This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

An Exploration of the Relationship Between
Amish Identity and Depression Among the Old Order Amish

presented by

Denise Mae Reiling

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. _____ degree in _Sociology_

Steven J. Cold
Major professor

Date _8-16-00_

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.
MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
AUG 2 9 2005		

in partia

AN EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMISH IDENTITY AND DEPRESSION AMONG THE OLD ORDER AMISH

VOLUME I

By

Denise Mae Reiling

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

2000

AN EXPLORATION OF

AND DEF E

Virtually n t

of the relations i

per Amish mar

experience of m

plied as a tr

and more fully an

included subje ts

conditions of n

had not yet de

identity; 2 B s

ish identity

decided to rep a

health profess o

interviewed, a

collected by e g

conducting six y

The resea

to examine the

ABSTRACT

**AN EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMISH IDENTITY
AND DEPRESSION AMONG THE OLD ORDER AMISH**

By

Denise Mae Reiling

Virtually nothing has been known regarding the nature

of the relationship between the affective response the Old

Order Amish make to their ethnic identity and their

experience of mental health. Self-discrepancy theory was

applied as a theoretical framework through which to examine

and more fully understand this relationship. The study

included subjects that were representative of three

conditions of Amishness: 1) Pre-Baptism Amish, those who

had not yet decided whether to adopt or repudiate Amish

identity; 2) Post-Baptism Amish, those who had adopted

Amish identity; and 3) Defected Co-Ethnics, those who had

decided to repudiate Amish identity. Non-Amish mental

health professionals and related formal agents were

interviewed, as well. Data for this exploration were

collected by engaging in participant observation and by

conducting sixty-eight formal interviews.

The research was designed to achieve four objectives:

1) to examine the construction of Amish ethnic identity and

me process es

ther repudiat B

of Irish mental

dentify cultur

n construct ou

nstruments, to

xplorations of

ental health.

It was dis

thin the indi

nnated decis

nmon report as

hether or not

Authenticity o A

he individual s

dentity-relat d

epression wit

ocused attent

mbivalence.

dentified as

epression: th

ssip, the su p

he suppressio

the process/es through which this social identity was either repudiated or adopted; 2) to examine the experience of Amish mental health, more specifically depression; 3) to identify culturally-specific methodological issues; and 4) to construct culturally-appropriate measurement instruments, to be used in future, quantitative explorations of the relationship between identity and mental health.

It was discovered that identity had been determined within the individual long before reaching the culturally mandated decision-making period, beginning at age 16. The common report was that the individual had "always known" whether or not they were "Amish", and to what degree. Authenticity of Amish identity appeared to be influenced by the individual's location of locus of control. Three identity-related factors emerged as contributory to depression within the Amish community under study: self-focused attention, identity-based shame, and shame-induced ambivalence. Additionally, five cultural dynamics were identified as important factors in the generation of depression: the practice of social control, surveillance, gossip, the suppression of negative emotional states, and the suppression of creative, or otherwise worldly thought.

This disserta
who partici

DEDICATION

This dissertation has been dedicated to the Amish people
who participated in this research. They have been my
greatest teachers.

When my daugh

and I took swimm

was working with

instructor, who w

water. The more

the more I would

small face of my

pool.

When she was

education, as an

University, at For

them, too, so ever

My education cost

painful. We lost

way. And yet, un

It was a proud da

graduated from Mi

Bachelor's Degree

In my quest

that I have been w

from the womb, she

like to acknowledg

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When my daughter, Holli Jeanette, was 4-years-old, she and I took swimming lessons at the same time. While she was working with her group, I was working with my private instructor, who was trying to break me of my fear of the water. The more my instructor encouraged me to be free, the more I would refuse to move. Then one day, I saw the small face of my daughter watching me, and I got into the pool.

When she was 11-years-old, I began my college education, as an undergraduate at Indiana-Purdue University, at Fort Wayne, Indiana. She was watching me then, too, so even when I was afraid to move, I kept on. My education cost us both dearly, in ways that remain painful. We lost many people, places, and things along the way. And yet, under her watchful eye, we persevered. So it was a proud day, indeed, when she, too, in May of 1999, graduated from Michigan State University, with her Bachelor's Degree.

In my quest for this Ph.D., I hope that she noticed that I have been watching her, too. I have noticed that from the womb, she has been a strong-willed woman. I would like to acknowledge my daughter for the inspiration she has

teen to me, a

required me t

fortitude and

e for me. H

I would

otherwise kn

faithful comp

teacher, my

here to cap

My daughter

has tied the

on to.

I woul

son, for hi

time and at

brought to

At Mic

Department

Deserves sp

to my quest

for their p

stressful 1

Jimmy Denn

encouragem

to me in her capa

quiet way, Tammy

I will always

relief in my work,

area of minority r

early support of r

field site that at

I appreciate

re about social ps

that he made possi

and beneficial to

appreciate Stan f

person who laughs

wonderful thing to

Dr. Steve Go

as the Chair of my

specifically appre

te on to, and for

my fieldwork. Be

sensibilities so

valued and compet

Dr. Tom Conn

committee member.

coordinator of th

to me in her capacity as Graduate Secretary. In her own quiet way, Tammy is a woman who makes a difference.

I will always appreciate Dr. Ruben Rumbaut for his belief in my work, and for the model his own work in the area of minority mental health presented for me. Ruben's early support of my work propelled me to continue in a field site that at times was most difficult.

I appreciate Dr. Stan Kaplowitz for all that he taught me about social psychology, and for the RA opportunities that he made possible, which were always quite productive and beneficial to my education. But most importantly, I appreciate Stan for the laughter he brought to me. A person who laughs and creates laughter easily is a wonderful thing to encounter.

Dr. Steve Gold is appreciated, of course, for his role as the Chair of my dissertation committee, but he is specifically appreciated for the literatures that he turned me on to, and for his gentle prodding and encouragement of my fieldwork. Because I respect Steve's qualitative sensibilities so greatly, the time he gave me made me feel valued and competent.

Dr. Tom Conner is appreciated as so much more than a committee member. Particularly in his capacity as coordinator of the graduate program, Tom has been

instrumental in my

and in securing a

e encounter with

their position to

that. I appreciat

In their own

instrumental in my

dissertation to th

courage, and supp

possible. The Ar

I have learned muc

resilience of the

fabric" is now mor

for I know what t

instrumental in my success in the program, in my teaching, and in securing a tenure-track faculty position. Rarely do we encounter within an institution an individual who uses their position to change lives for the better, but Tom is that. I appreciate Tom for having championed my cause.

In their own way, each of these people has been hugely instrumental in my life, but I have dedicated this dissertation to the Amish people, for without their trust, courage, and support, this dissertation would not have been possible. The Amish people have been my greatest teachers. I have learned much about myself, and much about the resilience of the human spirit. Discussion of the "social fabric" is now more than an intellectual exercise for me, for I know what the fabric feels like.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Little has b[...]

experience of the [...]

American Christia[...]

developed as a hi[...]

has been known re[...]

ethnic identity, [...]

has been sparse. [...]

been known regard[...]

the affective res[...]

and their experien[...]

The Amish are[...]

they violate the [...]

a permanent, ascr[...]

phenotype, they a[...]

identity as Amish[...]

Amish, Euro-Ameri[...]

The Amish ar[...]

that every person[...]

public decision [...]

adoption of iden[...]

Amish allows an [...]

regarding, and a[...]

be examined, as [...]

and affective st[...]

Additional[...]

resolution proce[...]

INTRODUCTION

Little has been known regarding the mental health experience of the Old Order Amish, a predominately North American Christian subculture, for whom "Amish" has developed as a highly salient ethnic identity. Still less has been known regarding the nature of Old Order Amish ethnic identity, as empirical research regarding this group has been sparse. As a consequence, virtually nothing has been known regarding the nature of the relationship between the affective response Amish make to their ethnic identity and their experience of mental health.

The Amish are important as a subject population in that they violate the usual circumstance that ethnic identity is a permanent, ascribed status. Due to their Euro-American phenotype, they are able to fully repudiate their ethnic identity as Amish, and pass as members of the general, non-Amish, Euro-American population.

The Amish are unique in that it is culturally mandated that every person who is born Amish make a conscious and public decision to retain or repudiate that identity. That adoption of identity is a forced, conscious decision for the Amish allows an excellent and rare opportunity for decisions regarding, and affective responses toward ethnic identity to be examined, as well as the consequences of these decisions and affective states on the experience of mental health.

Additionally, various aspects of identity formation and resolution processes can be examined. Because the Amish

receive conflicti

their ethnic iden

further allow for

stigmatized or co

experience.

The findings

understanding of

dentity on the n

ethnic groups, sp

identification, o

challenged upon i

Ethnics in this s

the transformati

This study m

groups, too, who,

able to "pass," a

discrepancy in re

1993; Campbell et

Jackson et al. 19

research may cont

everyone who expe

experiences negat

It is expect

knowledge of meth

cultural sensiti

methods. The ex

importance of co

receive conflicting messages regarding the social value of their ethnic identity, the study of this population would further allow for an examination of the impact of a stigmatized or conflicted identity upon the mental health experience.

The findings from this study could inform our understanding of the impact of a stigmatized or conflicted identity on the mental health experience of various other ethnic groups, specifically those with a bi-ethnic/racial identification, or those for whom identity may have become challenged upon immigration. The inclusion of Defected Co-Ethnics in this study should add to the literature regarding the transformation of Jewish identity, as well (Amyot 1996).

This study may inform research on non-ethnicity-based groups, too, who, like the Amish and Garfinkel's Agnes are able to "pass," and yet who perhaps experience self-discrepancy in resolving a newly adopted identity (Brown 1993; Campbell et al. 1993; Garfinkel 1967; Higgins 1989; Jackson et al. 1996; Serpe 1987). Most importantly, this research may contribute to our understanding of why not everyone who experiences a stigmatized identity also experiences negative mental health outcomes.

It is expected that this exploration will add to our knowledge of methods, particularly in the areas of cross-cultural sensitivity and the value in triangulation of methods. The exploration should function to underscore the importance of continuing to refine the concepts of identity,

ethnicity, and me

that exists among

Erman (1996) and

exploration may a

of socially desir

health research,

Dissertation Plan

This dissert

following scenari

field work endea

culturally-mandat

regarding their

until a decision

this time period

retain their ass

will repudiate t

"English," a ter

their community

The diffic

the fact that A

messages about

out-group stig

negative messa

community; or

purists and

social identi

to make matte

ethnicity, and mental health, and the important relationship that exists among these variables, as noted most recently by Broman (1996) and Herman (1996). In addition, this exploration may add to our understanding of the implications of socially desirable or acquiescent responses for mental-health research, as discussed by Ross and Mirowsky (1984).

Dissertation Plan and Approach

This dissertation has been designed around the following scenario that had been uncovered through previous field work endeavors among the Amish: Amish children are culturally-mandated to engage in a decision-making period regarding their identity, beginning at age 16, and lasting until a decision has been made, usually by age 25. During this time period, they are to consider whether they will retain their ascribed identity as Amish, or whether they will repudiate that identity, and choose to become "English," a term the Amish use to describe the non-Amish in their community.

The difficulty in making this decision is compounded by the fact that Amish children have to negotiate conflicting messages about their identity. On one hand, they experience out-group stigmatization of their social identity, receiving negative messages from the non-Amish living within their community; on the other hand, they receive messages from tourists and Amish popular press that indicates that their social identity is highly esteemed within larger society. To make matters even more complex, in-group hostility

3

becomes a highly

as well as to ide

ur-group stigmat

This dissert

jectives: 1) to

entity and the

entity was eith

experience of Ami

pression; 3) to

methodological is

appropriate measu

large scale, quan

between identity

To examine t

self-discrepancy

framework through

made to Amish ide

repudiation of tr

some, identifying

state. It was f

identity would ta

a culturally spe

he relationship

of adoption or r

discussed in Cha

Given that

reported to be a

becomes a highly salient contributor to identity conflict, as well as to identity-related depression, far more so than out-group stigmatization.

This dissertation, then, was designed to achieve four objectives: 1) to examine the construction of Amish ethnic identity and the process/es through which this social identity was either repudiated or adopted; 2) to examine the experience of Amish mental health, more specifically depression; 3) to identify culturally-specific methodological issues; and 4) to construct culturally-appropriate measurement instruments, for use in future, more large scale, quantitative investigations of the relationship between identity and mental health.

To examine the first objective of this dissertation, self-discrepancy theory was applied as a theoretical framework through which to examine the affective response made to Amish identity and the processes of adoption or repudiation of that identity. It was speculated that, for some, identifying as Amish would generate a self-discrepant state. It was further speculated that repudiation of Amish identity would take the form of defection from the Amish, as a culturally specific response to that self-discrepancy. The relationship between self-discrepancy and the processes of adoption or repudiation of Amish identity have been fully discussed in Chapter 4.

Given that defection from the Amish previously had been reported to be an extremely traumatic and disruptive

process, it was e

would experience

consequently, hig

pressive sympt

this matter have

Given the p

networks and soci

; Hechter 19

reporting more ex

f positive socia

entity would ex

symptomology. Fi

etailed in Chapt

Identity-rel

n depression wit

attention, identi

ambivalence) have

ve cultural dyn

factors in the ge

social control, s

negative emotiona

otherwise wor

In fulfilling

provides a discus

ish to the ment

regarding local

placement of

process, it was expected that those defecting from the Amish would experience high levels of post-decisional conflict and consequently, high levels of social-identity-related depressive symptomology. The counter-intuitive findings on this matter have been reported upon in Chapters 5 and 6.

Given the postulated salugenic effects of social networks and social support (Bonacich et al. 1980; Gottlieb 1981; Hechter 1987; Turner 1983), it was expected that those reporting more extensive social networks and higher levels of positive social support for their decision regarding identity would experience less identity-related depressive symptomology. Findings regarding social support will be detailed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Identity-related factors that emerged as contributory to depression within Post-Baptism Amish (self-focused attention, identity-based shame, and shame-induced ambivalence) have been outlined in Chapter 6. Additionally, five cultural dynamics that were identified as important factors in the generation of depression (the practice of social control, surveillance, gossip, the suppression of negative emotional states; and the suppression of creative or otherwise worldly thought) have been discussed.

In fulfillment of the second objective, Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the cultural response made by the Amish to the mentally ill. Discussions have been provided regarding local knowledge about mental health, the displacement of this local knowledge, the debate regarding

legitimate mental

seeking in this

Culturally s

examined, in full

dissertation rese

detailed in Chapt

provided regardir

individualist do

Additionally, hum

concerns have bee

revisions were ma

the General Well

objective of this

in Chapter 8, as

legitimate mental health agents, and barriers to help seeking in this context.

Culturally specific methodological issues were examined, in fulfillment of the third objective of this dissertation research. These issues have been fully detailed in Chapters 3 and 8. A discussion has been provided regarding problematics involved in being an individualist doing research within a collectivist culture. Additionally, human subjects and social desirability concerns have been addressed. Culturally appropriate revisions were made to the Collective Self-Esteem Scale and the General Wellbeing Schedule, in fulfillment of the fourth objective of this research. These have been reported upon in Chapter 8, as well.

History an

The Old Orde

subculture for wr

racialized, ethni

Order Amish ethni

their persecution

1994; Hostetler 1

The Old Orde

are reportedly di

believing in adul

in Switzerland r

On January 21, 1

from the state o

become a religio

Nolt 1992:10 .

be the question

1992:10).

During this

established, als

life. "Anabapti

a name for the

based social ide

Old Order Amish

constructed.

CHAPTER 1

History and Description of the Old Order Amish

The Old Order Amish can be defined as a Christian subculture for which "Amish" has developed as their non-racialized, ethnic identity. It has been argued that Old Order Amish ethnic identity has historically generated both their persecution and their survival (Buck 1978; Foster 1984; Hostetler 1993; Loomis et al. 1951).

The Old Order Amish, hereafter referred to as "Amish," are reportedly direct descendants of Anabaptists (Christians believing in adult, rather than infant baptism) who emerged in Switzerland between 1525 and 1536 (Huntington 1988:367). On January 21, 1525, a collective of individuals dissenting from the state church (Catholic) met to begin what was to become a religious-based social movement throughout Europe (Nolt 1992:10). The basic point of dissent was reported to be the question of infant verses adult baptism (Nolt 1992:10).

During this meeting, religious doctrine was established, along with norms regulating family and social life. "Anabaptists" (meaning "adult baptism") was chosen as a name for the group (Nolt 1992:11). Thus, the ethnicity-based social identity of the group to later become known as "Old Order Amish" was consciously and deliberately constructed.

It has been

social adversiti

dissenters from

they cluster ther

allowed for obser

with other group

culture to emerg

practices and cl

protection from

It has been

their European p

an aspect of mart

Amish even today.

Amish appear to h

persecution from

These authors hav

suffered by the A

boundary-maintena

"...actively resi

identity and inte

al. 1957:9).

Boundary mai

uniting and stren

perceived threats

Amish ethnic iden

group, even in th

Beck 1978; Peli

It has been reported that the political, economic, and social adversities the early Anabaptists experienced as dissenters from the state church made it imperative that they cluster themselves in ethnic enclaves. Doing so allowed for observation of, and face-to-face communication with other group members, and for a strong collectivist culture to emerge. The Amish reported understanding these practices and circumstances to be necessary to ensure protection from religious persecution.

It has been argued that the duration and severity of their European persecution instilled within the Anabaptists an aspect of martyrdom that is evident among the Old Order Amish even today. As Loomis and Beegle have noted, the Amish appear to have "...internalized expectations of persecution from the outside" (Loomis et al. 1951:229). These authors have argued that the historical persecution suffered by the Amish currently manifests itself through a boundary-maintenance technique, through which a group "...actively resists forces which tend to destroy the identity and interaction pattern" of that group (Loomis et al. 1957:9).

Boundary maintenance functions as a defense mechanism, uniting and strengthening the community in the face of perceived threats. It has been argued that this aspect of Amish ethnic identity has facilitated preservation of the group, even in the face of rapid economic and social change (Buck 1978; Reiling 1995a).

Various fac

Anabaptist group

the Old Order Am

conservative fac

immigrating to t

into Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania to

1815 and 1860. H

Amish settlements

United States. Nu

Each of the

early Anabaptists

dominant culture,

proselytization,

high, unrestraine

strong proscripti

based living, and

1982; Huntington

the settlement un

remain in place t

As with the

study continue to

collectivist, or

Triandis et al.

attributes of a c

this particular c

Various factions developed within the original Anabaptist group. Due to religious persecution in Europe, the Old Order Amish, what was to remain the most conservative faction of the original Anabaptist group, began immigrating to the United States, in the 1700's, primarily into Pennsylvania (Huntington 1988:369). Migration from Pennsylvania to Ohio and Indiana occurred primarily between 1815 and 1860 (Huntington 1988:369). By 1991, Old Order Amish settlements had been located in 22 states within the United States (Nolt 1992:219).

Each of the following practices were advocated by the early Anabaptists: adult baptism, non-assimilation with the dominant culture, in-group conformity, endogamy, non-proselytization, non-participation in military service, high, unrestrained fertility, a disciplined lifestyle, strong proscriptions against modernization and technology-based living, and strong prescriptions for reciprocity (Nolt 1992; Huntington 1988; Hostetler 1993). The Amish within the settlement under study reported that these basic tenets remain in place today.

As with the early Anabaptist groups, the Amish under study continue to represent a near ideal type of collectivist, or Gemeinschaft society. Each of what Triandis et al. (1990) have identified as the defining attributes of a collectivist society were evidenced within this particular community, as discussed below.

9

Collectivis[

group primacy, a

Within this comm[

The Amish articu[

explaining defec[

who were fit sur[

defection was vi[

many believed th[

Amish resulted i[

disfavor in the [

being aware that[

achieve social c[

necessary attrit[

In-group pr[

propagation of et[

that their partic[

to God than would[

referred to the s[

scripture, as jus[

" appeal to you
to present your b[
acceptable to God[
is conformed to [
of your mind, the[
what is good and [
the New Testament[

As one subj[

scripture, "I th[

being conformed [

live a humble an[

Collectivist cultures, in general, exhibit strong in-group primacy, a belief in "the common fate of members." Within this community, survival of the group was paramount. The Amish articulated a Social Darwinist perspective in explaining defection from their group, in that only those who were fit survived to be Amish. Given this explanation, defection was viewed as salugenic for the group, even though many believed that, for the individual, defection from the Amish resulted in damnation to Hell, or at a minimum, disfavor in the eyes of God. The Amish further reported being aware that some members were used as a scapegoat to achieve social control, but they viewed scapegoats as necessary attrition, or unavoidable collateral damage.

In-group primacy was further promoted through the propagation of ethnocentrism. The Amish expressed believing that their particular lived experience brought them closer to God than would other lifestyles. The Amish frequently referred to the following sentiment, expressed in their scripture, as justification for this ethnocentrism:

"I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship. Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect." Romans 12:1-2, The New Testament, Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version

As one subject expressed after having quoted this scripture, "I think being Amish is the acceptable way of not being conformed to this world. It's the only way I know to live a humble and peaceful life." Most Amish denied,

however, that th

hostility, but r

compassion for t

intended."

During the

tendency was pro

the Amish are en

have, in essence,

Amish have defin

subjects did not

expressed some

gave of the Amish

Their discer

perhaps even to

the subjects repr

equal opportunit

not the only way

way. However,

out-group member

as possible," an

Another cha

the Amish demons

members was regu

out-group norms,

dominant. Among

out-group norms

of some criminal

however, that their ethnocentrism resulted in out-group hostility, but rather, they expressed having great compassion for those who were "...not living as God intended."

During the interview process, this ethnocentric tendency was probed by presenting the argument that, because the Amish are endogamous and do not proselytize, the Amish have, in essence, prohibited others from finding what the Amish have defined as the "true way." Although most subjects did not refute that analysis, many subjects expressed some level of discomfort with the impression it gave of the Amish.

Their discomfort indicated a reluctance to be viewed or perhaps even to view themselves as ethnocentric. A few of the subjects reported that they believed all groups had equal opportunity of "salvation," and that being Amish was not the only way, even though they thought it was the best way. However, it was more common that subjects advised that out-group members should just try to "live as closely to God as possible," and "hope for the best."

Another characteristic of collectivist cultures that the Amish demonstrated was that the behavior of group members was regulated more strongly by in-group rather than out-group norms, even though the out-group was viewed as dominant. Among the Amish, this adherence to in-group over out-group norms was sufficiently strong to permit violation of some criminal law.

For e

ther Amish

adolescent

onsumptio

violation

prescripti

varying be

Gener

hierarchic

with the e

relationsh

community,

general, r

however, r

district r

authority

of harm to

witnessed

more domir

The c

through co

the Amish.

positive c

acknowledg

sanctioned

necessitat

harmony, a

For example, within this settlement, as well as within other Amish settlements, in-group norms dictated that Amish adolescents experience "worldly" things. As such, the consumption of alcohol by Amish adolescents, even though in violation of state law, was an important cultural prescription, which was supported by Amish adults, albeit to varying degrees (Reiling et al. 1997:24).

Generally, collectivist societies are based upon hierarchical arrangements, and members are more comfortable with the existence of vertical or unequal status relationships than are individualists. Within this community, a patriarchy-based hierarchy existed. In general, males held significantly more power than females. However, Amish Bishops held the greatest power, even within district member households, in which case, Bishops had the authority to over-rule the dominant male. A repeated claim of harm to emerge during the interviews was that of having witnessed a father being subjugated to the authority of a more dominant male, the Bishop.

The collectivists' need to maintain in-group harmony through consensus and face-saving was extremely high among the Amish. Consensus regarding the need to promote only positive components of their stereotype and to suppress acknowledgment of negative components of their stereotype functioned to maintain harmony. Keeping secrets that would necessitate face saving functioned to promote in-group harmony, as well.

Durin

for a subj

of the Am

discussed

she had a

her an op

say other

research

an outsid

the Amish

The

depressio

group har

experienc

group. F

why would

joyful li

explanati

will be d

The

observed

one of th

reported

those suf

suppressi

The

f prescr

During the course of interviewing, it was not unusual for a subject to respond that they were discussing aspects of the Amish lived experience that they had never before discussed with an Amish person. One subject expressed that she had agreed to give an interview because it would afford her an opportunity to say things she did not feel she could say otherwise. Another subject expressed feeling that the research was a "blessing sent from God" because he felt that an outsider would be able to express back to the Amish what the Amish were restrained from saying among themselves.

The suppression of acknowledgment or discussion of depression was a powerful example of the need to promote in-group harmony. Most Amish subjects reported that the experience of depression was viewed as a betrayal of the group. For if the Amish were living as God intended, then why would any Amish person experience depression rather than joyful living? Based upon this belief, the primary cultural explanation for depression was not living right with God, as will be discussed more fully in Chapters 6 and 7.

The stigma surrounding depression was reported and observed to be quite high, and depression was reported to be one of the best-kept secrets within the Amish. It was also reported that stigma functioned to quite effectively silence those suffering from depression, even to the point of suppressing expression of high levels of suicidal ideation.

The Amish also shared the collectivist characteristic of prescribing interdependence of in-group members, wherein

both fat

ne suc

alone.

conscio

As

formal c

a family

of repla

the resp

members.

district

surround

As

reliance,

beneficia

illustrat

system wa

to not be

oftentime

need.

One e

the group

was viewed

personal

was not we

ally in C

both fate and achievements are linked. In other words, no one succeeded alone, and to a limited extent, no one failed alone. In this sense, the Amish exhibited class consciousness, to a very high degree.

As an illustration, the Amish did not participate in formal out-group property or medical insurance programs. If a family unit could not meet medical expenses or the expense of replacing damaged or stolen property, the Bishop divided the responsibility for the remaining debt among district members. If the funds could not be raised from among district members, additional funds were requested from surrounding districts.

As can be deduced from this example, intra-group reliance, while beneficial to the group, was not always beneficial to individual group members, a further illustration of in-group primacy. A latent function of this system was that individual group members and families strove to not become a burden upon the family or the larger group, oftentimes resulting in reluctance to report illness or need.

One explanation for this reluctance to be a burden to the group was that, within collectivist cultures, the self was viewed and defined more through its social, rather than personal identity. In fact, the notion of personal identity was not well evidenced within the Amish. As discussed more fully in Chapter 5, it was discovered that the Amish viewed

themselves

individual

As ev

"Who am I

person."

from the

support a

they woul

live outs

In t

in-group

were not

membershi

would hav

analysis

the Amish

outside o

all socia

construct

health, t

own medic

groups, t

and exten

If n

sufficien

Amish - ge

themselves more as an extension of the group, rather than an individual who was a member of the group.

As evidence, when asked to respond to the question, "Who am I?", every Amish subject answered "I am an Amish person." One of the primary reasons given for not defecting from the Amish was that, in addition to the loss of social support and social capital, the individual reported that they would not have known, in an intra-psyche sense, how to live outside of their group.

In the collectivist fashion, it was further true that in-group identification was sufficiently strong that members were not as influenced by, nor did they hold significant memberships within other groups. Contrary to what Wellman would have predicted in his call to broaden support system analysis into social network analysis (Wellman 1981:173), the Amish appeared to have very few interpersonal ties outside of the in-group. In essence, the in-group subsumed all social support and activity. For example, the Amish had constructed local knowledge regarding physical and mental health, their own forms of entertainment and leisure, their own medical and property insurance, their own self-help groups, their own transportation and communication systems, and extensive social support networks.

If necessary, the Amish could have been totally self-sufficient, without need of any out-group assistance. The Amish actively maintained their in-group reliance, much more so than individualist cultures. In-group reliance could be

understood

maintenanc

believing

develop i

Obed

collectiv

creativit

case of

been cons

from whi

of vigil

1992:17)

was exce

social c

Wolt 19

Ano

managed

their cu

control.

group, a

constant

expectat

Irish pe

Ano

particul

actively

a,

understood as having primary importance for boundary maintenance. To varying degrees, the Amish expressed believing that engagement with the out-group should never develop into dependency upon the out-group.

Obedience and conformity to the in-group within this collectivist culture was emphasized far more than creativity, competition and individual achievement. In the case of the Amish, to maintain the strict norms that had been constructed during the original Anabaptist movement, from which the Old Order Amish had later separated, a system of vigilant social control had been established (Nolt 1992:17). Anyone perceived to be deviating from these norms was excommunicated and shunned, conditions under which all social contact with the offender was strictly forbidden (Nolt 1992:17).

Among the Amish, obedience and conformity came to be managed through the relational and associative nature of their culture, and "gossip" became a key mechanism of social control. These practices remained instrumental to the group, and many Amish reported suffering greatly under the constant social scrutiny and compliance to rigid norms and expectations of reciprocity that were demanded. As one Amish person expressed, "I have no sense of I."

Among the Amish, boundary maintenance practices were particularly strong. As a collectivist culture, they actively engaged in exclusion of the out-group. For example, even when at home, it was not uncommon for an Amish

person to not respond to the presence of an unknown out-group visitor, even if the Amish person was visible to the out-group visitor, within the house or in the garden. The ability of the Amish to ignore out-group members was exceedingly high.

One of the most effective boundary maintenance tools for the Amish was their distinct spoken language, of which no written form existed. They referred to this language as "Dutch." The Amish were bilingual, in that they spoke English when interacting with the out-group, and they used English as a written form. Most Amish spoke Dutch exclusively in their own homes and when speaking with each other, especially when in the presence of the out-group.

