The Challenges and Limitations of Conducting Research Among the Old Order Amish[1]

Jerry Savells and Thomas Foster

Introduction:

The Old Order or "horse and buggy" Amish have been a part of American society for more than two centuries. Today, some 95,000 Amish persons reside in over twenty states, a Canadian province, and two countries in Latin America. Although variations exist in the social values and behavioral practices within different Amish communities (or church districts), they have basically resisted the acculturation process that would reinforce and promote a standard of living and lifestyle embraced by most of the non-Amish in the U.S.

Contrary to popular belief and some of the ideas presented in the movie *Witness* (1985), the pacifistic Old Order Amish are not being over-whelmed by creeping urbanization and the pressures of co-existing in an industrial society. Despite certain accommodations, the Amish have been largely successful in practicing voluntary separatism and sustaining religious beliefs and social customs which can be traced to their origins in 17th century Europe.

According to Thomas Foster, the Amish typically emphasize the importance of humility, modesty, strong obedience to God, and social conformity—and abhor pride, social snobbery, individualism, and winning through competition.[2] They also employ small-scale ("appropriate") rather than large-scale technologies, and there are no social classes, no bureaucracies, and no institutions of higher learning within Amish society. *Family* and *faith* are the cornerstone of an Amish lifestyle.

According to the writings of W. I. Thomas, "every individual has a vast variety of wishes which can only be satisfied by his incorporation into society."[3] Hence, Thomas maintained that people had essentially "Four Wishes": the desire for new experience, for security, for recognition, and for mastery. Yet for the Amish population, it survives *without* an abundance of new experiences and perhaps with a minimum of social recognition as well.

The Old Order Amish have thus sought to avoid the pitfalls of modern materialism, self-serving lifestyles, hedonistic behavior, extreme compe-

tition, the quest for wealth and status, and careerism as a means of determining one's self-worth. Instead, the Amish have placed a strong emphasis upon serving God, maintaining a simplistic lifestyle, voluntarily separating from the "ways of the world," providing respect for the integrity of the family as a sacred institution, and promoting the merits of both hard work and frugality—preferably, in close cooperation with the forces of nature.

The present study examines the challenges and limitations of conducting field research within Old Order Amish communities from the perspectives of two researchers who independently conducted ethnographic investigations of the sect, involving a combined total of seven different Amish settlements in five states.

Background and Research Design: Savells' Study

This research project began in the winter and spring of 1982. At that time an extensive review was made of the available—and meager—published ethnographic research on the Old Order Amish. After a careful analysis of this literature, the researcher began to identify major issues and challenges confronting the Amish as they attempt to co-exist with high-tech society.

Numerous schools of thought exist about the Amish, some reflecting their religious conservativism and others focusing upon their simplistic lifestyle. The schools of thought have reinforced two common myths which pertain to them: (1) that the Amish never yield to the forces of social change for any reason—essentially suggesting that to become "modern" is the equivalent of practicing "evil"; and, (2) the antithesis of the first myth, that the Amish will soon fade from the American scene as a distinct culture, because they cannot possibly resist the temptation which comes vis-a-vis their increasing number of contacts (and commercial encounters) with outsiders.

A twelve-page structured questionnaire was developed for collecting interview data. This instrument was subsequently reviewed and approved by the Wright State "Human Subjects Committee." By the summer of 1982, the instrument was ready for pre-testing. The pre-test was conducted in the small community of Berne, Indiana, where there is a well-established Amish settlement.

After refining the questionnaire, co-author Savells proceeded to identify a stratified random sample of Old Order Amish families using the *1983 New American Almanac* and the *1981 Ohio Amish Directory*.[4] Communities were selected that would represent different regions (and church districts)—with the intent of investigating variations in Amish lifestyles and social values. In the intervening months (and years), visits were made to collect interview data from six Old Order Amish communities in five states.[5] The Amish communities selected for study were: Berne and Milroy, Indiana; Ethridge, Tennessee; Intercourse, Pennsylvania; Kalona, Iowa; and, Plain City, Ohio.

In addition to face-to-face interviews with the Amish, efforts were also

made to establish contact with outsiders who had frequent contact with them in each of the communities, with the intent of gaining insights into "how" and "why" they accept certain forms of social change. This latter category included farmers, mail carriers, drivers of local milk trucks, agricultural field agents, and fertilizer salesmen. One hundred and six Amish families participated in this study.

