A STUDY OF THE
MEDIA AND ATTITUDES
TOWARD M.H.A.

In honors thesis (1976)

by

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A SURVEY OF THE AMISH AND ATTITUDES TOWARD THE AMISH

INTRODUCTION

In recent years a widespread interest has been developed in the folkways of the Old Order Amish, with their horse-drawn buggies, old-fashioned way of dress, and rejection of the twentieth century and its gadgets. This is due in part to natural curiosity concerning a segregated group who has maintained a strongly integrated and cohesive type of community life in the face of a constantly changing world. Klein (1946:74) states, "An Amish community is like a small sector of sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe transplanted to the fertile agricultural sections of America." It seems rather refreshing to find, amid our complex and confused civilization, with its wars, nervous tensions, and hurried life, a people to whom life is so simple and so certain in its tenets. It is simple, literally scriptural, and genuinely sincere. Amish family life is integrated around faith in God, family, and their land, with any other aspect of culture quite subordinate. These three institutions bind their members firmly together.

They have retained family patterns with little change for two and a half centuries. They defend "that which has
always been." Their religion and agrarian way of life has contributed substantially to successful maintenance and perpetuation of the Amish family. The Amish family today demonstrates survival of German and Swiss institutions and also demonstrates a consistent and powerful influence in a culture of constant change.

The Amish have retained the principles of their spiritual forebearers, the Anabaptists, who came into existence in the German speaking part of Switzerland during the Zwinglian Reformation shortly after 1520. According to Schreiber (1962:227), the cardinal principles of the Anabaptists were:

1. Insistence on adult rather than infant baptism
2. Separation of world and state from church life and conduct
3. Freedom of each believer to interpret the Bible without an intermediary hierarchy
4. Insistence on voluntary association with church
5. Church composed of persons whose lives are transformed by new birth

Out of these tenets came the Amish refusal to bear arms, swear oaths, and engage in political office holding. The Amish believe conscientiously that it is wrong to go to war. They refuse to bear arms or participate in anything related to war. This conviction is seared into their souls by centuries of persecution. They are sent into conservation work, non-military camps, reconstruction areas, and hospital work.
After almost two centuries of Anabaptism accompanied by constant persecution, Jacob Ammann in 1693 began his work as a reformer. He sensed a lack of discipline among the Swiss brethren and established a more rigid observance of certain aspects of the faith. Ammann believed the Mennonites had wandered from the teachings of the New Testament, and charged them with a failure to apply the Meidung* to excommunicated members. The Amish take their name from their leader, Jacob Ammann. They are actually a split from the Mennonites, and followers of Menno Simons, who was the founder of a sect of the Anabaptists. The Amish as a dissenting group from the Swiss Mennonites formed a separate sect. The name given to the followers of Ammann in Europe was "Amish Mennonites" or "Amish." The usage of "Old Order Amish" is a later American development as forces of change began to penetrate the small communities. The groups of Amish who kept their older customs were designated by the more progressives as "The Old Order."

Amish migrations to America started in 1727 from the Palatinate and Berne and continued until 1780. Another migration from Alsace occurred in the period of 1815-1840. Amish came to Pennsylvania from Switzerland as early as 1727. There are today in Europe no Amish who have retained the name and principles of the original group.

*Meidung or avoidance is a term applied to banning all social intercourse with an excommunicated member.
The three largest communities of Amish in the United States are situated in Holmes and adjoining counties in northern Ohio, in Elkhart and adjoining counties in northern Indiana, and in Lancaster and adjoining counties in southeastern Pennsylvania (cf. Schreiber, 1962).

As the above demonstrates, the Amish have a highly distinct culture which contrasts sharply with the norms and values of society more generally. Yet little empirical work is to be found concerning the adaptation of the Amish to contemporary society. Lunday (1966) indicates that not a single Ph.D. dissertation was written about the Amish between 1893 and 1966. Scientific journals similarly have devoted little attention to the Amish. As a consequence, knowledge of the reactions of non-Amish toward the Amish and of Amish attitudes toward their community is generally lacking. This study will focus upon these areas.

In the first phase of the investigation, a survey was made of existing literature concerning Amish culture. In the second phase of the investigation questionnaires were utilized to determine what the attitudes of non-Amish are toward Amish. A quasi-scale of reactions of non-Amish toward Amish was developed, also. In the final phase of the study, intensive interviews were conducted with Amish respondents in order to determine the degree to which their exposure to two vastly different cultures produces internal conflict.
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The first phase of the study focuses upon a review of the literature which provides a background on the Amish family and their beliefs and customs. This enables one to understand what forces tend to keep their community static and unchanging and what forces introduce change and upheaval. The conflict between these forces influences the way in which they react to events and people around them. The first part of this chapter will deal with the static forces and the second part will treat the signs of change.

STATIC FORCES IN THE AMISH COMMUNITY

Family (used here as a term in reference to the Amish family) means a social group consisting of husband and wife and their children, living together in a manner recognized by law and tradition. It is synonymous with Murdock's definition of the "nuclear" family (Klees, 1950) meaning a married man and woman and their children.

In a study by Friedmann (1949) of Mennonite and Amish family trends in northern Indiana, Howard Good stated that an average family had 8.7 children. He also observed that the size of the present generation of Amish families in Elkhart County, Indiana, showed practically no change with that of three generations ago.

Whether Amish desire "large" families or if they "just happen" has not been clearly established. Authorities agree
that contraceptive devices are not used to control the size of families. Their use is associated with immorality. A basic function of the family is the perpetuation of the human race, the procreation of children. "Be ye fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," (Genesis 9:1) is a Biblical quotation frequently repeated by Amish preachers, and it is believed to have been spoken for all God-fearing people everywhere. Children are regarded as "... an heritage of the Lord," (Psalms 127:3). An economic factor in the size of families is the fact that children are needed on farms and are expected to work hard. The birth of a child brings joy to the family and community, as it means a potential dishwasher, woodchopper, and most of all, another church member. Thus children are wanted.

"Infants are born into a family; they do not join a family. The family is a closed system ... in it the basic wishes and needs of its members are expressed," states Dr. John A. Hostetler in his book, Amish Society (1968:369). In the home individual interests first collide with interests of the group. Procreation, protection, and training are a part of the process which defines relationships between family members.

"Family organization among the Amish has always been strictly monogamous and patriarchal rather than matriarchal. Over-all authority tends to belong to the father, with varying degrees of modification" (Hostetler, 1968:369). The wife
exercises her authority in rearing children, but her husband's word is regarded as final in domestic matters, even though the wife may be consulted when problems arise. Co-operation between the husband and wife prevails in differing degrees depending on their personalities and adjustment. The line of authority is not rigid.