The Amish reported that the Dutch they spoke was a derivative of the German language, rather than the language spoken in what is now known as the Netherlands. The Amish interviewed were not aware of any explanation for the labeling of their spoken language as "Dutch," as they reported the origin of their particular faction of Anabaptists to have been the area currently known as Germany. Linguistics does provide a possible explanation, however, in that, what the Amish pronounce as "Dutch" simply their pronunciation of the German word, "Deutsch," meaning "homeland," referent to Germany (Hostetler 1993:141).

The Amish speculated that the language developed in order to further separate, and maintain separation from the out-group, with whom they shared the German language at that

ime. The

language f

technique.

As a

have just

collectivi

articulate

consensus

of competi

Cohen's ar

within Wha

Irish as t

Simil

that notia

were not a

expected.

understan

homogeniz

identity a

identity

1994:153)

was not ar

First

community

doing so

self, but

latent fur

time. The Amish reported being aware that having a distinct language functioned as an excellent boundary-maintenance technique.

As a conclusion to these very generalized comments that have just been made to illustrate the Amish as a collectivist culture, a caveat must be stated, as first articulated by Anthony P. Cohen: "The terminology of consensus is only a skin drawn over the dynamism of debate, of competition, of diversity" (Cohen 1987:3). Indeed, Cohen's analysis of the symbolic construction of community within Whalsay so closely resonates with the case of the Amish as to be a mirror image (Cohen 1987; Cohen 1992).

Similar to Whalsay (Cohen 1992:28-38), it was found that notions regarding face-to-face, associational cultures were not as generalizable among the Amish as would have been expected. To engage in over-generalization distorts understanding by romanticizing the experience of the Amish. Homogenizing the Amish would foster the impression of Amish identity as essential, a practice within the politics of identity that Gitlin appropriately finds fault with (Gitlin 1994:153). And indeed, as will be evidenced, essentialism was not an aspect of Amish identity.

First and foremost, to say that the Amish seek community should not imply that the manifest function of doing so is to extinguish individuality or the expression of self, but rather, these circumstances can be understood as latent functions, albeit extraordinarily powerful ones.

Instead

boundar

an atte

pagrap

identifi

arena wi

variatio

Sec

communit

of those

words, t

noting t

include

is in ex

As w

arching

the Amish

found wit

to what

statement

should be

following

ould hav

To the c
deology,
icals; t
reproduce
ustained
s differ
egitimat

Instead, as Cohen found in Whalsay, the manifest function of boundary construction and maintenance was first and foremost an attempt to identify a people with their place, geographically as well as symbolically. This identification, this labeling of place, provided them an arena within which to live and to express the range of variation to be found within the global identity as "Amish."

Second, boundary construction and maintenance of community functioned to make evident the relational nature of those people within that place (Cohen 1992:14). In other words, they were saying, by calling ourselves Amish, we are noting that we have a relationship among us that does not include you, but rather, operates in opposition to you. It is in excluding you that we define ourselves.

As will be made evident in the remaining text, an over-arching theme to emerge regarding social identity was that the Amish view themselves as alike, but different, as Cohen found within the Whalsay community (Cohen 1987:60). Similar to what Cohen found (1987:60), among the Amish, this statement came to mean that they were alike in who they should be, but they were different in who they were. The following statement made by Cohen about Whalsay identity could have been said about the Amish.

"To the outsider it might seem to be expressed in a rigid ideology, to demand proficiency in a range of specified skills; to be represented in distinct dialect; to be reproduced through a limited number of kin groups; to be sustained by a single, specialized occupation. The reality is different. The ethos provides categories of notable and legitimate performance. Social life exercises people's

19

ingenuity and resourcefulness in developing variations
within these categories which do not impugn the essential
integrity of the categories themselves...The competition for
definition and attribution provides much of the dynamic of
social process, but is kept within bounds such that the lack
of consensus need not surface publicly." (Cohen 1987:83)

An additional resonation with Cohen's work was his

identification of 3 myths regarding the nature of community.

First, Cohen deconstructed the notion that "folk" societies,

as opposed to urban, are simple rather than complex (Cohen

1992:28-32). Indeed, it is precisely because Amish society

is face-to-face, relational, and based upon reciprocity that

social life is more intricate to manage.

Second, Cohen critiqued the foundational idea within

traditional community studies of simple societies as

equalitarian (Cohen 1992:33-36). Instead, he viewed

equalitarianism as merely symbolic, and he faulted social

scientists for recognizing only formal structures of

authority and power, rather than recognize the subtle manner

in which power can be wielded (Cohen 1992:33-36). In the

case of the Amish, the subtle use of power was indeed

evident, even in the most extreme circumstance of

manipulation of a Bishop (who is recognized as their highest

mortal power) by ordinary churchmen or churchwomen.

Third, Cohen exploded the myth of inevitable conformity

within simple societies (Cohen 1992:36-37), as he argued

against structure as deterministic, and therefore always

producing the same behavior (Cohen 1992:36). As Cohen found

within Whalsay, among the Amish, there was, indeed, a wide

range of appropriate behavior. Conformity among the Amish must be viewed as upon a continuum, rather than as dichotomous, and certainly not as deterministic.

If structure were deterministic, and if conformity were inevitable, then we would not see the situation in which Amish children are allowed to engage fully in English culture for a period of time, but rather than be taken up by the dominant culture, they find their way back to being Amish. If conformity were inevitable, if modernization and development theories had been sufficient to explain cultural change, there would be no distinct Amish culture left to examine. And certainly, not an Amish culture that so closely resembles its original formulation. It will be argued throughout the remainder of this dissertation that it is precisely because difference and dissent are allowed that the Amish remain the same.

The Expo

It

regardir

identity

as an io

Within t

supporte

fact tha

al. 1997

you've ha

all.

It c

has resul

well. Be

maintaine

more than

Amish are

change has

question n

(992:40).

the Amish

socio-cult

affecting t

education t

urban/rural

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Experience of Amishness

It is indeed a paradox that empirical research regarding Amish mental health or issues surrounding Amish identity is sparse, for academics have constructed the Amish as an ideal group to study (Floersch et al. 1997:137). Within the physical sciences, this construction has been supported through biological reductionism, based upon the fact that the Amish have a closed genetic pool (Floersch et al. 1997:137). In other words, it has been assumed that if you've have seen one Amish genotype, you've have seen them all.

It can be argued, however, that a social reductionism has resulted within social science research on the Amish, as well. Because it has been believed that the Amish have maintained a comparatively stable collectivist culture for more than 500 years, social scientists have assumed that the Amish are a homogeneous group, within which little social change has occurred. Cohen has noted the tendency to not question reality when presented with similarity (Cohen 1992:40). In other words, many assume that if you've seen one Amish community, you've seen them all. As such, many socio-cultural variables that have been theorized as affecting the experience of mental health, such as income, education level, family size, religion, marital status, urban/rural residence, etc. (Cockerham 1992), have been

assumed to

settlement

In a

prescript

and isola

assimilat

within me

1993; Nef

virtually

such meth

Dyna

them to

facilitat

have been

micro-en

to remai

Amish wo

1994:2).

Bec

as worke

trade spe

allow th

providin

other ev

the hors

happy in

drivers

assumed to have little variance among different Amish settlements.

In addition, the Amish have constructed cultural prescriptions that strongly mandate non-assimilation with, and isolation from the out-group. As such, the process of assimilation, which has been identified as problematic within mental-health and identity research (LaFromboise 1993; Neff 1993; Schwab et al. 1978), has been assumed to be virtually non-existent among the Amish, hence, not posing such methodological dilemmas.

Dynamics of the Amish economic situation have enabled them to maintain relative isolation, which has greatly facilitated their non-assimilation. For example, the Amish have been extraordinarily successful in creating home-based, micro-enterprises, such as carpentry, which allow the Amish to remain home-based and to provide employment to other Amish workers (Hostetler 1993:136; Nolt 1994: 273; Smith 1994:2).

Because the Amish are so highly valued by the English as workers, English employers within this settlement have made special accommodations for their Amish workers that allow them to isolate themselves from the English, such as providing segregated areas in the lunch room. One factory owner even went so far as to provide pasture and shelter for the horses of those Amish men who preferred to drive their buggy into work, rather than ride with the English van drivers that the owner had hired. Dynamics such as these

augment c...

boundary a...

In es...

workplace,...

Park's ra...

presently...

time when...

into the ...

ist, acc...

highly su...

They rema...

stage, th...

The ...

identity ...

understan...

As such, ...

of this g...

been succ...

capital g...

stance of...

Much...

by roman...

from the ...

society....

being co...

communit...

augment co-ethnic solidarity, which further creates a
boundary against assimilation.

In essence, we can understand that the Amish, in the
workplace, have passed through the first two stages of
Park's race-relations cycle (contact and conflict) and are
presently in the third stage of accommodation. Since the
time when the Amish in this area first began their entry
onto the English owned and dominated factory floor (around
1950, according to reports of the Amish), they have been
highly successful in passing through the first three stages.
They remain successful in not entering the fourth and final
stage, that of assimilation.

The important relationship between ethnic/racial
identity and economic relations is fundamental to
understanding the maintenance of Amish cultural identity.
As such, it will be more fully discussed in a later section
of this chapter. Suffice it say here that the Amish have
been successful in using their ethnic identity as social
capital in the economic arena, in order to maintain their
stance of non-assimilation.

Much of the literature appears to have been influenced
by romanticized notions about the Amish, which possibly stem
from the idealization of the Amish as a Gemeinschaft
society. Indeed, Tonnies' description of the ideal type as
being comprised of strong social bonds among close-knit
community members, located in tranquil, rural areas that are

devoid of

settings,

In t

protectio

Gesellsch

impersona

commitmen

propositi

verses Ge

propose

opportuni

Cert

speculati

Irish rep

such, we

conscious

solidarit

mental br

solidarit

mental di

Howe

psycholog

about the

character

pointed o

"The

attempt o

individua

devoid of the tensions and stressors found in urban settings, appears to fit the Amish well.

In theory, a Gemeinschaft society should provide protection from mental distress, when juxtaposed to a Gesellschaft society, characterized as large, urban, and impersonal, exhibiting a lack of consensus on values or commitment to the group. Given these theoretical propositions regarding the salugenic aspects of Gemeinschaft verses Gesellschaft societies, it would be reasonable to propose that the study of Amish populations would provide an opportunity to study a mentally healthy society.

Certainly Durkheim would be supportive of this speculation, as well. According to his proposition, the Amish represent mechanical solidarity as an ideal type. As such, we could expect to find a higher level of collective consciousness than within a society characterized by organic solidarity, which would breed anomie and contribute to mental breakdown. According to Durkheim, mechanical solidarity functioned as preventative medicine against mental distress.

However, Simmel articulated a counter, social-psychological argument to the notions of classical theorists about the salugenic aspects of Gemeinschaft societies characterized by mechanical solidarity, when he so aptly pointed out that:

"The deepest problems of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers

of society
and the ex
1971:324).
environmen
have the p
more anxic
the conduc
the more w
tend to pa
Levine 1

Simm

close, st

individua

closely B

distincti

of Optima

needs bet

social g

Brewer

the hypo

consumed

distress

The

empirica

and diff

trish, a

utopian

classica

of the

culture

of society, against the weight of the historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life" (Levine 1971:324). The smaller the circle which forms our environment and the more limited the relationships which have the possibility of transcending the boundaries, the more anxiously the narrow community watches over the deeds, the conduct of life, and the attitudes of the individual, the more will a quantitative and qualitative individuality tend to pass beyond the boundaries of such a community" (Levine 1971:333).

Simmel's description of the pathological aspects of a close, strictly regulated community, and the struggle of individuals to differentiate themselves mirrors quite closely Brewer's conceptualization of "optimal distinctiveness" (Brewer 1991). According to Brewer's Model of Optimal Distinctiveness, an individual has competing needs between identification with, and verification from, a social group and a need to be distinctive from the group (Brewer 1991:477). Brewer provides empirical support for the hypothesis of Simmel that if individuality is too consumed by the group, the individual will experience distress (Brewer 1991:475).

There are two possible reasons for the lack of empirical research on the Amish: the lengthy time commitment and difficulties in gaining sufficient entre among the Amish, and a tendency for Amish scholars to predict a utopian society, based upon the theoretical propositions of classical theory outlined earlier. This same idealization of the Amish experience has been evident within popular culture, also. Consequently, Amish culture and cultural

26

practices

problem

The

important

classifi

materials

religious

trade pu

Amish se

culture;

rental i

Amish Re
Publicat

Am

data sou

bservat

bulk of

literatu

frequenc

ual con

material

Amish id

discrepa

religiou

indicat

ody; hav

practices have here-to-for remained virtually
unproblematized.

The existing Amish-specific literatures that are
important to understanding the Amish lived experience can be
classified as representative of four categories: 1)
materials the Amish encounter in their everyday life (Amish
religious training materials, popular press, and tourist
trade publications); 2) the Amish Directory (a census of the
Amish settlement); 3) anthropological descriptions of Amish
culture; and 4) empirical research investigating bio-genetic
mental illness etiology.

Amish Religious Training, Popular Press, And Tourist Publications

Amish religious-training literatures are important as a
data source, because, according to reports by the Amish and
observation in their homes, these materials comprise the
bulk of culturally sanctioned reading material. These
literatures provide insight into the source, content, and
frequency of messages that could generate a condition of
dual consciousness, as conceptualized by DuBois, as these
materials emphasize religious martrydom as a component of
Amish identity. Identity conflicts generated by the
discrepant message inherent within the experience of
religious martydom (vilification by the out-group verses
vindication by in-group members, and more importantly, by
God) have been discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

The Amish religious-training literature is best exemplified by, *Light From the Stakes: Selections From Martyrs Mirror* (Amish Brotherhood 1983). It was reported that this particular text could be found, or is at least known, in almost every Amish household. It has been reported that the messages of the historical martyrdom of Amish people are particularly impressed upon the children, both in the home, and during their church services, in order to "...make the children aware of who they are, and how much the world will hate them because of it."

This statement and the following excerpt from the text best illustrate the importance of this book in understanding the expectation of martyrdom and stigmatization. It also illuminates the dilemma children may experience when making the decision as to whether to adopt or repudiate Amish identity:

"Thereupon, the following day, the sixth of October, A.D. 1573, this pious and God-fearing heroine of Jesus Christ, as also her fellow believers that had been condemned with a like sentence, were brought forth, with their tongues screwed fast, as innocent sheep for the slaughter, and each having been fastened to a stake in the marketplace, deprived, by fierce and terrible flames, of their lives and bodies, so that in a short time they were consumed to ashes....The oldest son of the aforementioned martyress, aged about fifteen years, could not stay away from the place of execution...He went to the place where his mother had been burnt, and hunted in the ashes, in which he found the screw with which her tongue had been screwed fast, which he kept in remembrance of her" (Amish Brotherhood 1983:98-99).

Popular press material and tourist trade publications tend to present a highly romanticized, and therefore attractive image of the Amish lived experience. Bookstands

28

and store

table pho

even pape

the gambl

Irishmen

It h

images as

reported

state for

their liv

uncomfort

Irishness

their ima

from know

from not

for being

The Amish

At t

the Amish

compiled

as Direct

was compi

Hopkins p

to manic

directori

further p

and store shelves are filled with Amish cookbooks, coffee-table photo essays extolling the virtues of Amish life, and even paperback, Amish-romance novels. Tourist souvenirs run the gambit from Amish dolls to Amish underwear to cement Amishmen as lawn ornaments.

It has been reported that many Amish experience these images as highly one-sided and too positive. It was reported that viewing these images generates a discrepant state for some Amish, as they report being keenly aware of their lived contradictions. They further report being uncomfortable with the out-group commodification of their Amishness, but not so much due to issues of ownership of their image; but rather, the discomfort reportedly stems from knowing that "...someone is benefiting (financially) from not being truthful about us. There should be no reward for being dishonest."

The Amish Directories

At various times since 1970 (1970, 1980, 1988, 1995), the Amish in this community have organized a census and compiled the resulting demographic data into volumes, known as Directories. The Amish report that the first Directory was compiled at the request of genetic researchers, at Johns Hopkins University, for use in research into a genetic link to manic depression. The Amish report that subsequent Directories have been compiled solely for Amish use, with no further involvement with the Johns Hopkins research group.

With

each fami

they resi

of head-c

Irishness

Ethnic .

is direct

increasir

to every

Incl

each chil

Co-Ethni

requeste

been user

coding s

percepti

Refectio

A o

Approxim

Parents'

Identity

adopted

but have

A "

Identity

living s

signifie

Within the Directories, demographic information for each family is arranged according to the district in which they reside (dates of birth, death, and marriage; occupation of head-of-household; family address; coded status of Amishness: Pre-Baptism, Post-Baptism, or Defected Co-Ethnic). To achieve a more complete enumeration, the census is directed by the Bishop of each district, thereby increasing compliance. The Directories are made available to every family within the settlement.

Included in the demographic data is the coded status of each child, whether Pre-Baptism, Post-Baptism, or Defected Co-Ethnic. The Amish report that the coding system was not requested by the Johns Hopkins (1970 Directory), but has been used in subsequent Directories. Implementation of the coding system was reported to have been in response to the perception among the Amish of an increase in the rate of defection.

A code of "A" signifies that the child is younger than approximately age twenty-five, unmarried, and living in the parents' home, but has not yet repudiated or adopted Amish identity. In a few cases, however, they may have already adopted Amish identity, by publicly taking adult baptism, but have not yet married and established their own home.

A "B" signifies that the adult child has adopted Amish identity, by publicly taking adult baptism, is married, and living in the same district as their parents. A "C" signifies that the adult child has adopted Amish identity,

by publi

living i

A "

who has

take adu

adopting

child is

but does

determine

baptism,

Otherwise

that most

and that

as an ext

The

they cons

populatio

Directori

Directori

Demography

secondary

The A

manifest a

function,

settlement

Amish in t

particular

by publicly taking adult baptism, is married, but is not living in the same district as their parents.

A "D" signifies a Defected Co-Ethnic, an adult child who has repudiated Amish identity, by publicly refusing to take adult baptism, thereby defecting from the Amish, and adopting identity as "English." An "E" signifies that the child is at least sixteen years old, has not yet married, but does not live in the parents' home. It cannot be determined from this code whether they have taken adult baptism, but it is known that they have not yet defected. Otherwise, they would be listed as "D." The Amish report that most within this category have not yet taken baptism, and that this category is viewed, and has been constructed as an extended decision-making period.

The Amish Directories are valuable research tools, as they constitute a fairly complete enumeration of Amish populations. Because no other listing exists, the Directories are vital to sampling procedures. The Directories are important resources for engaging in demographic analyses or description, and they provide a secondary data source for quantitative analyses.

The Amish report that the Directories have both manifest and latent sociological functions. As a manifest function, having a complete enumeration of their settlement's population, including addresses, assists the Amish in their communication practices. The enumeration is particularly important in facilitating the associative

nature of Amish culture, especially given the large and rapidly growing population.

The Amish report that the Directories engender a sense of group cohesion. Whether or not this is so remains an empirical question, but certainly it can be argued that the Directories are evidence of the high level of group cohesion the Amish are attempting to achieve and maintain.

The Directories allow the Amish, who articulate a Social Darwinist perspective, to identify "unhealthy" families. The identification of Defected Co-Ethnics generates a high degree of social control, as the Amish report feeling great shame at having to list one of their children as a "D" (Reiling 1995a:25). Identification reportedly becomes a factor during the decision-making process (Reiling 1995a:25).

Anthropological Descriptions

The literature providing basic description of Amish settlements tends to be non-empirical-based, to assume a utopian nature to Amish culture, and to suffer from social reductionism. These flaws result in two major limitations: the work tends to be uncritical, and, as a result, we learn very little about the actual lived, socio-emotional experience of the individual.

As Floersch et al. have recently articulated, most Amish scholars have engaged in either social or biological reductionism, which has resulted in a body of work that is flawed due to over-generalization (Floersch et al.

1997:1

1979:

1984:

Huntin

Amish

T

is rel

method

presen

studie

invest

the Am

regard

retard

E

illness

1983-1

et al.

genet

studie

been i

contro

demons

comple

E

the b

releas

1997:137). Examples of this genre are Buck (1978), Boldt (1979), Ericksen et al. (1980), Olshan (1981), Foster (1984), Kollmorgen (1942), Hostetler (1968), Kephart (1976), Huntington (1988), and Nolt (1992).

Amish Mental Health

The literature regarding mental illness among the Amish is relatively small, limited in scope, and flawed methodologically and theoretically. Most of the literature presents a critique of the methods used in the published studies on the Amish. No empirical, sociological investigations into the experience of mental illness among the Amish were found, except for a 1970 dissertation regarding Amish awareness and understanding of mental retardation (Melton 1970).

Biogenetic studies into the etiology of Amish mental illness comprise the bulk of research endeavors (Egeland 1983-1990; Hostetter et al. 1983; Kelsoe et al. 1989; Kidd et al. 1984; McKusick et al. 1978). The search for a genetic link to manic depression has been the focus of these studies. It is important to note that these studies have been inconclusive, useful perhaps primarily for the controversy generated when early claims were later demonstrated to be unfounded (Robertson 1989 provides a complete review).

Egeland appears to be the lead geneticist conducting the bulk of this research. Throughout the 1980's, Egeland released a series of studies, reporting findings thought to

33

confirm a genetic marker for manic depression (Egeland 1983, 1986, 1990, 1992). These finding were later disconfirmed when additional family members, who did not have the genetic marker, were found to be exhibiting manic depression (Robertson 1989). In spite of the limitations of this research, the lack of positive findings, and admission on the part of the geneticists involved that the physical sciences were ill equipped to adequately address the methodological issues, the search for genetic markers reportedly continues (Floersch et al. 1997:141; Ginns et al. 1992:307).

Floersch et al. argue that the search for biological explanations for mental illness among the Amish stems from scientific reductionism (Floersch et al. 1997:137); and indeed, as articulated by Andreasen, physical scientists view the Amish as "a naturalistic laboratory for epidemiological and genetic research" (Andreasen 1983:75). Although disciplinary bias is clearly evident in this case, it could be argued that these scientists also suffer from a desire on the part of even physical scientists to believe that a utopian society does exist, thereby precluding social etiology in mental illness.

Research conducted by Eaton and Weil on the Hutterites, a group theoretically similar to the Amish, demonstrates a similar reluctance to accept social etiology among subcultures assumed to be utopian. Eaton and Weil conducted their classic study of the Hutterites from 1950-1955, and

found that, contrary to being a utopian society, the Hutterite way of life offered "...no immunity from severe psychiatric disturbances" (Schwab et al. 1978:190). Eaton and Weil found that the Hutterites experienced guilt feelings and apprehension about not living up to community standards, and high levels of aggressive impulses, although repressed (Schwab et al. 1978:190).

However, even though Eaton and Weil had no evidence of genetic etiology, they concluded that the etiology was more likely genetic-based, hypothesizing that the Hutterites' historical practice of endogamy had created a limited gene pool, comparable with the Amish (Schwab et al. 1978:191). Their conclusions regarding this point are challenged by their own data, which demonstrate that mental disorders were almost as common among the Hutterites as within other Western cultures, among populations that did not have a limited gene pool (Schwab et al. 1978:191). It is interesting to note that the authors appear unwilling to relinquish their hope for utopia.

Jakubaschk examined forty-three Amish individuals from four different settlements, with ages ranging from 16-83 years, and found a negative relationship between depression and hostility. Using the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory, he found the level of hostility of the Amish subjects to be lower than that of his comparison population (secondary data from a 1957 study of college students), 23 verses 29.3, respectively (Jakubaschk 1994:77). Conversely, he found

that t

popula

verses

j

most a

choice

are fu

four d

alread

genera

indeed

M

suffic

the Am

in the

Durkee

Butter

Identit

Wh

regards

literat

identit

of the

health,

Pearlin

general

merit co

that the Amish subjects scored higher than his general population, using the Beck Depression Inventory, 41.9% verses 19.8%, respectively.

Jakubaschk's research, however, is highly flawed. The most apparent problematics are his sample size and his choice of comparison-population data. Issues of sample size are further complicated by the fact that he is treating the four different settlements as comprising one population. As already discussed, it is not valid to assume generalizability without evidence that the settlements are indeed comparable.

Most problematic, however, is that Jakubaschk does not sufficiently consider and address social desirability among the Amish. It should be noted that hostility, as expressed in the Amish context, might not be captured using the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory. As noted regarding the Hutterites, aggressive impulses were high, but repressed.

Identity And Mental Health

While cognizant of a vast and important literature regarding general psychosocial stress and health, the literature regarding racial stress and stigmatized identities will be the focus of this review. (For a review of the literature regarding general psycho-social stress and health, see House et al. 1990, Kaplan 1983, Menaghan 1983, Pearlin 1983, Thoits 1983, and Wheaton 1985). Several general research design problematics within this literature merit comment before a more specific discussion of findings.

Fi

consens

measure

analyse

noted,

conveni

special

context

the ger

We

stress

self, u

Wester

sentime

a "de-g

indivi

1991:2

attenti

histor

proces

We

theori

that a

theref

determ

respon

such o

First and foremost, there appears to be a lack of consensus regarding conceptualization, terminology, and measurement instruments, thereby making attempts at meta-analyses extremely difficult. Additionally, as Dressler has noted, too much of the research has been based upon convenience samples, particularly college students, or other specialized groups, such as clinic patients, whose contextual issues may restrict, or should possibly prohibit, the generalizability of the findings (Dressler 1991:24).

Westen has noted that research on identity and racial stress is flawed, due to ethnocentric notions regarding the self, upon which research conceptualizations are based (Westen 1991:184). And indeed, Dressler echoes this sentiment, as he notes the tendency for researchers to take a "de-socialized" view of individuals, assuming that individuals are more alike than different (Dressler 1991:25). He argues that doing so results in little attention being given to "...how these contexts and specific historical processes *generate* the pattern of the stress process" (Dressler 1991:25).

Westen makes a critical point that researchers and theorists within this area have made an error in assuming that all constructs of the self-concept are conscious, and therefore accessible, particularly those constructs that determine attitudes toward the self and the affective response to the self (Westen 1991:188-189). He posits that much of the self is unconscious, and therefore unavailable

37

for examination, due to varying limits in cognitive ability and denial, the defensive avoidance of painful self-knowledge (Westen 1991:186).

To rectify these limitations, several authors have called for the use of qualitative methods (Speight et al. 1996; Thoits 1995) and longitudinal/panel studies (Broman 1996; Speight et al. 1996; Thoits 1995) to facilitate a more full understanding of the nature of the relationship between social psychological factors and physical or mental health. Longitudinal/panel and qualitative designs would also assist in resolving time-order dilemmas, as they would allow for identity development and change to the self-concept to be examined over the life course of individuals (Brookins et al. 1996:263; Plummer 1996; Plummer et al. 1996).

Research in this area could also benefit from examinations into potential salugenic aspects of cultural practices. Assessing salugenic aspects of one's lived experience would allow for mediating variables to emerge and be assessed (Turner 1983), such as coping strategies (Plummer et al. 1996), enhancement strategies (Ellemers et al. 1993), identity change strategies (Amyot et al. 1996), positive illusions strategies (Taylor et al. 1988), social mobility and creativity strategies (Jackson et al. 1996), or resistance resources (Dressler 1991).

More attention to scale development is imperative, particularly regarding measurement of identity. For example, Sanders-Thompson has urged the development of

multi-dimensional scales to measure the various components of racial identity (Sanders-Thompson 1995:220). Sanders-Thompson is reacting against the tendency, evident within the literature, to measure only one dimension of identity, which potentially disallows a full understanding of intra-group difference. She argues that the development of a multi-dimensional scale to measure racial identity would "...allow researchers to assess and begin to understand individuals who appear to behave in a contradictory manner where racial identity is concerned" (Sanders-Thompson 1995:220).

The lack of consensus on empirical findings could also stem from a tendency within the literature to measure global rather than specific self-esteem. Rosenburg et al. and Luhtanen et al. provide convincing arguments that focusing attention on the self-esteem specific to particular identities rather than self-esteem based upon one's global identity would provide more useful data (Luhtanen et al. 1992:302; Rosenburg et al. 1995:141).

Any discussion of cause must be prefaced with a general discussion regarding the problematics involved in determining cause, particularly when considering social phenomenon. The matter becomes even more complex when considering social structure as a causal agent in health outcomes. As Armstrong has noted, adequate explorations of this sort require a multi-factorial model (Armstrong 1989:22), present significant time-order dilemmas, and

suffer

consen

A

of men

split

Mechai

explor

of lon

1996:2

Speight

unders

factors

relati

and gro

in cont

Se

illness

"necess

structu

psychol

not be

reaction

psycholo

membersh

to gener

alone ma

suffer from lack of theoretical and conceptual clarity and consensus (Armstrong 1989:27).

A point that merits reiteration, is that explorations of mental illness etiology have suffered from the historic split between meaning seekers and structure seekers (Mechanic 1989; Pearlin 1992). As others have noted, explorations of mental illness etiology suffer from the lack of longitudinal data (Broman 1996:152; Brookins et al. 1996:262) and grounded, qualitative methods (Dressler 1991; Speight et al. 1996; Thoits 1995), which would facilitate understanding the relationship between social psychological factors and structural position, and the impact of this relationship on mental health. The use of longitudinal data and grounded, qualitative methods would also better assist in controlling for pre-morbid conditions (Thoits 1995:73).

