.113
Participation in enrichment/ extracurricular church activities	2.24	2.23	2.15	0.93	.398
Service	1.29	1.29	1.21	2.11	.123
Staying out of debt	1.38	1.39	1.40	0.07	.936
Temple attendance	1.27	1.29	1.25	0.49	.611
Visiting teaching	1.96 _a	1.66 _b	1.54 _b	12.72	.001
Weekly church attendance	1.33	1.27	1.23	1.67	.190
<i>Remaining items</i>					
Appearance of financial wealth	3.62	3.64	3.68	0.17	.841
Courage	1.38	1.44	1.35	1.75	.176
Education (college level)	2.02	2.08	2.22	2.56	.079
Fitting in with ward members	2.32	2.35	2.23	1.41	.246
Food Storage	1.68	1.66	1.54	3.03	.049
Having a balanced life	1.39	1.38	1.48	2.44	.088
Having a career outside the home	3.07 _a	3.51 _b	3.47 _b	8.31	.001
Having a positive attitude	1.29	1.23	1.23	0.63	.532
Having well-behaved/successful children	1.93	1.88	1.95	0.46	.631
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	2.10	2.00	1.96	1.14	.322
Motherhood	1.25	1.33	1.26	1.15	.317
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.87 _a	1.75 _{ab}	1.54 _b	6.02	.003
Physical fitness	2.01	1.92	1.95	0.57	.565
Spouse has important church calling	3.23	3.40	3.30	1.16	.316
Stay-at-home mom/wife	2.26	2.04	2.08	1.81	.165

Table A11 (continued).

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Dunnett's C post hoc test.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 93-94 for low visiting teaching message exposure, 216-220 for medium exposure, 313-318 for high exposure, and 623-632 for the total.

Table A12
*Women's Perceptions of Importance of Items by Level of General Conference Relief
 Society Message Exposure*

Survey item	Means by conference exposure*			Brown- Forsythe	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	1.21 _a	1.13 _{ab}	1.11 _b	5.49	.005
Charity	1.33 _a	1.26 _{ab}	1.15 _b	5.02	.008
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.21 _a	1.09 _{ab}	1.09 _b	4.10	.018
Compassion	1.18	1.09	1.11	1.69	.187
Faith	1.13	1.09	1.07	1.21	.302
Keeping covenants	1.08	1.06	1.05	0.53	.592
Praying and/or prayer	1.18	1.13	1.10	1.77	.173
Scripture study	1.39 _a	1.17 _b	1.19 _b	6.37	.002
Testimony	1.20 _a	1.15 _{ab}	1.08 _b	4.28	.016
<i>Religiously motivated actions index</i>	1.28 _a	1.24 _{ab}	1.24 _b	14.86	.001
Family Home Evening	1.81	1.48	1.45	9.90	.001
Missionary work	1.80 _a	1.67 _{ab}	1.58 _b	3.94	.021
Modesty	1.24	1.20	1.15	2.05	.132
Participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities	2.49 _a	2.24 _{ab}	2.14 _b	6.98	.001
Service	1.37 _a	1.26 _{ab}	1.23 _b	3.42	.035
Staying out of debt	1.52 _{ab}	1.56 _a	1.35 _b	5.06	.007
Temple attendance	1.47 _a	1.35 _{ab}	1.22 _b	6.97	.001
Visiting teaching	1.98 _a	1.74 _{ab}	1.58 _b	10.20	.001
Weekly church attendance	1.46 _a	1.24 _{ab}	1.23 _b	6.40	.002
<i>Remaining items</i>					
Appearance of financial wealth	3.76	3.58	3.65	0.69	.504
Courage	1.42	1.42	1.38	0.27	.760
Education (college level)	2.38 _a	2.25 _{ab}	2.09 _b	3.47	.034
Fitting in with ward members	2.45	2.43	2.24	2.61	.076
Food Storage	1.77	1.76	1.56	4.85	.009
Having a balanced life	1.47	1.47	1.42	0.39	.677
Having a career outside the home	3.22	3.57	3.44	2.56	.081
Having a positive attitude	1.18	1.30	1.24	1.16	.316
Having well-behaved/successful children	2.12 _a	1.93 _{ab}	1.89 _b	3.22	.043
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	2.12	2.13	1.96	2.48	.087
Motherhood	1.43	1.25	1.26	2.71	.070
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.89 _a	1.80 _{ab}	1.61 _b	3.42	.035
Physical fitness	2.12 _a	2.06 _{ab}	1.91 _b	3.73	.026

Table A12 (continued)

Survey item	Means by conference exposure*			Brown- Forsythe	
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Spouse has important church calling	3.45	3.43	3.29	1.11	.332
Stay-at-home mom/wife	2.41 _a	2.01 _b	2.05 _b	5.40	.005

Notes. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Means with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Dunnett's C post hoc test.

*Because the number of responses varied item by item, n ranges were: 81-83 for low conference exposure, 52-54 for medium exposure, and 487-495 for high exposure, and 623-632 for the total.

Table A13
Ranking of Most Commonly Occurring Items in Ensign Articles and Women's Perceptions of Their Importance to Leaders and Themselves

Survey item	All <i>Ensign</i> articles <i>n</i> = 104	Conference addresses 2005-2007 <i>n</i> = 13	Visiting teaching messages 2000-2007 <i>n</i> = 71	Importance to leaders	Importance to women
Faith	1	1/2 (2-way tie)	1	2	2
Having a positive attitude	2	3/4/5 (3-way tie)	3	18	10
Praying and/or prayer	3	3/4/5 (3-way tie)	4	3/4 (2-way tie)	5
Keeping covenants	4	11/12 (2-way tie)	2	5/6 (2-way tie)	1
Service	5	1/2 (2-way tie)	5	9	11
Motherhood	6	3/4/5 (3-way tie)	6	11/12 (2-way tie)	14
Scripture study	8	8/9/10 (3-way tie)	7	5/6 (2-way tie)	9
Christlike thoughts/behavior	11	6	10	1	3/4 (2-way tie)
Testimony	14	8/9/10 (3-way tie)	12	3/4 (2-way tie)	3/4 (2-way tie)

Note. Rankings for *Ensign* articles were calculated using frequencies. Rankings of women's perceptions of importance to leaders and themselves were calculated using means.