The Apostle Paul taught that "The head of the woman is the man" (I Corinthians 11:3). God created woman as a "helpmate" for man; she is not her husband's equal but his helper. The farm is the Amish man's kingdom. There is joint ownership of property to insure legal ownership in case of the husband's death. The husband attends to such business as banking, writing checks, and depositing money. The woman's role in religious services follows the teachings of the Apostle Paul who wrote, "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection" (I Timothy 2:11-12). Woman is not "to usurp authority over the man" (I Timothy 2:11-12).

There usually is no apparent demonstration of affection between married mates. Terms of endearment or gestures expressing affection are conspicuously absent. The husband may address his wife by name or he may just begin talking to her. When speaking about his wife, a husband may say "her," "my wife" or the woman's name. Irritation between spouses is not readily observable. It is expressed by tone of voice, gesture, direct statement, or complete silence at the dinner table. Then the wife has to guess what is wrong. Harsh or
boisterous talk is infrequent. The bond between mates is one of respect, not romantic love. The role of the parents is defined in terms of traditional nuclear familial relations and controlled in some degree by consanguineous relationships. The husband and wife are members of a group who must maintain the standards and dignity of the group (cf. Yoder, 1950).

The Amish fulfill the Biblical ideal in the relations between mates. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. . . . So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies . . . and the wife see that she reverence her husband" (Ephesians 5:22, 28, 33). Marriage is monogamous and divorce is not permitted, since it is contrary to Christ's teaching (cf. Hostetler, 1968).

It is the responsibility of the Amish parents to teach their children attitudes and values which will lead them to accept the Amish way of life. They must be taught techniques of biological and social survival; their impulse expressions must be channeled; and their initial adjustments to their environment must be supervised. Social contacts that are necessary for development of the child are provided within the family unit itself. The child is taught that he is different from "English" children. He is made to understand that he can't have clothes, bicycles, etc., like "English" children have.

The nature of the relationship between the parent and child is essentially one of learning how to perform tasks.
He begins to assist his parents when he is four or five years old. Children of eight or nine do chores and field work. Girls are trained in the art of housekeeping and cooking. Nothing pleases parents more than to have children grow up to be honest, industrious, and thrifty.

Strict obedience is demanded of Amish children; orders are accepted and obeyed without hesitation. The method of discipline is usually "bletching" (thrashing). It may be by hand, green switch, razor strap or buggy whip. Some Amish children have attempted running away from home. Most of them return, and indicate that they have little knowledge of the world outside the Amish environment. Their home training has not equipped them as individuals in society at large, but only as a part of an integrated household where decisions are made by the head of the family. Lack of opportunities to make their own personal decisions accounts for unsuccessful attempts to become established away from home.

Masculine dominance is quite evident in an Amish home. The men and boys sit down at the table first and are served first. Brother-sister intimacy often is evident from the ages of seven to twelve. After that they associate more with their own sex. More work and responsibility is expected of the boy which shortens his time for leisure.

Conversation is an important part of Amish life since the Amish are a friendly and hospitable people. Preaching services, funerals, weddings, sales, singings, shopping in
town, and Sunday visiting are all opportunities for conversing at length. "Pennsylvania Dutch as spoken by the Amish resembles the Palatine German folk speech despite all the exterior influences that have come in contact with it since 1863," states William Frey in an article entitled "Amish Hymns as Folk Music" (1949:136-137). This dialect is used for everyday conversation among the Amish.

Politeness as expressed by society in general is absent in the Amish family. There are no words in the dialect for "pardon me" or "excuse me." Children who have learned these expressions at school and use them in family relationships are accused of trying to be "society-like." "Please" and "thank you" are used when receiving or giving gifts. Absence of traditionally polite expressions does not mean that there is not respect among members of the family. Belching occurs frequently around the dinner table with no thought of discourtesy. It remains to be established whether the absence of politeness in conversation is a trait, characteristic of just the Amish or of any predominantly rural area. It would seem to be a trait of a functionally integrated household with roles clearly defined and individualism at a minimum.

"The home is the center of life and place of belonging for all the family members. . . . It (home) is a center for decision-making with respect to work, play, and exposure to the wider community and to the outside world" (Hostetler, 1968:369). Whether the role of Amish youth in regard to home,
family, and community is gradually changing due to outside forces is studied in more detail later in this paper.

After having viewed the structure and organization of the Amish family, this portion of the paper will deal with the Amish family from the standpoint of its functions such as education, religion, and social life. In order to point out the significance of the Amish family in its culture, it is necessary to ascertain what functions are performed, in what manner, and to what degree.

Klein (1959:74) says, "The Amish are farmers by heritage, by choice, by conviction. Their religion binds them to the land. They believe that farming is the best way of life and the one most in accord with the Scriptures." Amish farms were once quite large, but have gradually reduced in size through the years. Farming operations conform to the pattern described as a "family type farm."* It is often customary for a young Amish man to begin as a laborer, then rent a farm, and finally become an owner.

Land held by Amish remains in Amish hands for generations. Sons obtain the farm from the father by paying a purchase price. A son inherits a farm more often than a daughter, and a younger son is more likely to get the family farm than an older son. Parents, who live on the home place, usually do not relinquish full rights until their death.

*A unit that meets the minimum needs of the family and can be operated primarily by family labor.
Houses are large with removable partitions so that worship services can be held. Cleanliness and order usually prevail with farm buildings kept in good repair. In Amish homes usually there are no curtains at the windows, no central heating system, no large rugs, no electricity, no radios, and in many homes, no inside plumbing and no photographs.

Men are responsible for all planning in farm operations, caring for livestock, planting, harvesting, and maintaining all farm buildings and equipment in good repair. The extent to which the man helps his wife is nominal. The wife cares for the children, cooks, cleans, prepares produce for market, sews, preserves food, and gardens. Sometimes women and girls help with the harvest of the crops. Food processing consumes a large part of the wife's time. When it is time for chores, each child has his assignment. Amish children do not receive allowances from their parents, but they sometimes are allowed to keep the money they earn from working for neighbor families.

The Amish family has many economic functions concerned with production. In this way, they are like rural families, but the Amish have taken on fewer of the practices of the urban family than has the average American farm family.

Amish families voluntarily work together for individual or group welfare. Such activities as threshing, moving, barn raising, wood and log cutting, and assisting in event of death,
are concerned with ongoing production. The work accomplished at these frolics and the spirit in which it is done is astounding. Threshing requires the help of three or four families. This help is obtained on a neighborhood basis. Help for moving is obtained in the same way.

In respect to financial matters the family system is again definitely patriarchal. The wife keeps money for household expenditures. Records are not kept of these expenditures; only an oral explanation is necessary. Budgeting is unknown.