Several other issues and problematics regarding mental illness etiology merit discussion, especially the "necessary, but not sufficient" proposition. While one's structural position may be necessary to generate a social psychological reaction, the structural position alone may not be sufficient to generate that social-psychological reaction. As further illustration, while a social-psychological factor, such as an affective response to membership in a stigmatized racial group, may be necessary to generate racial stress, this social psychological factor alone may not be sufficient to generate that racial stress.

As such

the cau

Th

apparen

potenti

variabl

structu

followi

operati

factor

social p

and cop

1991:31

Porter e

variable

Broman

Brown 1

to which

self-pre

Jones e

social p

salience

al. 1993

shift be

Brewer e

Amyot e

en indi

As such, structural position should be considered as only one causal factor, in a multi-causal model.

The insufficiency of single-factorial models is quite apparent when considering the multitude and complexity of potential intervening, antecedent, and suppresser/distorter variables that are inherent in the relationship between structural position and social-psychological reaction. The following constitute potential factors that would need to be operationally defined and controlled for, when attempting to factor out the influence of social structure in generating social psychological reactions: the use of self-protective and coping strategies (Blaine et al. 1995:1031; Link et al. 1991:316; Miller et al. 1995:1093; Plummer et al 1996:311; Porter et al. 1991:200-202); the cumulative effects of a variable, such as the experience of racist events over time (Broman 1996:152); the pre-morbid state of the self-concept (Brown 1993; Campbell et al. 1993; Swann 1987); the degree to which an individual has been able to successfully employ self-presentational strategies to escape stigmatization (Jones et al. 1984:200-204); the salience of personal verses social identity (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993); the salience of specific verses global self-esteem (Rosenberg et al. 1995); the degree to which the individual is able to shift between personal and social identities (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993); the impact of assimilation processes (Amyot et al. 1996); potential variation in a variable over an individual's life course (Brookins et al. 1996:262); and

41

the dej

facilit

stereot

Empiric

Th

loosel

al., ho

that ".

situati

because

al. 19

employe

racial/

can fun

To

interes

verses

importa

centers

identit

Us

found a

and dep

relatio

Blacks.

higher

the degree of immersion in socio-political analyses that may facilitate individuals in not internalizing negative stereotypes (Brookins et al. 1996:245).

Empirical Research Regarding Racial Stress

The concept of racial stress generally has been left loosely defined within much of the literature. Plummer et al., however, provide a useful definition: Racial stress is that "...psychological discomfort that results from a situation or event that an individual appraises as troubling because of racial discrimination or isolation" (Plummer et al. 1996:303). The concept of racial stress has been employed to argue that one's race, or one's racial/ethnicity-based social identity, in and of itself, can function as an additive stressor.

To delineate racial stress, Luhtanen et al. were interested in exploring the relationship between personal verses social self-esteem and depression. This is an important research agenda, because much theoretical debate centers on the distinction between personal verses social identities, and the interplay between the two.

Using the instrument they developed, Luhtanen et al. found a negative relationship between personal self-esteem and depression, for both Blacks and Whites, although the relationship was significantly stronger for Whites than for Blacks. In other words, among both Blacks and Whites, higher personal self-esteem was significantly associated

42

with l

signif

s

strong

words,

signif

indivi

true c

et al.

T

person

models

contro

the im

The st

identi

exhibi

racial

motion

or less

Th

et al.,

positi

1985:43

relatio

identit

and su

with lower depression, although the relationship was significantly stronger for Whites.

Conversely, for Blacks, social self-esteem had a stronger negative relationship to depression. In other words, among Blacks, higher social self-esteem was significantly associated with lower depression within Black individuals, and vice versa. This same relationship was true of Whites, although not to the same magnitude (Luhtanen et al. 1992:316).

These findings illuminate the interplay between personal verses social identities, as within each of the models, the alternate condition of self-esteem was controlled for. Luhtanen et al. were able to separate out the impact of personal self-esteem from social self-esteem. The stronger negative relationship between levels of social-identity-based self-esteem and depression that Blacks exhibited rather than Whites could possibly be attributed to racial stress. These findings provide support for the notion that the two levels of identity may, indeed, act more or less independently.

These findings are well supported by the work of Parham et al., who also found a negative relationship between positive identity and psychological distress (Parham et al. 1985:431). Additionally, Speight et al. found a positive relationship between self-esteem and positive affect toward identity (Speight et al. 1996:39). Although these findings lend support, the work of Parham et al. and Speight et al.

lack

ident

findi

group

close

findi

group

perso

psych

regard

separa

be ske

not in

posit

time e

other

identi

self-e

esteem

experie

that Bl

distres

additio

perceiv

lack the specification regarding the two levels of racial identity employed by Luhtanen et al.

Brookins et al. found indirect support for these findings, as they found that a positive attitude toward group identity was positively related to feelings of closeness toward, and identity with that group. From these findings, Brookins et al. offer conjecture that "...own-group identification was a good indicator of a secure personality, and served as an integral part of healthy psychological functioning (Brookins et al. 1996:262).

However, given the findings of Luhtanen et al., regarding the ability of personal and social identity to act separately, rather than in an integrated fashion, one should be skeptical of the extension made by Brookins et al. It is not inconceivable that an individual could report feeling positive about, and close to their group, while at the same time experience a lowered social self-esteem. And indeed, other research findings suggest that a stigmatized group identity can present a profound challenge to an individual's self-esteem.

For example, Porter et al. found that social self-esteem was important in predicting the degree of distress experienced by Blacks and Whites suffering from vitiligo, in that Blacks were found to experience higher levels of distress than Whites (Porter et al. 1991:201). Additionally, Blacks expressed concern that they would be perceived as being disloyal toward Blacks, if the whitening

of t

atte

from

as s

al.

race

dist

coun

Ford

betw

stude

impl

immi

ident

suppo

hypot

their

parti

Brewe

et al

ident

numbe

comple

Mille

of their skin was perceived to be caused by a deliberate attempt to be White, rather than understood as resulting from a disease process (Porter et al. 1991:201).

The finding of perceived disloyalty to group identity as stressful was further supported by the work of Arroyo et al. Using Fordham and Ogbu's conceptualization of racelessness as a condition resulting from purposefully distancing oneself from one's culture of origin, by adopting counter behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes (Fordham 1988; Fordham et al. 1986), they found a positive relationship between racelessness and depression, among Black college students (Arroyo et al. 1996:903).

Findings such as these could have important implications for the study of the health experience of immigrants, as well as other individuals with conflicted identities. The findings also lend credence and empirical support to various theoretical propositions regarding the hypothesis that those experiencing a conflict regarding their self-concept will be emotionally vulnerable, and particularly prone to lowered self-esteem (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993; Brewer et al. 1996; Brown 1993; Campbell et al. 1993; Higgins et al. 1987; Higgins 1989; Hitch 1983).

There is evidence that members of groups whose identities are most highly stigmatized employ a greater number of coping strategies, which produces a methodological complexity (Blaine et al. 1995:1031; Link et al. 1991:316; Miller et al. 1995:1093; Plummer et al. 1996:311; Porter et

al. 199

artifi

Plummer

employe

racial

found

Whites,

mediate

Blaine

strateg

religio

well-be

1995:10

He

well be

the ext

in othe

control

but have

physica

Dar

connecti

review o

document

opring (

the perc

demonstr

al. 1991:200-202). These coping strategies may result in artificially elevated levels of self-esteem. For example, Plummer et al. found that, compared to Whites, Blacks employed more coping strategies in response to perceived racial stress (Plummer et al. 1996:311). Porter et al. found that Blacks experienced more stigmatization than Whites, and therefore employed greater coping strategies to mediate that stigmatization (Porter et al. 1991:200-202). Blaine et al. also found that Blacks employed more coping strategies than Whites, specifically through the practice of religion, which resulted in greater levels of psychological well-being than would otherwise be expected (Blaine et al. 1995:1031-1039).

Hence, when assessing and commenting upon psychological well being, it is important to also enter into the equation the extent to which individuals and groups cope, or engage in other defensive strategies, such as attempts to exert control. These strategies affect not only mental health, but have important implications and consequences for physical health, as well.

Dantzer and Koolhaas et al. provide evidence of this connection between coping and defensive strategies in their review of the literature regarding the discovery and documentation of neuroendocrine correlates of control and coping (Dantzer 1989; Koolhaas et al. 1989). And certainly, the perception of no control or loss of control has been demonstrated to present threats to physical health,

particularly cardiovascular disease (for reviews see
Siegrist et al. 1989 and Syme 1989). Control issues have
been demonstrated to be instrumental in generating anxiety
and depression disorders (Lester 1988:413; for a review, see
Mineka et al. 1989).

Findings regarding a more direct relationship between
the experience of racist events and health are mixed,
perhaps because examinations such as these are more
methodologically complex. For example, Broman found no
relationship between reported experience of perceived
discriminatory or racist treatment and diagnosed
hypertension or cardiovascular disease (Broman 1996:148).
Landrine et al., however, using smoking behavior as an
indicator of stress, found that smokers reported
significantly more frequent discrimination than non-smokers,
and smokers reported experiencing the discrimination as more
stressful than non-smokers (Landrine et al. 1996:156).
Despite the limitations of data and designs, the conflicting
evidence poses important questions regarding the role of
identity in generating distress.

There is much support within the literature for the
theoretical basis of the assertion that it is the
unchallenged, or stable identity that promotes positive
affect, and consequently, promotes greater health (Brewer
1991; Brewer et al. 1993; Brewer et al. 1996; Brown 1993;
Campbell et al. 1993; Higgins et al. 1987; Higgins 1989;
Hitch 1983). LaFromboise et al., Neff et al., and Weinreich

provid

of psy

an inc

cultur

is abl

thereb

challe

Weinre

O

litera

relati

self-e

Thoits

tradit

relati

examine

affect

H

that t

salienc

occurre

1995:79

salienc

predict

life ex

event c

provide empirical support for the assertion that the level of psychological well-being depends upon the degree to which an individual successfully assimilates into the dominant culture, or conversely, the degree to which the individual is able to isolate themselves from the dominant culture, thereby stabilizing their identity through non-exposure to challenge (LaFromboise et al. 1993:408; Neff et al. 1993:3; Weinreich 1983:154).

Ormel et al. provide an important overview of the vast literature that has been generated through the study of the relationship between life events, stress, depression, and self-esteem (Ormel et al. 1989). The more recent work of Thoits, though, is representative of a new agenda within the traditional practice of research regarding this relationship. This new agenda constitutes attempts to examine the role of salience of identity in scripting the affective response to a life event.

However, Thoits found no support for her hypothesis that there would be a positive relationship between the salience of the identity domain in which the life event occurred and the degree of stress experienced (Thoits 1995:75). In fact, Thoits found that direction of the salience ranking was unpredictable, and that the only prediction that could be made was that, upon experiencing a life event, the salience ranking of the domain in which the event occurred would change (Thoits 1995:77).

T

events

investi

finding

explora

relati

and tha

foundat

reflec

T

respon

assess

social

that d

With s

hs pre

relati

person

attemp

more g

Brewer

F

relats

is tha

Paster

st al

a sti

Thoits' work further breaks with tradition in life events research in that she employed qualitative measures to investigate her counter-intuitive, and counter-theoretical findings (Thoits 1995:77). As a result of this level of exploration, Thoits declared that the complexities of this relationship were beyond the scope of quantitative models, and that an events checklist, which has formed the foundation of this course of research, could not possibly reflect those complexities (Thoits 1995:80).

The issue of self-esteem, an individual's affective response to their self-concept, is vitally important to assess, especially when examining the relationship between social psychological factors and health. Research findings that do not support the diminishment of self-esteem of those with stigmatized identities pose a dilemma for researchers. As previously noted, to gain clarity regarding this relationship, researchers should employ measures of both personal self-esteem and social self-esteem, and they should attempt to determine whether the individual is responding more through personal or social identity, as articulated by Brewer (Brewer 1991).

Another plausible explanation for findings of no relationship is that self-esteem is likely to be lower only if the stigmatized identity has become an individual's master status (Jones et al. 1984:134). Additionally, Jones et al. have postulated four primary strategies through which a stigmatized individual may have, a priori to becoming a

resea
their
found
which
self
et al.
1991:2

T
the st
whethe
themse
the co
goated
actual
esteem
life (

Th
develop
the sal
identit
et al.
t is h
oppress
desire
Parham
Speight

research subject, protected their self-concept, and hence, their self-esteem. For example, the individual may have found similar others, such as within support groups, through which the self is protected by reflected appraisals of their self in comparison to similarly-stigmatized others (Brookins et al. 1996:262; Jones et al. 1984:142; Porter et al. 1991:200).

The stigmatized individual may have found meaning in the stigmatizing event (whether an automobile accident or whether being born Black), in which they have assigned themselves some level of responsibility, either for causing the condition, or for merely being a member of a scape-goated group. Accepting responsibility is thought to actually stabilize the self, and hence, to protect self-esteem, as it is thought to reduce the chaotic nature of life (Jones et al. 1984:152; Plummer et al. 1996:311).

This point is supported by theories of racial-identity development, such as nigrescence models, which investigate the salugenic effects of the politicization of Black racial identity (Brookins et al. 1996; Parham et al. 1985; Plummer et al. 1996; Sanders-Thompson 1995; Speight et al. 1996). It is hypothesized that developing a politicized response to oppression generates positive attitudes toward, and greater desire for affiliation with the group (Brookins et al. 1996; Parham 1985; Plummer et al. 1996; Sanders-Thompson 1995; Speight et al. 1996).

Also according to Jones et al., the individual may have attempted to lessen damage to the self due to a stigmatized identity by lowering the salience of the stigmatized identity (Jones et al. 1984:153). It is thought that those with more fully developed self-schematas are more resistant, as they have more identities available, from which to choose an alternative master status (Jones et al. 1984:153).

If the individual is unable to avoid having the stigmatized identity imposed upon them by others as a master status, the individual could reduce damage to their self-esteem by redefining for themselves what constitutes their "true self", or what the individual chooses for themselves to be their master status (Jones et al. 1984:134). In other words, the individual does not internalize the stigmatized identity as their master status, but rather, they recognize the stigmatized identity as master status as an imposition. It is thought that redefining the true self offers protection for self-esteem, when escaping the imposition of stigmatized identity as a master status is not possible (Jones et al. 1984:134).

The work of Amyot et al. perhaps provides an illustration of this move to redefine the true self, as they found that, within the United States, Jews who are the most assimilated have transformed their Jewish identity from one based upon religious identification to one based upon ethnic identification (Amyot et al. 1996:177). In fact, they found that having been raised to be religiously Jewish was a

significant determining factor in whether the individual would reject the traditional Jewish identity (Amyot et al. 1996:186). Attempts to redefine the true self could be one factor in explaining the tendency for some ethnic groups, particularly upon immigration, to develop ethnic communities based upon highly visible economic entrepreneurship networks, rather than solely through ethnic identity, as documented through the work of Bonacich et al., Cohen, Cummings, and Portes (Bonacich et al. 1980; Cohen 1969; Cummings 1980; Portes 1995).

And certainly, this move to redefine the true self by developing supportive economic-based ethnic niches is strongly evidenced among the Amish. As noted earlier in this chapter, the Amish in this settlement, as well as others, have been successful in using their ethnic identity, even those domains of their identity that have been highly stigmatized, to their economic advantage. An application of Waldinger's two-stage process of creating ethnic niches is instructive in understanding this phenomenon (Waldinger 1996:21).

Many authors have argued that race/ethnicity has been used historically in economic arenas to promote economic competition, which allows the owner to keep wages low (Omi et al. 1994; Portes et al. 1996; Waldinger 1996; Wellman 1977). In essence, according to these authors, modern racism can be understood as an artifact of capitalism. Contrary to the predictions of early theorists that social

disti

capit

capit

capit

suffi

capit

Engli

"whit

endog

withi

uncom

genet

close

disti

area

of th

as ec

follo

only

men a

exten

indus

E

have b

Amish

the do

distinctions based upon race would fade away with advanced capitalism, the concept of race remains paramount in capitalist societies. However, it should be noted that capitalism may be a necessary factor, but it alone is not sufficient to cause racism, as racism is evidenced in non-capitalist societies, as well.

Even though phenotypically the Amish share with the English within their community the characteristic of being "white," they have been set apart. Because the Amish are an endogenous culture that does not proselytize, the English within their community view them as "inbred." It is not uncommon to hear the Amish spoken of as if they were a genetically distinct "race" of people, because of their closed genetic pool, rather than simply a culturally distinct religious group. As such, English employers in the area have been able to take advantage of this construction of the Amish as a racially distinct group, to use the Amish as economic leverage against the English workers. The following discussion should be understood as inclusive of only the male experience, because currently, primarily only men are employed in English enterprises, to any significant extent (with the exception of the seasonal tourist industry).

Even though the Amish are phenotypically white, they have been constructed as a racial/ethnic minority. As such, Amish workers encounter much antagonism from the English as the dominant white group. And certainly, they share this

53

experience with many other minority white workers, such as immigrant Germans, Irish, Italians, Polish, etc. (Portes et al. 1996; Waldinger 1996).

This understanding becomes useful when making application of Waldinger's two-stage process of creating ethnic niches. He identifies the first stage as that of "specialization," wherein the initial placement of an ethnic group into a particular job is affected by the employer's perception of the ethnic group's skills, language abilities, or predispositions (Waldinger 1996:21). Within this community, there exists a strong construction of the Amish as more skilled, in terms of physical labor, than the English. And even though they do not have high-school diplomas, they are considered by employers to be more "handy with their hands" and more "sharp," particularly in the area of building mechanics.

Because the Amish are bi-lingual, language does not pose a barrier to employment. The Amish use of language is also highly beneficial and productive in the workplace because most Amish men are very quiet, especially in the presence of the English. This silence makes them appear more focused on their work, more industrious, and more responsible with the owner's time.

And certainly, the Amish have been constructed as having a predisposition toward work, in general, and toward factory and construction work, in particular. A common refrain is that "Amish have been born to work."

Wald

closure,"

that perp

hush are

social/ed

residents

in ethnic

assimilat

not been.

The

employer

was repo

on the w

encourag

recogniz

practice

The

the job

subseque

social/e

in that

of group

their ow

has beco

In

a true s

the stig

Waldinger conceptualized stage two as "occupational closure," wherein co-ethnic social/economic networks develop that perpetuate economic success (Waldinger 1996:21). The Amish are particularly well suited to the establishment of social/economic networks because they are permanent residents, rather than transitory, they cluster themselves in ethnic enclaves, and they have no interest in assimilation. And indeed, in their case, assimilation has not been necessary for their economic success.

These networks become quite valuable to the English employer, and they are highly encouraged. For example, it was reported that some employers allow de facto segregation on the work floor and in the break room and actually encourage its formation. The employers have apparently recognized the fact that ethnic solidarity and exclusionary practices are keys to their success.

These social/economic networks then greatly facilitate the job of the employer by allowing for recruitment from subsequent generations of in-group members. These social/economic networks also act in a management capacity in that they have become self-regulatory of the performance of group members. The Amish on the factory floor engage in their own management of quality control, for their identity has become highly invested in their work performance.

In this fashion, the Amish have created for themselves a true self, as that of a highly esteemed worker, to buffer the stigmatization of their identity on other domains. This

true sel

they exp

The

protecti

allows a

salugeni

1989; Le

1989).

messages

evidence

consister

al. 1993,

sociologi

condition

by creati

provide t

1997:104

The Relat
Structura

The

health an

previousl

a lack of

to ethnoc

theoretica

faulty ass

conscious,

true self also functions as a buffer against the antagonism they experience from workers from the dominant white group.

There is some indirect empirical evidence that self-protecting strategies, such as developing a true self, which allows an individual to deflect negative messages, are salugenic (Blaine et al. 1995; Dantzer 1989; Koolhaas et al. 1989; Lester 1988; Porter et al. 1991; Siegrist 1989; Syme 1989). It might also be the case, however, that negative messages can be salugenic, if they provide self-confirming evidence that would allow the individual to maintain self-consistency and minimize dissonance (Brown 1993; Campbell et al. 1993; Swann 1987). Swann calls for research from a more sociological perspective, in order to investigate under what conditions "...people may stabilize their self-conceptions by creating around themselves social environments that provide them with support for their self-conceptions" (Swann 1987:1048), even if negative.

The Relationship Between Social Psychological Factors And Structural Position

The theoretical basis of the connection between mental health and social-psychological factors is complex, and as previously noted, theoretical development has suffered from a lack of conceptual clarity and consensus, and flawed due to ethnocentric notions of the self (Westen 1991:184). Theoretical development has been further limited by the faulty assumption that constructs of the self-concept are conscious, and therefore accessible, particularly constructs

that dete

response

developme

regarding

In t

developme

disciplin

Pearlin

between e

emphasis

Brewer 1

generated

sociology

al. 1984),

relationsk

well.

Aware

attempt to

particular

identity (

1984; Menn

1984). St

stressed t

phenomenon

Hechter 19

Zarets

began to en

that determine attitudes toward the self and the affective response to the self (Westen 1991:188-189). Theoretical development has further been impeded by lack of consensus regarding appropriate scales and instruments.

In the area of identity, empirical research and theory development has been thwarted by a division within the discipline between social psychologists and structuralists (Pearlin 1992; also Mechanic 1989). Goal differences between empiricists verses theorists, disagreement regarding emphasis on social verses personal identity formation (Brewer 1991; Mennell 1994), and conceptual differences generated by inter-disciplinary divisions, particularly sociology verses psychology (Brookins et al. 1996; Jones et al. 1984), have contributed to the fragmented study of the relationship between macro- and micro-level processes, as well.

Awareness has arisen, however, regarding the need to attempt to create a synthesis among these fragmented camps, particularly through the framework of the politics of identity (Adam 1978; Calhoun 1994; Hechter 1987; Lemert 1994; Mennell 1994; Scheff 1994; Wellman 1993; Zaretsky 1994). Structuralists and social psychologists alike have stressed the importance of understanding how macro-level phenomenon affect micro-level processes (Broman 1996; Hechter 1987; Swann 1987).

Zaretsky states that politics-of-identity frameworks began to emerge during the late 1960's within the United

States, f

movement,

having mo

this theo

logical,

politici

tradition

structure

becomes

against.

Wit

roles be

that ind

Construc

are othe

construc

Social o

of ident

notions

natural,

It

often be

adhering

create p

range of

advises

silenced

States, fueled, he speculates, by the "black power" movement, although he credits the feminist movement with having moved the paradigm forward (Zaretsky 1994:206). That this theoretical framework emerged from these movements is logical, for as the label implies, the framework is highly politicized. Politics of identity frameworks invert traditional thinking about social structure, as social structure becomes viewed as an actor, while the individual becomes viewed as the subject, the target, the object acted against.

Within frameworks of the politics of identity, situated roles become understood as constructions, not just positions that individuals fill (Calhoun 1994: 12-13). Constructionist analyses generate important questions that are otherwise obscured, such as who benefits from these constructions, and who is oppressed by these constructions. Social constructist analyses, as a component of the politics of identity frameworks, additionally challenge traditional notions of essentialism, which posit that identity is natural, and thereby a fixed state.

It should be noted, however, that these frameworks often become essentialist, too. As Gitlin has argued, those adhering to the politics of identity frameworks tend to create pan categorizations, rather than recognize the wide range of intra-group variation (Gitlin 1994:153). Gitlin advises caution, as "What was once an enclave where the silenced could find their voices in order to widen the

general (

world" (3

Hen

construc

on-going

in power

powerful

what he

Adam 19

to one's

Soc

primary

structur

an indiv

predicti

member o

Jone

the affec

states o

Scheff ha

of ethni

shame (Sc

lack of a

better ac

more full

provide s

micro- an

general converstation often freezes now into a self-enclosed world" (Gitlin 1994:153).

Hence, politics-of-identity frameworks should allow the construction of the self to be an active, negotiated, and on-going process, albeit taking into account differentials in power among the actors. The early text of Adam is powerful in illuminating this proposition, as Adam outlines what he terms a "dialectic of inferiorization and response" (Adam 1978:x), the affective, social-psychological response to one's structural position.

Social-identity-based self-esteem appears to be a primary mechanism through which mental health is affected by structural position. In other words, the affective response an individual makes to a stigmatized identity has greater predictive value than merely their structural position as a member of a stigmatized group.

Jones et al. have noted that very little is known about the affective response to stigma, other than as triggering states of anger and shame (Jones et al. 1984:252-253). Scheff has noted the importance, particularly to the study of ethnic identity, of understanding the role of anger and shame (Scheff 1994:284). However, he has further noted the lack of a fully developed sociology of emotions that would better address these issues (personal communication). A more fully developed sociology of emotions would potentially provide strong support for creating a synthesis between micro- and macro-levels of analysis.

A

identi

necess

1994;

speci

detail

is ".

is neg

(Swan

a

artic

that

that

thoug

(Uche

frame

psych

consi

1967;

T

chang

of cul

defin

Phinne

domina

yourse

and a

Accordingly, as Adam, Swann, Calhoun, and Gergen argue, identities are constructions that are negotiated, albeit not necessarily from bases of equal power (Adam 1978; Calhoun 1994; Gergen 1987; Swann 1987). Swann notes that although specifics regarding this process have not been fully detailed, it can be said that an individual's social reality is "...not simply constructed by perceivers acting alone; it is negotiated by perceivers and targets acting together" (Swann 1987:1038).

Jones et al. would concur with this notion, as they articulate basic sociological-based social psychology, in that "...self-concept construction is an on-going process that involves the interweaving of one's own and others' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, with respect to the self (Jones et al. 1984:154). Using an identity negotiation framework allows for the influence of both social psychological factors and social structural variables to be considered, thereby producing a stronger analysis (Swann 1987:1048).

When reviewing the literature on cultural identity change, Phinney found a lack of consistency within the study of cultural identity, particularly a lack of clarity of definition, as well as in the measures used (Phinney 1990). Phinney did find, however, that three measures tend to dominate the literature: self-identification (what you call yourself); behavior (participation in cultural activities); and attitudes (what you think/feel towards your own cultural

group

diffi

relat

confou

A

that

group

ident

ident

inter

cultu

Brewe

r

resul

self

been

feels

under

(Brewe

N

disti

viewed

differ

indiv

for di

compa

differ

group) (Phinney 1990). This author noted that a further difficulty is that little attention is given to the inter-relationship between these three variables, which results in confounded measures (Phinney 1990).

A more serious critique can be leveled, however, in that the inter-relationship between the individual and the group has also been largely neglected in the study of identity. As a correction, some advise that the study of identity should address identity as the product of the inter-relationship between the individual, the individual's cultural group, and the wider social context (Berry 1980, Brewer 1991, DeVos 1980).

Brewer attributes the neglect of external influence as resulting from an over-individuated conceptualization of the self (Brewer 1991:475). Brewer argues that this neglect has been generated by American social psychology, which she feels has a "peculiarly unsocial" orientation toward the understanding of the self, as opposed to the European (Brewer 1991:475).

Brewer proposes, instead, a model of optimal distinctiveness, which posits that, "Social identity can be viewed as a compromise between assimilation and differentiation from others, where the need for de-individuation is satisfied within in-groups, while the need for distinctiveness is met through inter-group comparisons...Group identities allow us to be the same and different at the same time" (Brewer 1991:477).

According to this proposition, a person's degree of individual identity must balance with their degree of group identity (Brewer 1991:477), an equitable, although not necessarily equal relationship, that changes over one's life course. There is much theoretical support for the notion that the ability to make one's personal rather than social identity more salient provides a buffer from the stigmatized group identity (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993; Jackson et al. 1996; Rosenberg et al. 1995).

The fluid nature of identity that Brewer proposes could possibly account for the finding that, even though identity change may be detected among first generation immigrants, by the second or third generation, cultural identity has returned to original, or to even greater levels than before migration (Rosenthal 1992:215; Scourby 1980; Ting-Toomey 1981; Wooden 1988). Sanchez and Fernandez support this notion of the fluid nature of identity, as they propose a bi-dimensional model that would measure the degree of both cultural identity and the degree of mainstream identity (Sanchez et al. 1993).

Attempts to measure both these elements of identity have generated mixed results. This lack of consensus is not necessarily an artifact of faulty methodology, however. Inconsistent research findings could be attributed to the fact that features that contribute to identity are culturally specific. It should then follow that responses

to challenges to identity would be culturally specific, as well.

In summation, personal and social identities are constructed within, and are generated out of, structural positions. The individual generates thoughts about, attitudes toward, and affective states in response to these identities; however, even these thoughts, attitudes, and affective states are not generated in isolation, but rather, they are heavily socially influenced, scripted, and negotiated.

THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION

The following theoretical justification was generated to serve as a conceptual framework for the proposed dissertation research:

1. Given the evidence that stigmatization can generate self-discrepancy, and given that these are negative emotional states that individuals will attempt to move out of (Higgins 1989), it will be expected that some Amish experiencing stigmatization due to the social identification as Amish would report depressive symptomology. Additionally, it will be expected that some would choose to alleviate their negative affective state by repudiating that identity, whereas others would attempt to alleviate their negative affective state through various coping strategies.