Table A14

Ranking of Survey Items in Ensign Articles and Women's Perceptions of Their Importance to Leaders and Themselves

Survey item	Frequency of occurrence in <i>Ensign</i> articles <i>n</i> =104		Visiting teaching messages (2000-2007) <i>n</i> =71		Conference messages (2005-2007) <i>n</i> =13		Importance to leaders ^a		Importance to women ^a	
	<i>Rank</i>	%	<i>Rank</i>	%	<i>Rank</i>	%	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Charity	16/17 (2-way tie)	26.9	11	19.7	8/9/10 (3-way tie)	53.8	7/8 (2-way tie)	1.09 (<i>n</i> = 634)	8	1.19 ^{**C} (<i>n</i> = 640)
Christlike thoughts/behavior	11	33.7	10	23.9	6	69.2	1	1.04 (<i>n</i> = 635)	3/4 (2-way tie)	1.10 ^{*V} (<i>n</i> = 641)
Compassion	30/31/32/33 (4-way tie)	14.4	13/14/15 (3-way tie)	7	15/16/17/18 (4-way tie)	23.1	7/8 (2-way tie)	1.08 (<i>n</i> = 635)	5/6 (2-way tie)	1.11 (<i>n</i> = 641)
Courage	12/13 (2-way tie)	32.7	8	26.8	13/14 (2-way tie)	38.5	20	1.37 (<i>n</i> = 632)	15	1.38 (<i>n</i> = 639)
Education (college level)	29	15.4	13/14/15 (3-way tie)	7	15/16/17/18 (4-way tie)	23.1	23	1.88 (<i>n</i> = 626)	25	2.14 ^{*V} (<i>n</i> = 634)
Faith	1	71.2	1	63.4	1/2 (2-way tie)	92.3	2	1.05 ^{†C} (<i>n</i> = 635)	2	1.08 ^{*V} (<i>n</i> = 638)
Family Home Evening	42/43 (2-way tie)	9.6	13/14/15 (3-way tie)	7	15/16/17/18 (4-way tie)	23.1	13/14 (2-way tie)	1.19 (<i>n</i> = 32)	18	1.15 ^{**} (<i>n</i> = 639)
Food storage	54/55/56 (3-way tie)	4.8	21/22 (2-way tie)	2.8	19/20 (2-way tie)	15.4	19	1.33 (<i>n</i> = 634)	19	1.38 ^{*C} (<i>n</i> = 639)

Table A14 (continued)

Survey item	Frequency of occurrence in <i>Ensign</i> articles <i>n</i> =104		Visiting teaching messages (2000-2007) <i>n</i> =71		Conference messages (2005-2007) <i>n</i> =13		Importance to leaders ^a		Importance to women ^a	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean
Having a balanced life	48/49/50 (3-way tie)	6.7	16/17/18/19 (3-way tie)	5.6	23/24 (2-way tie)	0	21	1.46	17	1.43
Having a positive attitude	2	67.3	3	60.6	3/4/5 (3-way tie)	84.6	18	1.32 (<i>n</i> = 631)	10	1.24 (<i>n</i> = 641)
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening) _b	34/35 (2-way tie)	13.5	16/17/18/19 (3-way tie)	5.6	15/16/17/18 (4-way tie)	23.1	24	2.00 (<i>n</i> = 633)	23	1.99 (<i>n</i> = 640)
Keeping covenants	4	61.5	2	62	11/12 (2-way tie)	46.2	5/6 (2-way tie)	1.07 (<i>n</i> = 635)	1	1.06 (<i>n</i> = 641)
Missionary work	27/28 (2-way tie)	16.3	20	4.2	13/14 (2-way tie)	38.5	11/12 (2-way tie)	1.19 (<i>n</i> = 634)	20	1.62 ^{*v} (<i>n</i> = 639)
Modesty	41	10.6	21/22 (2-way tie)	2.8	19/20 (2-way tie)	15.4	13/14 (2-way tie)	1.19 (<i>n</i> = 634)	7	1.16 (<i>n</i> = 640)
Motherhood	6	53.8	6	35.2	3/4/5 (3-way tie)	84.6	11/12 (2-way tie)	1.78 (<i>n</i> = 634)	14	1.29 (<i>n</i> = 638)
Physical fitness	63	1	23/24 (3-way tie)	1.4	23/24 (2-way tie)	0	25	2.17 ^{†v} (<i>n</i> = 633)	22	1.95 ^{*c} (<i>n</i> = 636)

Table A14 (continued)

Survey item	Frequency of occurrence in <i>Ensign</i> articles <i>n</i> =104		Visiting teaching messages (2000-2007) <i>n</i> =71		Conference messages (2005-2007) <i>n</i> =13		Importance to leaders ^a		Importance to women ^a	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean
Praying and/or prayer	3	63.5	4	52.1	3/4/5 (3-way tie)	84.6	3/4 (2-way tie)	1.06 ^{+C} (<i>n</i> = 636)	5/6 (2-way tie)	1.16 (<i>n</i> = 640)
Scripture study	8	41.3	7	33.8	8/9/10 (3-way tie)	53.8	5/6 (2-way tie)	1.07 (<i>n</i> = 636)	9	1.22 (<i>n</i> = 640)
Service	5	58.7	5	46.5	1/2 (2-way tie)	92.3	9	1.09 (<i>n</i> = 635)	11	1.25 ^{*C} (<i>n</i> = 637)
Stay-at-home mom/wife	57/58 (2-way tie)	3.8	23/24 (3-way tie)	1.4	21/22 (2-way tie)	7.7	22	1.83 (<i>n</i> = 632)	24	2.09 ^{**C} (<i>n</i> = 634)
Staying out of debt	48/49/50 (3-way tie)	6.7	16/17/18/19 (3-way tie)	5.6	21/22 (2-way tie)	7.7	15	1.22 (<i>n</i> = 635)	16	1.40 ^{**C} (<i>n</i> = 637)
Temple attendance	9	37.5	9	25.4	7	61.5	10	1.11 (<i>n</i> = 635)	13	1.27 ^{**V} (<i>n</i> = 640)
Testimony	14	29.8	12	15.5	8/9/10 (3-way tie)	53.8	3/4 (2-way tie)	1.06 (<i>n</i> = 635)	3/4 (2-way tie)	1.11 ^{*V} (<i>n</i> = 640)
Visiting teaching	23/24 (2-way tie)	19.2	16/17/18/19 (3-way tie)	5.6	11/12 (2-way tie)	46.2	16/17 (2-way tie)	1.23 (<i>n</i> = 634)	21	1.65 ^{**CV} (<i>n</i> = 639)

Note. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Table A14 (continued).

Ensign articles column contains numbers higher than 24 because ranking is based on overall rank of item from entire codebook, not just from 24 survey items represented here.

Rankings for *Ensign* articles were calculated using frequencies. Rankings of women's perceptions of importance to leaders and themselves were calculated using means.