The Amish produce for home consumption. The Amish source of income is wholly from the land, this, according to the Amish, is God's fundamental arrangement for the welfare of man. Accumulation of wealth is considered to be sinful. Selfish materialism is greatly eliminated because of mutual aid and cooperation among individuals. Brotherly love in the form of economic aid is extended to any member in need and the community as a whole carries the burden.

Their agrarian economy seems to be basically sound and, though lacking in modern economic theory, it conforms to the basic position of a sound economic system. This agrarianism has given them economic security through periods of prosperity and depression. Pursuit of this simple formula has made them a socially stable and financially self-reliant people. Nevertheless, in the technologically advanced society of today, Amish farmers are increasingly facing problems
that must be surmounted if the group is to remain intact. In spite of shortcomings in modern scientific agricultural developments, the Amish have been able to overcome the handicap by long hours of labor and by the sweat of the brow. This problem is discussed in more detail in subsequent pages of this paper. In the survey taken an attempt is made to determine what forces (from within and outside the Amish society) tend to introduce change into an agrarian isolated sect.

For the Amish, religion is not a separate compartment of life; it is valid for all phases of living at all times. Their religion is a workable one. It has survived all sorts of criticism and persecution. Amish customs have the sanction of religion, so the individual does not need to speculate about their meaning. This formula, put into effect where there is a minimum of secondary group contacts, produces a life of simplicity which is relatively free from sophistication.

The Old Order Amish practice of having worship in their homes is another feature of their simplicity. Ministerial leaders are chosen by lot for life. There is no specialized training and no salary for these men. Religious beliefs are transmitted from generation to generation by informal contacts, not in books of doctrine and theology. They are interested in living their beliefs, not transmitting them to the printed page. The highest and ultimate goal for the Amish is eternal life. They believe that they must be
separate from the world. "In a sense they are citizens of Heaven--colonizers on their way to a better world, 'in the world, but not of it,'" says Dr. John A. Hostetler (1959:34).

Meidung is shunning those who have been excommunicated from the church. Church members must not eat or drink or have fellowship with the expelled member. Some shun in domestic, social, and business relationships and some, only spiritually. Because of the high degree of primary group relationships and close ties in the Amish family, it is almost impossible to apply the ban consistently.

The Amish opposition to education cannot be understood unless we know the value judgments of the Amish and their culture. By education is meant the transmission of cultural values and the development of mental and moral capacity, either by formal or informal means or by experience. The Amish integrate religion, education, and work in their lives without compartmentalizing the various essential elements. The Amishman feels that his religion is inseparable with a day's work, a night's rest, a meal or any practice; therefore, education can much less be separated from his religious practices. Amish parents want their children to receive an elementary education so that they can acquire the ability to read, write and carry on arithmetic transactions (cf. Hostetler, 1959).

Amish resistance to further schooling is based on the fact that they believe that (1) the children are needed on
farms and that farming does not require higher education; (2) practical experience is better than that from a book; (3) association with non-Amish leads to smoking, drinking, loose morals, and loss of interest in the church; (4) education leads the Amish child to become interested in occupations other than farming; (5) higher education is against the teaching of their forebears; (6) the German language is taught more successfully if the children are not in school (cf. Hostetler, 1959).

One problem confronting the Amish is the threat of being absorbed into society by the public school. Traditional Amish values often clash with those of the modern public school. Objection to schooling beyond the eighth grade is important in the social structure of Amish society. High school comes at a period when the adolescent is learning to understand his own individuality and to relate to a group of peers beyond his family. It is important for the church that his peers include only other Amish persons. This adolescent period is one in which the parents are loosening direct control and the community hasn't assumed much control. The "way of life" of the high school is feared more than the curriculum offered at the school because the child is removed from the home during the working hours of the day so there is little chance for him to learn to enjoy the Amish way of life and acquire the required attitudes and skills.
Amish families need the help of their teen-age children more than the average American family and the child feels the family's need of him. Rather than using authority as a means of controlling the child, the parents exercise control by showing the adolescent how much he is needed. The Amish do not try to keep outsiders from educating their own children but for the Amish children a "high" education is believed to militate against humility, obedience to Christ, and submission to the will of God.

In the country school the Amish child was treated as a member of the group and not as an individual. The progressive large school teaches the child to be self-sufficient, competent, and perhaps moral, but not Christian. This is the greatest of Amish fears. The little one-room school provided the Amish child with just enough contact with outsiders to participate somewhat in two worlds.

In Indiana with the consolidation of the public schools, the Amish were encouraged to organize their own schools and develop standards that were in keeping with their prerogative as a religious denomination. For the Amish parent, the fear is not just that the children might become "English," but of losing ties with them for eternity. To lose a child to the world is to lose hope of his salvation and of spending eternity with him in Heaven.

In LaGrange County, Amish schools came into existence in the last ten years—about the same time the one-room schools
were closed. The Amish object to mandatory education because of their life style, but if they continue taking factory jobs and do not qualify because they are poor readers then it would seem to be a losing battle.

The teachers are Amish and must qualify for teaching by passing a state test administered biannually. The subjects taught are the same as the public school except for science. German is taught so the children can understand their German Bibles.

Sex is regarded as a purely personal matter. Adults ignore the subject especially in the presence of children. The child does gradually acquire an elementary knowledge of the process of biological reproduction. Premarital relations are disapproved of and condemned by the church. Transgressors are expelled from the church and shunned for a period of several weeks until reinstatement, which requires a statement of confession. However, Amish persons who violate sex mores are not regarded as outcasts, once they are restored. Violation of the rule of chastity is not regarded as worse than other faults. There is no moral stigma that remains with the individual or in the society at large.

The occasion which provides contact for those of courting age is the Sunday evening "singing." It is usually held at the same house where preaching was held that day. After the chores are done, the young folks make preparations for the "singing." The young man puts on his best attire and
makes sure that the horse and buggy are clean and neat. The singing is not a devotional meeting. Only the unmarried attend and "fast" tunes are used. This is followed by square dancing, after which the boys take the girls home.

Very close intermarriage of families has produced an exceptionally large Freundschaft (relatives, cousins, aunts, children, and grandchildren without end). Students of heredity are interested in the biologic and psychological outcome of such extensive and continuous inbreeding. It has physical and psychological effects and without a doubt has helped to keep the family intact.

Dr. Patricia Bader states that the high incidence of muscular dystrophy among the Amish is because of intermarriage. Certain characteristics, both good and bad, show up in greater frequency among Amish families, because of the higher statistical chance of inheriting the genetically related traits. The type of muscular dystrophy prominent among Indiana Amish is slightly different than the type most people develop. . . . Members of the Amish community are aware of the situation, and many have gone to great lengths to cooperate with the Research Center's investigations into the source of their type of muscular dystrophy. . . . Dr. Bader saluted the Amish community for being so helpful to the Research Center's investigations (Collins, 1974).