2. Given that the experience of stigmatization of one's in-group could generate hostility within an individual toward the in-group (displacement), a probable causal chain was predicted: an individual would experience stigmatization of social identity, which would generate displaced hostility toward in-group, which would generate a high need for optimal distinctiveness (Brewer 1991), which would generate a decision to repudiate the stigmatized identity.

3. Given that the act of decision-making can generate psychological stress (Janis et al. 1977) and shame-induced ambivalence (Schneider 1992), and given that the decision to adopt either identity may result in loss and shame, it was

63

expected that post-decisional conflict (Janis et al. 1977),
would be generated. As such, it was expected that high
levels of depressive symptomology would be reported during
this decision-making time period (Pre-Baptism, from age 16-
25), when shame-induced ambivalence would most likely be the
greatest. It was expected that higher levels would be
reported among the Pre-Baptism group than among Post-Baptism
Amish or Defected Co-Ethnics.

4. Given post-decisional conflict, high levels of
depressive symptomology were expected among those who report
a lesser degree of resolution with their ultimate decision,
regardless of which identity was chosen.

5. Given the postulated salugenic effects of social
networks and social support (Bonacich 1980; Gottlieb 1981;
Hechter 1987), it was expected that those reporting more
extensive social networks and higher levels of positive
social support for their proposed decision or ultimate
decision would experience less depressive symptomology.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

Description of Setting

The setting for this research was a non-metropolitan county, located in a mid-western state, within the United States. In 1990, ninety-nine percent of the county reported as Caucasian, of non-Hispanic origin (1990 Census). The Amish claim this same category, so it was impossible to determine the Amish population with U. S. census data. However, using the 1995 Amish Directory as an Amish census (as discussed in Chapter 2), the Amish population was estimated to constitute approximately forty percent of the county's population. Spatially, the Amish were fairly evenly dispersed throughout the county.

Three major economic bases within this county were identified by the Chamber of Commerce, each of which depended heavily upon the participation of the Amish: agricultural, industrial manufacturing, and tourism centered upon the commodification of the Old Order Amish culture (Reiling 1995a:5). The county's Chamber of Commerce reported that the Amish were the second largest tourist attraction in the state, both in terms of revenue and number of visitors (Reiling 1995:5).

As true for other Amish settlement, this settlement was subdivided into what can be defined sociologically as geo-political units, which the Amish defined and referred to as church districts. Approximately 25-30 Amish households were

contained within each district. It was reported that districts generally split when the establishment of new Amish households increases the number of households in the district to around forty.

Each district selects a number of church leaders, the highest of which is known as a Bishop. To some extent, these Bishops work together informally, but there is no formal authoritative body within the district above the Bishop. Bishops serve for life, after having been selected through a lottery, which the Amish report believing to have been directed by God. Hence, Bishops have been invested with, and wield the highest level of moral authority and social power within their district.

The Bishops function as intermediaries between out-group formal agents and their district members. Out-group formal agents have long recognized the high level of moral authority and social power that the Bishops hold, and have been willing to grant equivalent status. The Bishops, in essence, function as informal gatekeepers.

In these capacities, historically, as well as yet today, the Bishops function as highly effective boundary-maintenance agents (Reiling et al. 1997:26). Creating and managing relationships with the Bishops, therefore, became a major focus of the research process, as discussed more fully in Chapter 8.
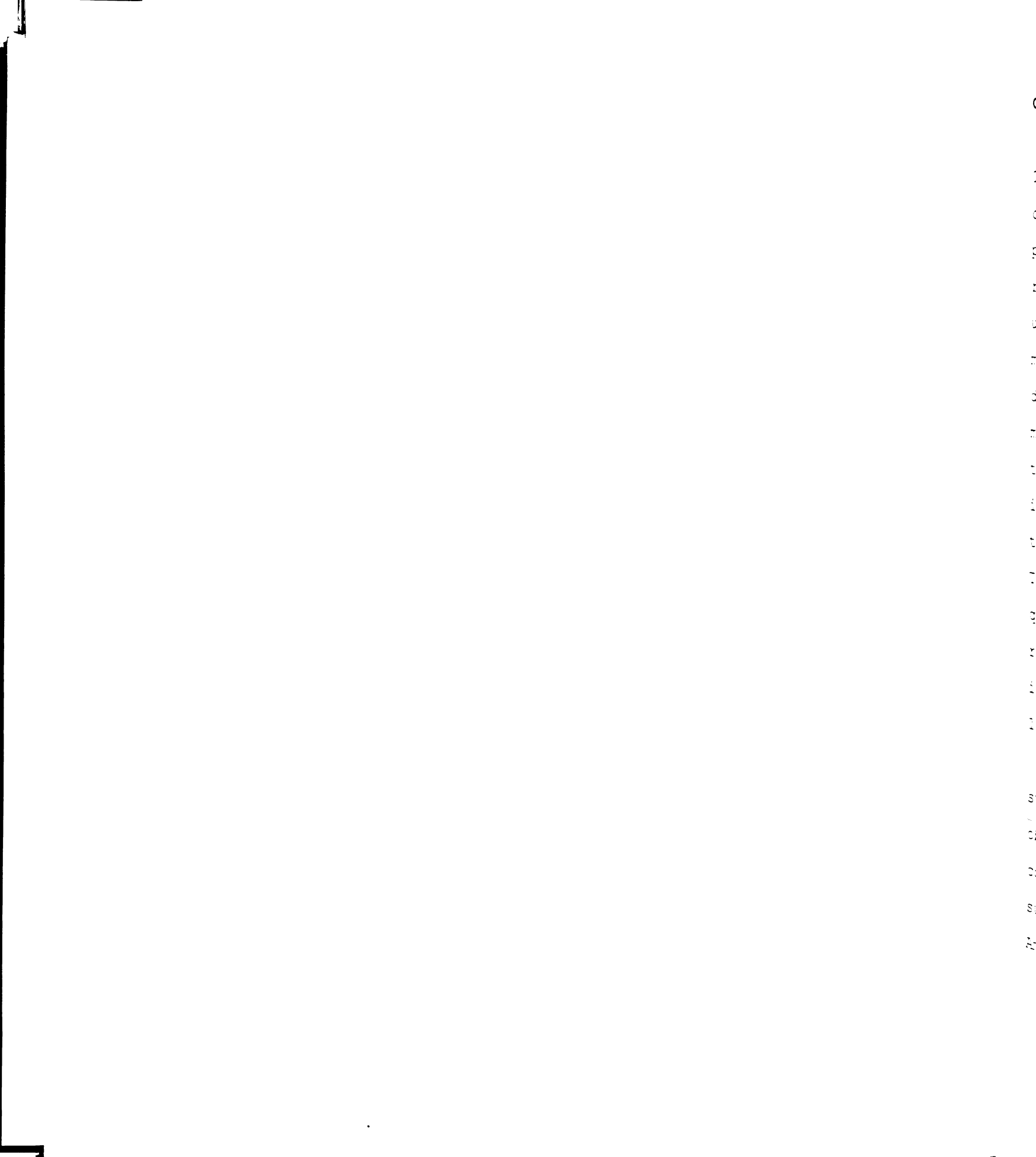
Overview of Research Design

The research was designed to achieve four objectives:
1) to generate and document understandings of the
construction of Amish identity, and to create a model of the
process/es through which Amish social identity was
repudiated or adopted; 2) to generate and document
understandings of the Amish experience of mental health,
more specifically, the role of social identity in
depression; 3) to examine and document culturally-specific
methodological issues involved in conducting research among
this cultural group, and 4) to apply understandings gained
in the achievement of objectives 1-3 to the construction and
testing of culturally-appropriate measurement instruments.
This fourth objective of creating culturally appropriate,
quantitative measurement instruments was established in
recognition of the benefits of triangulation, particularly
in checking issues of validity and reliability (Patton
1990:187).

The research was framed around a multi-method, two-
stage, and comparative population design. Participant
observation and formal interviews were used as primary data
collection techniques. Three sub-populations of Amish
subjects were included in the sampling design: Pre-Baptism
Amish, Post-Baptism Amish, and Defected Co-Ethnics.

a

h

a

"a

it

wi

the

hei

be

the

tha

ass

Eth

sepa

grea

appl

Meaning and Measurement

For the purposes of this study, Pre-Baptism Amish were defined as Amish adolescents who were in the culturally mandated decision-making period regarding the adoption or repudiation of Amish identity, between the ages of 16 and 25. Post-Baptism Amish were defined as Amish adults who had passed through the decision-making period, and had formally adopted Amish identity by publicly taking adult baptism. Defected Co-Ethnics were defined as adults who had been born Amish, had passed through the decision-making period, but had repudiated Amish identity by publicly refusing to take adult baptism. Hence, they subsequently had adopted "English" identity.

The term "defected" is meant to be value neutral, and it should not be taken as an implication that subjects within this condition were "defective" in any way. Rather, the term has been used to signify that these individuals have formally left the group. The Defected Co-Ethnics can be understood as similar to what Child (1943) described as the "rebel" among second-generation Italian immigrants, in that they have resolved their identity conflict by assimilating into the dominant group. The Defected Co-Ethnics differ from the rebels, however, in that they separate from the group to a greater degree, and there is greater distance between the two cultures.

Throughout the text, the label of "English" has been applied to denote non-Amish populations. This is the label

68

w

i

i

b

i

s

t

i

w

ii

ma

qu

id

dia

bas

des

def

Ins

eve

expe

life

eith

repor

to de

when t

used by the Amish to signify any non-Amish person, regardless of geographic location, ethnic/racial identification, or language spoken. Historically, the Amish began using this designation as an attempt to distinguish themselves from the non-Amish populations living around them, which at the time spoke only English, as opposed to the "Dutch" spoken by the Amish. The usage of this Amish label within this text was an attempt to remain consistent with, and descriptive of this setting. This term should be understood as illustrative of the strong dichotomy the Amish make between themselves and all other out-groups.

Because this dissertation was to be a grounded, qualitative exploration of the relationship between social identity and the experience of depression, rather than use a diagnostic instrument, the assessment of depression was based solely upon the subject's qualitative, self-report and description of their affective condition. No apriori definition of depression was given to the subjects. Instead, the subjects were simply asked whether they had ever been depressed over the course of their lifetime.

No attempt was made to quantify the subjects' reported experience, other than to ask the subject to rate their lifetime level of depression on a continuum of having been either non-existent, low, medium, or high. If the subject reported having ever felt depressed, they were further asked to describe the various facets of that experience, such as when the depression occurred, for how long, how seriously,

what their symptoms were, what they believed to be the cause, etc. As such, the findings reported should be understood as based upon self-reports, rather than diagnostic instruments. However, for purposes of description, a subjective evaluation of their reports was made and the subjects were classified into three categories of reported depression: high, medium, or low.

The notion of authenticity was used to conceptualize the relationship the subject had to their social identity, as well as their affective response to it. The measurement of the authenticity of Amish identity was again based upon the subject's qualitative report, probed by the question of how well the subject thought identity as an Amish person "fit" or described them. Authenticity of identity should be understood as upon a continuum, even though for the purposes of description, subjects were placed into dichotomous categories.

Locus of control was not apparent as an important factor to consider when first constructing the proposal to study. It was expected that the subjects would hold an external locus of control, given the fact that they had been socialized within a collectivist culture (Hamid 1994). However, locus of control emerged as an important variable to explore very soon after the interviewing began.

As such, locus of control was defined as the degree to which the subject viewed their life as legitimately under the control of an external agent. As with the other factors

discussed, locus of control should be understood as running along a continuum, even though for purposes of description, dichotomous categories were constructed. Subjects were categorized based upon their subjective, qualitative report. Rotter's Locus of Control scale (Rotter 1966), however, was used as a guide for questioning during the interviewing stage.

Three questions from Luhtanen and Crocker's Collective Self-Esteem scale (Luhtanen et al. 1992:307) were also used as a guideline for questioning about locus of control. One question from the membership subscale ("I am a cooperative participant in the social group [the Amish] I belong to.") and two questions from the identity subscale ("The Amish are an important reflection of who I am" and "The Amish are unimportant to what kind of person I am") were used as indicators of the level of resistance the subject exhibited, and the degree of identification felt toward the group. Given that a primary tenant of Amish belief is that their lives are rightly under the direction of their God, resistance toward participating in, or viewing the group as reflective of their self was taken as indicative of a more internal than external locus of control.

Stage 1: Data Collection Techniques

The goals of Stage 1 were 1) to increase entre, geographically and by topic; 2) to gain deeper insights into the nature of Amish identity and mental health; 3) to gain an understanding of the source, content, and frequency of

messages regarding the value of Amish identity; and 4) to begin to assess the degree to which giving socially-desirable responses would be problematic.

Stage 1 entailed intensive fieldwork among the Amish, with an emphasis on three months of participant observation. Given that the setting had been the author's field-site since 1990, an additional three months of participant observation was deemed sufficient. During this time, entre was widened geographically to include districts not previously open to the author. It was also necessary to expand topic entre, as previous research endeavors had not dealt with topics as sensitive as identity and mental health. A fuller discussion of expanding geographic and topic entre has been included in Chapter 8.

A round of informal interviews was conducted, using snowball samples of Pre-Baptism Amish, Post-Baptism Amish, and Defected Co-Ethnics, regarding their mental health experience and their affective response to their social identity. Interviews were also conducted with non-Amish mental-health professionals who had reported having had clinical experience with Amish clients.

Contact was made with the Bishops governing the five districts selected to comprise the sample to be interviewed during Stage 2. Bishops were identified through the 1995 Amish Directory, the most current enumeration of the Amish and Defected Co-Ethnic population available at the time. A sample of five districts was drawn.

When creating their Directory, the Amish assign a number to each district. The number assignment is purely nominal, and is not otherwise significant. Given that, every nth district listed in the Directory was selected into the sample pool. Cooperation with the research was gained from the Bishop of each district selected into the sample before the next district was drawn.

Gaining cooperation with the research from each Bishop also entailed receiving permission to access district members. In this cultural setting, cooperation from individuals would have been highly unlikely without permission from their Bishops, given the Bishops' function as informal gatekeepers. Knowing the hierarchical structure of this cultural context, attempting to circumvent their process would have potentially closed entre previously gained. A fuller discussion of gaining cooperation has been provided in Chapter 8.

Stage 2: Data Collection Techniques

Data generated during Stage 1 were used to construct structured-interview schedules. A total of sixty formal interviews were conducted, twenty representing each of the three conditions of Amishness (Pre-Baptism Amish, Post-Baptism Amish, and Defected Co-Ethnics).

It should be noted that interviewing 20 Defected Co-Ethnics actually resulted in an over-sampling of this population, as the rate of defection of adults within this settlement had been estimated to be between 18 and 24%
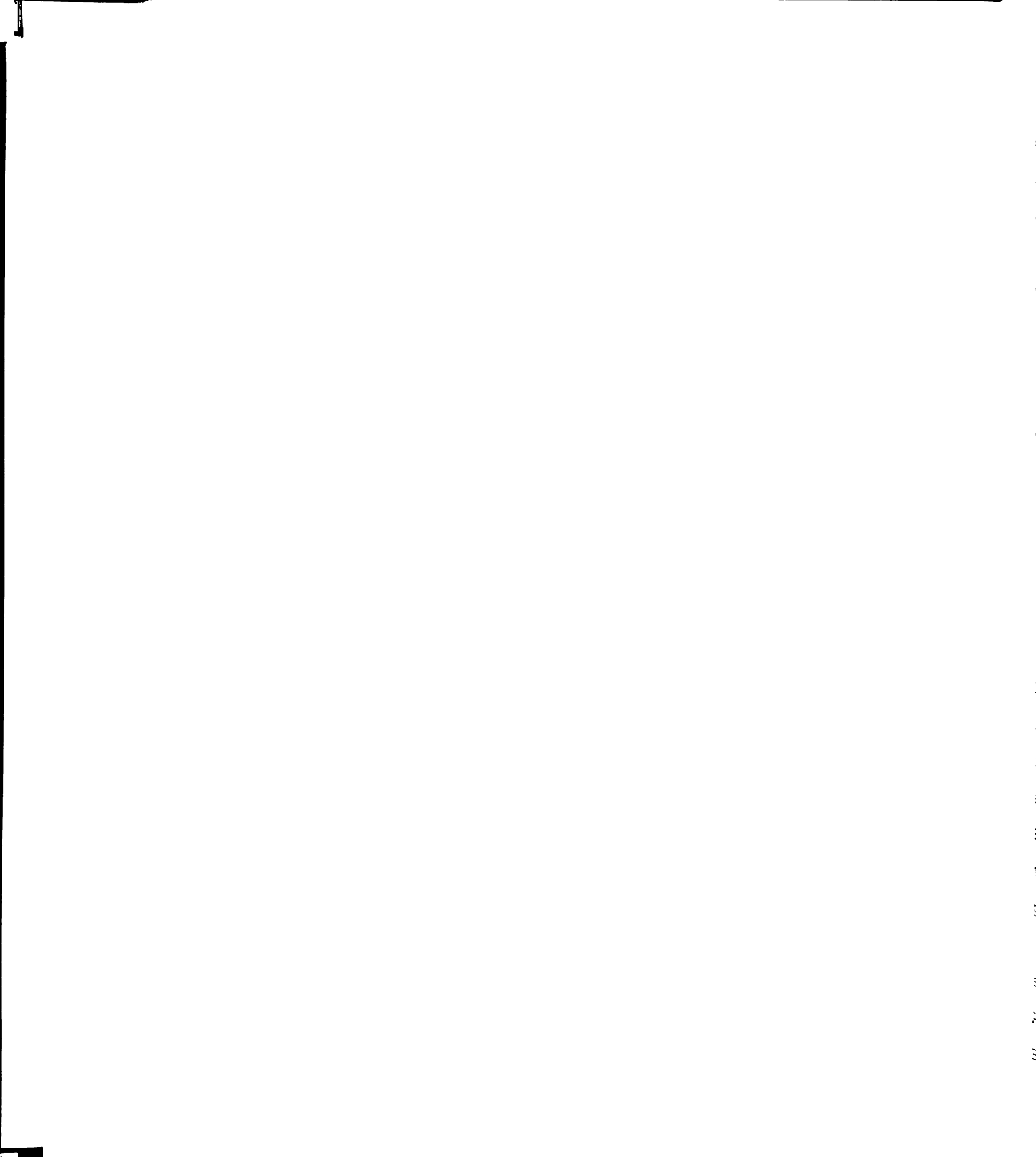
(Reiling 1995a:23). It was necessary to over-sample this group because, unlike the situation with the Amish, the social context and practices of Defected Co-Ethnics did not allow for participant observation among this population.

From within the five districts selected during stage 1, eligible households were listed (those containing Pre-Baptism Amish, those containing Post-Baptism Amish, and those containing names of adult children who had become Defected Co-Ethnics). From among these three categories of eligible households, lists of eligible female and male individuals from each of the three conditions were compiled. From these lists, a lottery system was employed to draw lists of potential subjects.

The intent was to interview one subject from each of the selected households. However, due to an unanticipated dynamic among the Post-Baptism Amish and Defected Co-Ethnics, maintaining this plan was not possible. Instead, in most cases, married couples, rather than individuals were interviewed. As such, it should be understood that almost all of the interviews among Post-Baptism and Defected Co-Ethnics were interviews of couples. A fuller discussion of this dynamic and the methodological issues involved has been provided in Chapter 8.

Subjects were identified using the Directory's coding system. As discussed more fully in Chapter 2, within the Amish Directory, an "A" beside a name signified a Pre-Baptism Amish person. Post-Baptism Amish were signified

with either a "B" or a "C" after their name, and Defected
Co-Ethnics were signified with a "D" after their name.

The age of the subjects included in the three
conditions ranged from age 18 through age 76. The sex ratio
was equal. Although purely serendipitous, the districts
selected randomly into the sample appeared to represent a
good range of attitudes, from the more conservative to the
more liberal.

Justification of Research Design

It was proposed in Chapter 2 that much of the lack of
scholarly investigation into the mental health experience of
Amish people resulted from the assumption that Amish people
experience good mental health, this assumption being based
upon the socially constructed notion of their life as
utopian. Previous fieldwork by the author and reports from
the Amish themselves, however, suggested that this might not
be so.

To facilitate examination of this question, Dressler's
study of the Westside community emerged as an exemplar model
around which the research design should be framed (Dressler
1991). Several factors were influential. First, Dressler's
work provided a model that would allow for the examination
of both micro- and macro-level processes. It was hoped that
examining both levels simultaneously would result in greater
illumination of the interstitial areas, or as Pearlin has
called for, a connection between structure and meaning
(Pearlin 1992:1).

Additionally, even though Dressler had a great deal of empirical research on Black communities available to him, and knew the research well, he created an inductive model for his own research, in an attempt to resolve limitations he had identified in much of the pre-existing research on Black communities. Given limited empirical research regarding the Amish experience, and the romanticized and reductionist tone of what does exist (as discussed in Chapter 2), an inductive model was assessed as more methodologically sound.

Dressler also attempted to remedy the theoretical error of taking a pathology perspective (Dressler 1991:66). Dressler noted that previously, most of the researchers within Black communities had examined only perceived deficits in the Black cultural experience, thus reifying those deficits, rather than consider also the protective capabilities of the specific cultural context (Dressler 1991:66). Following this model allowed potential salugenic benefits of the Amish context, such as social support, social capital, and social networks, to be examined.

As a starting point in the investigation of the relationship between Amish identity and mental health, it might have appeared logical to conduct a full-scale psychiatric epidemiology, to develop empirical justification for the problematization of Amish mental health. Adoption of this perspective, however, would have been to commit the common error, as identified by Dressler, of focusing on

pathological rather than salugenic aspects of identity (Dressler 1991:66). As also noted by Stevens et al., researchers should take care in framing their research questions, so as to not further subordinate a minority group by problematizing the group's lived experience (Stevens et al. 1994:238). For these reasons, establishing prevalence and incidence rates of mental illness was not a goal.

The most important methodological consideration in not attempting a full-scale psychiatric epidemiology was that, without extensive prior fieldwork on this particular topic to guide the process, a study of this design would have been methodologically unsound. To advance with a more deductive model without culturally appropriate measurement instruments or knowledge of cultural definitions and symptomology of mental health among Amish people may have produced findings that were of low validity.

The study was conceptualized as consisting of two stages, precisely in order to underscore the inductive and grounded nature of this investigation (Glaser 1978). Due to the lack of previous research among the Amish, and in an attempt to avoid the pitfalls of researching outside one's cultural context, as identified by Wellman (1993), for example, it was necessary for the research process to proceed in an inductive fashion.

Inductive research processes are challenging to construct and to follow, as the design must remain sufficiently flexible to allow for the research to be field,

77

rather than theory driven (Patton 1990:41). To facilitate being field-driven, a vital part of the research process involved using a feed-back-loop, a practice commonly used in grounded, inductive research (Patton 1990:267). A feed-back-loop was also used in an attempt to manage "intellectual colonialism," which Dressler argues stems from the researcher's unwillingness to acknowledge their cultural incompetence, due to their sense of intellectual entitlement (Dressler 1991:67). Various Amish and Defected Co-Ethnic subjects contributed to this highly successful process, as discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

Conducting a large-scale psychiatric epidemiology within the Amish community most certainly would have been a disruptive event. Given the culturally-specific dynamics of this setting, particularly the collectivist nature of the culture and the politicized nature of Amish mental health (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 7), sufficiently random cooperation from the Bishops, and consequently, from the population, would have been difficult, if not impossible to gain.

It was speculated that approaching with qualitative methodology would allow trust to be built, and, more importantly, would allow the Amish to experience a less-intrusive research process. An important ethical consideration was that first approaching in a qualitative fashion before instituting a psychiatric epidemiology would allow sufficient time to pass for the Amish to assess

potential risks and benefits associated with participating in research.

The research design was successful in that it produced necessary qualitative background information and description, qualitative analyses suggestive of the relationship between identity and mental health, and deeper understandings of the processes through which an ethnic identity is formed and adopted. These data and understandings instructed and guided the construction and refinement of measurement instruments and interview schedules necessary for more full-scale research designs to be implemented in future.

There were, however, culturally specific dynamics of this setting that generated significant methodological concerns and fieldwork challenges. A fuller discussion of the research process has been provided in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 4

Resolving the Stereotypes: The Conflicted Nature of Amish Identity

In fulfillment of the first and second objectives of this dissertation, self-discrepancy theory was applied as a theoretical framework through which to examine the affective response made to Amish identity, to examine the processes of adoption or repudiation of that identity, and to examine the manner in which Amish identity scripted the experience of mental health, specifically depression. It was speculated that depression would be generated through two routes: 1) as a result of stigmatization of Amish identity by the out-group or 2) self-discrepancy generated by an inauthentic identity. The findings of these explorations will be more fully reported upon in Chapter 5. As groundwork for that discussion, however, a description and discussion of Amish identity will be provided within this Chapter.

Outlining the components of Amish identity is a necessary first step, as doing so illuminates the fact that Amish identity is above all conflicted. To an outside, qualitatively trained field observer, this circumstance appeared obvious. As such, it was speculated that, for some, identifying as Amish would generate a self-discrepant state. It was further speculated that repudiation of Amish identity would take the form of defection from the Amish, as a culturally specific response to that self-discrepancy. Given that defection from the Amish had been reported to be

an extremely traumatic and disruptive process, it was expected that those defecting from the Amish would experience high levels of post-decisional conflict and consequently, high levels of social-identity-related depressive symptomology.

Of course, it was known that most who were born Amish adopted that identity, so it was assumed that identity as Amish did not generate self-discrepancy among those who would become Post-Baptism Amish. Consequently, those within this group would not experience depression generated by self-discrepancy. However, identity-related depression remained a concern, as it was speculated that depression would result from remaining within an identity that had been stigmatized by the out-group.

Regarding the Pre-Baptism Amish, those currently within the culturally mandated decision-making period as to whether to repudiate or adopt Amish identity (between the ages of 16 and 25), it was expected that they would be experiencing the highest levels of self-discrepancy, which would generate the highest levels of social-identity-related depression. It was further expected that, because of their younger age, they would be more vulnerable to identity-related depression as generated by the imposition of a stigmatized identity.

In the discussion that follows, it will be argued that three competing constructions of Amish identity exist, as constructed by 1) the English-as-out-group, 2) the tourists-as-out-group, and 3) the Amish-as-in-group. These competing

constructions engender a conflict of identity that has been reported as problematic for the Amish, and potentially contributes to their experience of dual, if not triple consciousness. What follows within the remainder of this chapter, then, is a description and discussion of the conflicted nature of this identity.

Adam's model of composite portraits (Adam 1978) has been applied to frame the discussion regarding macro-level processes of identity construction, whereas Goffman's micro-level dramaturgical approach (Goffman 1959) has been applied as a framework through which to understand the social psychological processes individuals employ to manage this macro-level phenomenon. In short, an attempt will be made throughout Chapters 4 and 5 to create a bridge between macro- and micro-level processes (as called for by Broman 1996; Mechanic 1989; and Pearlin 1992).

This chapter should be approached as more than just description. The dynamics of Amish identity that have been discovered will become important to understanding the findings outlined in Chapter 5, wherein the relationship between social identity and depression among the Amish has been more fully detailed. The remaining text of this chapter will present the three constructions of Amish identity that were discovered: the composite portrait as constructed by the English-as-out-group; the composite portrait as constructed by the tourists-as-out-group; and

the composite portrait as constructed by the Amish-as-in-group.

The Composite Portrait as Constructed by the English-as-Out-Group

Adam has noted that, to facilitate domination, the dominant group will construct and impose a composite portrait upon inferiorized groups (Adam 1978:42). Adam has further noted that historically, whether the target population was Black, homosexual, or Jewish, the composite portrait generally has been composed of the same four attributes: the other as animal, the other as hypersexual, the other as heretic and conspirator, and the other as over-visible (Adam 1978: 43-50).

When applying Adam's schemata, it becomes evident that the English-as-out-group has constructed an inferiorized composite portrait of the Amish as animals, hypersexual, heretics and conspirators, and over-visible, according to Adam's model (Adam 1978: 43-50). This portrait greatly conflicts with the idealized composite portrait constructed by the tourist-as-out-group, a conflict that generates the experience of dual consciousness. Analysis of Amish identity will be framed around the four attributes of Adam's model and a discussion will be made of the impetus for this construction.

The Amish as Animals

One does not need to be in the field long before hearing a member of the English-as-out-group refer to an

Amish person as a "dumb Amishman." Because it is culturally mandated that Amish children end their formal education at age sixteen, the dominant group has been successful in using the lack of formal education among the Amish to justify the English claim that the Amish are intellectually inferior.

In this context, being a formally uneducated Amish person has been equated with being a dumb Amish person. And certainly, as Davies (Davies 1990) would predict, the dumbness of an Amishman has become the topic of many ethnic jokes. It is a paradox that the Amish are inferiorized, and hence stigmatized due to their lack of formal education, for it is well known that English schools in this community benefit greatly from the one hundred percent drop out rate among the Amish. Because the presence of Amish within the school district inflates the drop out rate, the schools benefit from additional state funding.

This attribution of dumb animal has been sufficiently strong and pervasive to contribute to many Amish having internalized this notion. As noted in Chapter 8, one of the problematics encountered while conducting interviews was that many of the Amish expressed that they believed themselves to be too "dumb" to have anything of value to contribute. Several expressed having felt reticent to speak in the presence of a more highly educated, English person.