^aFor importance to leaders, $n = 626-636$; for women personally, $n = 632-641$.

^bHomemaking items were listed individually in content analysis codebook, but combined for survey. For analysis purposes here, occurrence of homemaking item was determined by tallying articles that have one or more of the sub-items.

* Items show significant difference according to media exposure for what survey respondents reported is important to them personally. Significance = $p < .05$

** Items show significant difference according to media exposure for what survey respondents reported is important to them personally. Significance = $p < .01$

† Items show significant difference according to media exposure for what survey respondents reported is important to leaders. Significance = $p < .05$. (There were no items with significance of $p < .01$.)

^cSignificant differences are found according to level of exposure to General Conference Relief Society messages.

^vSignificant differences are found according to level of exposure to visiting teaching messages.

Table A15
Comparison of Women's Perceptions of Importance of Items to Leaders and Themselves

Survey item	<i>n</i>	Mean to leaders	Mean to women	<i>T</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<i>Inner spiritual characteristics index</i>	617	1.06	1.12	6.726	616	.001
Charity	624	1.08	1.18	6.213	623	.001
Christlike thoughts/behavior	626	1.04	1.10	4.506	625	.001
Compassion	626	1.08	1.12	2.734	625	.006
Faith	623	1.05	1.08	2.279	622	.023
Keeping covenants	626	1.07	1.06	0.700	625	.484
Praying and/or prayer	626	1.07	1.11	3.423	625	.001
Scripture study	626	1.07	1.21	8.533	625	.001
Testimony	625	1.06	1.10	3.381	624	.001
<i>Remaining items</i>						
Courage	621	1.37	1.38	0.451	620	.652
Education (college level)	611	1.88	2.12	5.839	610	.001
Family Home Evening	621	1.19	1.50	12.437	620	.001
Food storage	621	1.33	1.60	10.019	620	.001
Having a balanced life	623	1.46	1.43	-1.079	622	.281
Having a positive attitude	622	1.32	1.24	-3.569	621	.001
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	623	2.00	1.99	-0.186	622	.853
Missionary work	623	1.19	1.62	16.454	622	.001
Modesty	624	1.18	1.16	-1.151	623	.250
Motherhood	622	1.17	1.29	4.639	621	.001
Physical fitness	619	2.17	1.95	-6.379	618	.001
Service	622	1.09	1.25	8.484	621	.001
Stay-at-home mom/wife	617	1.83	2.09	6.389	616	.001
Staying out of debt	622	1.22	1.39	6.025	621	.001
Temple attendance	625	1.11	1.27	8.053	624	.001
Visiting teaching	623	1.23	1.64	14.383	622	.001

Note. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

Table A16
*Mean Differences Between Women's Perceptions of Item Importance to Leaders
 and Themselves*

Survey item	Mean of importance to leaders	Mean of importance to women	Difference
Having a career outside the home ^a	-	3.43	-
Having well-behaved and/or successful children	2.20	1.92	0.28
Physical fitness	2.17	1.95	0.22
Appearance of financial wealth	3.82	3.65	0.17
Spouse has important church calling	3.50	3.33	0.17
Fitting in with ward members	2.38	2.29	0.09
Having a positive attitude	1.32	1.24	0.08
Having a balanced life	1.46	1.43	0.03
Modesty	1.19	1.16	0.03
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	2.00	1.99	0.01
Keeping covenants	1.07	1.06	0.01
Courage	1.37	1.38	-0.01
Compassion	1.08	1.11	-0.03
Faith	1.05	1.08	-0.03
Weekly church attendance	1.23	1.26	-0.03
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1.62	1.66	-0.04
Testimony	1.06	1.11	-0.05
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1.04	1.10	-0.06
Praying and/or prayer	1.06	1.12	-0.06
Charity	1.09	1.19	-0.10
Motherhood	1.18	1.29	-0.11
Scripture study	1.07	1.22	-0.15
Service	1.09	1.25	-0.16
Temple attendance	1.11	1.27	-0.16
Staying out of debt	1.22	1.40	-0.18
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1.83	2.09	-0.26
Education (college level)	1.88	2.14	-0.26
Food storage	1.33	1.61	-0.28
Family Home Evening	1.19	1.51	-0.32
Visiting teaching	1.23	1.65	-0.42

Table A16 (continued).

Survey item	Mean of importance to leaders	Mean of importance to women	Difference
Participation in enrichment/ extracurricular church activities	1.78	2.20	-0.42
Missionary work	1.19	1.62	-0.43

Note. Survey scale used was 1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant.

^aThe item “Having a career outside the home” was not included in the importance-to-leaders section of the survey.

Appendix B. How to Identify the Perfect LDS Woman—
Indicators Found in Three Independent LDS Films:
The Singles Ward, The R. M., and Pride and Prejudice

How to Identify the Perfect LDS Woman—Indicators Found in Three Independent LDS Films: The Singles Ward, The R. M., and Pride and Prejudice

Cultural Artifacts

Bottled fruit
 Bow head (girls with big bows in hair)
 Canned food
 Cops yell, “Put the casserole down and step away from the minivan.”
 CTR rings
 Floral print dresses
 Homemade quilt
 Homemade wreath on door/on home walls
 Hums primary songs
 Jell-o with shredded carrots
 Johnny Lingo’s wife
 “Mom’s almost got our Eagles” (children imply their mother has done the work for their scouting awards)
 Mormon-Ad on wall
 Pearl necklace worn when giving missionary farewell also by Relief Society teacher
 “Peter Priesthood”
 Pictures of prophets on wall
 Red punch
 “Return with Honor” on the wall
 Scrapbooks
 Serious sins: renting rated R movies, drinking iced tea, unblocking MTV from cable
 Substitute swearwords: “Fetch, flip, what the heck”
 “Sweet spirits”
 Wicker heart basket

Emphasis on Marriage

“Nothing is worse than being single.”
 Couple at church social is congratulated on their engagement after they met the previous week
 “I am single so that would make me irregular.”
Hallelujah Chorus plays when leading man and lady kiss
 Girls in ward are being catty and jealous of another girl who got a date with a ward member after only being in the ward for one week
 Rich parents buy daughter a house so she can look “domestic” and get a husband
The Pink Bible—LDS women consult this fictional resource to learn how to catch a husband

Family

Mom has many children—between the ages of her 21-year-old returned missionary and a newborn baby
 Children reading *Seven Habits of Highly Effective Teens* at breakfast table

Sons all have many scouting badges plastered on their uniforms

Homemaking Skills

Bed made out of food storage

Cooks and serves tons of hot food—platters of eggs, mounds of pancakes, etc.