The Amish do not receive old age pensions or public assistance of any kind. They do not invest in life insurance. The family recognizes its responsibility to give relief to the needy members and to provide for aging parents. The effect of the mother and father retiring from active life on the farm stabilizes the social organization of the entire Amish community. The younger men are then free to make
decisions within limits, of course. Respect for the aged is a cardinal emphasis. All age groups revere parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents.

Authority is vested in the old people. The system lends itself to increased control of life by the aged. Safeguarding of religious ideals and mores is insured and younger people who are inclined to introduce change are held in check. The fact that a large number of Amish have maintained their distinctive culture in America for two hundred years is evidence of the effectiveness of this device to prevent social change. This deference to age pervades not only in familiar relationships, but also in the religious leadership of the group.

It is natural that on retirement the parent will move to a separate part of the house known as the Grossdawdy house. Sometimes the Grossdawdy house is an addition, sometimes a separate unit. The Grossmutter sews for the family and grandchildren. The Grossdawdy does as much as he wants or can around the farm.

Death in the Amish home, though a sober occasion, is taken as a matter of course. There is less display of emotion than at "English funerals." The funeral and burial are strictly "plain." There is no modern lowering device, no artificial grass, no carpet and no flowers. The funeral services are held in the home after which a line is formed so that everyone can view the body. Families and the friends
of the deceased then enter their buggies and form a long line to follow the body to the graveyard. There the pallbearers, with shovels in hand, proceed to fill the grave with sod and clay as the minister reads a hymn and comments briefly to the bereaved relatives.

Death and its ceremonies are conditioned by the beliefs and attitudes of the Amish community. While death may shake the emotional foundations of the individual it does not threaten the moral foundations of the society. The reasons for death are understood within the context of the meaning of life. The Amish, who profess not to be conformed to this world, are able to turn to the promise of life beyond death. The belief in immortality is a source of comfort to the bereaved family and to the community (cf. Hostetler, 1968).

In the preceding section an attempt has been made to focus on the forces which tend to keep the Amish community stagnant. In summary, these forces include the large size of families, family structure with a male dominance, farming as a way of life, religious training, strict training of children, lack of education, strict rules and regulations regarding morals, and the worship and respect for age. Static forces are not the only forces acting upon the Amish individual. Change is also being introduced into the Amish community. Forces leading in this direction are explored in the next section.
SIGNOS OF CHANGE IN THE AMISH COMMUNITY

Thus far the structure and function of the Amish family has been examined as a symbol of self-fulfillment, but while social change is more gradual among the Amish, there are changes that affect the Amish family. Technological and economic changes have made necessary more contact with the outside world. The typical Amish family is dependent on the outside world for marketing their farm products, and also for obtaining goods and services.

The church approved form of transportation is the horse and buggy, although there is evidence that the system is beginning to break down. Bus service is used. Amish men are quite willing to ride in automobiles and will gladly pay for this service. It would appear that the Amish family is not as self-sufficient as formerly. The use of telephones and automobiles tends to increase the number of contacts with the outside world; thus isolation is becoming increasingly difficult.

The fundamental reason for objections to innovations is a sense of group loyalty, although the reason often given is that these ideas are "worldly." The loyalty is two-fold respect for the authority of the church and to fellow church members. If the Amishman becomes "worldly" he is psychologically and socially in a world by himself.

No group or society is exempt from change, but they do differ in the rate of change. Social change is this
process by which a society is changed from one type to another. Stress occurs when an individual is uncertain about himself and the values he has held. Stress is present when people act in a way that is not in accordance with Amish rules and regulations. Social and cultural change involve whole processes within a society. Changes may arise from forces within the society or from changes due to contact with an outside culture. The isolation features of the Amish society have been pointed out, but understanding how in this modern world this small society can isolate themselves has not been explained.

One way to understand social change is to observe how the Amish social system becomes dependent on the outside world. The continued existence of Amish society depends on keeping certain forms unchanged such as prohibition of electricity and automobiles, yet its survival depends on some contact with the outside world.

Change through diffusion can take place in a slow manner without causing any social upsets in a community. Yet extensive borrowing of culture often precedes violent change in the social life of a people. Changes in social life can be viewed in two ways: the individual as he breaks with culture and the formation of sub-groups within a society which initiate changes.

When Amish individuals find meaningful experiences outside the Amish bounds, their relationship to the traditional
community may be altered. This would be normal with the lessening of geographic isolation and influences of mass communication and technology exerted on them.

Dr. John A. Hostetler (1968) states that in his research and personal experience he has found that those persons who deviate from the Amish norms experience as a result of their deviation (1) ideological conflict with Amish doctrine, (2) interpersonal frictions within the society, (3) personal frustrations and need-fulfillments, or all of these. In interviews with Amish who have deviated from accepted norms in LaGrange County the writer of this paper found that their reactions and experiences were comparable to those stated by Dr. Hostetler.

One may expect a higher rate of rebellion among children of families who are "marginal" to the culture. For example, if either of the parents show nonconformist tendencies, or have had difficulties with the Amish way of life.

A marginal person is one who lives in two different but antagonistic cultures. Amish persons who repudiate their culture for education or other reasons often cannot take their family with them, so many times they attempt to accept the new without breaking with the old. This means they must conform to certain expectations of both societies.

The marginal Amishman is an inevitable product of the process, a process of acculturation, a process in which a subordinate culture is modified to conform to the culture of the dominant society (cf. Hostetler, 1968:369).
The more contradictions in a small society, the more favorable are the conditions for the marginal persons. On the other hand, where needs of a person are well provided for and he feels satisfaction, the less favorable are conditions for marginal persons.

The amount of acceptable deviation in Amish society varies with the position of the individual. Permissive behavior is normally expected of the single rather than the married. Youth is the normal time for deviation in an otherwise stable group.

In Amish society there are contradictions which vary in intensity and importance to individuals and differ widely in the Amish society. An example is, drinking in a bar is considered a sin but drinking liquor in back of a barn is not frowned upon. Another contradiction is telephones in the home being prohibited, but use of telephones in a store acceptable.

The more contradictions there are the more one may expect to find symptoms of role stress, anxiety, and confusion. Change is a threat to Amish society. The status of young people in Amish society is particularly vulnerable to stress.

An individual can lose his Amish identity by breaking away when his interests cannot be exercised within the Amish cultural pattern. Groups as well as individuals break the traditional pattern. In group deviation, the personality
tends to be protected somewhat from personal stress and conflict. Group assimilation provides the individual with a cultural matrix and a reference group for self-identification. Pattern differentiation tends to be along the same lines as those issues which culminate in a cleavage. Excessive loss of members may lead to a change in the Ordnung*.