Additionally, it became apparent that even many of the Defected Co-Ethnics continued to be affected by this attribution. Most had not completed their high-school

education after defection. Some expressed that they had not done so because they were not confident that they could be successfully educated, or because they would have felt too ashamed to return to school, even to get a GED. Others expressed that, because they had defected from the Amish, they no longer experienced the stigmatization of being a dumb Amishman. Therefore, they did not perceive a need for a high-school diploma as demonstration of their intelligence. Because they were not Amish, their intelligence was no longer questioned or challenged.

Although there is no empirical evidence available within the community that the Amish suffer from mental retardation more than the English, jokes about Amish "retards" supply anecdotal evidence of this belief. The reasoning of the English is that the higher rate of mental retardation is a direct result of what the English consider to be "in-breeding" among the Amish. And certainly, jokes abound regarding "kissing cousins" and the notion that Amish families are so close that even sex is "all in the family."

It is believed, and there is evidence from genetic science to support the contention that, because the Amish have been strictly endogamous for more than five hundred years, their gene pool has become limited; hence, any genetic-related condition is more likely to become manifest. An additional factor supporting the construction of more mental retardation among the Amish is that the local newspaper often runs photographs of mentally retarded

individuals involved in the ARC (Association for Retarded Citizens) rehabilitation program, and indeed, most individuals appearing in the photographs are Amish. As such, to further serve the purpose of inferiorization, the attribution is made that dumbness among the Amish is biologically based, that they are dumb by nature.

In response to inferiorization, the Amish have adopted "playing dumb" as a strategy to deflect retaliation from the dominant group. For example, it has been reported that the Amish will frequently downplay their mental abilities, or not take credit for their ideas in the English-dominated workplace. It has been observed that they will often feign ignorance, and allow an English person to give unnecessary instruction or advice. It has been reported that many Amish children are not openly competitive in the classroom, and are even hesitant or reluctant to fully participate when encouraged. This practice of downplaying their mental abilities reportedly causes great consternation and a significant double bind, particularly within Amish children.

It is also the case that the Amish will play dumb during encounters with formal agents, in order to deflect retaliation, or in order to successfully, albeit covertly, exert their power. Historically, the Amish have been highly successful in thwarting state power and attempts at cultural intervention (Nolt 1994:222-233). Most recently, the Amish were successful in playing dumb in order to manipulate the

state's attempt to construct an Amish drug problem (Reiling et al.1997:32).

The Amish practice of "playing dumb" is analogous to the "clowning" behavior among African-American populations that Allport reported in 1954 (Allport 1954:147). Allport saw clowning behavior (wherein the individual would purposefully present the negative traits ascribed to their group) as a response that African-Americans made to their position of inferiorization. He noted that, "...if the master wants to be amused, the slave sometimes obligingly plays the clown" (Allport 1954:147). Certainly, in much that same fashion, the Amish play dumb by purposefully putting themselves in a subordinate position to either deflect the wrath of the dominant English or to procure their favor.

Clowning or playing dumb in the context should not be understood, however, as merely a strategy employed to manipulate structural domination. Playing dumb can also be understood as a social-psychological, self-enhancing strategy. Creating a separate identity as a dumb Amishman allows the individual to create a separate role through which they act. The saying-becomes-believing phenomenon, wherein the individual would overtime internalize their behavior as a held attitude (Higgens et al. 1987), is potentially dis-empowered. And indeed, many Amish have expressed being quite aware that the dumb Amishman is a role

that they are expected to play, rather than an attribute of their self.

Besides being viewed as dumb, the notion of the Amish as animalistic stems from the attribution that they are uncivilized, ill mannered, and unclean. As noted by Adam, these attributions have also been applied to Black, homosexual, and Jewish populations (Adam 1978:43). Davies has noted that the attributions of being both dumb and dirty are not uncommon, and have served as the topic of many ethnic jokes (Davies 1990:84-101).

The Amish are defined as animalistic because the English make the claim that the Amish have an offensive body odor. It is reasonable to assume that anyone who engaged in heavy physical labor, who wore heavy, fibrous clothing that promoted sweating and trapped odors, and who worked around large animals and their manure would generate a particular body odor. It is also reasonable to assume that those Amish who do not use perfumes, powders, after-shaves, or deodorants might have noticeable body odor.

However, it is a false assumption that the Amish are dirty, unclean, or unwashed by design, or that the fact that they have an offensive body odor when coming in from the field or off the buggy means that they value cleanliness less than do the English. Additionally, it is a false assumption that because they do not have indoor plumbing, they live like animals. The Amish in this setting have had running water and indoor flush toilets for several decades.

In many districts, the kitchen and bathroom plumbing were as sophisticated as in English homes, complete with sinks, showers, bathtubs, and flush toilets. The only difference was that a gasoline generator supplied the power instead of an electric power plant.

The Amish have gained a reputation for displaying uncivilized, or brutish behavior, similar to other inferiorized groups (Adam 1978:43), especially toward their animals. These attributions oftentimes stem from a lack of knowledge and experience among the English regarding animal handling, care, and treatment.

The Amish express believing that their God has made them stewards of the earth and of the animals. As such, they believe they are to be in a care-taking, rather than dominating role. A more pragmatic incentive to treat their animals with great care, however, is that to do otherwise would be economically irrational. For those two reasons, it is generally the case that the Amish provide their animals with excellent care and treatment.

The fact that the Amish continue to engage in heavy, manual labor rather than use labor saving machinery contributes to the stereotype of Amish as uncivilized, brutish, dumb animals. Several Defected Co-Ethnics and Amish reported having been embarrassed as children when the English would see them mowing the lawn with a non-motorized grass cutter, picking corn by hand, or plowing with horses.

As one Defected Co-Ethnic explained, "They farm like animals because they're animals themselves. Only a dumb animal, or a dumb Amishman, would continue to slave away, working harder than a rational mind would tell them they had to. After all, isn't that what's supposed to separate humans from animals, knowing how to use your mind to improve your life?"

The Amish have long debated these issues. And indeed, the use of tractors remains a highly divisive matter. Most Amish in this settlement, however, continue to be against the use of tractors, as well as other labor saving machinery and technology, for several reasons.

For one, the Amish in this settlement believe that their God intended for their work to be hard, as punishment for the original sin. They find Biblical support for this belief in Genesis 8:17, "And to Adam he said, 'Because you have listened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you, you shall not eat of it, cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life" (Old Testament, Holy Bible, Revised Standard Edition). Many Amish express further believing that the use of labor-saving devices would leave the Amish with too much discretionary time, and that their hands would then become the "Devil's workshop."

Seemingly of equal importance is the desire to maintain traditional practices as a cultural-maintenance technique. For many, Amish identity is a matter of style. As such, it

is considered imperative that their cultural practices remain distinctive, for no other reason than to stand in juxtaposition to the other.

The Amish as Hypersexual

The English make the attribution that the Amish are hypersexual. Evidence for this attribution appears to stem from the fact that the Amish experience high, unrestrained fertility. The mean completed family size within this settlement is six children. As one Defected Co-Ethnic noted, "The Amish don't have families, they have litters." Another noted that, "They're like animals, they don't even know how many kids make a decent family."

Several of the Defected Co-Ethnics indicated that the desire to be able to limit their family size was a compelling factor in their decision to repudiate Amish identity. As one Defected Co-Ethnic remarked, "I just couldn't see myself being happy having kids crawling all over me for my entire lifetime. I'm good for other things, besides having babies." Another reported wanting to be able to limit her family size because, "I didn't want people to see how many times I had sex. That's what children are, a visible sign that you're having sex, and the more children you have, the more sex it looks like you're having."

Several Amish women reported feeling ashamed of the high fertility of Amish families, when around the English. This report of shame appears to be counter-intuitive, given the high regard in which children are held among the Amish.

And indeed, these women expressed no regret over having their children, and could clearly articulate their belief that children were a blessing from God. Their expression of shame, therefore, appeared to be their affective response toward child bearing only when experienced through their inferiorized position.

"It (large family size) didn't bother me among the Amish, but when I was in (public) school, different times we were asked how many sisters and brothers we had. I honestly lied about it 'cause I was embarrassed to say. Nobody else had that many. Even though we knew why the Amish had such big families, there was still a lot of remarks about it that made me feel ashamed. I think it was that they thought that all we did was have sex, remarks were made that the farmer's always home, you know?" Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Many of the Amish subjects reported being quite aware that being hypersexual was one aspect of their composite portrait. One woman reported suffering through derogatory remarks made by her English physician, regarding the number of children she had born. According to her report, her physician frequently suggested that she and her husband "...should find something to do besides have sex all day and all night."

As further evidence of the penalty associated with this stereotype, it was reported by one Amish woman that most pregnant women under the treatment of one particular English physician have to make their delivery without benefit of his attendance in the delivery room. She reported this physician's delay in attending to be caused by the physician's expressed attitude that his assistance was not

necessary, because "...after the first child, Amish women spit their children out like an animal."

It became clear that the Amish receive these messages from many additional sources. One Amish woman reported that, when out among the English, she, as with the woman above, would regularly lie when asked how many additional children she had at home, responding that she had only one or two, or sometimes none. What is striking about these responses is that the Amish consider lying to be a grievous sin, and yet these women reported feeling compelled to do so. Both explained their behavior as an attempt to diminish the number of negative messages they received about their sexuality, and to escape further public humiliation at having their sexuality exposed.

A common report was that even tourists would speculate about the frequency of Amish intercourse, within hearing distance of Amish women. Their reports resonate with the discovery that many female tourists are attracted to the area because of their perception of Amish men as hypersexual (Reiling 1995b:16). Many of these tourists were not reluctant to fully discuss their fantasy of being a sexually-dominated Amish woman (Reiling 1995b:17).

Without any empirical evidence, it has been a long held notion within this community that the Amish have a high rate of sexually transmitted diseases. By far, the most common stereotype is that the Amish are virtually infested with "crabs," a slang term for a type of lice known to infest

93

pubic hair. As one local English woman reported, "They just keep passing those bugs back and forth between them. If they married outside their own, there'd be some trouble about it, 'cause someone would complain. But it's just accepted there. At least they (Amish boys) don't mess around with our girls."

What is not considered in the construction of the portrait of the Amish as transmitters of STD's is that the English will report their belief that the Amish are totally monogamous. There is not even a construction of the Amish as being promiscuous prior to marriage. The missing link in the construction of the Amish as diseased is the route of transmission of infection.

During the tourism research, when presented with a challenge to this construction, regarding the route of transmission, the most common response was that the Amish become infected as children, simply through living in close contact with each other. The example most frequently given was that of children having to share beds. And of course, the more full explanation was that one of the parents had infected the children.

This suggestion of incest within Amish families was encountered frequently during the tourism research, as well as during this dissertation research. While only anecdotal reports were gathered, and no empirical evidence is available on the matter of incest, there clearly is a strong perception in this community, among both the English and the

Amish, that incest is problematic. There is also the perception that incest is a greater problem among the Amish than among the English.

It could certainly be argued that culturally specific dynamics among the Amish potentially create a setting that is conducive to incest. Within the Amish culture, family arrangement is hierarchical and patriarchy-based. Amish children live in relative isolation and separation from the out-group, thereby disallowing observation of family dynamics. They are heavily socialized to be suspicious of the out-group, particularly English formal agents, whom otherwise might be approached for assistance. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, it has been reported that Amish children are strongly socialized to keep private matters private.

These dynamics, even though not evidence of incest occurring, function to foster the construction of Amish as incestuous. As speculated by the claimsmakers, the hypersexuality of the Amish causes them to act out against their children. The explanation was also given that, because they are hypersexual by nature, because they are confined by rigid and narrow marriage and sexuality norms, and because they are prohibited from acting out their hypersexuality in a more public fashion, they act out within their homes, by aggressing against their children.

Many reported believing that the hypersexual, and therefore incestuous, nature of the Amish stems from the

fact that they are suffering the consequences of "inbreeding." Inbreeding was explained to cause hypersexuality primarily in two ways. First, "...because they keep marrying their own, the 'sex gene' keeps getting reproduced and stronger." A more social explanation was offered, as well, in that "...they keep marrying their own, so they end up having sex with their own, so they grow up not knowing any better. They're taught that it's OK to have sex with your own family, 'cause they're allowed to marry their own blood."

The highly mythologized practice of "bundling" was further noted as justification of the stereotype of the Amish as hypersexual, and as further evidence that the Amish are animals. It is a common perception among the English that bundling is a practice wherein prospective marriage partners are allowed to sleep in the same bed, albeit physically separated in some fashion, such as with a wooden board, or with a roll of heavy quilts. Many of the English explained their perception that this practice was similar to a pre-mating, ritual dance often seen performed within non-human animal populations (Reiling 1995b:22).

And indeed, there is some evidence that culturally sanctioned opportunities for pre-marital sexual encounters do occur, within some districts. As discussed more fully below, however, this practice does not follow the mythologized form.

As with the other components of the composite portrait
of the Amish, their sexuality has become a popular topic for
ethnic jokes. The Amish reported being quite aware of these
jokes. They also reported being aware of the injustice
inherent in the ability of English to "hide" the frequency
of their sexual contact through the use of various birth
control methods, all of which are disallowed among the
Amish.

The Amish as Heretics and Conspirators

The Amish have long been viewed as religious heretics
and conspirators against state authority, and indeed, they
have a well-documented history that provides credence to
those claims (see Nolt 1992). The Amish today continue to
oppose state authority when deemed necessary, and they have
been highly effective in asserting their constitutional
right to religious freedom. Disputes have centered upon
compliance with local regulations regarding the use of road-
protective buggy wheels, buggy reflectors or slow-moving-
vehicle signs, mandatory school attendance, public-health
mandates, and compulsory military service. In this
particular community, the Amish were most recently effective
in thwarting state attempts to construct an Amish drug
problem (Reiling et al. 1997:32).

The English within the local community are quite aware
of the political power the Amish can wield, when able to
make the claim of religious freedom. The English have also
expressed being quite resentful of that power (Reiling et

97

aL . 1997:32). The English fail to consider two important points, however. First, the Amish have not always been successful in their attempts to thwart state authority, and in most cases, have been willing to effectively reach compromise with English leaders. Second, the English hold the very same constitutional protection of religious freedom as the Amish.

The backlash against attempts by the Amish to exert power, however, has been sufficient to generate and maintain misinformation about the Amish, which functions to generate further hostility. For example, a common fallacy is that the Amish have been successful in gaining exemption from all forms of state and federal taxes, which is indeed not true. The Amish comply with all state and federal tax mandates.

Early in their history, the Amish were considered heretics against the state church, hence their religious persecution and martyrdom (Nolt 1992:11). Even though Amish theology today would fall well within acceptable Christian boundaries, most Defected Co-Ethnics interviewed suggested that the Amish commit heresy. The charge was made that the Amish incorrectly interpret the Christian God's plan of salvation, as described within John 3:16, "For God so loved the world that He gave His only Son, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have eternal life" (New Testament, Holy Bible, Revised Standard Edition).

It was reported by the Defected Co-Ethnics that the Amish understanding of Salvation goes contrary to that of

98

the "correct Christian interpretation" of this passage. It was reported that the Amish, similar to other groups, such as Calvinists and Jehovah's Witnesses, do not teach that the only requirement for salvation is acceptance of Jesus Christ as the savior. It was reported that the Amish teach that salvation is never assured, regardless of your beliefs, or the manner in which you live your life.

And indeed, interviews among the Amish provide evidence of the validity of the English construction of the Amish as heretics. It was reported that, even though the Amish know of the plan of salvation expressed within John 3:16, most Amish do not believe that salvation is unconditional. To a very great extent, the Amish indeed embody Weber's conceptualization of ascetic Protestantism, wherein salvation is dependent upon successful accumulation of wealth with a concomitant denial of worldly pleasure or desire.

The Amish acknowledge John 3:16, but they add a caveat: even though John 3:16 may be the plan, even the best-laid plans can go awry. This sentiment was expressed numerous times, "...you may be on the road to town, and it may be your intention to get to town, but something could happen along the way to prevent you from arriving."

Most of the Defected Co-Ethnics and even some Post-Baptism Amish reported that they thought the Amish were simply misguided, out of ignorance, as to the correct interpretation of scripture and in their practice of

Christianity; however, some, primarily Defected Co-Ethnics, reported believing that the Amish leaders were purposefully misguiding church members, as a social-control mechanism.

When given the information during the conduct of the interviews that other religious groups, such as Orthodox Jews, Moslems, and Catholics, prohibited certain members from reading the religious text or even from learning the language in which the text was written and that other groups believed in conditional salvation, both the Amish and the Defected Co-Ethics expressed surprise. They had thought that these practices and beliefs would be found only among the Amish.

However, the information about other groups appeared to simply affirm their belief that church leaders, in general, would restrict full access to the word of God as way of controlling church members. Particularly given their belief that Jews and Catholics are misguided and not living according to the will of God (no subject reported knowing anything about Moslems, except that they were "foreign"), knowing that their very own holy men engaged in similar practices only further instilled suspicion.

"They (church leaders) need to keep the Amish in the dark, 'cause that's how they get them to be good, and to walk the straight-and-narrow, and to not get too cocky, or self-assured." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I have every intention in my mind thinking, you know, the Amish had everything. When the Amish was originated, I think they had the right things in mind, OK, but somewhere along the line, the true intent of God's purpose for His people got lost, and it got turned into a human opinion thing." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

100

"I'm going to say this very boldly, because if they're (Amish people) controlled according to scriptures, it's very positive. But if it's controlled by an overpowering, domineering, opinionated people, then it's very wrong. And it's also very destructive." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"There's this verse we hear preached in church that life's not supposed to be easy, it's supposed to be rough. We hear that preached in church a lot, but I don't think it (the Bible) means the way they're saying." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"The way they make it sound is that we shouldn't have all the modern conveniences, we should work hard, till by hand, or with a horse, even though there's a tool sitting over here that can do it better than a horse. I don't believe the Bible really says that." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Many Defected Co-Ethnics and some Post-Baptism Amish reported viewing the traditional practice of reading the Bible in German during church services as a subversive act, because, as was reported by both the Amish and the Defected Co — Ethnics, most Amish people, particularly children, cannot read or understand German. To the skeptics, reading the Bible in German was viewed as an attempt to subvert the authority of God, by not allowing the "whole story" to be told in English.

"I don't believe the Bible means it in that way (plan for salvation). That's not what I get out of it when I read my own Bible in English. I often thought about asking the guy (Bishop) how he was trying to explain it, but I never do. I just think about it. That's about as far as I go. I'm a sissy, so I never go ask. The preachers in the Amish are looked up to, and they know that. You're not supposed to put them back against the wall, to challenge them. It's like I wouldn't know nothing and they know it all." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Whatever they're saying, it's in German, so I'm not really certain of the words spoken in church, but I've heard it said otherwise." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

The Amish could offer no definitive explanation as to why scripture is read in German during church service, or why the only hymns they sing are in German. Most reported desiring that English would be allowed, because most reported having little comprehension of formal, spoken German, and to have less comprehension of formal, written German.

However, most Amish subjects appeared to have accepted this practice as merely another example of cultural boundary maintenance through the maintenance of tradition, rather than an attempt on behalf of the Bishops to subvert the word of God. Additionally, it was reported to be understood that maintaining the tradition of reading scripture in only German offered the Amish "protection" from being misguided, or "lead astray from the original word" by English translations.

"It was brought that way over here, I guess. Or Jesus, did he talk German? I think we just want to keep to ourselves, and that's just one way, a tradition, to protect the Amish church, same as how we dress. It's one way to help keep us together." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"As for preaching in German in church, we want to keep that in our church. It says in the Bible that they're not to change one title, one word from German." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"When I was joining church, her dad gave me a prayer book in English. I was sitting at home there, reading this prayer book, in English, and my dad had a brother-in-law visiting that moved away south where they were a couple of steps lower (meaning belonging to a more conservative Amish group), and he (the father) didn't want him to see that I was reading a prayer book in English. But he did, so Dad said, acting like he didn't know I had the book, 'Where did you get that?' You know, I didn't realize he (visiting

relative) would be offended by a prayer book in English." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

It was reported that some districts attempted to teach their children German, most using a two-week period of instruction during the summer. However, the intent of this instruction was apparently only to transmit correct pronunciation of the German words, not necessarily the meaning. It was reported that those children who attended parochial schools fared better than those who attended public schools, as formal German was generally on the parochial school curriculum.

The Amish as Over-visible

As with other inferiorized populations (Adam 1978: 49-51), the Amish share the characteristic of being "over-visible". While the Amish differ from Adam's groups in that they are not considered to be flamboyant in an auditory fashion, they do indeed attract attention to themselves, primarily by being visually distinctive. The Amish have a distinctive language, clothing, and hairstyles that make them highly visible. Their homes are highly distinctive, and therefore visible, as well, in their construction, in their decoration, and because of the presence of the horse and buggy.

The Amish have also been constructed as over-visible because of their distinctive passive, as well as aggressive behavior. It was reported and observed that the out-group sometimes interpreted Amish behavior as aggressive or

"greedy" behavior. In earlier research, it was reported by the English that Amish people, most generally Amish men, cut in line, and sometimes act in a "pushy" fashion when obtaining goods or services (Reiling 1995b:14). However, based upon numerous observations of English/Amish interactions, a more plausible explanation is that, due to their inferiorization within their local community, acting in an aggressive fashion is oftentimes the only effective means the Amish have of getting their goods or services.

For example, it was not uncommon to observe English individuals cutting ahead of Amish already in line, as if the Amish person were not present. It was also not uncommon to observe the English attempt to make Amish people sufficiently uncomfortable to dislodge them from their place in line, by making indirect, derogatory marks about Amish people. English have been observed making hand gestures to convey the message that the Amish stink (Reiling 1995b:14). Based upon observation of these interactions, it becomes highly plausible that some Amish have become aggressive in response to their inferiorization.

Many Amish exhibit a passive behavior that is quite odd, and makes them over-visible. They generally walk among the English in a submissive fashion, with their head down and their face fairly well obscured with their head coverings. Rather than walk with their head up, Amish are more likely to make their way along the sidewalk with their head down, stealing glances. This behavior closely mirrors

that which Retzinger has labeled as "hiding behavior," generated from a state of shame (Retzinger 1991).

"You can even pick Amish kids out from the English kids, even when they turn 16 and start dressing like the English kids, you can always pick them out. They stick out. They act different. They look around more because it's in their blood. They're worried about themselves. They're worried about what other people are thinking. It's just the Amish way of training their kids, to look to see if others are watching them, to look around without looking up." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"They (Amish) act different. They even carry their bodies different. They can look where they're going without ever looking up." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

The deviant nature of this behavior makes the Amish over-visible. This over-visibility appears to make the English uncomfortable because what the Amish are making visible through the use of their body is the inferiorized nature of Amishness. As one English individual expressed in earlier research, "They act like dogs that've been beaten, and like we're the masters. I kinda resent that accusation. They bring it all on themselves, with the ignorant way they live." (Reiling 1995b:14).

Discussion of the Out-Group's Composite Portrait

The Amish reported that before the 1960's, their practice of social isolation kept them relatively shielded from experiencing stigmatization by the out-group of their social identity. They reported that stigmatization was becoming more apparent to them, as they increasingly engage with the English in three relatively new arenas: the

workplace, the schoolyard, and within the criminal justice system.

During the late 1950's, Amish men began going into the factory, and currently, more Amish men are engaged in factory work than full-time farming (Reiling 1995a:27). Because as workers they are highly valued by English employers, the Amish have come into strong economic competition with English workers (Reiling 1995a:12; Reiling et al. 1997:28). Economic competition has resulted in English workers engaging in various forms of retaliation against the Amish, ranging from verbal denigration to violent attacks against their property and persons (Reiling et al. 1997:29).

Second, the Amish reported having experienced stigmatization through their increasing interaction with English in the public school system. Historically, most of the Amish children in this settlement attended parochial schools. However, it has been reported that, due to the difficulties involved in meeting state-imposed guidelines for parochial schools, most Amish children now attend public schools.

Public school officials concurred with Amish reports that Amish children oftentimes became involved in English-instigated altercations. One school official reported that perhaps 80% of the behavioral problems he dealt with stemmed from inter-group conflict, almost always instigated by the English, however. He further reported relief that Amish

children did not attend public school beyond age 16, stating that hostilities among older children would be too difficult to handle.

The third source of exposure to stigmatization reported was through English formal agents. The recent attempt by English formal agents to construct an Amish drug problem was given as an example of how stigmatization was becoming more known. Although historically, Amish children in this community have always consumed alcohol, with the full knowledge of formal, English agents, around 1995, English formal agents began to take serious, and formal notice (Reiling et al. 1997:27).

A special task force comprised of criminal justice agents and community mental health workers was engaged to ameliorate what had suddenly become constructed by these English agents as a drug problem among Amish youth (Reiling et al. 1997:27). Because the Amish did not perceive an increase in drug use among their youth, nor did they initially perceive the drug use to be problematic, the message reportedly conveyed by the action of the English formal agents was that the Amish were no longer held in high esteem by the English (Reiling et al. 1997:30).

Even though the Amish were successful in thwarting attempts by these agents to successfully construct a drug problem, the Amish reported continuing to experience greater surveillance from formal agents, whether public health, mental health, or law enforcement (Reiling et al. 1997:30).

The Amish reported great sadness over this circumstance, because they had experienced good relations with these same agents throughout their history in this community. They reported that the Amish had previously been able to look to the English formal agents for protection, but that now, they felt as though they viewed the Amish no differently than the rest of the English community. As such, they had become aware that there was no protection from stigmatization.

The English make rude remarks to convey this stigmatization, but more generally, jokes serve as the route of transmission. Jokes have been reported regarding the first three components of the composite portrait presented: the Amish as dumb and dirty, the Amish as hypersexual, and the Amish as over-visible (in terms of both dress and demeanor).

To more fully understand the function of jokes told by the English, the analyses of various humor theorists are instructive (Benokratis et al. 1995; Davies 1990; Powell et al. 1988; Primeggia et al. 1990). The ethnic humor used by the English functions to further oppress the Amish into a subordinate position without having to directly express hostility toward them (see Benokratis et al. 1995; Powell et al. 1988; Primeggia et al. 1990 for evidence of this among other cultural groups). It can be understood that the English make use of humor primarily to indirectly express their displeasure over the increased economic competition

between Amish and English workers. The roles of economics in these constructions should not be underestimated.

Because the Amish are so highly valued by English employers English workers could not engage in open conflict without encountering negative sanctions. Reports that English employers do not reprimand English workers for their use of ethnic jokes, however, should not be surprising, for three reasons. First, the presence of ethnic jokes is evidence to the employer that ethnic antagonism exists. Second, the use of ethnic jokes functions as a safety valve, such that open hostility does not occur within the workplace. And third, the use of ethnic jokes by English employees functions to remind the Amish of just how low they are in the eyes of the English, such that the Amish do not become sufficiently "uppity" to demand higher wages or increased benefits.

Ethnic jokes about the Amish are also important outside of the workplace arena. Davies has noted that most ethnic jokes function to make the superiority of the dominant group evident or to make clear ethnic distinctions between groups (Davies 1990). Clearly, humor functions in much the same manner in this context. Ethnic humor can be understood as a form of boundary maintenance used by the English, particularly given the fact that the English and the Amish are phenotypically indistinguishable. The use of ethnic humor, then, can be understood as a way for the English to socially separate themselves from the Amish.

The Amish repeat among themselves the jokes they hear the English tell about them. However, in recounting these jokes, they are not so much telling jokes on themselves, but taking control of the ethnic jokes as a means of confronting a world that is not as they would like it to be (Flaherty 1984; Flaherty 1990; Yoels et al. 1995). The recounting of jokes overheard conveys to the Amish information about how they are viewed by the out-group. This information becomes vital to boundary maintenance, as the jokes can be used as evidence of the potential hostility to be found within the English world.

It should be noted that the Amish make jokes about the English, as well. Those who work within the tourist industry, for example, have developed a repertoire of "stupid tourist" stories and jokes. There are also jokes about stupid English drivers, stupid English factory workers, and stupid English farmers. However, given their subordinate position, these jokes would never be told within hearing distance of any English person, at least not spoken in English.

We can understand that the Amish use of humor functions in much the same way as that of the English. First and foremost, the use of humor among themselves about the English allows the Amish to repudiate the imposed superiority of the English. Second, Amish tell jokes about the English as a boundary maintenance practice that helps to make the groups more socially distinct. Third, the Amish

110

make the English the butt of their jokes as an object lesson to their children of the way they should not go, as a warning to not become English. The reasoning is: why would an Amish child choose to defect only to become fodder for Amish ridicule?

Given the preceding discussion, it should be evident why most Amish report an awareness of the negative composite portrait of their identity that has been constructed by the English as out-group. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, however, the Amish have developed several highly effective buffers against the stigmatization resulting from this negative composite portrait. As such, they have been able to minimize the pathology that typically accompanies stigmatization. They have not been as successful in managing the discrepant messages they receive about their identity from the tourists-as-out-group, nor the conflicted identity that results from this dual consciousness about their identity.