Homemade bread

Immaculate house

Makes whole-wheat muffins

Ultra prepared—neck brace on hand when child needs it

Woman wears homemade dress and matching green satin hair bow to dance. Date has
(obviously homemade) matching tie

Women sewing

Women shown bringing in casseroles, homemade cheesecakes, etc. to church socials

Personality Traits

Comforter

Desperate

Friendly

Nurturing

Organized

Prepared

Physical Characteristics

Women are either gorgeous and thin or frumpy and fat

Women have perfect hair and makeup

Women are either thin or pregnant

Random Items

Children all have names from the scriptures

Religiously Motivated Actions

Have read scriptures and Sunday lesson

Magnifies calling

Mom doesn't want to go to the hospital to have her baby because she hasn't done her
visiting teaching

Prays

Serves a mission

Spiritual Characteristics

None detected/emphasized

Appendix C. How to Identify the Perfect LDS Woman, as Identified
by Focus Groups in Written Surveys and Oral Discussion

How to Identify the Perfect LDS Woman, as Identified by Focus Groups in Written Surveys and Oral Discussion

Cultural Artifacts

- Children are active in the Church
- Children's artwork/trophies
- Drive minivan or suburban (or BMW=Big Mormon Wagon)
- Food storage
- Piano
- Pictures of Christ
- Pictures of married daughters
- Pictures of temple
- Proclamation on the Family
- Wooden plaques with sayings like “Love Begins at Home,” “Return With Honor,” or “As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.”
- Wreath on the front door that matches everyone else's because they made them in Relief Society

Family

- Cares for home and family/has lots of kids
- Children excel
- Children have their jobs/chores done
- Children don't fight
- Children get good grades
- Confides in husband if she's sad or angry
- Makes sure family reads scriptures
- Drives kids around (soccer mom)
- Family does everything together
- Family eats dinner together
- Good mother
- Good wife
- Helps kids with homework
- Holds Family Home Evening
- Home is clean but cluttered, smells like cookies or pie
- Home is somewhere you want to be—feels safe, comfortable
- Laundry done and folded
- Lives close to extended family
- Mother
- Never yells at her children
- Stay-at-home Mom
- Super Mom
- Throws perfect kids parties
- Sings in the car
- Supports husband
- Well-mannered children

Homemaking Skills

- Cans
- Cleans/clean house
- Cooks fabulous meals
- Crochets
- Cross-stitches
- Decorates with homemade things
- Gardens—grows lots of zucchini to share with neighbors
- Knits things for humanitarian service
- Makes bread
- Makes breakfast/dinner
- Makes cookies
- Makes crafts
- Makes homemade doilies
- Makes jam
- Quilts/ties quilts
- Scrapbooks
- Sews
- Tole paints
- Uses a tablecloth

Personality Traits

- Bubbly
- Cheerful
- Compassionate
- Confident
- Considerate
- Courageous
- Creative
- Dignified
- Friendly
- Genuine—you can tell that she really cares
- Gracious
- Happy
- Kind
- Leader
- Optimistic
- Organized
- Patient
- Proper
- Reliable
- Resourceful
- Self-confident
- Smart/educated

Trustworthy

Physical Characteristics

Doesn't overeat
 Dresses modestly
 Exercises (e.g. speed walks around the neighborhood while pushing a stroller)
 Good-looking/beautiful
 Mormon mom haircut (from having 6 kids and not wanting any of them to pull it)
 Well-groomed

Random Items

Attends book club
 Doesn't compete
 Doesn't swear
 Explores her talents and takes her own lessons in between running her kids around
 Good friend
 Good neighbor
 Manages money well
 Never loses temper
 No such thing
 Plays musical instrument (esp. piano)
 PTA president
 Sings
 Well-rounded

Spiritual Characteristics

Admits mistakes/doesn't have to be perfect
 At peace with self
 Balanced life
 Charity
 Christlike
 Doesn't pretend to be perfect
 Enduring/doesn't complain
 Forgiving
 Good example
 Has a testimony and shares it
 Has faith
 Has the heart of a child
 Has a light/happy glow
 Humble
 Integrity
 Knowledge of the gospel
 Knows she is a child of God
 Learns from mistakes
 Loves the Lord

Loving
Makes you feel loved
Meek
Not judgmental/accepts others
Peacemaker
Sacrifices
Selfless
Spiritual
Tries to improve
Understands her role (equal with priesthood)
Virtuous/high values

Religiously Motivated Actions

Attends all church meetings
Attends temple
Does genealogy
Follows spiritual promptings
Keeps commandments/covenants
Lives her religion
Magnifies callings
Prays
Reads scriptures, and gets up early to do so
Serves others
Visiting teaching
Visits neighbors and takes them casseroles

Appendix D. Codebook for Analysis of *Ensign* Articles

Codebook for Analysis of Ensign Articles

Julie Hollist

February 20, 2007

For each item on the tracking sheet, please mark 0 if the item does not appear in the article and 1 if it does appear in the article, unless otherwise noted. The codebook is organized into seven categories: Family, Homemaking, Personality Traits, Physical Characteristics, Spiritual Characteristics, Spiritually Motivated Behavior, and Other Doctrinal Concepts. Please take a moment to familiarize yourself with the categories and the items within each.

Begin the worksheet by recording the article number found on each article (look for the big black marker). In the next box, note whether the article is a visiting teaching message (VT) or a conference address (CA). Next, fill in the issue date in this format: month/year (06/03 = June 2003). Then analyze the article for the following list of items. Scan the list often (especially when you first begin) so you don't forget the concepts we're coding for. Every box should have a mark in it—0 for no, the item does not appear in the article, and 1 for yes, it does appear. For future review it will be helpful if you highlight or identify items you are coding as they appear in the article. After you have finished reading the article, finish by filling in the final boxes with the main purpose or topic of the article and anything else of note.

Family

1. **Sgl** Single: Author specifically acknowledges single women, whether by using the word "single" or by saying something like "some among us haven't had the opportunity to be married."
2. **Div** Divorced: Author specifically acknowledges divorced women, whether by using the word "divorced" or by saying something like "sometimes marriages end...", indicating some recognition of those who have been married and are now divorced. Being separated also counts in this item.
3. **Wif** Wife: Author specifically mention's woman's role as wife or refers to situations that occur after marriage.
4. **Mom** Mother: Author specifically mentions motherhood, parent, or woman's role as mom or mother. In addition to those words, phrases like "multiply and replenish the earth," and "responsibility to bear children" also emphasize motherhood. Also include the concept that every woman can be a mother to children and others in her community no matter her marital status or whether she has her own biological children.
5. **Hom mom** Stay-at-home Mom: Acknowledges women who do not work outside the home after having children.
6. **Wor mom** Working mother: Author acknowledges women who work outside the home.
7. **Gma** Grandmother: Author acknowledges woman's role as grandmother.
8. **Widow** Widow: Author acknowledges widows with the word "widow" or other words that indicate spouse has died.