The stress problems of the Amish community are not too different from those of other societies that have gone before them. Tensions are manifested in a variety of ways. There are those who are torn between the desire for the conveniences of the automobile and the ways of middle-class American life and their religion or their nearest kin. Then there are those who do not want to be a cause for division, but who wish to study the Bible and express their piety in a way that is different from the quiet, submissive, and humble way of the tradition. Others feel frustrated if they cannot prepare themselves for life by attending college. Those who remain loyal to the outward symbols appear to make a successful adjustment to the little community, but often go through a period of permitted "wildness" before they accept the adult roles of the society (cf. Hostetler, 1968).

After experiencing this freedom, some individuals cannot return to the Amish community. They feel that they do not belong in either the Amish community or the outside

*Ordnung means the rules of the church.
community. We see, as a result of these situations, many "marginal Amish" created. The "marginal Amish" and the conflicts he experiences affect the way that non-Amish feel about Amish. These attitudes were investigated with the use of a questionnaire and will be discussed in the next section.

METHODS

The present section includes a discussion of the procedures and methods utilized in accomplishing the second and third objectives of this study: (1) the development of the questionnaire; (2) the selection of the sample; (3) composition of the interviews; (4) the analysis of the data.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Several methods exist by which a survey could be conducted to find out the attitude of non-Amish residents toward basic questions of relationships of Amish families to the community in which they live. Possibilities include a telephone survey, personal interview, and questionnaire. The investigator employed mailed questionnaire supplemented by selected interviews.

A primary disadvantage of questionnaire surveys is non-response. In an attempt to cope with this, the questionnaire was anonymous and made as concise as possible. Self-addressed stamped envelopes were provided for easy return and the signature of the researcher was included on each questionnaire.
The questionnaire consisted of sixteen questions subdivided into two sections. Section I was composed of six questions developed for the purpose of ascertaining baseline data of the respondent such as sex, age, religious preference, frequency of church attendance, education, and number of Amish friends. Section II consisted of ten questions pertaining to attitudes toward Amish people. The questionnaire was arranged in a manner which facilitated rapid response. The possible responses to the questions were SA (Strongly Agree), A (Agree), U (Undecided), D (Disagree), and SD (Strongly Disagree).

A second phase in the development of the questionnaire occurred after the data had been collected. This phase involved the construction of a quasi-scale on favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the Amish. To accomplish this goal, potential scale items were tested for scalability by means of item-total score correlations. Only the items with a significance level of .01 or less were retained in the final index. Split-half reliability coefficients were computed to assess the degree to which these items were uni-dimensional. These results are presented in the next chapter.

**SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE**

The sample selected for the questionnaire was taken from two communities, LaGrange and Howe, with a combined population of approximately 3000. The sample for the study
consisted of fifty residents of these communities. The respondents were chosen by using a table of random numbers to select individuals from a telephone directory. The data was collected in February 1975. Each person received a questionnaire with an explanatory paragraph and a self-addressed, stamped envelope of the fifty questionnaires mailed, fifty or 100% responded.

COMPOSITION OF THE INTERVIEWS

Interviews were utilized in an attempt to discover what Amish feelings were toward the questions included in the interview. The interviews were also intended to discover the degree to which role conflicts exist for the Amish. A questionnaire could not have been administered to the Amish as they would not have responded. The interviews were conducted with Amish people, ages seventeen through forty and with an ex-teacher at a LaGrange elementary school. These people were contacted first to see if they would consent to an interview and then a date was arranged to visit them at their homes. The questions asked corresponded closely with the questionnaire items. They are listed in Appendix B.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The following procedures were used in the analysis of the data. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences by Norman H. Nie, Dale H. Bent, and C. Hadlai Hull (1970) was
employed in the analysis of the data. Cross tabulations were run to determine the relationships between independent and dependent variables and to assess relationships among various independent variables.

As a final step, the effects of independent variables, considered two at a time, upon the dependent variables were examined. A significance level of .01 was used throughout the study because of the small sample and exploratory nature of the investigation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section focuses upon the results of: (1) development of a quasi-scale on attitudes toward the Amish; (2) the investigation of the attitudes of the LaGrange and Howe communities toward the Amish residents concerning education, social relations, community government, and general assimilation; (3) the study of the attitudes and feelings of the Amish people toward their community and toward the non-Amish people and to determine the degree to which the Amish feel they "belong" in the community. In developing a quasi-scale on attitudes toward the Amish the first step was to compute item-total score correlations. The results are shown in Table 1.

Upon reviewing the following correlations, shown in Table 1, it was decided not to include items numbered one, three, six, and ten in the quasi-scale. The question, "Amish
TABLE 1

ITEM-TOTAL SCORE CORRELATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Item</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Significance Level*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Amish people &quot;fit right in&quot; with the rest of the community.</td>
<td>-0.0142</td>
<td>0.461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I feel that Amish customs are old-fashioned.*</td>
<td>0.5225</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Amish children should be encouraged to finish high school.</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. If Amish attended high school, it would downgrade the school and cause problems.*</td>
<td>0.6296</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Amish should have their own schools.*</td>
<td>0.4781</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Taxpayers have a responsibility to construct separate lanes on our roads for Amish buggies only.</td>
<td>-0.0142</td>
<td>0.461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I wish &quot;jerked overs&quot; (marginal Amish) would stop trying to be what they're not.*</td>
<td>0.6748</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. People should help Amish youth break away from their customs.*</td>
<td>0.6003</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. People would look down on non-Amish dating Amish.*</td>
<td>0.4760</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. People in LaGrange are proud of their Amish heritage.</td>
<td>0.2111</td>
<td>0.071</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The questions with asterisks were retained in the quasi-scale on attitudes.
people 'fit right in' with the rest of the community," might have been a poor measure of attitudes because an individual would probably perceive that the Amish do not "fit in" regardless of how he feels toward the Amish. "Amish children should be encouraged to finish high school," could have been a poor question because people probably feel the Amish should be educated regardless of their feelings toward them. Some respondents may want separate schools for the Amish and may want them educated only to change Amish customs. Others may want integrated schools and might encourage Amish to retain their own customs.

"Taxpayers have a responsibility to construct separate lanes on our roads for Amish buggies only" was probably a poor measure of attitudes because, regardless of feelings toward the Amish, many people are reluctant to spend extra tax money on anything. This could be due to an "anti-Socialism" attitude. The question, "People in LaGrange are proud of Amish heritage," is a poor measure for the same reasons as those for the first rejected question. Regardless of personal opinion, the respondent may realize that most residents are not proud of Amish heritage.