Although the sample is quite small, it is an encouraging beginning, since the Old Order Amish have basically spurned most efforts from the scientific community to investigate their lifestyle. This particular effort gave new meaning to the term "field research," because it has represented approximately 6,500 miles of driving (spread over a thirty-month period.)

Although the Amish make up a specific culture, it is not discrete by geographical area. Amish are scattered in several states and their farms and residences are often interspersed among non-Amish folk. Some communities have a rather small population (such as Milroy, Indiana, where there are approximately sixty Amish families).

The Amish respondents who were interviewed were polite and cordial, but they typically do not welcome outsiders intruding into their lives. They are separatist, private, and pacifist in cultural orientation and are not socialized into wanting to interact with strangers. Their history, lifestyle, and religion promote voluntary isolation, and this is a major obstacle to anyone intent upon collecting research data via personal interviews.

The Amish are a "designed folk society," bounded by their desire for separatism and daily usage of German or "Pennsylvania Dutch" as a language of choice. This designed folk society is semi-closed, i.e., in the sense that it is extremely difficult, but not impossible, for an outsider to become Amish as a convert. Devout Amish are expected to adhere to a most stringent code of behavior with severe sanctions imposed (including banishment) for those who are identified as disobedient.

To assume that one study of the Amish in six communities will suffice to offer an assessment of the Amish "condition" in America in the mid-1980s is both illogical and unwise. Such a suggestion would be an insult to the Amish people and the communities in which they live.

The researcher began with a question that has been asked by others: Have the Amish shown an increasing vulnerability to the forces of social change, and, if so, in what way(s)? The answer to this question is a qualified "yes"—but it is not simple nor easy to explain.

Using a social-historical perspective, structured observations, and interviews, the researcher began to make contact with select individuals in the Amish population of five states in 1982. Since the focus of these efforts was essentially "exploratory," observations are sometimes more tentative than definitive.

The major limitations encountered in this study can be summarized as follows: (1) limitation of research funds for travel, (2) limitation of time

for commuting to interviews, (3) the challenge of finding a truly random sample in sparsely settled communities, (4) the extreme difficulty of locating certain Amish families in rural areas with poor roads and unmarked mailboxes, (5) the hesitation of the Amish to interact with outsiders, and (6) a considerable amount of everyday Amish conversation conducted in Pennsylvania Dutch (German), a language not easily understood by the researcher.

The Challenges Confronted in
Collecting Data: Savells' Study

The Old Order Amish are polite but somewhat aloof when approached by strangers. They tend to group all outsiders together unless they are non-Amish neighbors well-known to them. Consequently, they would not necessarily make a sharp distinction between interacting with a sociologist and a conventional tourist. They are sometimes amused that researchers would want to make considerable efforts to meet with them (almost always at the convenience of the Amish person—and frequently problematic when trying to arrange interviews around the daily demands of operating a farm).

Since the Old Order Amish typically do not encourage education beyond the eighth grade, they are often suspicious of the motives of those who represent a different lifestyle and value system. Even when the motives are fully explained and understood, they may have only a limited appreciation for the merit of social scientific research. For example, this researcher included questions on the questionnaire that addressed the issue of child abuse; and, although the Amish are strong believers in the "spare the rod, spoil the child" approach to parenting, they are also extremely loving and devoted to their children. They had difficulty comprehending why anyone would abuse a child.

The Amish practice voluntary social isolation from the "ways of the world," and are defensive in shielding their children from any threat to their beliefs or lifestyle. Therefore, children in the Amish family tend to be passive and withdrawn in the presence of outsiders—often hesitant to even offer directions to the next house. The Amish family is also very patriarchal, with a "father knows best attitude." Inquiries must be directed to the oldest male of the household, wherever possible, and this is no small feat during crop planting or harvesting season. Although an Amish wife may talk with an outsider, she is likely to refrain in the presence of her husband—and it would be most unusual for her to disagree with him in the presence of others (particularly outsiders). Within this closed social system, information can only be obtained from a single source—with limited opportunity to verify how other members of the family might react to the same question.