9. FHE Family Home Evening: Specifically mentions holding Family Home Evening. May also refer to Monday nights or the idea that activities outside family time together should be curtailed on Monday nights.

10. Fam time Family time: Family spends time together. Examples include eats dinner together and other activities. This is in addition to Family Home Evening held on Monday nights.

11. Mar rel Strong marital relationship: Author emphasizes woman's responsibility to build a strong marital relationship. Examples include supports husband in work and church responsibilities, communicates, and strives to resolve conflict. Provides action steps.

12. Tea chil Teach children: Any examples that show women teaching any children or youth (not just her biological children) spiritual or religious principles.

Homemaking

Note: Anything in this section that is done for others needs to also be marked under Service in Religiously Motivated Actions section. For example, provide quilts for the needy, bake bread for a neighbor, etc.

13. Can Canning: Specifically mentions canning or bottling jams, jellies, fruits, vegetables, etc. Also mark under Stor (home storage) in the Other Doctrine section.

14. Chur art Church art: Author mentions display of religious art or documents such as the Proclamation on the Family, the Living Christ Declaration, pictures of temples, or pictures or statues of Christ. If the art is a craft the woman makes, such as "Families are Forever" cross-stitched, mark it here and under number 17, Crafts.

15. Cleans Cleans/clean house: Importance of having a clean house. Also includes concept of having a house of order (that phrase could come in the form of a scripture in the Doctrine and Covenants) and/or organization.

16. Cooks Cooks: Author makes reference to cooking, making food or beverages, or baking.

17. Crafts Crafts: Author makes reference to crafts. Examples include handwork (crochet, cross-stitch, knit, quilt, sew), painting, and scrapbooks. If the article made is church art, such as "Families are Forever" cross-stitched, mark it here and under number 14, Chur art.

18. Gard Gardens: Refers to anything to do with gardening—planting, harvesting, weeding, or working in the garden.

19. Hom hav Home is safe haven: The concept of creating a home or dwelling that is a refuge and strength to the family. Phrases may also include "home can be a heaven on earth," or home as "a place where the spirit dwells."

Personality Traits of the Women

20. Compa Compassionate: Specifically mentions the word compassion or compassionate, including the phrase "compassionate service," which is a common phrase

in Relief Society. This does **not** include charity or being charitable (see Spiritual Characteristics section).

21. Coura Courageous: This concept includes having or taking courage from the Lord, being brave, having courage in times of trial or hardship, standing up for beliefs, standing strong against temptation, and having strength as in standing strong in moral battles for good.

22. Pos Att Positive Attitude: Anything to do with a positive attitude or outlook, being cheerful, joyful, hopeful, happy, or optimistic. Include the word “delight” and other forms of these words such as joy, hope, rejoice, happiness, and optimism. Do not count casual uses or figures of speech, “I *hope* you will do your best.”

23. Kind Kind: Also gentle, considerate.

24. Patnt Patient: Specifically mentions the word patient (not a noun, as in medical patient) or long-suffering.

Physical Characteristics of the Women

25. Care Self-care: Includes direction about general care for good health, including not overeating, exercising, eating healthy, and getting enough (but not too much) sleep. These concepts are also found in the Word of Wisdom (set forth in the Doctrine and Covenants), but make sure if the author mentions the Word of Wisdom that you only mark it here if he or she specifically mentions the parts about eating and sleeping. **Any** general mention of the Word of Wisdom, or direction about not drinking alcohol or not smoking or doing drugs should be marked under Word of Wisdom in the Other Doctrinal Concepts section.

26. Mod Modesty: Includes mention of modesty, any direction about appropriate dress, whether for church meetings or daily living and about appropriate grooming. Examples include no short skirts or sleeveless shirts, and clothes should not be too tight, too casual (for church attendance) or too revealing, etc. Author may specifically mention the phrase “well-groomed” or other concepts about physical appearance and/or cleanliness. Includes direction that women only have one set of ear piercings, no tattoos, and no other body piercings. This context also may include the phrase “your body is a temple.”

Spiritual Characteristics of the Women

27. Bal lif Balanced life: Reflects any counsel about juggling responsibilities of family, church, work, or community. Also includes discussion about being well-rounded or taking care of individual spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical needs or a mixture of any of those.

28. Char Charity: The Relief Society motto is “Charity never faileth,” a scripture from the Book of Mormon. Any use of the word “charity” or “charitable” and “perfect love” and “pure love of Christ.” If the Relief Society seal (which says Charity Never Faileth) is displayed, record it separately with the letter “S” for “seal.” The word “service” may often appear in the description or discussion of charity, but mark it under Serv oth (serves others) in the Religiously Motivated Actions section, not here.

- 29. Christlk** Christlike: Description may use the word “Christlike” or phrases “become like Christ,” “come unto Christ,” and “disciple of Christ.” In addition, the concept of following Christ’s example, following in His footsteps, or being instruments in the hands of God may be used.
- 30. Not perf** Not perfect: Author or speaker gives the direct message to women that they, their children, and their spouses don’t have to be perfect. This concept is not to be confused with the context of doctrinal discussion about the atonement and how it brings forgiveness for mistakes.
- 31. Endur** Enduring: Words like “endure(s)” and “enduring.” The phrase “doesn’t murmur” also qualifies. This category is about persons enduring. The phrase “long-suffering” may be found in this context but should be marked under number 24, Patient.
- 32. Faith** Has faith: Includes the words “faith,” “faithful,” “faithfulness,” and “faithfully” as pertains to faith in God. Also includes having trust in the Lord.
- 33. Forgiv** Forgiving: Author discusses forgiving ourselves or others, having a forgiving heart, not holding grudges or holding onto past insults, hurt feelings, etc. This is **not** the category for the Lord’s forgiveness of our mistakes. See *Atmnt* in *Other Doctrinal Concepts* for that principle.
- 34. Good ex** Good example: Anything that talks about being a good example or leader. For example, the scripture, “be thou an example of the believers” or the concept that others can recognize you’re a member of the LDS Church by your behavior. Also includes the phrases “stand for truth and righteousness,” “be a light to the world,” and “stand as a witness.” If the author mentions being a missionary through good example, mark yes here. If the author mentions serving a full-time mission, mark it under number 52, Mission.
- 35. Humb** Humble: Humble, having humility, or being meek or possessing meekness.
- 36. Integ** Integrity: Uses word “integrity.” Includes the concept of being honest and/or trustworthy.
- 37. Know ch God** Knows she is a child of God: Exactly that. Knows she is a child of God. May include reference to divine nature or divine inheritance. Includes reference to being women of God. Just reference to “Heavenly Father” does not count.
- 38. Accept** Not judgmental: Doesn’t judge others, is accepting of others, especially those of other faiths. Includes concept of being a good neighbor.
- 39. Peace** Peace: Words include “peace,” “peaceful,” and “peacemaker.” Includes concept of being at peace with self and God.
- 40. Testim** Testimony: Has a testimony. The word “testimony” should be used. Include encouragement for women to gain or build their testimonies. Do not include the author’s personal testimony, for example, “I bear *testimony* that the Church is true.” Do not include examples such as “The Spirit will bear *testimony* that what you read is true.”
- 41. Und role** Understands her role: Author points out that women are equal with priesthood holders or state that women are not less important than men, they just have different roles. There must be a comparison to men to be included in this category.
- 42. Virtu** Virtuous: Uses word “virtue” or “virtuous” as referring to concepts that include obeying the law of chastity—no premarital sex, or extramarital affairs. Also, avoid pornographic materials, soap operas, R-rated movies, and inappropriate music lyrics. Do