The Composite Portrait as Constructed by Tourists-as-Out-Group

The Amish in this community have been an important tourist attraction since the late 1970's (Reiling 1995a:2; Langin 1994:27). In addition to the obvious economic benefits to those Amish who participate in the tourist trade (Reiling 1995b:11), tourism functions within the Amish community as a mechanism of social control. The Amish report that because the tourism is based upon the

111

commodification of their culture, they feel a high level of pressure to conform to the idealized composite portrait that has been constructed. The Hutterites have expressed similar pressures (Schwab et al. 1978:190). The Amish have been made aware of this stereotype through interaction with the tourists, as well as through the various forms of tourism literature that they encounter in the marketplace, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The question of whether the commodification of Amish culture would de-stabilize and erode Amish identity has long been a concern within the literature regarding social change among the Amish, with the primary concern being that exposure to the English would lure the Amish away from their more traditional ways (Buck 1978; Buck 1979; Erickson et al. 1980; Hostetler 1993:315-321). Hostetler has expressed an additional concern, in that "The high praise enjoyed by the Amish people as a by-product of tourist promotion is another factor to which the Amish may prove vulnerable. Persecution has been experienced by Amish people in the past, and they have been able to survive it. Worldly praise is quite another matter. The national attention given to Amish communities has accorded to Amish individuals something of a celebrity status" (Hostetler 1993:318).

Buck has articulated the most rational prediction, in that he speculates that the Amish will survive the influence of tourism if they can successfully implement boundary maintenance techniques (Buck 1978). And indeed, successful

boundary maintenance was evident within this community, the most important being the cultural center that was established in an attempt to keep tourists off of Amish farms. In addition, having a unique language affords the Amish a way of excluding the tourists. For example, Amish have been observed pretending that they do not speak English, when approached by a curious tourist (Reiling 1995b: 22).

When considering the impact of tourism, it is important to consider the nature of the product. In this case, the social identity being commodified for tourists' consumption is highly positive. As noted earlier in Hostetler's concern, Amish identity has been highly idealized, and constructed as a symbol of what tourists report to be all that is "good, pure, and wholesome," "embodying the pioneering spirit that made America great" (Reiling 1995b:13).

Previous research on tourism within this community provided evidence that Amish identity had risen to the point of becoming deified. The expression of one tourist illustrates this well, as he responded, "I wish I could follow God as closely as the Amish do. I'm just not as good a Christian. But, the Amish are my model, my guide. I travel to this area every summer, just so I can be reminded of how greatly I fail God, compared to these people. I will probably never be able to follow God as well as they do" (Reiling 1995b:14).

It became apparent throughout the conduct of the tourism research that the Amish were indeed deified, or at least highly valued for their religiosity, rather than just their lifestyle and work ethic. That this is so appeared to stem from the fact that the Amish are an excellent example of a people who strongly exhibit the Protestant work ethic as an ideal type. They have been successful in completely fulfilling the requirements of ascetic Protestantism, as outlined by Weber: developing a theology that is based upon self-denial of worldly pleasure, while at the same time accumulating wealth that would make worldly pleasures possible (Weber 1958:175).

Hence, when tourists look at the Amish, they see a group that receives no apparent earthly rewards for its efforts. The Amish have become deified because they have been able to fulfill even the most difficult requirement of ascetic Protestantism, in that they avoid the temptation of conspicuous consumption. And, as one tourist explained, "Only God and the Amish are humble enough to not brag about what they got" (Reiling 1995b:28).

In support of Hostetler's concern that the Amish would develop an exaggerated sense of importance that would not be conducive to the maintenance of Amish culture, it has been observed that the Amish who work within the tourist industry take on an almost arrogant attitude in their interactions with the tourists, reporting that they experience positive feelings from knowing that the tourists have come into Amish

country to revere the Amish way of life. Given this, tourism has a latent function, in that, providing an arena for positive feedback regarding their social identity appears to function to bolster Amish social identity for some group members (Reiling 1995b:19).

Most report that the intense scrutiny causes them to experience a high level of self-consciousness, but that they eventually feel more positive about their social identity (Reiling 1995b:19). For these individuals, negative affective states are managed and transformed into a positive experience. Making a connection between their experience with tourism and the legacy of Amish martyrdom appears to be the mechanism through which transformation occurs. For some, the experience of tourism appears to augment their social identity, as they believe that God sent them out to be "beacons of light unto the world" (Reiling 1995b:22).

Not all Amish people, however, are able to make this transformation; therefore some remain in a negative affective state. They report believing that the Amish have been "singled out by God," as well as by the tourists, and they report feeling constantly exposed, and therefore, they become hyper-self-conscious (Reiling 1995b:22).

Many report being critically aware of every aspect of their behavior when they are out of their homes. As one person commented, "I have to act Amish every time I step foot out my front door. I can't let my guard down for a moment, so's I don't offend anyone" (Reiling 1995b:23).

It has been observed and reported that the Amish who
are supportive of the tourist industry become informal
agents of social control, on behalf of the tourist industry.
Those Amish living in the center of the tourist area come
under the greatest scrutiny, as their homes and their lived
experience become commodified. The Amish who are supportive
of tourism have a vested interest in a good product, and it
has been reported that they can bring pressure to bear upon
those Amish not meeting the standards of a tourist
attraction (Reiling 1995b:16).

Some report that their anxiety is augmented because
they believe that God is watching, also, and requiring them
"...to be Amish," over and above what they normally
experience during the off season (Reiling 1995b:23). It has
been reported that many Amish will not venture away from
their homes on the days when tourism is heavy, generally
Monday through Saturday, from May to September (Reiling
1995a:24).

Many report experiencing tremendous stress when unable
to fulfill the stereotype that has been constructed for
commodification (Reiling 1995b:24). Research among the
Hutterites supports the plausibility of these reports, as it
was found that the Hutterites experienced guilt feelings and
apprehension about not living up to community standards
(Schwab et al. 1978:190).

In essence, the positive composite portrait of the
Amish as constructed by the tourists-as-out-group creates a

double-edged sword: on one hand, the positive nature of the construction functions to augment Amish identity, but on the other hand, this positive construction greatly conflicts with the negative construction made by the English-as-out-group. These two circumstances contribute to the experience of dual consciousness.

To make matters more complex, it is correct to say that the Amish actually experience triple consciousness, for they must incorporate into their consciousness a third composite portrait, which they themselves construct. As will be demonstrated in the discussion that follows, as well as the discussion within Chapter 5, the composite portrait as constructed by the Amish-as-in-group is by far much more elusive and the most complex, as the construction is replete with contradictions.

The Composite Portrait as Constructed by the Amish-as-In-Group

Amishness as a Cultural Form

Most of those who could be categorized as Post-Baptism Amish (both Authentic and Inauthentic, as discussed more fully in Chapter 5) articulated Amishness as a matter of style, as if being Amish were more a matter of taking on an external cultural form, rather than being an intrinsic, or authentic experience. These subjects spoke of Amishness as if it were a costume. Most made the point that it was their clothing, their hairstyle, or some other aspect of their material culture or cultural practice that set them apart.

The point was frequently made that being different from the out-group was the most representative, and perhaps the most important characteristic of their composite portrait.

"It's just that we're different from the world. That's the most important thing. Other than that, we're just like everyone else." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"We try to dress more modest, and try not to participate in things like drinking and the latest fashion." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"The Amish don't have a religion. It's just a way of life. A lot of people are saying like your religion is Amish, and it's not, you know? It's not a religion. We're Christians just like everybody else. It's the way that we live. We believe we should keep life simple." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I am an Amish person, of the Amish faith. We dress different, but if someone would ask me, I'd probably say we believe in Jesus and the Bible, and that's the way we feel is best. It's just the way we dress. That's about it. I don't know what more I could say." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

In addition to the Amish viewing being different from the world as an integral component of their social identity, they placed great emphasis on the assertion, and it was observed, that there was great intra-group difference. In other words, one Amish individual is not necessarily representative of the whole, one district is not necessarily representative of another, nor is one Amish community representative of another. Cohen noted the same emphasis on difference within the Whalsay community (Cohen 1987:83), evidence that even non-urban societies seek a remedy for anonymity. Although intra-group difference was an important characteristic of their composite portrait, the subjects

were in agreement that more was held in common, intra-group, than in difference.

Human, Just Like Everyone Else

Given the emphasis placed on being different, it appears paradoxical that the next most frequent response was that "...the Amish are just like everyone else, human." Although seemingly a contradiction, note that the Amish were referring to a basic humanness that they expressed believing was shared by all, rather than a shared lived experience. The Amish reported believing that a major component of being born human was being born into sin, a condition at birth that they believe stands outside of cultural influence. As such, they reported that the Amish are both good and bad. They are both saints and sinners.

"There's church members that do drink. There's church members that smoke. There's church members that do drugs. But certainly not most, or even a lot." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

The urgency with which the plea was made for their humanness to be understood was explained as resultant from years of having to justify their lived contradictions, to themselves, to their children, and to the out-group. For the composite portrait that the Amish have constructed for themselves closely resembles that of the idealized portrait of deified Amish culture, as constructed by the tourists-as-out-group, and consequently, many times they fail to recreate that image.

Cohen discusses the role of the lie and other forms of deception in other cultures to mediate their lived contradictions (Cohen 1992:86-89). But for the Amish, the notion of human frailty prevents them from having to engage in deception. In essence, being honest about their failings when confronted with them allows them redeem their virtue by way of at least being honest. In this capacity, the Amish have added the frailty of the human flesh, due to the human's innate susceptibility to sin, to their composite portrait.

Another technique used to manage their lived contradictions is that of the black sheep. The Amish have constructed the black sheep as a category that functions to augment the status of conforming individuals, as well as conforming districts. The contradictions and the construction of black sheep categories will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

As discussed in the preceding section, the Amish expressed that their ideal culture was difficult, if not impossible to achieve. They explained that they felt the construction of the ideal to be instrumental to the maintenance of their culture, however, as the construction of the ideal culture kept the standards for inclusion high.

"We're human, and we all make mistakes like everybody else. But sometimes it's hard living the Amish faith, to live up to the standards that are set for ourselves." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I don't always feel good about Amish people. Sometimes I get discouraged about being Amish 'cause you just don't feel

like you can please everybody like people want it to be."
Female, Post-Baptism

"I remember one day, me and my cousins were out hunting deer, and was starting to talk, and one of my cousins, he was Amish, and he was talking about an Amish man who got drunk. And he said it's too bad that an Amish man would get drunk, but that at least he did eventually leave the church." Male, Post-Baptism

Maintaining the Portrait: The Role of Nostalgia

It was clear that much of the idealized nature of the construction of Amish social identity had been generated by nostalgia, a longing for a past that may well never have been. As Koontz has noted, nostalgia is most generally based upon myth (Koontz 1992). Nostalgia appeared to function as a measuring rod for the Amish, a check-and-balance system, against which to compare their real culture to their ideal culture.

Cohen understood the past to be a "cultural resource" for the Whalsay community (Cohen 1987:132-124), as if the past itself had actually been written down as an ethnography, to which the group could refer and reflect upon. Similarly, as articulated among the Amish, "Notions about who we were then are the only guide we have to show us who we're supposed to be now. Remembering the past helps us rein ourselves in, so that we remain unchanged."

"Well, the Amish aren't what they used to be. They used to be more easy going, more humble, home more." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"They used to help each other out more. Like back in the old days, everybody helped each other out, but now, a lot of people just go their own way, in their own little world. We

need to get ahold of that old way again." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"You just look out more for yourself. That's changing us. We're probably becoming more like the English, in that fashion. That's something we're always looking at." Male, Post-Baptism

"There's a lot more peer pressure than there used to be. Since the factories, everybody want to hurry and do their work, and have it done this way, and they want to be out of there by a certain time." Male, Post-Baptism

"In some ways, it's a quiet life, but it's not like it used to be. I've often asked myself why I ever did go Amish, 'cause it's getting so hectic." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Amish identity as constructed by Amish people, then, emerged as somewhat of a hodgepodge: a few ideas from the English mixed in with a few ideas from the tourists, with a sprinkling of reality mixed in by the Amish. All of which got measured up against the past, as it had been reconstructed to suit the purposes of the present. What, then, does it mean to an Amish person to be an Amish person? Is there an Amish identity if even the Amish cannot explicitly articulate its nature? How stable can Amish identity be if even the Amish cannot generate a consistent construction of their identity?

At first, it appeared as if the Amish had not ever conceptualized their identity because there was no apparently clear articulation, just an elusiveness and confusion. But, when reviewing the data again, it became clear that the conflicted articulation of their identity was, in fact, a legitimate articulation, for "conflicted"

122

was indeed the nature of Amish identity. The struggle

engendered by the conflicted nature of Amish identity, then,

is the topic of Chapter 5. The processes through which

Amish children resolve their experience of triple

consciousness will be more fully explored, as will the

consequences of this struggle for their mental health.

Chapter 5

The Affective Response to Amish Social Identity

The dynamics of the conflicted nature of Amish identity as outlined in Chapter 4 lay the groundwork for the exploration of the consequences of this conflicted identity on the individual's mental health. The findings regarding, and a description of, the decision making process as to whether to adopt or repudiate Amish identity will be the focus of this particular chapter. An examination of these processes was the first objective of this dissertation research and is the center point of understanding Amish people, for the identity that is ultimately chosen becomes a contributing factor to their mental health experience.

An attempt was made to determine the "crucible within," conceptualized by Rumbaut as inclusive of "...modes of ethnic or national self-identification, perceptions of discrimination, aspirations for their adult futures, cultural preferences, forms of intergenerational cohesion or conflict within their families, self-esteem and psychological well-being, and how all these may be related to more objective indices of their experience" (Rumbaut 1996:122). As such, descriptive, subjective self-reports of these factors were gathered.

Two of the five points of the theoretical framework that was employed are outlined below, followed by a brief

discussion of findings. It will be noted that an

application of self-discrepancy theory was made to explain

repudiation of Amish identity. Points 3-5 of the framework

will be presented following this discussion, as self-

discrepancy theory was further applied to frame the analysis

of the relationship between identity and depression.

1.   Given the evidence that stigmatization can generate
self-discrepancy, and given that these are negative
emotional states that individuals will attempt to move out
of (Higgins 1989), it was expected that some Amish
experiencing stigmatization due to the social identification
as Amish would report depressive symptomology. It was
further expected that some would choose to alleviate their
negative affective state by repudiating that identity,
whereas others would attempt to alleviate their negative
affective state through various coping strategies.

2.   Given that the experience of stigmatization of one's in-
group could generate hostility within an individual toward
the in-group (displacement), a probable causal chain was
predicted: an individual would experience stigmatization of
social identity, which would generate displaced hostility
toward in-group, which would generate a high need for
optimal distinctiveness (Brewer 1991), which would generate
a decision to repudiate the stigmatized identity.

Perhaps the most unexpected finding of this aspect of

the research was that social identity was determined within

the individual long before reaching the culturally mandated

decision-making period (beginning at age 16). The common

report was that the individual had "always known" whether or

not they were Amish. As summarized by one Pre-Baptism

Amish, who was planning defection, "I've always known I'm an

English person trapped within an Amish body."

The second unexpected finding was that four, rather

than three conditions of Amishness were discovered: Pre-

Baptism, Authentic Post-Baptism, Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish, and Defected Co-Ethnic. Each of these conditions will be described more fully in the remainder of the chapter.

The third unexpected finding was that authenticity of identity appeared to be influenced by the location of the individual's locus of control. As noted in Chapter 3, it is ironic that locus of control was not included in the initial proposed theoretical framework because once the interviewing began, locus of control emerged as an important contributing factor in the identity selection process and the subsequent quality of mental health.

Table 5.1 Locus of Control and Authenticity of Amish Identity by Condition of Amishness

CONDITION OF AMISHNESS	LOCUS OF CONTROL	AUTHENTICITY OF AMISH IDENTITY
Pre-Baptism Amish	External/Authentic Internal/Inauthentic	High/Plan to Adopt Authentic Low/Plan to Adopt Inauthentic Low/Plan to Defect
Authentic Post-Baptism Amish	External	High
Inauthentic Post-Baptism	Conflicted More Internal than External	Low
Defected Co-Ethnics	Internal	Lowest

Given the fact that the Amish constitute a collectivist culture, and that individuals socialized within collectivist cultures generally exhibit an external locus of control (Hamid 1994), one would expect an external locus of control to be dominant and strong. However, this was not to be the

126

case for all subjects. For example, those who repudiated Amish identity through defection were those who expressed what could be categorized as a high internal locus of control. Within this category, it was also more likely that Amish identity had not been authentic. In other words, they believed that they were the masters of their destiny, rather than that their destiny was controlled by outside forces. And because of this belief, Amish identity did not fit them well. It was inauthentic to whom they viewed themselves to be.

To explain this counter-intuitive finding among the Amish, an argument could be made that a discrepancy can develop between an individual's held locus of control and the locus of control that has been prescribed for the individual's social group to display and to espouse. Evidence was found to support this argumentation. For certainly, those expressing the highest levels of angst were those experiencing a locus of control that could be categorized as more internal than external, the Defected Co-Ethnics and the Inauthentic Pre- and Post-Baptism Amish, for example.

This explanation contributes to the understanding of the subjects' reports of having "always known" their identity, intrinsically, from a very early age. These findings suggest that the location of locus of control had developed outside of cultural influence to a greater degree than previously thought, or that would have been predicted.

As such, even though, theoretically, we would expect to find consistency between an individual's locus of control and the locus of control articulated by their social group, particularly given the apparently early nature of its development, evidence was not found in this context to strongly support either of these conjectures. What remains unexplained was, why?

When making application of Brewer's model of optimal distinctiveness (Brewer 1991), a possible explanation emerges. It could be speculated that the strength of the external locus of control had been diminished as a function of the strength of the social control exerted by the group against group members. External social control could have so overwhelmed the individual's sense of self that the assertion of an internal locus of control would be necessary to bring balance to the individual's sense of self, in an attempt to escape the total engulfing of personal identity by the social.

In other words, if the individual were feeling too consumed by the group, they would assert their individuality and individualism as a correction factor. In essence, internally, the individual would be saying, "I am not under your control as much as I need to allow you to think that I am." Even though on the outside they were appearing to adhere to an external locus of control mindset, internally, they were telling themselves otherwise. This response is akin to a coping strategy, employed as a buffer against the

high level of external social control exerted against them by the in-group.

In other words, the perceived legitimacy of the external agent matters, in that there is a difference between the experience of external locus of control and the experience of external social control. While many may have been willing to submit to the will of their God, they were not as willing to submit to the will of the group. As such, the authenticity, or the fitness, of their Amish identity was not as great as for others. Those for whom authenticity of identity was higher had been successful in defining the external social control as under the direction of their God, the legitimate agent. They believed that God had conferred legitimacy on the in-group members to direct their lives. What remains unexplained was why not all Post-Baptism Amish were able to equally make this allowance.

Consequently, among the Post-Baptism Amish, there appeared to be a positive relationship between the level of external locus of control expressed and the authenticity of Amish identity. Although counter-intuitive, many Post-Baptism Amish interviewed were classifiable as Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish, exhibiting low levels of both external locus of control and authenticity of Amish identity. As discussed in greater detail below, it appeared that these subjects had formally adopted an identity that was more inauthentic than authentic, as a masochistic response to domination, even though that identity conflicted with their

locus of control. This response will be discussed more fully in a later section.

The question of the relationship between adoption of identity and depression was examined according to the following applicable points of the theoretical framework:

3. Given that the act of decision-making can generate psychological stress (Janis et al. 1977) and shame-induced ambivalence (Schneider 1992), and given that the decision to adopt either identity may result in loss and shame, it was expected that post-decisional conflict (Janis et al. 1977) would be generated. As such, it was expected that high levels of depressive symptomology would be reported during this decision-making time period (Pre-Baptism, from age 16-25), when shame-induced ambivalence would most likely be the greatest. It was expected that higher levels would be reported among the Pre-Baptism group than among Post-Baptism Amish or Defected Co-Ethnics.

4. Given post-decisional conflict, high levels of depressive symptomology were expected among those who reported a lesser degree of resolution with their ultimate decision, regardless of which identity was chosen.

5. Given the postulated salugenic effects of social networks and social support (Bonacich 1980; Gottlieb 1981; Hechter 1987), it was expected that those reporting more extensive social networks and higher levels of positive social support for their proposed decision or ultimate decision would experience less depressive symptomology.

Because this dissertation was to be a grounded, qualitative exploration of the relationship between social identity and the experience of depression, rather than use a diagnostic instrument, the assessment of depression was based solely upon the subject's qualitative, self-report and description of their affective condition. Hence, no definition of depression was given to the subjects. Instead, the subjects were simply asked whether they had ever been depressed over the course of their lifetime. As

130

such, the findings should be understood as merely indicative of correlation, not an assertion of causation. As will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, many factors emerged as potential contributing factors to depression.

As a reminder to preface discussion of these findings, the interview sample was randomly selected, and representative of the three initial conditions of Amishness (Pre-Baptism, Post-Baptism, and Defected Co-Ethnics). The assessment of depression was subjective, based upon self-reports, collected during face-to-face interviews. Subjects were asked to report whether they felt they had ever been depressed, and if so, they were asked to rank their degree of depression as low, medium, or high. They were further asked to define what the term "depression" meant to them (findings reported on in Chapter 6), and to describe their depressive episode/s (the approximate duration of the episode/s; whether they felt the depression had interfered with their daily life; precipitating events; contributing factors; chosen treatment, etc.).

"I've been depressed myself, sometimes for a couple of days, sometimes a couple of weeks, usually a couple of weeks. I guess I feel like nobody cares about me. I'm just a nobody. I'm just a person who does work. That's the way I feel. During the past six month period, I've generally felt this way most of the time." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"My depression interferes with my daily life a little bit. I have trouble concentrating sometimes because of it." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

For purposes of description and to facilitate discussion, the subjects' self-reports were placed into

131

categories, as illustrated within the following chart. Bear
in mind that these are collapsed descriptive categories
only, suggestive perhaps of correlation, but certainly not
of causation. These findings will be discussed in the text
that follows.

**Table 5.2   Self-Discrepancy, Identity-Related Depression,
and Post-Decision Conflict by Condition of Amishness**

CONDITION OF AMISHNESS	SELF-DISCREPANCY PRIOR TO DECISION	IDENTITY-RELATED DEPRESSION PRIOR TO DECISION	IDENTITY-RELATED DEPRESSION AFTER DECISION	POST-DECISION CONFLICT
Pre-Baptism Amish	Low/ Authentic High/ Inauthentic	Medium/ Authentic High/ Inauthentic	See Below	See Below
Authentic Post-Baptism Amish	Low	Low	Medium to Low	Low
Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish	Very High	Very High	Very High	Very High
Defected Co-Ethnics	High	Very High	Lowest	Lowest

It was discovered that Defected Co-Ethnics reported
having experienced high levels of self-discrepancy and
identity-related depression, but only prior to the formal
repudiation of Amish identity. These conditions resulted
from attempting to live a cultural experience that ran
counter to their identity, and particularly counter to their
internal locus of control. Subjects within this category
reported that, upon defection, they had experienced a
diminishment of self-discrepancy, lowered levels of social-
identity-related depressive symptomology, and low levels of

post-decisional conflict. The Defected Co-Ethnics reported and demonstrated high levels of resolution with their decision to formally repudiate Amish identity and high levels of satisfaction with their identity as English.

By far, Defected Co-Ethnics reported the more positive mental health experience. This finding should not really be surprising when placed within a larger context. For example, Rumbaut has found that employing bicultural strategies as a mode of acculturation produced more positive mental health outcomes for Southeast Asian refugees (Rumbaut 1991). This same phenomenon has been seen among Korean-Americans (Rumbaut 1991).

The Defected Co-Ethnics employed additive adaptation strategies to a very high degree, especially after they had been out for a while. In essence, they kept their feet in both camps. For them, Amish identity became, in a sense, recreational, an identity that they could voluntarily practice, even though it never again would become their master status or their true identity.

For example, most reported that they would continue to do such things as read the Amish newspaper, associate with Amish friends, neighbors, co-workers and family members (if and when the ban had been lifted), to cook "Amish," and to speak Dutch rather than English when encountering an Amish person. These bicultural strategies allowed them to escape the pangs of having to entirely let go of an identity. Instead, they were able to enjoy the best of both worlds,

133

unlike the Post-Baptism Amish who are allowed to engage in only one.

It was further speculated that those who had become Post-Baptism Amish would be those for whom Amish identity had not generated a self-discrepant state. Consequently, if not experiencing self-discrepancy, and if not formally repudiating Amish identity and defecting from the Amish, it was predicted that those formally adopting Amish identity would experience lower levels of post-decisional conflict and lower levels of social-identity-related depressive symptomology.

Juxtaposed to the experience of the Defected Co-Ethnics, Authentic Post-Baptism Amish reported lower levels of pre- and post-decision self-discrepancy. Conversely, however, Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish reported having experienced higher levels of pre- and post-decision self-discrepancy. In essence, Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish remained in a self-discrepant state, despite their formal adoption of Amish identity, because their chosen identity was not a good fit.

One of the factors that appeared to be generating their self-discrepancy was the conflict between their expressed and their held locus of control. Again, the distinction between an external locus of control and external social control became important. Even though the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish had been socialized to espouse an external locus of control, they expressed having difficulty managing

their affective response to the very high level of social control that was consistent and concomitant with the notion that an individual's life is externally directed (as discussed more fully in Chapter 6).

Consequently, unlike the Defected Co-Ethnics, most Post-Baptism Amish reported some level of post-decisional conflict. Of course, this condition was a great deal more evident among Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish. Regardless of condition, however, Post-Baptism Amish reported and demonstrated lower levels of resolution with their decision regarding identity than the Defected Co-Ethnics.

Additionally, every Post-Baptism Amish subject reported having experienced some degree of post-decision, social-identity-related depressive symptomology. Many reported having experienced a high degree, particularly the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish.

It should further be noted that several Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish reported very high levels of pre-decision self-discrepancy, post-decisional conflict, and social-identity-related depressive symptomology. There appeared to be a positive relationship among the degree of pre-decision self-discrepancy, the degree of post-decisional conflict, and the degree of social-identity-related depression experienced.

In both the Defected Co-Ethnic and Authentic Post-Baptism condition, there appeared to be a positive relationship between length of time since adoption of an

135

identity and resolution with that identity. This did not appear to be so much the case among the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish, although they did report having "accepted" the fact that they had chosen Amish as their social identity. However, within both conditions of Post-Baptism Amish, resolution with Amish identity did not appear to diminish social-identity-related depressive symptomology to any great extent.

Their reports did resonate with the findings of Rumbaut regarding a curvilinear pattern of adjustment among immigrant and refugee populations (Rumbaut 1991). Immediately after the decision, a period of euphoria was experienced, wherein distress symptomology would be low. This period would be followed by period of questioning, of disappointment, and of much higher levels of distress, wherein particularly the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish person would be asking, "What have I done in becoming Amish? Now there is no way out."

And, because they would not perceive any way out, to diminish the resultant dissonance, the Amish person would ultimately come to redefine their situation as satisfactory, which would diminish their level of distress. However, the level of distress appeared to dissipate most greatly for the Authentic Post-Baptism Amish. As Rumbaut has noted, "Satisfaction, therefore, requires realistic appraisals and feasible ambitions, and by lowering one's expectations and aspirations realistically (one's 'psychological thermostat')

one may be able to achieve a functional level of comparative contentment even under conditions of severe stress—which, in turn, may serve to some extent as a protective buffer to keep depression from deepening" (Rumbaut 1991:392).

The findings on the Post-Baptism Amish merit a few additional comments. First, the data is suggestive of a correlation only, not of cause. Indeed, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, there are many potential causes of depression among the Amish that will necessitate much further study. Second, although counter-intuitive given the high level of depression reported, the Amish did not really appear to be unhappy or dissatisfied with their life. If they were, it would be logical to expect to see higher rates of defection, given that this option exists, and given the fact that depression appears to dissipate after defection. How are we to understand this paradox?

Although not an explanation, we do have evidence of other groups having a similar experience. Rumbaut has discovered, for example, that many Southeast Asian refugee groups report concurrently high levels of life satisfaction and high levels of depression (Rumbaut 1985, 1989). Rumbaut explains this paradox as stemming from a distinction between cognitive appraisals of life as opposed to affective responses to it (Rumbaut 1991).

In the case of the Amish, even though they may truly believe in the rightness of their way of living, living that way can be stressful. When viewed in this fashion, these

responses are not inconsistent. Rumbaut's argument also explains the seemingly better mental health experience of the Defected Co-Ethnics. In addition to believing that they are living the right way (their cognitive appraisal), for them, living as an English person is less stressful than living as an Amish person (their affective response).

Regarding the Pre-Baptism Amish, those currently within the culturally mandated decision-making period as to whether to repudiate or adopt Amish identity (between the ages of 16 and 25), it was expected that they would be experiencing the highest levels of self-discrepancy, and consequently, the highest levels of social-identity-related depression.

The early self-discovery of identity did not diminish the experience of self-discrepancy among Pre-Baptism Amish, however. Self-discrepancy was low only among those Pre-Baptism Amish for whom identity as Amish would be authentic.

Those Pre-Baptism Amish for whom identity as Amish would not be authentic reported a high level of self-discrepancy. Even though identity had been realized within the individual, among those for whom Amish identity would be inauthentic, post-decisional conflict regarding identity had not been resolved. Those within this category reported high levels of self-discrepancy, with the highest levels being reported by those planning adoption of an inauthentic Amish identity. Even though these Pre-Baptism Amish had been able to determine early who they were, among those for whom Amish identity would not be authentic, the question remained of

who they would ultimately choose to be, and how they would manage that conflicted identity subsequently, as well as in the meantime.