The Amish are not overly concerned with schedules and deadlines of outsiders, unless they are directly affected, and are often elusive in suggesting a convenient time for an appointment or an interview. Rather than volunteer to provide information, even when arranged by mutual

convenience, they often prefer that the researcher talk with someone else in the community who they believe is more knowledgeable on the subject, or simply refer the person to the bishop for answers. This can sometimes create a real dilemma, since the bishop may not be sympathetic, and he typically sets the tone (of either approval or disapproval) for others in subsequent interviews. Even though the Old Order Amish do not have electricity or telephones or automobiles, "word" travels quickly by the grapevine within the Amish community, and upsetting the local bishop would almost assuredly terminate the opportunity for additional interviews within that particular church district.

The Old Order Amish are extremely ethnocentric, and any researcher must be careful not to offend their sense of what is "right or wrong" behavior. Although the Amish do not promote advanced education, they are often intelligent and intuitive and are quick to pick up on "non-verbal cues" which suggest disapproval of their lifestyle or ideas. Common sense and caution must be exercised. Common sense, caution, and patience are qualities generally beyond the domain of a novice or inexperienced researcher, whose main concern may be "getting on with the job as quickly as possible." For this reason, data were collected by the author operating alone, since it would have been risky (and expensive) if one encountered early rejection in the community. In this regard, a serious researcher must have a good preparatory understanding of Amish traditions and folkways, since this may be the best guideline for avoiding error or insult and for exercising *Verstehen* in probing for additional information or deciphering what has been said.

Another obstacle that the researcher must contend with is the temptation of the Amish to want to compare answers with that of other respondents. For example, they may ask the interviewer, "What did so-and-so say in response to that question?" as they do not want to appear different or to offer an answer that someone else in their church district might consider controversial. The Amish are sometimes hesitant to answer questions they think are too provocative or probing. In these circumstances, it may be necessary to alter the wording of the question, or, if the person appears annoyed, recognize that success in completing the interview may depend upon accepting the idea that there will not always be a totally completed questionnaire. Both insight and patience are strong virtues in this situation.

The Amish, as with members of other cultures, do not necessarily expect the researcher to have a full understanding of why they live the way they do.[6] However, they do expect respect for their right to be different. The interviewers should avoid giving the impression that they regard the Amish as being "backward." Yet, beyond this, any in-depth familiarity with the literature on Amish culture should convince the researcher that the Amish are *not,* in fact, a primitive folk culture, but that they have consciously opted for simpler lifestyles, i.e., for lifestyles with fewer complex social and moral consequences.

The Amish frequently believe that outsiders (even those from the academic community) have a very limited understanding of their culture. Consequently, the Amish respondent may question the interviewer's ability to fully comprehend what he or she can visually observe. To establish "legitimation" as one who has a basic knowledge about Amish life and values is important.

From a purely practical point of view, there is little for the Amish to gain by talking to any interviewer—other than satisfying their curiosity about the beliefs and habits of various outsiders. They prefer to live a separatist existence, with carefully controlled contact with the non-Amish population. The Amish are not likely to volunteer information about their lifestyle, and even when approached politely, may offer a rather evasive answer (or question why you would want to know that). They are very sensitive to the stereotypes that have been sensationalized and trivialized by the media portraying their lives. In brief, they guard their privacy with considerable effort and diligence.

The researcher should be prepared for reciprocal questions from the respondent, particularly as to "how" the data collected will be used or reported. The Amish make a concerted effort to avoid attracting media attention and do not welcome publicity—even if it is favorable. They believe that showing pride is wrong (a major reason they think it is wrong to take pictures of one another), or to be self-serving in one's actions. As a consequence, they do not want to be exploited or manipulated by strangers for vanity reasons, i.e., either money or fame. They recognize that some members of the academic community may try to enhance their careers or salaries by writing books with information that may be distorted, inaccurate, inadequate, or demeaning.

As a people, the Amish place a major emphasis upon "trust" and "respect" for their neighbor and their "brothers and sisters in the faith." This kind of trust cannot be won overnight, nor can the researcher anticipate an easy rapport. The Amish *are* suspicious of outsiders and the outsider will be watched carefully for evidence of insincerity or hollowness. Genuine friendship is not easily won among the Amish, but if it is offered, it will be sincere, not superficial or transient.