The six items numbered two, four, five, seven, eight and nine were included in the final version of the index measuring favorability of attitudes toward the Amish. These questions, as opposed to those that were rejected, were probably good measures of attitudes because they were phrased
in a manner which asked only for the feelings or opinion of the person responding and not how they believed the community felt. "I feel that Amish customs are old fashioned" and "I wish 'jerked overs' (marginal Amish) would stop trying to be what they're not" are both good examples of questions asking for only the respondent's opinion. People are better qualified to give their own opinion on a question than to express how the community feels. With a question such as "People in LaGrange are proud of their Amish heritage" the respondents may answer one way because that is how they interpret the attitudes of LaGrange residents, but they may totally disagree with that opinion themselves.

ATTITUDES TOWARD AMISH

The second objective was to determine how the non-Amish feel about the Amish and what independent variables corresponded with favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward the Amish. Table 2 provides a view of the characteristics of the sample used in determining attitudes of the non-Amish toward the Amish.

Table 2 shows that the division of males and females was equal; 54 per cent were under thirty and 46 per cent over thirty. The majority (86 per cent) of the respondents were Protestant; 16 per cent never attended church, while 36 per cent attended every Sunday. Sixty per cent of those who answered the questionnaire were high school graduates. Only
8 per cent were college graduates and 6 per cent had only a grade school education.

**TABLE 2**

**BIOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Biographical Variable</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Per Cent of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Church Attendance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter, Christmas</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a Month</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every Sunday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Amish Friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty-four per cent of the respondents had no Amish friends and only 10 per cent had more than four Amish friends, although 46 per cent had at least one to two Amish friends.
In assessing the results of the questionnaire investigation, first, each independent variable was correlated with the total score on the quasi-scale to determine which independent variables were significantly related to responses on the quasi-scale. The following table shows the correlations between the total score, AMATT, and the independent variables.

**TABLE 3**

**CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE TOTAL SCORE, AMATT, AND THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Significance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.4732</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>0.1024</td>
<td>0.240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>-0.0544</td>
<td>0.354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.3649</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>0.3649</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to these results, sex, religion, and frequency of church attendance were not related to responses to AMATT. Age, education and number of Amish friends were significantly related to AMATT and will be investigated further. Sex was not related to AMATT, and this seems to demonstrate that being male or female does not affect
reactions toward a group such as the Amish. Religion and frequency of church attendance were not significant probably because they do not increase contact with the Amish or educate one to be tolerant. Church attendance, if anything, probably increases the gap between the Amish religion and the person's own religion.

Age might have been significant because of the great difference in attitudes and opinions that correspond with age. Education is generally thought to teach one to be tolerant, or at least knowledgeable of various groups. The number of Amish friends one has affects the amount of contact one has with the Amish and the amount of first-hand information he holds.

Because of the possibility that some of the significant relationships shown in Table 3 were spurious in nature, an attempt was made to investigate the relationships which exist among independent variables. Tables 4, 5 and 6 explore relationships between the most significant factors by cross tabulation.

Those under thirty seemed to have more education than those over thirty. Four per cent of those under thirty and two per cent of those over thirty had only grade school educations. The two who were under thirty, though, were high school seniors. Of the younger age group 22 per cent had some college and six per cent were college graduates, while only four per cent had some college and two per cent were college graduates of the over thirty group.
### TABLE 4

**AGE OF RESPONDENTS, BY EDUCATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grade School No.</th>
<th>Grade School %</th>
<th>High School No.</th>
<th>High School %</th>
<th>Some College No.</th>
<th>Some College %</th>
<th>College Graduate No.</th>
<th>College Graduate %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 5

**AGE OF RESPONDENTS, BY NUMBER OF AMISH FRIENDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>0 No.</th>
<th>0 %</th>
<th>1-2 No.</th>
<th>1-2 %</th>
<th>3-4 No.</th>
<th>3-4 %</th>
<th>More Than 4 No.</th>
<th>More Than 4 %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 shows that 24 per cent of those over thirty had no Amish friends, while only 10 per cent of those under thirty had no Amish friends. More of those under thirty had one-two Amish friends, as well as having more in the categories of three-four and more than four Amish friends.

### Table 6

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS, BY NUMBER OF AMISH FRIENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th>More Than 4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 6, education seemed to affect the number of Amish friends. Eight per cent of the college graduates had from three to more than four Amish friends, while no one with a grade school education had from three to more than four Amish friends. Twenty per cent of those with a high school education had no Amish friends and of those with a grade school education four per cent had no Amish friends. Those with higher educations had more Amish friends.
It was mentioned previously that some independent variables might be significant only through association with other significant variables. This was investigated by controlling a variable while correlating another variable with the total score. The results are shown in the following tables.

TABLE 7
AMATT, BY EDUCATION, CONTROLLING FOR AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1:00*</th>
<th>2:00**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1:00 = Grade or High School  
**2:00 = Some College or College Graduate

TABLE 8
AMATT, BY FRIENDS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1:00*</th>
<th>2:00**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1:00 = 0-2 Amish friends  
**2:00 = 3 or more Amish friends
TABLE 9
AMATT, BY FRIENDS, CONTROLLING FOR EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>1:00*</th>
<th>2:00**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:00***</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00****</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1:00 = 0-2 Amish friends
** 2:00 = 3 or more Amish friends
*** 1:00 = Grade or High School Education
****2:00 = Some College or College Graduate

Age seemed to be the major factor in determining the total score, although Education and Friends did make a significant difference, even with age controlled. There was a greater difference in total scores between the under 30 and over 30 age groups than between high and low education and more or less Amish friends. Those who had low educations and few Amish friends had the lowest total score and those with high educations and more Amish friends had the highest total scores. Interpretation was difficult because some groups were not sufficiently represented. For example, there was only one person over 30 who had over three Amish friends.

As was shown earlier, age was significant at a 0.001 level while education and number of Amish friends were significant at 0.005. Age affects the amount and quality of education one obtains. More people attend college today than
in years before. Many of those under thirty answering the questionnaire were just out of high school so this affected the numbers having some college. Also education, today, seems to emphasize tolerance and non-prejudice whereas it was not taught in years before. Age also affects the number of Amish friends. Those under thirty tend to have more Amish friends as shown in the previous tables. This might be due to the fact that younger people with higher educations are less prone to be prejudiced against Amish and more prone to have them as friends.

The above discussion indicates that people with higher educations and many Amish friends are significant primarily through their association with age.

Age was a very significant factor in affecting the total score with a 0.001 level of significance. Those who were under thirty had a higher total score than those over thirty, with a high score indicating a positive attitude toward Amish and a low score indicating a negative attitude.