Those within this category reported fairly high levels of depression, much of which appeared to be related to the self-discrepancy that they were experiencing. The depression among the Pre-Baptism Amish appeared to also be generated by a state of shame-induced ambivalence, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6. However, the expression of depression among the Pre-Baptism Amish is not surprising when considering that adolescents, in general, have been found to have higher rates of distress (Mirowsky et al. 1989; Rumbaut et al. 1991). As Rumbaut has noted, adolescents with conflicted social identities "...are challenged to incorporate what is 'out there' into what is 'in here,' often in dissonant social contexts" (Rumbaut 1996:120). The period of adolescence, by it's very nature, is disruptive, particularly in terms of development of identity (Erikson 1968).

Within the conditions of Amishness, Defected Co-Ethnics and Authentic Post-Baptism Amish expressed the lowest levels of identity-related depression. The most salugenic condition occurred when there was a good fit between locus of control and the social identity that was ultimately adopted. Negligible levels of depression were reported within the conditions of Defected Co-Ethnics/high internal

locus of control and Authentic Post-Baptism Amish/high external locus of control.

The most pathogenic condition occurred when there was a poor fit between locus of control and the social identity that was, or would ultimately be adopted. For example, those within the conditions of Inauthentic Pre- and Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish/higher level of internal, than external locus of control, reported the highest levels of identity-related depression. Those within this category remained in a self-discrepant state, which contributed greatly to their experience of identity-related depression.

Given the postulated salugenic effects of social networks and social support (Bonacich 1980; Gottlieb 1981; Hechter 1987; Turner 1983), it was expected that those reporting more extensive social networks and higher levels of positive social support for their decision regarding identity would experience less identity-related depressive symptomology. Evidence of this relationship was found, but more strongly and completely so for the Defected Co-Ethnics.

As described more fully in a section that follows, it was discovered that the development of social networks among sympathetic English and established Defected Co-Ethnics was a prerequisite to defection. Emotional and instrumental social support received from these social networks remained an important factor in the well-being and adjustment of the Defected Co-Ethnics. The availability of social support and

social networks, both instrumental and emotional, greatly
reduced their experience of identity-related depression.

However, supportive social networks did not appear to
function as a buffer against identity-related depression for
Pre-Baptism Amish who were considering defection and
Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish. The lack of discussion
regarding issues of identity appeared to be the primary
reason for that circumstance. Because decisions regarding
identity and defection were made privately, with little to
no discussion with others, there was no opportunity for Pre-
Baptism Amish to receive social support, not even from those
in a similar circumstance.

In much the same fashion, Inauthentic Post-Baptism
Amish had no arena within which to process their identity
conflict, and the resultant identity-related depression.
And indeed, because their social networks were comprised
almost exclusively of Amish people, and because of the
stigma surrounding depression, Amish people within this
group experienced a condition of double jeopardy. They
could not talk to other Amish people about the inauthentic
nature of their Amish identity, and they also could not
discuss the resultant depression.

Given these findings, a more full description of the
decision making process is indicated. The logical beginning
point is with a discussion of the culturally mandated
decision making period, referred to below as "The Simmie
Years." Discussions will then follow of the decision

process involved in either adopting or repudiating Amish identity.

Adoption of Social Identity: Goin' Amish or Goin' English

The Decision-Making Period: The "Simmie" Years

"What happens during this time is that they start joining the group, the young folks. They want to be top grade, but they're still greener than a colt. They aren't trained yet. But once they're trained and mature, then they'll act like the rest of us. But these young kids aren't broke yet. They want to try to do what the others do, and they make a lot of dumb moves. But until they get around 18, usually they're not in that area where those 18 and older or mature are. These are just immature, trying to be mature, but they don't know how. So we call them simmies." Male, Post-Baptism

Among the Amish, the sixteenth birthday signifies that the child has entered a rite of passage, wherein the child is to begin to deliberate their identity. The end of this period is signified by the child's announcement of their decision to either repudiate or adopt Amish identity. Most remain in this period for only two to three years, whereas others remain for as much as eight to ten. It was reported that the sixteenth birthday was greatly anticipated. As one Post-Baptism male reported, "When I was 10, it seemed like 20 years from 10 to 16. That's how much you look forward to turning 16."

Identity during this period was reported to be highly ambiguous. Most descriptions depicted a period of limbo, wherein the child does not identify as Amish, even though continuing to live in an Amish home, and to engage in Amish cultural practices. Nor does the child identify as English,

142

even though many will wear English clothes outside of the home, cut their hair, drive cars, and engage quite fully in "worldly culture." This interstitial state resonates with the ambiguous identities of bisexuals, Christianized Jews, and light-skinned blacks, as analyzed by Adam (Adam 1978:60).

"During that time (decision-making period), I wouldn't have
even admitted that I was Amish. I wouldn't have claimed it.
I don't have a name for what I was during that period. We
really don't think about what we were, just what we weren't-
-we weren't Amish kids. I wouldn't have a name for it, but
I wouldn't have said I was an Amish person." Male, Post-
Baptism Amish

"There's some Amish kids out there that would claim
themselves to be Amish, but I wouldn't. Maybe even most
wouldn't." Female, Pre-Baptism Amish

The two most significant aspects of this time period were reported to be the fact that, at age 16, the child is allowed to engage socially without the accompaniment of their parents, and, being ambiguously identified, they are allowed to "try-out" or "practice" being English. Distancing themselves from their parents appears to be necessary, in order to explore English identity. Much of the distancing is symbolic, and is accomplished through the cutting of their hair or wearing English clothing.

The distancing is more than just physical, however, as many reported intentionally becoming emotionally estranged from their parents during this decision-making period. Some reported that they made a deliberate attempt to become verbally hostile toward, or emotionally combative with their

parents, even though they were not experiencing these feelings.

"I rebelled a lot, and I cut my hair, and I did things I knew Mom didn't want me to. I didn't listen to her because I had no respect for her. She was just this stupid Amish mother." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"What it (decision-making period) really amounts to is that you're allowed to go with the young folks or be at their house without your parents along. The message was that you were to do what you previously weren't supposed to do, 'cause you're away from Mom and Dad. You're supposed to go against them, even if you know you shouldn't, or really don't want to." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"It's a time when we could explore being English, to play with being English, but playing with your life is more like it. It's risky business, like that. You'll say anything, do anything, anything that's not right as far as that goes, drinking, bedding..." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Even though it was reported that the Pre-Baptism Amish experience ambiguous identity during this period, a label for adolescents in this period had been culturally constructed. As explained, the label of "simmie" is applied to an adolescent who appears to be "foolish in the head." While a range of descriptors was given, all subjects agreed that this label signified an adolescent who was immature.

Although not all youth were automatically labeled when they enter the decision-making period, it appeared as though most adolescents experienced having this label applied. However, most were so labeled generally only in the first year or two during this decision-making period. It was expected that after an initial period of being particularly immature, the adolescent would begin to "gel" or "pull themselves together," "to get ahold on themselves a bit

144

more." Based upon the descriptions given, being a Simmie

appeared to be analogous to being a college freshman,

juxtaposed to being a senior.

"The young folk generally aren't simmies anymore once they
turn 18. Then we just call them "Yunies." I don't know how
to tell you to spell that, 'cause we don't write our words
down, but that's what we call them. When they get to be
around 18, for some reason they become a little more
sensible. It's just natural. Then we don't call them
simmies anymore." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

It is instructive to note that this label for Pre-

Baptism Amish had not been encountered during previous

fieldwork endeavors. When asked directly about the

existence of a label during the first few interviews, the

Amish denied that a label had been constructed. When the

first Defected Co-Ethnics to be interviewed were asked the

same question, however, the simmie was discovered.

During subsequent interviews, when Post-Baptism Amish

subjects were asked for their definition of a simmie, most

appeared to be uncomfortable, and a few expressed being

embarrassed that the label had become known. These

responses to the simmie label were possibly generated by the

reported derogatory nature of the label. Calling an

adolescent a simmie was reported to be an insult, rather

than an indication of an esteemed status.

"I don't know whether it's a Dutch or German word, but it's
a disgraceful label. You don't brag about it. It's a put-
down. It means you're gullible, or you're dangerous,
because you've broken loose." Female, Post-Baptism

The label of simmie came to be understood as a "black

sheep" label that was applied in a pre-emptive attempt to

shame or warn the adolescent into keeping their deviance within culturally prescribed boundaries. And indeed, it is important to note that not all forms of deviance had been culturally prescribed. It certainly was not a situation of "anything goes." It was reported that the limits to deviance were well known.

"There was a period that I was pretty much a simmie, too much trying to push away Mom and Dad's teaching. I was trying to go too far away." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I just knew that I was doing something that I wouldn't want them (parents) to know. They would not have approved of how I was. I had gone too far outside of what's allowed for even a simmie." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Reports regarding deviant behavior during the decision-making period should be kept in cultural perspective, as it is important to consider that the range of deviant behaviors was more limited among the Amish. Granted, there were reports of excessive drinking and other types of drug use, some reports of sexual exploration, and even reports of sexual aggression, which will be discussed more fully in the following section.

However, when asked to describe more explicitly the acts of deviance that were committed, rather than just express shame or abhorrence, another end of the spectrum emerged. Examples given were intentionally hurting another person's feelings, telling lies about another person, being unkind by excluding another person from a group activity, or just acting in a unwise, reckless, or impractical fashion.

"I did things that I know I shouldn't have, so I deserved the name simmie, I'm quite sure. I remember one time I left

146

my flashlight at her place, but I didn't want to go back and admit I'd left it there, so I just went home without my flashlight. That was a simmie thing to do." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Another seemingly innocuous behavior that signified a simmie was that of the "flashlight simmies." As reported, flashlight simmies earned their label by driving around in their buggies or by walking around late at night, making a nuisance out of themselves with their flashlights. And of course, being a nuisance constituted a sociologically deviant act in the Amish context.

"The silliest kind of simmie is a flashlight simmie. It's like you go, at that age they're starting to drive down the road without their parents along for the first time, and when it's dark, they drive down the road with a flashlight flashing, just however, at people's houses, people's faces, or whatever, just to act up." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

As discussed more fully below, not all of the deviant behavior during this time period could be considered innocuous. Many reports were gathered of deviance that would be considered quite serious in nature, and would be considered serious in perhaps most cultural contexts.

While it was reported that there were many negative consequences of this more serious deviance, the most harm appeared to stem from the fact that, within the Amish context, there did not appear to be consensus within the community regarding the norms during this period of culturally sanctioned deviance. Rather, it was reported that what was allowed varied greatly by district. The following exchange between a Defected Co-Ethnic husband and wife illustrates this point.

"Where we were from, wanting to play a ball game was looked upon as worldly, but at the same time, every summer, I shouldn't even say this, but every summer, around April 1st or so, Dad would go to the store, and he'd buy this malt liquor stuff, and we'd make our own home brew, kegs of it. Kids weren't supposed to get into it, because it was for the adults, but we did. It was for the adults, but us kids had to bottle it. I know he didn't grow up with that, but uh, in the summer time when it was hot, put up hay, guys had cold beers, home-made. That wouldn't happen in every district, and certainly not in most."

"That wouldn't have gone over with my parents, no way!"

"I grew up with it right there, it was an accepted thing, you know. As I told you earlier, we'd walk into the house with a can of beer, bottle of beer, whatever, and you know there was nothing. No response."

"That's what I'm saying, you know. There's a big difference between her parents and my parents, the way we were raised and the way they were raised, even though we were from the same Amish group. It's like that all over this place."

Many reported having experienced a painful state of self-discrepancy regarding identity, as a result of this lack of consensus regarding norms. The fact that the norms varied among the districts within the community engendered instability in the elements of identity. As one Post-Baptism Amish woman noted, "Each district being so different about what's right and wrong sends mixed messages to kids. That was one thing that was real hard for me, 'cause is there more than one way to be right?"

As noted previously, an important aspect of the composite portrait that the Amish have constructed for themselves is that there is tremendous inter-community difference. Inter-community difference is viewed as salugenic, because, as formulated through their Social-

148

Darwinist perspective, the difference allows for "each to find his own niche, where he fits best."

The degree of intra-community difference, however, among the districts within their own community, was more likely to be viewed as pathogenic. As expressed by one Amish woman, "We expect there to be difference in different places (geographic). That's why we're (Amish communities) referred to by our place (geographic location). You know that the Holmes country Amish may be different from some of the Michigan Amish, and they will be different from the Lancaster Amish. But difference shouldn't be broken down any further than that. Otherwise we lose what's important, and that's being the same."

Having difference regarding norms within the community appeared to generate a state of anomie, which was disruptive to identity. As one man stated, "I lost track of who I was supposed to be." From this, it can be understood that having norms that are clearly articulated and uniform is vital to their well-being. As evidence of this assertion, subjects from districts where a greater range of deviance was allowed expressed the highest degree of self-discrepancy, especially if experienced during the decision-making period.

"How can people who are so different claim to be all the same thing? How can we all be Amish if we are so different? If we're all supposed to be the same thing, and if one district is different, doesn't that make them wrong? I always felt a bit ashamed of the loose way we were in our district, and I worried about that. I was worried that we were the ones living wrong." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

149

"It made it real hard for me growing up, with being allowed
more freedoms in our church than I knew others had. See,
most districts were more strict than ours, so I knew that
most weren't like us, so that left me wondering who I was
supposed to be. Even though I liked having the freedoms and
I think it's a healthier way to live, it might be better if
we were all the same thing, either way, all liberal or all
conservative." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

It is important to stress that self-discrepancy was

reported by subjects within all three pools, and not just by

the Defected Co-Ethnics. Otherwise, the conclusion might be

drawn that differentials in norms generated self-discrepancy

because these subjects had already rejected Amish identity,

or were at least struggling with the question. Post-Baptism

Amish actually expressed having had greater self-

discrepancy, and were more likely to express still being in

that state. Whatever self-discrepancy the Defected Co-

Ethnics reported having experienced during the decision-

making period appeared to have been effectively resolved, as

will be discussed more fully below.

"Goin' Amish": Adoption of Amish Identity

"When I was growing up, I always thought I'd want to join
church and go Amish. I'm not certain if I ever understood
what it was about. I don't know if I know yet. But I knew
I wanted to be part of the Amish group. And I knew I
wouldn't be an Amish person until I was old enough to get
baptized and join church. Then you have a part in life, in
communion, and a part in the community, and those who have
joined church. When you can stay in the church when the
children have to leave, when they (the church) take council.
That's when you know you're part of the church, when you
know you're Amish." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Given that reports from the Post-Baptism and Defected

Co-Ethnics were retrospective, it was difficult to ascertain

with any degree of certainty whether the account of the decision making process was an artifact of the process of resolving post-decisional conflict. In an attempt to ascertain the effect of retrospective processes, all subjects were asked to provide as much detail as possible about their decision-making and resolution processes. The details were used to screen for inconsistencies in the accounts that were given.

Among both the Defected Co-Ethnics and the Post-Baptism Amish, virtually no inconsistencies were apparent. Perhaps more importantly, accounts from the Pre-Baptism Amish, which were concurrent rather than retrospective, resonated with the accounts of the other two groups.

Over-arching, it became clear that the social identity that would eventually be adopted was realized within the individual long before the sixteen-year-old child entered the culturally mandated decision-making period. Almost every subject expressed having "always known" at a very early age that they either were or were not Amish. Because identity had already been realized by age sixteen, the decision-making period functioned as merely a time period within which to prepare for the consequences of their decision.

Those who were to become Defected Co-Ethnics used the time period to make plans for defection. Among those who were to become Post-Baptism Amish, those who experienced Amish identity as authentic used this time period to take

advantage of a culturally-sanctioned opportunity to live
"worldly," before entering a life-long commitment to more
chaste living.

There were also those who were to become Post-Baptism
Amish who experienced Amish identity as inauthentic. For
these individuals, this time period was used to develop
coping strategies to manage and resolve an identity that
they planned on adopting, but did not experience as
representative of their true self.

Among the Post-Baptism Amish, five typologies of
identity-adoption processes emerged throughout the course of
this research. Only one typology articulated Amish identity
as authentic, whereas the other four typologies articulated
Amish identity as inauthentic. Each of these typologies
will be discussed more fully below, followed by a discussion
of identities related to, and processes of defection.

Goin' Amish Because I Always Knew I was Amish: Authentic Verses Inauthentic Identity

"I would not know who I was without looking at another Amish
person. I could not imagine me without looking at them. I
wouldn't even know who I was." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Although the smallest number of subjects fit this
typology, there were some Amish subjects who expressed Amish
identity as authentic, as a "natural fit." For these
subjects, having to "adopt" Amish identity was a strange
notion because it was not that the label described them, but
rather, that they were descriptive of the label. As one
women explained, "Saying I'd have to adopt or take on

152

identity as an Amish person would be as ridiculous as saying I'd have to decide whether or not I'm a woman. I just am both those things. I know that some people do need to decide about being Amish, but for me, I just am. I don't have to work at it. I have always been an Amish woman."

Among these subjects, very low levels of self-discrepancy throughout the decision-making process were reported, as well as a very low to non-existent level of post-decisional conflict. They reported having been tempted by worldly things, but not ever to the extent that they thought about defecting from the Amish. They described themselves as always having been well suited to be Amish.

Resonating with reports from the Defected Co-Ethnics, subjects within this category expressed that they had "always known" which identity they would adopt. The amount of exposure to English culture, the presence of siblings who had defected, attendance of public schools, father's employment, quality of family relations during childhood, etc., appeared to not have affected their decision.

These subjects reported having experienced a low level of identity-related depression throughout their lifetime, despite the fact that they reported having experienced out-group stigmatization of their Amish identity. Those for whom identity was authentic reported that stigmatization from the out-group functioned to augment their social identity by allowing an opportunity to emotionally connect

with the experience of the early Anabaptist martyrs "...who had died for their belief in the rightness of being Amish."

"When I first went into the public school, I guess about the 4th grade, we were so ridiculed and poked fun at. But I think the teasing was good for us, 'cause it made you grounded and not proud. We needed that to be Amish." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I was never physically hurt by the English kids, mostly name-calling, like "bowl-head." Now I can laugh about it, but then it wasn't funny to me, 'cause you wanted to be accepted. We brought our troubles home from school, and we talked about it with our parents, and we always felt better after we talked to them. You know, they tried to explain what we were, and what they were. And they tried to set the scene, so we were always ready to go to school the next day." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I felt better when I'd look at Amish people, 'cause then I felt part of the group. I didn't feel so alone in being so different. I knew we were in this together." Female, Post Baptism Amish

Within the remaining four typologies to be discussed, adoption of Amish identity did not appear to be an expression of an authentic identity. Instead, it appeared as though inauthentic Amish identity was adopted reluctantly, out of acquiescence to larger social forces and circumstances.

Goin' Amish as a Cultural Form

The first example of Amish identity as inauthentic is that of those who reported adopting Amish identity as a cultural form, as a matter of style. Several Post-Baptism Amish expressed that they had adopted Amish identity because they had been unable to envision any other way to live, other than as Amish. They reported being aware that

154

alternatives existed, but that they could not imagine living a different lifestyle.

In making this expression, however, it was not that these subjects believed that the Amish way of life was superior. Their reports were qualitatively different from those for whom identity appeared to be authentic. These subjects expressed that they had always known that they were "not as Amish as some," nor were they as well suited to be Amish "on the inside."

They were also likely to express that, even though Amish identity had never been a good fit for them, they did not think that any other would be better. These subjects appeared to have passively acquiesced to Amish identity, rather than have chosen it.

No alternative identity had been sufficiently compelling as a pull-factor; nor had any aspect of Amish identity been sufficiently compelling as a push factor. In essence, as one subject reported, they were just "going through the motions." In these cases, adoption of Amish identity signified the adoption of a cultural form, rather than an expression of an intrinsic experience. For these subjects, adoption of Amish identity appeared to be a mimetic response to domination, as discussed more fully below.

"I think a lot of people are Amish because that's the way they were raised, and we're taught to be. And I think I might be wrong, but I think maybe I'm stretching it, but I think that maybe 90% of the youth, as they grow up they think they're going to leave the Amish, but they don't,

because when you leave, it's like losing your pattern for life." Male, Post-Baptism

"Back then, there was no way I was going to go Amish, around age 16 I was thinking that. But when it got right down to it, I didn't know any other way to be but Amish. I knew how to be that, but I didn't know if I could be English. I'd never been anything but that, so I joined." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"When you hear the songs (in church), it's the same you've heard for years, you know. And when we went to the other church that day (Mennonite church), we didn't know the music. The Amish is all we've known all our life." Female, Post-Baptism

Goin' Amish to Avoid Loss of Social Capital

"We was always told that we couldn't survive without the Amish, without our moms and dads. I grew up hearing that, and I seen what happened to some of those who left. I grew up with hearing that I couldn't survive without them, so I guess I just come to believe that, and was always too afraid to test it out." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Many subjects reported that they had adopted Amish identity because they were emotionally unprepared or unwilling to withstand the loss of social capital among the Amish or to lose their inheritance. Loss of social capital was not expressed to be of primary importance, however. Given the ability of Defected Co-Ethnics to generate social capital among networks of established Defected Co-Ethnics and the English, upon defection, these subjects understood that alternative social capital could be generated. Loss of emotional ties appeared to generate a much higher level of anxiety and reluctance.

Goin' Amish to Avoid Loss of Emotional Ties

Those within this category expressed being aware that, upon defection, it would be possible to generate new

156

relationships and emotional ties among other Defected Co-
Ethnics and within the supportive Mennonite community.
However, they strongly expressed a lack of desire to do so,
viewing relationships with Amish people to be superior.

"None of your Amish friends would be your friends anymore,
and I just couldn't stand that." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"When I was 16, I knew, there was no doubt that I would be
shunned if I left, and I could've taken that. But there's a
different feeling to it now. I'd feel guilty if I left now,
because you know how the people are going to talk about or
look at you, or come up and tell you right to your face.
Some of them might probably say they'd thought about the
same thing, but decided to stay and stick it out. And some
might say, boy, you've really messed up your life. There's
no hope for you, stuff like that. I really couldn't stand
to lose their respect like that." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Well, she (his wife) would feel as though we'd have to move
if we left the Amish. And we'd probably have to, 'cause it
would be real hard to live among the Amish and not have them
communicate with us. We just couldn't stand to not have
Amish around us, in our home." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Going Amish to avoid losing romantic love was a common
explanation for having adopted an inauthentic Amish
identity. Although purely circumstantial, the decision
about identity and the selection of a marriage partner
generally coincided. Because the Amish are highly
endogamous, decisions regarding adoption or repudiation
appeared to have been made jointly. In addition to
influencing the decision, having a prospective mate ready to
join the church reportedly sped the declaration of some, who
expressed that they otherwise would have remained as Pre-
Baptism Amish for a longer period.

"I was twenty-two when I made the decision. I think it came
for me sooner than it did her. I think I may have helped

157

persuade her (to go Amish), because we were wanting to get married." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I knew all the time I wasn't going to be Amish. I was going to be Mennonite. But then he (referring to her boyfriend) went Amish, and I didn't know how to not be Amish without him. But I knew how to be Amish. So I joined the Amish church along with him, and we were married." Female, Post-Baptism

"I joined when I was 20. I got a girlfriend, and she was the reason. She wanted to go Amish, so I went Amish, too." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Well, I think if I would have happened to meet a man that would have said he loves me, he wants to marry me, but he wanted to be Amish, I probably would have gone Amish. Instead, I met this English guy." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I just thought, hey, I could do anything as long as I had her, because I really loved her. And I thought, as long as I have her, you know, I can pretty much get through anything." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Goin' Amish Rather Than Goin' To Hell

One of the primary reasons given for having adopted an inauthentic Amish identity was belief in the threat of damnation to Hell as a consequence for defection. It was reported that, for many, defection violated the 5th commandment to honor your father and mother, as mandated in Exodus 20:12, in the Old Testament of the Holy Bible. It is important to note that not all Amish expressed believing that damnation would be a consequence of defection. Some were abhorred that this belief continued to have force.

However, most did express believing that defection did at least violate the 5th commandment, although they were uncertain as to the punishment. It should be noted that the belief that violation of the fifth commandment would result

158

in damnation was given as further evidence of the manner in which the Amish misinterpret their God's plan of salvation, as outlined in John 3:16, in the New Testament of the Holy Bible.

Some appeared to have resolved this dilemma by constructing the interpretation that defection dishonored parents only if the parents were against defection. Application of this interpretation was limited, however, in that very few parents were ever supportive of defection.

It should be noted that, despite this admonition, some Post-Baptism Amish eventually have repudiated Amish identity, which is considered to place an individual at higher risk of damnation than if defection occurred before baptism. This circumstance was reportedly based upon the Amish belief that, since baptism signified the formal adoption of Amish identity, repudiating Amish identity necessitated the rejection of that baptism.

And of course, rejection of baptism was equivalent to rejection of the teaching of, and therefore the dishonoring of God. Additionally, rejection of baptism was thought to be equivalent to rejection of the teaching of, and therefore dishonoring the entire community. If baptism never was taken, then only the mother and father would have been dishonored. A never-baptized Defected Co-Ethnic, therefore, at least retained the potential to be redeemed.

"I'm still not certain that I'm getting to heaven, but I know if I had broke the 10 commandments, I wouldn't. One break would have put me in the danger zone of having any

hope. I see it a bit different now, but at that time, we were taught that you would be lost, as far as your salvation. If you don't follow the 10 commandments 100%, why you probably wouldn't have any hope. I feel now that you're to honor your father and mother in what they want you to do, but it would be negotiable if it was alright with your parents if you left. If I left now, I'd feel too guilty, 'cause I wouldn't be staying with what I was brought up with. My parents were never in favor of my leaving, and they're passed on now, so I can't ask them how they'd feel now." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I always had the consciousness, I was taught, our upbringing is that we should follow our parents' footsteps or we would be breaking a commandment." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"We're taught that if we leave, if you don't stay with what you were raised in, and honor your parents, which they say is doing exactly as I tell you to, if you're not honoring me, then you'll go to Hell. And they say that's the first commandment that has any meaning to it. That's what I was told." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"It's my own fault that I'm this way now (subject was reporting high levels and number of depressive symptomology), being upset almost every day. I should have left when there was a slight chance that I wouldn't go to Hell for leaving. If I leave now that I've joined, I know certainly I'll go to Hell [long pause]. So, I'm caught here, and I just have to find a way to deal with that. On the worst days, my husband stays home from work with me." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I think they brainwash their kids, you know, really. They pound it into them. And you know, you'd think that if you don't do what they say, you're going to hell. You know, that's not true. I felt it was true when I was young. It made you feel like you should stay with what you're taught." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

Goin' Amish To Avoid Shaming The Family

Public identification of Defected Co-Ethnics within the

Amish Directories (see Chapter 2) allowed the Amish to

identify "unhealthy" families, as defined through their

Social-Darwinist perspective. Defection within families could potentially affect marriage eligibility, for example.

Because of this, most Amish families reportedly experienced some degree of shame over having to list their children as defected, with most experiencing a high degree of shame. Public identification within the Directories functioned as a mechanism of social control, and became a major point brought to bear during the decision-making period.

Many subjects reported that avoidance of public shaming of the family had been their reason for not defecting. These subjects stated that they had been willing to risk damnation in Hell upon defection, but they had not been willing to bring shame upon their mother and father. A few reported that they had wanted to leave, but had been reluctant to do so because of the shame and pain the previous defection of a sibling had caused within the family.

Avoidance of this shaming function was further supported by the creation of the "E" category, first appearing in the 1988 Directory. Based upon reports from the Amish and a systematic tracking of children coded as "E's" from 1988 to the 1995, these Pre-Baptism Amish can be viewed as experiencing decisional conflict (Janis 1977:46). The Pre-Baptism "E's" within this category tend to have exceeded the typical upper-age-limit of the decision-making period (Reiling 1995:30). Tracking and reports indicate

that most eventually do become Defected Co-Ethnics, or "D's" (Reiling 1995:30).

Based upon reports from the Amish, the "E" category can be understood as having been constructed purposely to allow for extended rumination regarding the decision, rather than force highly-reluctant children into a decision. It has been reported that it is the hope of the Amish that by allowing this additional time to those experiencing decisional conflict, the highly reluctant will decide to take baptism.

Even though it is proving more likely that the "E's" will eventually defect, this category remains functional. It has been reported that offering this extension allows for less shame to be brought upon the individual and the family, upon the individual's eventual defection because there is less shame involved in never taking baptism than in repudiating that baptism after having declared.

"I felt that maybe I didn't want to join the Amish, but the more I thought this, the more I knew that it would hurt my mom and dad too much." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Probably the main reason I went Amish was because I knew my mom and dad wouldn't like it if I didn't. My mom, she was, whenever I talked about it, I told her once that when I was sixteen, I wasn't going to go Amish, and when I talked about it, she would get upset. So I knew she wanted me to go Amish, so I guess when the time came for me, I just decided that would probably be best. My mom would have accepted me, but it would have broken her heart." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"My mom would have died of the shame. And she was too good to do that to. She had sacrificed a lot for me, never complaining, so going Amish was the least I could do. I would never want to hurt her." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

162

The Process of Resolution of Identity: A Masochistic Response to Domination

"I don't know who I'd say I am, really. I'd probably say what I've been learned to say, that I am an Amish person. Beyond what I've been learned to say about it, I really don't know who I am." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Most subjects responded that they had never before thought about who they were as an individual, even though they reported that they had spent a great deal of time pondering what it meant to be Amish. Many expressed that they thought it odd to be asked to consider who they were outside of the context of being Amish. Their social identity appeared to totally engulf or subsume their personal identity.