Background and Research Design: Foster's Study

Co-author Foster's research, conducted in the Geauga County, Ohio Old Order Amish settlement, was the byproduct of a mapping study that was commissioned by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company and the Ohio Edison Company during the period May 1982 to February 1984. Four years earlier the same electric utilities had proposed to the Ohio Power Siting Board the construction of a line of 345,000 volt electrical transmission towers that would have extended from the Perry Nuclear Power Plant, on Lake Erie, to the Ravenna substation, located some fifty-two miles due south. The proposed line would have traversed the center of the Geauga Amish settlement on a vertical axis, passing through a heavily forested maple sugaring area, north of Middlefield,

Ohio, and continuing southward, through Amish and non-Amish farms, and then through the village of Middlefield itself, and, finally, across some additional farmland, terminating at the substation.

Local opposition to the proposed line developed quickly. A citizen's coalition, led by a Middlefield businessman, held public meetings to voice objections to the project. The protest meetings attracted an unlikely alliance of opponents: Mormons, environmentalists, state and local politicians, and members of the Old Order Amish. The Mormon opposition was based upon a concern that the line would cross the John Johnson Farm in Hiram, a religious meeting place. Naturalists argued it would adversely affect the Manua Swamp and some rare forested areas. Politicians and businessmen expressed fears that the line would destroy the character of the area, since the locale is a tourist attraction for many Clevelanders, and that it might lead to the mass emigration of Amish residents. At the public meetings, several Amish residents and leaders took the uncharacteristic step (for the Amish) of speaking out publicly against the proposed location of the power line. The primary objection raised by the Amish was their concern that, if built, the proposed route would result in the destruction of a major portion of their "sugarbush." (The Geauga county maple sugaring area is widely regarded as being one of the most productive in Ohio. In addition, much of the labor-intensive sugaring there is performed by Amish farmers, who net about $6,000-$8,000 per farm per season from such operations.) A secondary objection raised by the Amish was their uncertainty over the possible health hazards that might be posed to persons, crops and livestock near the high voltage lines. Lastly, Amish residents of the areas do not normally use electricity, unless they are sharefarmers or are employed by the "English" or "Yankees," as they term the non-Amish. In certain rural parts of the settlement, where the concentration of Amish is highest, there are, in fact, no electrical lines whatever.

In January of 1982, an Administrative Law Judge of the Ohio Power Siting Board refused to certify the utilities application for the proposed line and ordered the companies to undertake additional studies and to present a new alternative route for the transmission towers. After hearing various legal arguments from (non-Amish) opponents and proponents of the line, the judge ruled that the utilities had failed to demonstrate that they had, in proposing the original route, also attempted to minimize the impact of the line upon the region's Old Order Amish community. Although not directly prohibiting the companies from crossing any Amish-owned or occupied properties in the future, the judge did direct the utilities to present evidence, in any subsequent proceedings, that they were attempting to minimize the impact of the line upon the Old Order Amish.

Following this legal ruling, the researcher was invited to meet with a delegation of representatives from the utility companies, and they explained that a sociologist with knowledge of the Ohio Amish was being

sought to develop a cultural and geographic map of the Geauga county Old Order Amish settlement area. (The settlement actually extends over three Ohio counties: Geauga, Trumbull and Ashtabula, and is located only about 35 miles due east of Cleveland.) The company representatives stated that once the Old Order Amish in the region were definitively located, it would become possible for the utilities to propose a new alternative route to the Ohio Power Siting Board in compliance with the aforementioned legal directive. The researcher agreed to serve as a consultant to a Cleveland law firm representing the utilities and to map the settlement area, provided that, in interviewing subjects, he would also be permitted to ask some detailed research questions of his own, questions pertaining to Old Order Amish lifestyles and occupations that were not of particular interest to the study's corporate sponsors.

During eleven trips to the settlement, the author interviewed twenty-one heads of Amish households (some interviewed three or four times) as well as numerous non-Amish informants within the community. Most of the household heads were community leaders, i.e., bishops, deacons or ministers. The leaders were included in the samples because their districts were believed to define the westernmost boundaries of the Geauga Amish community at or near the points where the alternative route would parallel the edge of the settlement area.

The original interview protocol called for asking subjects questions that would identify them as belonging to the Old Order Amish sect and that would identify their church district affiliation. It would also request subjects to locate themselves, and other members of their church districts, on county maps. Finally, subjects were to be asked if they could locate persons or groups within the settlement who regarded themselves as being Amish, but who were not thought of as being Amish by members of the Old Order community (the latter question being designed to locate several Beachy or automobile driving Amish families who reportedly lived in the settlement.) The researcher then added the following categories of questions of his own to the interview schedule: (1) the type, and location, of subject's employment, (2) the subject's attitudes toward Amish occupations (farming, factory work, home industry, and so forth, (3) existing differences between Old Order church districts in the settlement area (regarding beliefs or technologies) and, (4) how Old Order church district boundaries came to be established and were maintained.