not count use of the word virtue if it is referring to other virtues, such as “it’s important to gain the virtue of honesty.”

Religiously Motivated Actions

43. Att meet Attends all church meetings: Includes words like “active,” “activation,” and “activity” in the context of attendance at church meetings. Also includes reference to the opposite: “Inactive” and “inactivity.”

44. Att temp Attends temple: Refers to temple worship, temple attendance, holding a temple recommend, and making goals to attend the temple. Include any references to “sacred ordinances.” Those ordinances specifically include the words “baptism(s) for the dead,” “endowment” and/or “sealing” or being “sealed,” which is the marriage ceremony that takes place in the temple. References to the concept that “temples will dot the earth” do not count.

45. Ch med Church media: Read the Ensign, have family subscribe to Church publications (the Friend, New Era, or Ensign), or listen to or watch General Conference.

46. Fast Fasting: Mentions “fasting” or “fast.”

47. Gen Does genealogy: Specifically mentions doing genealogy or researching ancestry.

48. Hon pries Honors the priesthood: The phrase “honor(s) the priesthood” or “sustain(s) the priesthood” must be present.

49. Hymns Hymns: Sing or actively participate in hymns or church music. Includes playing hymns in the home.

50. Keep cov Keeps commandments/covenants: Includes the concept of obeying the commandments, keeping the commandments, keeping, remembering, or honoring covenants (may see baptismal or temple covenants used to specify type of covenants). Include references to obey, obedience, or obedient. Also includes reference to “covenant women.”

51. Mag call Magnifies callings: Has to do with holding callings at church and emphasizes the importance of doing your very best and giving your very best for your callings. Mark any reference to holding, accepting, or magnifying official church callings. Do not count things like “Motherhood is a holy calling” or “Our calling is to be a light to the world.”

52. Mission Missionary/shares gospel: Random stories about sister missionaries count. Author should encourage full-time missionary service for women, or mention being a full-time missionary. If the author mentions being a missionary through good example or daily living, mark yes under Good ex in the Spiritual Characteristics section.

53. Pat bless Patriarchal blessing: Any mention of patriarchal blessings. May include direction to get a patriarchal blessing, then after receiving it to study it often or to live worthy of its promises.

54. Pay tith Pays tithing. Talks about paying tithing or fast offerings, paying 10 percent, or blessings that come from paying tithes and offerings.

55. Pray Prayer: Author mentions prayer in general. Includes references to family prayer and personal prayer. Do not include casual uses of the word such as “I *pray* we will all be better women” or “that we will all serve others is my *prayer*,” etc.

- 56. Pr freq:** If the author mentions how often prayers should be said, record the phrase here. For example, daily, always, without ceasing, etc. (Open-ended)
- 57. Repnt** Repents: Concept that we should repent. Includes phrase like “seek forgiveness” of our sins.
- 58. Scrip** Reads scriptures: Refers to studying, reading, or pondering the scriptures in general. Includes references to family or personal scripture study. Includes references about studying the word or the word of the Lord, or studying the gospel.
- 59. Scr freq:** If the author mentions how often scriptures should be studied, record it here. For example, daily, 20 minutes a day, etc. (Open-ended)
- 60. Service** Serves others: Service mentioned in general. Serving others, blessing the lives of others through service, and serving the Lord. Include “bear one another’s burdens.” Do not include “building the kingdom” because the phrase is too broad. The word “charity” should not be marked here. Mark it under Char in the Spiritual Characteristics section. Includes serving physical needs: For example, providing quilts for homeless, humanitarian projects, taking soup to a sick neighbor, etc. Also includes serving spiritual, emotional, or mental needs. Include the work of “saving souls.” Also includes serving the community: such as being involved in politics, PTA, service clubs, or community service in general.
- 61. Talent** Talents: Refers to seeking, developing, or using spiritual gifts or other talents. May include the Savior’s parable about the talents. Words “spiritual gifts” or “talents” must be used.
- 62. Vis tea** Visiting teaching: Author talks about visiting teaching program or being a good visiting teacher.

Other Doctrinal Concepts

- 63. Atmmt** Atonement: The concept of the atonement is discussed in general. One example is, “The Savior paid the price for any sin, mistake, or imperfection.” Another is, “His redeeming sacrifice.”
- 64. Forg** Forgiveness: Author mentions that forgiveness of our sins is a gift from the Lord or made possible through His atonement. Forgiveness and/or remission of our sins in general also counts. If article mentions forgiving others, mark Forgiv under Spiritual Characteristics, not here.
- 65. Heal** Healing: The atonement brings healing or the ability to be healed. Other concepts include finding peace and comfort through the atonement and that the Lord understands your pain and trials because of the atonement.
- 66. Resur** Resurrection: Specifically mentions “resurrection” or life after mortality and refers to human life after death, not Christ’s. The phrase “eternal life” does not count.
- 67. Debt** Debt-free: Author mentions being out of debt, money management, or budgeting.
- 68. Edu** Education: Author mentions getting an education, going to school, or literacy.
- 69. Stor** Home storage: Being physically prepared. Concepts include emergency preparedness, having a 72-hour kit, a year’s supply of food and toiletries, etc. If author mentions canning fruits and vegetables for home storage, also mark Can in the Homemaking section.