A specific question shows this exceptionally well. The question stated, "I wish 'jerked overs' (marginal Amish) would stop trying to be what they are not." Of those under thirty 91.3 per cent disagreed with this statement while 37.4 per cent of those over thirty disagreed with the statement. This meant that 62.7 per cent of those over thirty agreed that "jerked overs" should stop trying to be what they are not. The significance level of this particular question was 0.003.
Education was also a significant factor, if only through age. The total score of those with some college or college graduate was higher than that of those with high school diplomas or grade school education. Those with higher educations answered essentially the same as those in the under thirty age group because they are, in most cases, the same people. This is demonstrated specifically in the question stating, "If Amish attended high school, it would downgrade the school and cause problems," 79 per cent of those with higher educations disagreed with the statement while only 26 per cent of those with lower educations disagreed with the statement.

Number of Amish friends is also significant at a 0.005 level. Those with more Amish friends have a higher total score than those with few or no Amish friends. The people with Amish friends also have a higher education and are under thirty.

Some interaction does exist between Amish and non-Amish. Sometimes the encounters are friendly and sometimes not at all. It is a common occurrence in LaGrange to hear tales of non-Amish youths tearing up Amish yards and driveways with their automobiles. This seems to be a "feat" to boast about. Two newspaper articles (The LaGrange Standard, 1973; The LaGrange Standard, 1975) document occurrences of this type. "The automobile left deep ruts in the Yoder backyard and then drove through the barn door" (The LaGrange Standard, 1975).
In September of 1975 an armed assailant kidnapped and raped two Amish girls who were riding in a buggy with their boyfriends. The young, long-haired man ridiculed the girls about being Amish (The Sturgis Journal, 1975).

A one million dollar extortion plot against the Amish failed in January of 1975. A forty-two year old man attempted to "gain control of property through the use of threats" (The Journal Gazette, 1975). The man was arrested and a letter of thanks appeared in the LaGrange Standard from the Amish of another community. It read as follows:

AMISH THANKS

Amish
From another community
To the Editor:
We would like to express our sincere thanks for the concern that all of the people of LaGrange County showed throughout the threat letter crisis. We want to especially thank the police and other officers for the protection and concern that they gave. We are thankful that we live in a country where we as religious people are still protected by our government.

Another incident of good relations occurred when the LaGrange County Hospital celebrated its 25th anniversary. A hospital board member "paid tribute to the Amish people for their many contributions to the hospital, not only in money, but in foods, including meats, when the hospital first opened" (Sturgis Journal, 1975).
The above discussion exemplifies some of the feelings of non-Amish toward Amish. The various newspaper accounts show acts of both hostility and kindness. These events must affect Amish opinions. The following section will focus on Amish feelings through the use of personal interviews. Also, a teacher will reveal his observations of Amish children.

INTERVIEWS

In order to study the feelings of the Amish people toward their community and to discover how much the principles of anomie and alienation affect the Amish, interviews were held with Amish people and one ex-school teacher.

The interview with the ex-teacher from LaGrange County amplified the understanding of the questionnaire items dealing with education. This man is 31 years old and left teaching to pursue a career in law. He said that he always thought that the Amish children perceived themselves as "different" from the other children. They played only with other Amish children, probably because other students made fun of them. He said they seemed solemn at school and never laughed and "roughhoused" as much as the other children. "Maybe they felt inhibited because of being in the minority," he said. "The teachers seem to ignore them, probably unconsciously, but partly because they figure they never get past eighth grade anyway," said the ex-teacher. That in itself would probably discourage a child from wanting to continue
school. Concerning discipline he stated, "The Amish children I had in class were very attentive and were never discipline problems." This is probably because of their strict upbringing. He said that the few that were discipline problems, usually junior high students, were doing it to be like the "others" or to rebel. When asked if he thought the parents of non-Amish children disliked having Amish attend the same school, he said he didn't think they cared as long as there weren't too many and they "stayed in their place." In his opinion, people in LaGrange try to ignore the Amish because they are not a vocal minority. He said LaGrange residents are embarrassed because visitors think the town is old-fashioned. The ex-teacher said that he thinks more should be done to make the Amish child feel at ease in school, but no one has the right to attempt to change their habits.

The interviews with the Amish people revealed that all those interviewed definitely feel they do not "fit" into the community. All of them had quit school after the eighth grade due to parental coercion. Many females were married and were housewives, some stayed at home and helped their parents and some worked in factories. The males were all farmers.

The majority of the Amish, 65 per cent, wanted to break away from the Amish customs and become like the others. These Amish girls worked in factories. One girl stated that she was embarrassed to go into town because people laugh.
She said she did not blame them because she knew her clothes were "ugly and old-fashioned." She then said, "But I guess everything we do is old-fashioned. The rules don't make sense. We can ride in cars but not own them, drink behind the barn but not in bars, and have gas lights but not electricity. It's dumb."

When asked if she felt the Amish should break away one girl stated, "Yes, I'm trying to, but I'm afraid no one will want me. We should be more like the others. I have had people call me 'jerked over,' but once I really changed they'd never know the difference."

The same 65 per cent agreed that Amish should finish high school. They said that the reason they cannot finish is because their elders are afraid they will realize "what they are missing."

Most of the Amish felt that the LaGrange citizens should not have to provide separate buggy lanes, because the Amish must change themselves.

Sixty per cent of the Amish people agreed that people would look down on Amish dating non-Amish. One girl said, "Oh, yes, especially Amish--they would be angry and resentful. Other people would make fun. But I don't blame 'em. Amish customs are dumb and the dress is dumb and ugly."

The other 35 per cent of the people feel that Amish should not change. They also feel that they do not fit in, but attribute it to the "others" thinking "they are too good
for us." One married girl said, "I wouldn't want to be like them for anything but a lot of my friends would. Drive big cars and drink and get divorced--what's so great about that? My cousin says I just talk this way because I'm jealous."

This group said they respected Amish customs, even though many of their friends did not. They said it angered them when people ridiculed them. According to them, Amish do not need to finish school. "There is no reason to learn more than reading and writing, for if they are good Amish they won't use any more. High school makes people wander," stated one girl.

They did not want separate buggy lanes. When asked this question, one girl replied, "No, they should just leave us alone to live like we want to live."

The interviews seem to reinforce the idea that the Amish have not been assimilated into the community in which they live. The Amish react to this alienation and the conflicts they face in different ways. Some of them want to break away from the Amish culture, but fear being left on the outside of both groups. Others are proud of their heritage and resent the non-Amish who will not accept them. The ex-teacher observed alienation of the Amish child even in elementary school. Amish and non-Amish are in agreement on the point that the Amish have not been assimilated. Their feelings will be summarized in the next section.
The purpose of this study was to investigate the attitudes toward Amish of residents of Howe and LaGrange and also to discover how Amish feel about themselves and other community members. The investigator wanted to find out what independent variables such as sex, age, and education affected attitudes and how much and in what directions the effects were.