The researcher visited the Amish households in the company of a representative of one of the electric utility companies. The Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company's Chief Surveyor was along to answer any technical questions that might arise regarding the proposed location or the probable effects of the alternate high voltage line.

The interviewer introduced himself as a private consultant, whose task was to locate the Old Order Amish community on a map, so that the utility companies could be sure that they were complying with the legal

order to minimize the "impact" of the alternate route upon the Amish. After being shown a map with the alternate route superimposed upon it, most of the subjects expressed relief that the route had been changed, and that it no longer transected any Amish-owned lands. They typically commented, "Now why didn't they do it that way in the first place?" or "We don't intend to fight it (the alternate route) but is it really needed?"

The Challenges Confronted in
Collecting Data: Foster Study

Perhaps the greatest challenge that confronts the researcher who would study the Amish is convincing people that one has a valid reason (from their separatist perspective) for being in their communities, i.e., observing behavior and asking questions, in the first place. The Amish have little appreciation for the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake and are apt to be much more cooperative if they can perceive some practical purpose for the researcher's presence. Absent a practical rationale, the researcher must be trusted as a real friend, that is, as someone who understands and respects the norms and ways of the sacred community. Yet such *rapport* is not quickly nor easily established among the Amish, whose historical experiences have taught them that there is indeed much in the world to distrust.

In the present study there was clearly a practical rationale for the interviews and most subjects seemed to believe that cooperation with the researcher was in their own best interests. Accordingly, during interviews, subjects often "opened up" and expressed themselves on a wide variety of unrelated issues and topics. However, whenever the *interviewer* began to systematically inquire into certain unrelated areas, e.g., such as differences in religious beliefs or political opinions among the Amish, the subjects tended to become notably more defensive and more circumspect in their answers.

The Amish are extremely conscious of the need to avoid even the appearance of individualism or pridefulness. Therefore, no Amishman wishes to speak out on a topic who is not also reasonably sure that he is speaking with the voice of the entire community. A problem, in this regard, is that differences of opinion and practice do exist within Old Order communities, and particularly between church districts (which establish their own norms of behavior [*ordnung*] based upon their leaders' understandings of scriptures and upon a vote of ratification by the members). Despite these normative differences between church districts, the Amish are fond of saying that "We are one people," or that, "We speak with one voice," that is, to outsiders. The Amish desire to present a united front and to create the impression of cohesion and unanimity. In fact, this impression is largely accurate, for the differences that divide church districts are apt to be relatively minor. At the same time, these seemingly minor differences, e.g., whether or not to use motorized but horse-drawn hay bailers sometimes escalate into rather sharp, or even divisive, social conflicts between districts, and the Amish

have no desire to expose these inner conflicts to the outside world. Hence, in the present study, for the researcher to get Amish subjects to discuss any differences in beliefs or practices that occurred betwen Geauga area church districts was nearly impossible. About as far as subjects would go in this respect was to admit that there were in fact districts in the settlement which were "not in full fellowship," that is, whose members could not attend each others' church services.

Another concern that several Amish subjects expressed was their desire to avoid all media publicity. Time and again, they inquired as to whether any of their statements would be reported to the newspapers. And once they were assured that their anonymity would be respected, the subjects became considerably more willing to express their opinions. In a like vein, some Amishmen even objected to being put "on the record." That is, they said that they preferred not to have their statements recorded on tape, or even written down, by the researcher. The interviewer therefore soon abandoned tape recording or note-taking during interviews in favor of writing down his observations immediately upon leaving an Amish household.