70. WofW Word of Wisdom: Refers to Doctrine and Covenants section where church members are asked not to drink alcohol, do drugs, or smoke cigarettes. Although the Word of Wisdom includes direction about general care for good health, including not overeating, eating healthy, and getting enough (but not too much) sleep, please mark those under Care in the Physical Characteristics section. Only mark it here if the author specifically mentions avoiding addictive behaviors like drinking alcohol, doing drugs, or smoking cigarettes. Mere mention of the phrase “Word of Wisdom” with no other context should be marked here, but please try to separate which component is being emphasized and mark it in the correct section.

71. Main purpose or topic In just a few words summarize the main theme(s) of the article. (Open-ended)

72. Anything else Anything else of interest or that’s odd you may have noticed but don’t necessarily have a place to record on this form. (Open-ended)

Appendix E. Survey of Cache Valley LDS Women

Survey of Cache Valley LDS Women

This survey is part of my master's degree research and your responses will help me explore the roles and expectations of LDS women. Your answers will remain completely anonymous, but the results of this study will be shared with regional leaders and the General Relief Society Presidency so it is of utmost importance that you answer these questions candidly and honestly.

1. Please rank the following items as they pertain to you personally. Circle your answer.

	Very important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Very Unimportant
General Conference Relief Society talks	1	2	3	4	5
Visiting teaching messages	1	2	3	4	5

2. The visiting teaching message appears in the *Ensign* magazine 10 months each year. In the last year, how many months did you (please circle):

a. Read the *Ensign's* visiting teaching message?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

b. Share the *Ensign's* visiting teaching message with the women you teach?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 N/A (have no assignment)

c. Hear the *Ensign's* visiting teaching message from your visiting teachers?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. During each year listed below, did you attend the General Conference Relief Society session, see/hear broadcasts of the session, or read about it in the *Ensign*? If you **don't know**, circle "DK." Please circle one answer in each column for each year.

	Attended session in Salt Lake City			Saw/heard broadcast of session			Read talks from the session in the <i>Ensign</i>		
2000	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
2001	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
2002	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
2003	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
2004	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
2005	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
2006	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
2007	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK

4. Using numbers from 1 to 6 with 1 being most desired, rank the following family circumstances in order of desirability to you. **Please use each number only once.**

___ Divorced

___ Married with children at home

___ Married with grown children

___ Married with no children

___ Single (never married)

___ Widow

5. How important are each of the following concepts to you personally when you think about the ideal Mormon woman? Please circle your answers.

	Very important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Very Unimportant
Appearance of financial wealth	1	2	3	4	5
Charity	1	2	3	4	5
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1	2	3	4	5
Compassion	1	2	3	4	5
Courage	1	2	3	4	5
Education (college-level)	1	2	3	4	5
Faith	1	2	3	4	5
Family Home Evening	1	2	3	4	5
Fitting in with ward members	1	2	3	4	5
Food storage	1	2	3	4	5
Having a balanced life	1	2	3	4	5
Having a career outside the home	1	2	3	4	5
Having a positive attitude	1	2	3	4	5
Having well-behaved and/or successful	1	2	3	4	5

children					
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	1	2	3	4	5
Keeping covenants	1	2	3	4	5
Missionary work	1	2	3	4	5
Modesty	1	2	3	4	5
Motherhood	1	2	3	4	5
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1	2	3	4	5
Participation in enrichment/ extracurricular church activities	1	2	3	4	5
Physical fitness	1	2	3	4	5
Praying and/or prayer	1	2	3	4	5
Scripture study	1	2	3	4	5
Service	1	2	3	4	5
Spouse has important church calling	1	2	3	4	5
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1	2	3	4	5
Staying out of debt	1	2	3	4	5
Temple attendance	1	2	3	4	5
Testimony	1	2	3	4	5
Visiting teaching	1	2	3	4	5
Weekly church attendance	1	2	3	4	5
Other (please list):	1	2	3	4	5

6. How important do you think each of the following concepts are to the women in your ward when they think about the ideal Mormon woman? Please circle your answers.

	Very important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Very Unimportant
Appearance of financial wealth	1	2	3	4	5
Charity	1	2	3	4	5
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1	2	3	4	5
Compassion	1	2	3	4	5

Courage	1	2	3	4	5
Education (college-level)	1	2	3	4	5
Faith	1	2	3	4	5
Family Home Evening	1	2	3	4	5
Fitting in with ward members	1	2	3	4	5
Food storage	1	2	3	4	5
Having a balanced life	1	2	3	4	5
Having a career outside the home	1	2	3	4	5
Having a positive attitude	1	2	3	4	5
Having well-behaved and/or successful children	1	2	3	4	5
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	1	2	3	4	5
Keeping covenants	1	2	3	4	5
Missionary work	1	2	3	4	5
Modesty	1	2	3	4	5
Motherhood	1	2	3	4	5
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1	2	3	4	5
Participate in enrichment/extracurricular church activities	1	2	3	4	5
Physical fitness	1	2	3	4	5
Praying and/or prayer	1	2	3	4	5
Scripture study	1	2	3	4	5
Service	1	2	3	4	5
Spouse has important church calling	1	2	3	4	5
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1	2	3	4	5
Staying out of debt	1	2	3	4	5
Temple attendance	1	2	3	4	5
Testimony	1	2	3	4	5
Visiting teaching	1	2	3	4	5
Weekly church attendance	1	2	3	4	5
Other (please list):	1	2	3	4	5

7. When you consider visiting teaching messages in the *Ensign* and talks given in General Conference Relief Society session since the year 2000, how important do each of the following concepts seem to Church leaders (please circle):

	Very important	Important	Neither important nor unimportant	Unimportant	Very Unimportant
Appearance of financial wealth	1	2	3	4	5
Charity	1	2	3	4	5
Christlike thoughts/behavior	1	2	3	4	5
Compassion	1	2	3	4	5
Courage	1	2	3	4	5
Education (college-level)	1	2	3	4	5
Faith	1	2	3	4	5
Family Home Evening	1	2	3	4	5
Fitting in with ward members	1	2	3	4	5
Food storage	1	2	3	4	5
Having a balanced life	1	2	3	4	5
Having a positive attitude	1	2	3	4	5
Having well-behaved and/or successful children	1	2	3	4	5
Homemaking (cooking, cleaning, canning, crafts, gardening)	1	2	3	4	5
Keeping covenants	1	2	3	4	5
Missionary work	1	2	3	4	5
Modesty	1	2	3	4	5
Motherhood	1	2	3	4	5
No tattoos/only one set of earrings	1	2	3	4	5
Participation in enrichment/extracurricular church activities	1	2	3	4	5
Physical fitness	1	2	3	4	5
Praying and/or prayer	1	2	3	4	5
Scripture study	1	2	3	4	5

Service	1	2	3	4	5
Spouse has important church calling	1	2	3	4	5
Stay-at-home mom/wife	1	2	3	4	5
Staying out of debt	1	2	3	4	5
Temple attendance	1	2	3	4	5
Testimony	1	2	3	4	5
Visiting teaching	1	2	3	4	5
Weekly church attendance	1	2	3	4	5
Other (please list):	1	2	3	4	5

8. Do you perceive any difference between a.) doctrinal teachings about what is expected of women and b.) expectations of women that may stem from the culture, that is, from women in your ward, stake, or the Cache Valley Mormon community? Here doctrinal teaching is defined as teachings found in visiting teaching messages and in General Conference Relief Society meetings. Please circle your answer.