The sample for the study consisted of fifty residents of Howe and LaGrange, selected by random sampling. Questionnaires were mailed with self-addressed stamped envelopes. The questionnaires consisted of biographical data and ten question items. There was a 100 per cent rate of return for the questionnaires.

The questionnaires were then analyzed through the computer research system. Items were tested for scaleability and then crosstabulated and tested by the Pearsonian Correlation Coefficients.

Interviews were conducted with some Amish girls and an ex-teacher at an elementary school in order to amplify the understanding of the questionnaires. A review of the existing literature was also undertaken.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions based upon the results of the study were made by the investigator:
(1) People in the under thirty age category seem to have a more positive attitude toward Amish than those in the over thirty age group. This is evident in the total score as well as in all of the individual questionnaire items. According to much of the research done in various areas, age is often a determining factor in attitudes. Older people are generally assumed to be less tolerant and less flexible in their beliefs and ideas than younger people, which was the case in this study.

(2) A more positive attitude toward the Amish is exhibited by those who have higher educations than those with less education. Again, education often increases tolerance and knowledge of a group or individual often dispels preconceived stereotypes.

(3) Those with more Amish friends have a more positive attitude than those with fewer Amish friends. If an individual has more friends who are Amish, he will consequently have more contact with the Amish. This will probably increase his understanding and knowledge of their beliefs and way of life.

(4) The effects of age, education, and number of Amish friends are, in some measure, additive. There is an interaction effect with all three being significant factors. Age appears to be the most important factor as education and number of Amish friends may be significant, in part through their association with age.
(5) The people with higher educations and more Amish friends are the people in the under thirty age brackets.

(6) Many people in Howe and LaGrange do have a negative attitude toward Amish people. There were twenty-three people in the over thirty age bracket and the majority of these people answered in a negative manner on each question. One can only speculate as to how these negative attitudes were formed. It could be that these people grew up in a different period of time, had less education and fewer Amish friends and thus developed these negative attitudes. Another possibility is that as people grow older they become more intolerant.

(7) The Amish people feel that they are not accepted in the community as is illustrated by the interviews with the Amish girls. They feel a sense of alienation.

(8) There is some evidence that many Amish people want to break away from their customs. Sixty-five per cent of the people interviewed feel that way and the other 35 per cent mentioned that most Amish do feel this way.

(9) Even though the younger age group seems to be more tolerant, the high school age group seems to feel some degree of antagonism toward the Amish. This is demonstrated in the excerpts from recent newspaper articles.

(10) In regard to the question, "People should help Amish youth break away from their old customs," the under thirty group disagreed while the over thirty group was split
in their responses. The investigator suggests that the under thirty group may not want to force the Amish to break away. They may feel that it is the Amish prerogative to behave as they wish and that no one has the right to interfere. Since the over thirty group had negative attitudes, their reasons for not wanting them to break away could be because they do not want to see them assimilated into their society. Other people may want to change them so that LaGrange and Howe do not have to be "ashamed" of Amish with old-fashioned customs.

(11) It may be concluded from the attitudes of both the Amish and non-Amish that the Amish have not been assimilated into their community.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A major limitation of this study was that the sample of non-Amish was exceedingly small. This suggested the exercise of caution in generalizing the results to the population of Howe and LaGrange. A larger and more representative sample should be obtained for a further study.

Another limitation was that there should have been a larger pool of attitudinal questions in order to increase the overall reliability of the index. As it was, there were only six items in the index after four of the questions were rejected. A higher split-half reliability correlation would have been desirable. For future study a new instrument with more and improved questions should be developed.
There was also restricted access into the inner workings of the Amish family. It would be desirable, in future research, to discover some way of obtaining more first-hand information on the actual family life of the Amish.

Other suggestions include administering the same questionnaire in another Amish community and comparing the results. One could also do a repeat study in a year to again examine the feelings and attitudes to determine if there is a progressive increase or decrease in negative attitudes. It would also be valuable to investigate possible solutions to the community problems and to determine what the Amish and non-Amish residents would like to accomplish.
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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

The results of this survey are to be used as part of a research paper concerning the relationship of Amish families to the remainder of the community in which they live. You need not sign your name. Thank you for your cooperation.

Please complete the following information before beginning the survey questions.

Male____Female____Age______Religious Preference________

Frequency of church attendance Every Sunday__ Once a month___
Easter, Christmas, etc.___Never____

Education Grade school____ High school graduate____
Some college____ College graduate___

Number of Amish friends 0___1-2___3-4___More than 4___

Please respond to the following items by circling one of the following: SA-Strongly agree; A-Agree; U-Undecided; D-Disagree; SD-Strongly disagree.

1. The Amish people tend to "fit right in" with the rest of the community. SA A U D SD

2. I feel that Amish customs are old-fashioned. SA A U D SD

3. Amish children should be encouraged to finish high school. SA A U D SD

4. If Amish attended high school, it would downgrade the school and cause problems. SA A U D SD

5. The Amish should have their own schools. SA A U D SD

6. Taxpayers have a responsibility to construct separate lanes on our roads for Amish buggies only. SA A U D SD

7. I wish "jerked overs" (Marginal Amish) would stop trying to be what they're not. SA A U D SD

8. People should help Amish youth break away from their old customs. SA A U D SD

9. People would look down on non-Amish dating Amish. SA A U D SD

10. People in LaGrange are proud of Amish heritage. SA A U D SD
APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The results of these interviews with LaGrange County Amish residents are to be used as part of a research paper concerning the relationship of Amish families to the remainder of the community in which they live. Names of persons interviewed are fictitious.

1. Do you feel that you fit into the LaGrange community?

2. Do you think your clothes are ugly because they are different (old-fashioned)?

3. Do you feel that Amish should break away from the old customs?

4. If you did become like the "others," wouldn't they call you a "jerked-over"?

5. Do you think Amish should finish high school?

6. Do you think the Amish should attend regular high schools and not all-Amish schools?

7. Do you think the LaGrange County residents owe it to the Amish to provide separate lanes on roads for buggies?

8. Do you think that if you dated a non-Amish that people (Amish or non-Amish) would look down on you?

An interview was held with an ex-teacher in LaGrange County. The teacher was asked the following questions.

1. Would you discuss your teaching experiences with Amish children?

2. Do you think the parents of the non-Amish children disliked having Amish children attend the same schools?

3. Do you feel that more hostility is directed against the Amish in school and out of school than was in past decades?