Finally, the most cooperative subjects encountered in the study seemed to fall into two general categories: (1) Amishmen who had lived and worked in "English" society for several years before deciding to return to their original faith and their ancestral communities and, (2) the aged, retired Amish, who seemed to greatly enjoy having someone with whom to talk. In the first instance, some of the subjects impressed this researcher as being culturally marginal individuals who were more relaxed in the interview situation than were others and who verbalized much more readily than their peers. (One man had been a truck driver for ten years before deciding to return home, join the church, and marry an Amish girl.) "Don't repeat this," confided one subject, "but I'm not going to tell my son whether or not to drive a car; that should be his decision alone." The second group of subjects—the aged—were most enjoyable to interview. This group seemed secure in its identity (the old being respected in Amish society) and seemed less worried about what others thought of them. Even the women actively participated in discussions in this age group and on occasion contradicted or poked fun at their husbands (something which never happened among younger couples where the wife rarely spoke). In fact, the older Amish people in the sample seemed to epitomize the essence of the Amish character: kindness, earthiness, joviality, intuitiveness, and a sincere commitment to family and faith.

Summary

The challenges and limitations of conducting research among members of Old Order Amish communities in five states were discussed from the perspectives of two investigators who conducted independent ethnographic research among the Amish. There is a high degree of consensus between the investigators concerning the nature of the problems that can

be expected in conducting such research.

For outsiders to truly understand and appreciate Amish lifestyles and values is difficult, since most have been socialized into believing that the "modern ways" of industrialized societies represent progress and improvement of some kind. This idea is usually taken for granted in "the everyday construction of social reality" without entertaining alternative views of human existence. Although sociologists are intellectually aware that all of us view the world through "tinted glasses" with the tint being our own socialization experiences, even they are not immune to emotionally-based cultural biases and stereotypes. And the Amish are particularly perceptive of, and sensitive to, the cultural prejudices of outsiders. Perhaps it is well to reflect, in this connection, that the Amish have successfuly avoided most of the negative effects of technological and social change within the last half century. This period of time has been marked by the appearance of the Nuclear Age, the Space-Age, the Cybernetic or Computer Age, and Post-Industrial Society. Yet each of these "advances" have brought with them new social and moral problems, seemingly ever-larger and more serious in their implications than those faced by human beings in the past. Understanding this may help us to view the Amish with a greater degree of appreciation and respect.

Critique

The fact that the Old Order Amish have resisted acculturation processes in the United States is not startling news. The generally successful persistence of many aspects of traditional Amish culture as islands within the mainstream of American society has been well-articulated in general studies by John Hostetler and others. It is also documented in more specific community studies, for example the work of Elmer and Dorothy Schwieder at Kalona, Iowa, published in 1975—a source not cited in the above article, although that community was also among the individual Old Order Amish groups studied by Savells and Foster. Similarly, the need to understand the value system of a group one is studying is a long-standing ethnographic axiom. *Verstehen* is mandatory whether one is studying an ethnic or similarly-demarcated group within American society or whether one is going off to learn about the culture of people in the Trobriand Islands or some other area which is relatively isolated from western society.

Beyond these matters, the article by Savells and Foster offers food for thought along several dimensions of interest regarding the subject of ethnicity: (1) the matter of *voluntary* separatism as opposed to forced

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Notes

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[2]Thomas W. Foster. "Amish Society." *The Futurist*. (December, 1981) 33-40.

[3]Nicholas S. Timasheff. *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth*. Third Edition. (New York: Random House, 1967) 154.

[4]Ben Raber. *The New American Almanac*. (Baltic, OH: Gordonville Printshop, 1983); Ervin Gingerich. *Ohio Amish Directory*. 1981 Edition. (Sugarcreek, OH: Schlaback Publishers).

[5]Initially, some research data were collected via mailed questionnaires. However, since the return rate was only 14.5 percent, this researcher proceeded to use face-to-face interviews—and this practice has continued for more than two years.

[6]The following studies provide some focus:

John Hostetler, *Amish Society*. Third Edition. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

John Hostetler, and Gertrude Huntington. *Children in Amish Society: Socialization and Community Education*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

William M. Kephart. *Extraordinary Groups*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976).

Douglas Lee. "The Plain People of Pennsylvania." *National Geographic*. Vol. 165 (April, 1984) 493-519.

Marc Olshan. "Modernity, the Folk Society, and the Old Order Amish: An Alternative Interpretation." *Rural Sociology*. Vol. 46 (1981) 297-301.

Randy Pollack. "Controlled Acculturation in an Ohio Amish Community." A paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, Cincinnati, Ohio, November 1979.

Randy Pollack. "Culture Change in an Amish Community." *Central Issues in Anthropology*. Vol. 3 (May, 1981) 51-67.