Yes

No

I don't know

Please explain. _____

9. Often Church leaders present doctrine as lists of things to do. For example, "Our faith in Jesus Christ is nourished as we study, search, and ponder the scriptures; fast and pray; participate in sacred ordinances; keep our covenants; serve the Lord and others; sustain our Church leaders; and obey the commandments." When you think about these lists, are you more inclined to think of the items as: (Please check only one.)

___ Realistically achievable now

___ Not realistically achievable now, but goals to aim for in the future

___ Unrealistic expectations for now and in the future

___ None of the above

Please explain. _____

Please circle your answers in this section.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 10. Age: 15-19 | 50-54 |
| 20-24 | 55-59 |
| 25-29 | 60-64 |
| 30-34 | 65-69 |
| 35-39 | 70-74 |
| 40-44 | 75-79 |
| 45-49 | 80 and older |

11. Current Marital Status:

- Single (never married)
- Married
- Divorced/separated
- Widowed

12. I have _____ children (fill in number) and _____ (fill in number) live at home.

13. I have lived outside Utah and/or Idaho for at least two years of my life since I was 12 years old or older.

Yes

No

Thank you for participating in this study. Your insights and opinions are important.

If you have additional thoughts about the topics presented in this survey, please write them here and on the back of this page.

Appendix F. Letter of Information



Journalism and Communication Department
 4605 Old Main Hill
 Logan UT 84322-4605
 Telephone: (435) 797-3292
 Fax: (435) 797-3973

Date Created: January 10, 2008
 USU IRB Approved: 01/10/2008
 Approval terminates: 01/09/2009
 Protocol Number 1957
 IRB Password Protected per IRB Administrator

Letter of Information Survey of Cache Valley LDS Women

Introduction/Purpose: Professor Bullock in the Department of Journalism and Communications at Utah State University (USU) and Julie Hollist a student researcher, are conducting a research study to find out more about LDS women's roles. Results may be used to help educate leaders about their communication with LDS women. You have been asked to take part because this study focuses on LDS women living in Cache Valley. There will be approximately 35 participants at this site. There will be approximately 400 total participants in this research.

Procedures: If you agree to be in this research study, you will be asked to fill out an anonymous survey that may take about 20 minutes to complete. No personal identifiable information will be asked of you so please do not put your name on the survey nor put what ward you are affiliated. At the end of the study, the results of the research will be shared with the General Relief Society Presidency to help them gain insight into your perceptions and into ways to communicate with LDS women. Therefore, please be honest and candid. Your bishop has approved the administration of this survey.

Risks/Benefits: There is minimal risk in participating in this research. There is no direct benefit to you at this time, but researchers are hopeful that this study may help church leaders communicate effectively to LDS women in the future.

Explanation & Offer to Answer Questions: If you have other questions or research-related problems, you may contact Professor Bullock at (435) 797-1412 or Julie Hollist at (435) 752-6437.

Voluntary Nature of Participation and Right to Withdraw without Consequences: Participation in research is strictly voluntary. You may refuse to participate at anytime without consequence.

Confidentiality: Only Professor Bullock and Julie Hollist will have access to the surveys. To protect your privacy no personal identifiable information is being requested. Completed surveys will be kept in a locked file cabinet in a locked room of Professor Bullock.

IRB Approval Statement: The Institutional Review Board for the protection of human participants at USU has approved this research. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights, you may contact the IRB at (435) 797-1821.

Professor Cathy Bullock, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
435-797-1412

Julie Hollist
Student Researcher
435-752-6437

Appendix G. Survey Announcement Script

Survey Script for RS Meetings That Are First

Hi, my name is _____ and I'm a member of the _____ Ward and I need your help. I'm helping Julie Hollist, an LDS student researcher at USU conduct a survey to find out more about LDS women's roles and responsibilities. Your ward has been randomly selected to participate and your bishop has approved the announcement regarding this survey. About 400 women in Cache Valley will participate and your input is very important. We need to hear the opinions of women of all ages and life experiences, but there is no obligation to participate. The results will be shared with local leaders and with the General Relief Society presidency. Please be honest and candid.

The church has a strict policy that research surveys cannot be done during the block. Please complete the survey today at home and drop it in the mail tomorrow in the postage-paid envelope provided. This survey will take 15 to 20 minutes to complete. It is an anonymous survey, so please do not write your name on it. The top page is a letter of information that tells more about what I've just explained. If you have questions, you're welcome to contact Julie Hollist or her major professor. Their info is listed on the form.

Ideally we'd really like everyone in attendance to complete a survey. You will be handed a survey on your way out of sacrament meeting. Thank you so much for your help. Are there any questions? (If they ask when is the latest they can mail responses, tell them before next Sunday.)

Survey Script for RS Meetings That Are Last

Hi, my name is _____ and I'm a member of the _____ Ward. And I need your help. I'm helping Julie Hollist, an LDS student researcher at USU conduct a survey to find out more about LDS women's roles and responsibilities. Your ward has been randomly selected to participate and your bishop has approved the announcement regarding this survey. About 400 women in Cache Valley will participate and your input is very important. We need to hear the opinions of women of all ages and life experiences, but there is no obligation to participate. The study results will be shared with local leaders and with the General Relief Society presidency. Please be honest and candid.

The church has a strict policy that research surveys cannot be done during the block. Please complete the survey today at home and drop it in the mail tomorrow in the postage-paid envelope provided. This survey will take 15 to 20 minutes to complete. It is an anonymous survey, so please do not write your name on it. The top page is a letter of information that tells more about what I've just explained. If you have questions, you're welcome to contact Julie Hollist or her major professor. Their info is listed on the form.

Ideally we'd really like everyone in attendance to complete a survey. We will hand out surveys after Relief Society.

Thank you so much for your help. Are there any questions? (If they ask when is the latest they can mail responses, tell them before next Sunday.)