This circumstance was reflected in the reply given to the question, "Who are you?". Every subject responded with a variant of the statement, "I am an Amish person." Heidegerian philosophy would articulate this as a condition wherein the dominated subject has developed as "they" rather than "I".

However, engulfment by a social identity is not evidence of identity as intrinsic. As noted in the preceding section, only a few Post-Baptism subjects appeared to experience Amish identity as authentic and reflective of a state of free consciousness, as conceptualized within Heidegerian philosophy. Rather, for most Post-Baptism subjects, Amish identity appeared to be inauthentic, and

therefore reflective of a state of reified consciousness.

As articulated by Adam, "reified consciousness" is:

"...characterized by tacit acceptance of the given structure
of closed possibilities. The reified consciousness emerges
with the delimitation or desubjectivization of the subject.
The process tends to be accompanied by vicarious
participation of the subject in the power of his dominators
and adoption of their ideology. The reification process
sets the stage for the masochistic response to domination."
(Adam 1978:78).

A critical point in understanding the masochistic

response to domination in this context is that the Amish

report experiencing in-group, rather than out-group

domination more keenly. They reportedly do not view

themselves as being dominated by the English in any

important way.

And indeed, as discussed in an earlier section, much of

the negativity of the composite portrait of the Amish, as

constructed by the English, can be viewed as a backlash

against the power that the Amish exert within their local

community. Even though they acknowledge stigmatization by

the out-group, they do not consider themselves to be

subordinate to the English. As one Post-Baptism female

explained, "It's all just name calling. They (English)

really have no power to hurt us. Not like we do ourselves."

As explained within Chapter 4, out-group stigmatization

appears to actually augment Amish identity, as the group

coalesces around the threat that stigmatization by the out-

group poses. A more important finding was that the Amish

have developed "playing dumb" as a technique that dis-

empowers the stigmatization. In essence, they create a separate domain for that stigmatized identity, though which they act and feel. Having "dumb Amishman" as a distinct and specific identity domain within their global identity set affords protection to their other identities.

In-group domination, however, is quite another thing. Adam views masochism as a guilt-based response to domination. Because domination creates desubjectification, the subject becomes unable to approach their domination in an adequate or successful cognitive fashion. Instead, the subject becomes totally responsive, rather than reflexive. To alleviate self-discrepancy, to become resolved to their domination, the subject assumes guilt for the personal inadequacy that they perceive justifies their domination (Adam 1978:69-77).

And indeed, the guilt-response pattern displayed by the Amish mirrors the guilt response displayed by homosexuals undergoing psychoanalysis, by some blacks, as noted by Adam (Adam 1978:72), and by hospital patients connecting physical pain to personal failing, as noted by Zborowski (Zborowski 1969:235). A sense of resignation with their plight permeated throughout most of the interviews with the Post-Baptism Amish who appeared to be exhibiting a reified, rather than true consciousness. As Garfinkel, Goffman, and Mills have all noted, humans will accept unacceptable circumstances without question, striving to make sense out

of virtually any construction that they are given (Garfinkel 1967; Goffman 1959; Goffman 1961; Mills 1940).

"The desubjectivized subject without conscious decision, becomes subsumed in the rationality to domination. The guilt-based response provides an orientation to the world which is experienced as "adequate" and which nevertheless abnegates the subject's potential for freedom." (Adam 1978:79).

Resolution of Amish identity is achieved, then, through the mimetic response the Amish make to in-group domination, wherein the duplication of the behaviors, thoughts, and feelings of the dominator functions to reduce, or at least manage self-discrepancy. As articulated by Sartre, "Here the individual feels he is doing the 'right thing,' pleasing the sadistic partner whose love he craves, and, in addition, hopes to gain approval by emulating the aggressive trends of the partner even to the point of losing his own identity" (Sartre 1973:95).

Because most Post-Baptism Amish for whom Amish identity was reified, rather than true, had considered defection, going Amish entailed managing their desires to "live in the world." But most of all, going Amish entailed managing their affective response to domination. For many, managing this response necessitated strongly believing in the rightness of their act of adoption of Amish identity, and more importantly, strongly believing in the rightness of their subordination, as previously discussed.

"If you join just because your parents want you to, even if you don't have the conviction, that's OK, 'cause you'll grow into the conviction. You'll eventually become Amish. Just as a mother's milk nourishes, I think that if you go and get

166

baptized without conviction, or without wanting to be Amish, you can still get to be Amish. It's not wrong to be baptized first. I think that gives somebody a foundation to start living on." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

For many, resolving, or at least managing, an inauthentic identity was further accomplished by augmenting the status of their own identity through the diminishment of the status of some. As such, intra-group competition among the Amish was observed, as well as reported to be quite strong, generating various degrees of intra-group hostility and conflict.

This intra-group competition functioned in a fashion analogous to the inter-group competition described in the early work of Diab (1970) and Sherif et al. (1969). However, in this case, intra-group competition appeared to be a response to in-group, rather than out-group domination. Intra-group competition was facilitated through the implementation of various social control mechanisms, such as the use of shaming and gossip, as already described, and the creation of "black sheep."

Marques (1986) has identified the "black sheep effect" as the mechanism through which intra-group differentiation functions to provide a counter-distinction, against which all other group members are measured, in an attempt to achieve group superiority. In other words, the group will set aside what it defines as its non-representative, or inferiorized members. However, because the Amish experience intra-group domination more strongly than domination from

the out-group, the need to augment group status in relation to the English, through the creation of black sheep, was not as great.

The category of black sheep certainly was offered as an explanation of lived contradictions to the out-group, particularly the tourists. But in this context, the black sheep was more important to augment the status of conforming individuals within the group. In other words, the Amish themselves were the audience for whom, and to whom the black sheep were presented, not the out-group.

The construction of the simmie period, as previously described, provides an example of the function of black sheep. For even within this culturally sanctioned period of deviance, the simmie category had been constructed for those who were being deviant in an inappropriate fashion. As evidence of this, it was reported that the label of simmie was highly derogatory, and that greater status was conferred upon those adolescents who were able to be deviant in a non-simmie, or non-deviant way during this period of culturally sanctioned deviance.

The lack of consensus regarding norms, especially during the simmie period, resulted in certain districts becoming known as black sheep districts. The presence of black sheep districts allowed the status of the more conforming districts to increase.

The function of the black sheep category became clear when interviewing, as the sentiment was expressed by many

that, "We may not be all we're supposed to be, but we come closer than others (Amish districts) do." Even though many would preface their reporting of the deviance of others with an expression of embarrassment, the reports were freely made, without prodding. The impression was that, because the Amish were aware of the negative composite portrait that had been constructed of them by the English, during encounters with the English, recognition of the black sheep was a pre-emptive strike.

It could be argued that the lack of consensus was not inevitable, for there are many things about which all Amish would, and do agree. They are indeed more alike than different, especially in juxtaposition to the English. Tolerating a lack of consensus can be understood then as an allowance for a greater range of expression, even though categorized as black sheep. Tolerating black sheep potentially facilitates the maintenance of the group, as otherwise, potentially destabilizing fragmentation would occur, driven by those who could not, or would not conform to the rigidity of norms.

The only other way group members could find a level of domination that was more manageable for them was through where they chose to locate geographically. If they found a particular district to be too restrictive, they could, if able to find property, move into another district. As confirmatory evidence, a local Realtor reported the existence of a waiting list of Amish families trying to

relocate within other districts, precisely because they thought them to be either more liberal or more conservative. However, given that the range of variance among districts was small, options were quite limited. As such, culturally sanctioned slippage, the allowance and tolerance of black sheep, was functional to the maintenance of the group.

A social psychological explanation can be offered to explain the affective response Pre-Baptism Amish made to their structural position in that, those for whom Amish identity appeared authentic would experience a high external locus of control. Therefore, being Amish would be a good fit for them, as they would be able to withstand, and even to flourish under domination.

Those who had been willing and able to adopt an Amish identity that may have been inauthentic could be understood as having a locus of control that was more ambiguous, not particularly highly internal or external. For Post-Baptism Amish within this category, resolution of Amish identity, then, would have been more fully accomplished through the masochistic response to domination.

"Goin' English Because I Always Knew I Was": Repudiation of Amish Identity

"I've never even thought of what kind of an Amish person I would have been. I've never even given that any thought, not even as a child. The thought of being an Amish person is scary, almost scares me to death. Maybe because I didn't ever want any part of it." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

As noted earlier, as with the Post-Baptism and Pre-Baptism Amish, among the Defected Co-Ethnics, identity

appeared to have been realized long before entering the decision-making period. Within this group, it was reported that Amish identity had never been experienced as authentic. Every subject within this category reported that they had "always known" that they were not Amish.

Going English entailed not so much adoption of English identity, however, as it did repudiation of Amish identity. English identity appeared to have been adopted by default. In other words, it was not so much that they wanted to be English, but that they did not want to be Amish. It was reported that Amish identity was rejected long before alternative identities were even known to them, at least within their physical reality.

It appeared that, at a very early age, Amish children who did not experience Amish identity as authentic created an imagined community, similar to the conceptualization of Anderson (1983) or Scheff (1994). They reported that, even as very young children, they had felt discomfort being identified with Amish people, even though they did not necessarily feel uncomfortable being around Amish people. They expressed having felt different, and having felt as though they did not belong. And indeed, probably as a consequence of a high internal locus of control, every subject gave accounts that illustrated their inability to affectively accept domination, even though they had acquiesced until defection could be accomplished.

In their quest to belong, they had created an imagined community, as some place, any place that just was not where they were. The accounts of their early childhood took on a Wizard of Oz quality, as the subjects reported having envisioned "...someplace where life was different, someplace where things made more sense, some way to be that fit." They reported that as they grew in age and understanding, they came to see that their imagined community could be found among the English.

In verification of the early timing of the realization that Amish identity was inauthentic for them, most Defected Co-Ethnics could connect their realization to a specific point in time. They went on to explain that the realization had come long before they had the ability to defect.

"I got whipped, I was black and blue when I was 11 years old, 'cause I told my Mom I wasn't going to be Amish. My opinion never changed since. I knew before then, but I made the comment at that age." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"Well, I just didn't want to be Amish. Period. I think I had that feeling, I had that feeling long before I was 16. I just never had the desire to be that thing, even as a child." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"You had no power when you first realized that you weren't Amish. Your only way out was when you got old enough, you leave. You just had to wait 'til you had grown enough. That seemed like a long time." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I always thought the end of the world would come before I turned 16 because I didn't think Satan wanted me old enough to leave." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

In creating his theory of nationalism, Scheff deals with the question of why group members would choose an imagined community over their real one (Scheff 1994).

Scheff builds his theory upon Shibutani's notion that the impetus for breaking away from one's group oftentimes is not due to an attraction to another group, but rather, a revulsion, or rejection of one's own (Scheff 1994:284). And indeed, as noted earlier, the Defected Co-Ethnics reported that they had rejected Amish identity for themselves long before they had discovered a viable replacement.

Scheff develops Shibutani's work through the application of the sociology of emotions, to argue that bypassed, or unconscious shame of the other, or over the manner in which one has been treated by the other, will cause one to ultimately reject the shameful or shame-inducing other (Scheff 1994:291). This notion within the Amish context will be developed more fully below, through a discussion of the manner in which these subjects reported having been made to feel ashamed of themselves, as well as of Amish people, in general.

When probed for clarity regarding their articulation of an early disconnection with Amish people, of Amish identity as inauthentic for them, every Defected Co-Ethnic expressed a sentiment along the lines of, "It just wasn't me down inside. When I thought about me in relation to them, we were two entirely different kinds of people. Nothing matched."

When asked to clarify statements such as these by giving examples of the mismatch, every subject reported having had difficulty during the culturally mandated decision-making period. The difficulty stemmed primarily from two culturally sanctioned practices that they experienced as abhorrent, drinking and bedding, which will be described more fully below. To varying degrees, the subjects reported having felt ashamed of themselves, as well as of Amish people, in general, because of these practices.

They also expressed having had a very strong affective response to domination, which manifested itself in what could be understood as in-group hostility. The expressed level of self-discrepancy that was generated by their experience of domination provides evidence that those who defect are those who experience a high internal, rather than external locus of control, thereby making adherence to domination cognitively, as well as affectively impossible.

Juxtaposed to those who had been willing and able to adopt an inauthentic Amish identity, among the Defected Co-Ethnics, the inability to adopt Amish identity could have resulted from an early childhood response to domination. Probably because of their higher internal locus of control, these individuals were more likely to report having experienced domination as insulting, disrespectful, and demoralizing. And indeed, Shibutani-Kwan's thesis regarding

moral worth would predict that these affective states would result in rejection of the group (Scheff 1994:286).

In-Group Hostility as a Response to In-Group Domination

Throughout the conduct of the interviews, in-group hostility became an over-arching theme, wherein the Defected Co-Ethnics expressed having experienced, as children, what could be interpreted as hostility toward the Amish. In-group hostility did not appear to have functioned as a push factor, however. The strength of their accounts indicated that having an internal locus of control was sufficient to have caused them to defect.

Rather than being a push factor, in-group hostility appeared to have been generated as an affective response to domination. However, in giving their accounts, the expressed affect did not match the text. Most subjects denied feeling hostile toward the Amish, even though their reports could be interpreted as expressions of hostility. Their responses could be categorized as illustrative of unconscious shame, as conceptualized by Scheff and Retzinger (1991).

Instead of anger, most appeared to have converted their hostility into compassion for the Amish, expressing great "sorrow" and "disappointment" that "...they just didn't know any better." It appeared that many of the subjects remained conflicted as to this issue, for even while using strong

language and emotion to describe domination, they would deny having experienced harm. These subjects alternated between exhibiting inferiority and exhibiting arrogance, as predicted by Scheff and Retzinger (1991). Many of the subjects cried when giving their accounts, but denied that any lasting harm had been done. None of the subjects expressed malice toward the Amish, despite what their own personal plight had been.

This conversion potentially explains the role that the Defected Co-Ethnics and Mennonites take in creating supportive communities for newly Defected Co-Ethnics. For after defection, rather than become totally immersed in their adopted community, most remain involved to some extent with the Amish community, primarily through offering assistance and even refuge for others in their former circumstance. In essence, the Defected Co-Ethnics survive their domination by claiming themselves the victor. They have escaped without harm, while their dominators remain captive.

As evidence of this augmentation of self through the diminishment, or pathologizing of the other, many Amish reported, and it has been observed that the Amish experience the greatest source of ridicule from Defected Co-Ethnics. As one Amish woman noted, "There are a lot of ex-Amish, or people whose parents might have been ex-Amish, a lot of

Mennonites, and I really think those are the people who make the most fun of the Amish, more so than those who never had any association with the Amish. It's like they're trying to put us down to bring themselves up."

In-group hostility appeared to have been generated as a response to domination. Domination was experienced primarily as the thwarting of individual expression and the limiting of personal freedom. A major injury was reported to have stemmed from the cultural mandate to quit school at the age of sixteen, especially if the child had been attending an English school. It was reported that, in some districts, compliance with this mandate was required on the day of the 16th birthday, such that the child would not be allowed to complete the school year.

Having to quit school was reported to be injurious for primarily two reasons. For one, English friends and relationships were left behind. This was a grievous circumstance because oftentimes, the Amish child had more friends among the English than among the Amish, because of their early inability to identify with the Amish.

Being forced to quit an English school also brought about the termination of an outlet for personal expression and creativity. Many reported that the only time they felt free to think for themselves was when they were in the English school. One man told the story of not being able to

create thoughts when he was at home unless he hid himself away. He reported having been punished quite severely and repeatedly for hiding because he allowed this behavior to be interpreted as his wanting to avoid work, rather than admit that he had been freely thinking.

"There's a special place in my heart for those memories because that's a part of my childhood that I cherish, the time I spent alone. [long pause with subject crying] My dad used to get aggravated at me because he couldn't find me, but that's not why I was in those places. When I look back now, it's almost overwhelming." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

In-group hostility was also generated by a thwarting of the self, as a consequence of the admonition to not feel proud of one's self, to downplay one's talents and abilities, and the necessity of having to play the role of a dumb Amishman, as discussed in Chapter 4. Additionally noted as grievous were restrictions in personal freedoms, such as hairstyles, clothing, and home decorations.

Domination through in-group stigmatization, scrutiny, and social control generated a high level of in-group hostility, as well. Post-Baptism Amish reported an equally negative, if not more hostile response. These dynamics will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, as they relate to the mental health experience of Amish people.

"I guess I was around 11 or 12 when I knew I wouldn't stay. There was just something about the way we were talked about and made fun of by other Amish people. They would do it right in front of our face, you know? There was no hiding around the bushes or behind your back, I mean it was right there in front of you. I have to say to this day, there was one girl in my classes that I still don't like because of

what she did. I just decided if that's what these people are, I want no part of them." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

Many Defected Co-Ethnics expressed having greatly resented, and having been deeply affected by witnessing in-group domination of their parents. Most accounts given were of domination of the father, as it would more likely be the father who would deviate, or who would be held responsible for deviance within his family.

"I was angry a lot of times, when I was Amish. I was angry with the Bishops, what they put us through. We had a porch, an entrance, and it was an open porch, and we stained it a particular color, and believe me, we got called on the carpet for staining it that color, just because it wasn't white. It had to be changed, or else. You know, stuff like that makes you very angry." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I never understood what my father was doing that was so wrong. The Bishop would come out to the house and chew him out just for thinking a particular thing! For asking the wrong question, or thinking the wrong thought! My father would just sit there and take it. I used to want to just raise up and defend him, but I never did. I couldn't stand to see my father just sit there. That image still has a powerful effect on me." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

In-Group Hostility as a Response to Self-Discrepancy

The Defected Co-Ethnics and, to a lesser degree, Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish, reported that they had always been critical and suspicious regarding Amish cultural practices, and that they had always sought explanations from their parents. However, they reported never having received an answer that they perceived as satisfactory. As a result, a high level of self-discrepancy was generated, which generated a high level of in-group hostility over not being

179

given answers to questions regarding cultural practices or need for conformity.

One subject expressed remembering his "horror" the day he had the realization that the Amish themselves did not know the answers to the questions he was asking. According to his interpretation, they were just "...following along like dumb animals. What was important was not following the right path, but in simply following!"

"I was very young when I knew I didn't want to (go Amish).
I knew inwardly that I didn't want to be, because I had
asked my mom questions, and she couldn't answer them, except
for, this is the way church tells us that we have to do. I
was real inquisitive, more so than the other kids. I needed
to have specific answers to why I had to do what I did, and
I never got one. Not one." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I had cut my hair, and I could do anything with that that I
wanted to, and my parents knew I was drinking, they knew I
was smoking, but you know, the minute I went to the store
and bought an article of clothing, like a blouse, a skirt,
or what have you, and my mom got ahold of it, it got burned.
That was something that could be seen on the outside (by the
English), but see, the cut hair I could pin back and put my
covering on top. None of it ever made any sense to me. I
couldn't stand there not being any good reason for the
rules, and the difference in the rules really made me nuts!"
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

In-Group Hostility as Generated by Abhorrent Cultural Practices

As a preface to the discussion that follows, it is imperative to note that response to the culturally prescribed deviance during the decision-making period did not vary by subject age, sex, district, or condition of Amishness, whether Pre-Baptism, Post-Baptism, or Defected Co-Ethnic. No subject reported a high degree of belief in

180

the appropriateness of these practices, even though culturally-prescribed and sanctioned.

The point that all conditions of Amishness disapproved of the culturally sanctioned period of deviance must be strongly emphasized. Otherwise, it would appear as though the Defected Co-Ethnics were simply engaging in the self-enhancing technique of misremembering their role in negative events or had simply fixated on the more dramatic forms of deviance in order to justify their decision to defect, rather than admit to more self-serving motivation.

It was also not judged to be the case that the reports were simply being artificially inflated, in terms of number of events and types of events reported, by those simply wanting to fit in by having a story to tell. The stories were too vivid and conveyed with too much pain and remorse to have been fabrications or elaborations. Additionally, the concurrent reports of Pre-Baptism Amish were consistent with the retrospective accounts of the Post-Baptism Amish and the Defected Co-Ethnics.

Every subject reported having been uncomfortable, albeit to varying degrees, with having engaged in acts of culturally sanctioned deviance during this decision-making period. It is plausible that their strong, remorseful response was an artifact of social desirability, but if so, they were all excellent actors. Both words and affect when describing this period were notably strong. Many subjects began to cry when recounting stories of this period.

Several also expressed tremendous remorse and guilt for the acts that they had committed. Those who had been victimized during this period continued to bear the emotional burden of that victimization.

Most expressed high levels of in-group hostility over the presence of, or having felt forced to participate in cultural practices during the simmie period that they viewed as abhorrent, or morally wrong. Many of the subjects expressed having been afraid for their salvation during the simmie period, as they feared that they would be "caught out," meaning that they were afraid that they would be caught in a state of sin.

"I had gone with their youth (Mennonite) a couple of times, and I really enjoyed being with their youth. It was like, you know, they were having good, clean fun. It wasn't like us. We had to go out drinking and other stuff, and I always, when I was with the Amish, I thought, you know, I hope Jesus doesn't come now, 'cause I'm not doing what I should be doing. Whereas when I was with their youth (Mennonite), I felt good about what we were doing. We had an enjoyable time, and we were doing it in a good, clean way. We had nothing to hide, nothing to be ashamed of. I couldn't wait to leave (the Amish)." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I always, when I was with the Amish youth, and you know, wanting to fit in, I never felt good about it. I felt, you know, well it was just kind of like, you know at times I thought, you know, I hope Jesus doesn't come now, 'cause I'm not doing what I should be doing." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I'm very concerned about my children coming to the youth age and running with the crowd. That would be my greatest concern right now. I realize other youth, the English, aren't perfect and there's going to be problems, but that's different, 'cause the Amish say, you know, they sow their wild oats and they go out and do things for a while, but then they come back to the church. But then I'm thinking,

182

but someday, somebody's children are going to be in that state and Jesus is coming. Of course they come back and they change their clothes and they look Amish and everything's supposed to be OK, but how many of them really change their heart. That is my greatest concern. That my children will be in that stage and caught out when Jesus comes. But that's a risk we've all had to take to get to be Amish, passing through that period." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

It is important to note that, even though Authentic and Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish also identified these same practices as problematic, the Authentic Post-Baptism Amish did not report them to have been particularly abhorrent, or as morally wrong. Authentic Post-Baptism Amish had been able to more fully contextually-ground these practices, a grounding that they reported allowed them greater acceptance of the practices, and therefore less self-discrepancy. As illustrated by the quote that immediately precedes this paragraph, even though the Amish view this decision-making period as one of great risk and vulnerability for their children, they interpret the risk and vulnerability to be necessary for the survival of the group.

During the simmie period, those who were to become Defected Co-Ethnics were caught in a double bind, though. They felt that they needed to remain in the home during this time, while they prepared for their defection, and yet, by remaining in the home, they felt bound to honor the wishes of their parents, which meant acting in a culturally appropriate fashion. For these subjects, acting in a culturally appropriate fashion during the simmie period was tantamount to living in sin. Their hostility appeared to

have been augmented by the fact that they knew they would eventually defect.

Alcohol Use as an Abhorrent Practice

The primary behavior of concern expressed by each of the four conditions of Amishness was the use of alcohol, and more recently the introduction of marijuana and cocaine. Proscriptions against the consumption of alcohol and tobacco by Post-Baptism Amish have historically been a primary tenet of Amish culture, and remain in place today (Nolt 1992:142). Compliance by Post-Baptism Amish with this proscription was reported by the Amish in this community to have always been quite high. However, it was reported that there has also always been, and continues to be, some "slippage," particularly regarding the use of tobacco by males.

Although alcohol and tobacco use has historically been denied to Post-Baptism Amish, Pre-Baptism Amish have been held to different standards. The use of these two drugs has always been more tolerated among Pre-Baptism than among Post-Baptism Amish, to the extent that the use has been culturally prescribed, particularly for alcohol. Consequently, the use of alcohol and tobacco by Pre-Baptism Amish was been reported to have always been an integral part of the Amish adolescent experience.

The Amish setting provides an excellent physical and social setting for drug use by Pre-Baptism Amish to occur, during "sings," which are culturally sanctioned youth gatherings. These sings have occurred throughout the

184

history of the Amish, and originally were meant to be social opportunities for adolescents to have Christian fellowship, with the primary activity being the singing of hymns. The sings have also functioned to provide an opportunity for Pre-Baptism Amish of neighboring districts to interact with one another, and to possibly find a marriage partner.

The sings are unsupervised by adults, and occur on private Amish property, usually in a secluded field, or in a barn. The sings are held usually on Saturday evenings, with typically about half the districts hosting a sing on any given Saturday night. The number of attendees varies, but averages from around twenty to as high as around one hundred, depending upon the number of districts hosting sings and the number of Pre-Baptism Amish within the community.

It was reported that the sings also attract a few English youth and young, unmarried Defected Co-Ethnics. It was reported that these two groups are generally the suppliers of the alcohol and cigarettes. More recently, English and Defected Co-Ethnics have been suspected, and in a few cases, identified as the suppliers of marijuana and small amounts of cocaine. Given these dynamics, these sings provide Pre-Baptism Amish with an ideal setting for drug use to occur.

"...I drank and I drank too much, and I would uh, I'd get drunk every time. We all drank. I don't think there was one that didn't drink." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"When I was growing up, more than 40 years ago, every Sunday night there was a sing where there was a lot of partying. Quite a few would actually come into the house and they would sing, but then most of them would be outside, drinking and getting drunk. They'd hang all over each other."
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"My parents did not allow anybody in our house with alcohol or cigarettes. But every time we had church at our house, we always ended up having a sing. Everybody just knew that when church was at our house, there's going to be a sing there, and there's going to be a wild party." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

The Amish articulate a Social Darwinist analysis, wherein only the "fittest" survive to remain Amish. They hold that in order to assure the cohesion of their group, it is necessary for those not "suitable" to be "...weeded out early lest they infect the rest of the group." As they explain, in order for this selection process to be fully effective, the individual must be exposed to temptation in order to have the opportunity to deny the profane. It was reported that the use of alcohol and tobacco by Pre-Baptism Amish has historically provided a culturally sanctioned "temptation test."

It can be argued that this period of exploration potentially serves a latent function of controlling drug use among Post-Baptism Amish. This culturally sanctioned period of experimentation might possibly screen out those who otherwise might not forego the use of alcohol and tobacco as Post-Baptism Amish. Given their Social Darwinist perspective, there is high belief that those thought to have a predisposition toward developing a "drug problem" would be

screened out during this period of culturally-prescribed
experimentation.

Bedding as an Abhorrent Practice

The practice of "bedding" was described to be even more
disturbing to adolescents during the decision-making period
than the use of alcohol. Most explained bedding to be a
practice wherein a boyfriend and girlfriend would spend
Saturday evening together, on a date, but rather than the
evening ending at the girl's door, they would be allowed to
sleep together, with the full consent and knowledge of both
sets of parents.

It was reported that the message was clear that there
was to be no sex. Many made the point, however, that what
constituted "sex" was not clearly articulated, except to
disallow intercourse. It was reported that intercourse
oftentimes occurred, as evidenced by premarital pregnancy.

It was also necessary for the couple to be viewed as
boyfriend/girlfriend, which in this context signified a more
serious relationship than just casual dating. Otherwise,
the girl would get the reputation of being "easy" or
"loose." It was reported that the practice of bedding
"...made life hard on the girls that aren't too pretty"
because they were either ignored, and were therefore less
popular, or their vulnerability was taken advantage of, and
as a consequence, they became the easy or loose girl in the
district.

187

This practice appeared to be more differentially allowed than the drug use. It was stressed that this practice was not tolerated in all districts, and perhaps not even in most. It was also reported that bedding was not practiced as much as it had been in the past. None of the subjects from any of the four conditions could offer an explanation for this practice. Most reported that bedding was allowed to continue out of respect for tradition, and as such, no other rationale was necessary.

"Well for me, once I turned 16, you partied, you drank, you
got drunk and you woke up the next morning and you thought
gosh, what did I do last night? There was times like that,
you know you were out with a different guy every weekend,
you were with him from Saturday night 'til Sunday night, and
crawl into bed with him, and you know there was no sex, but
there was, I mean there could have been. Right in my
parents' home, in his parents' home, friends' house, where
ever you happened to end up at. It was just a normal thing.
They (parents) would have thought different had I gone out
with him on Saturday and he'd of brought me home and left
and then come back Sunday. They would have wondered what's
going on here, you know. That's the worldly way of dating."
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"That was one of the things we didn't want our kids involved
in (sleeping over), so we're glad we left. There's no way I
was going to let some boy walk in my front door and into the
bedroom with my daughter and get into bed with her. We knew
it was wrong when we were doing it. Some allow children to
do it, even though they know it's wrong." Male, Defected
Co-Ethnic

Parental Complicity as an Abhorrent Practice

As noted by Topper, "...every drinker has a culture, and when he is living among his people, he drinks in a manner which conforms to cultural or sometimes subcultural norms" (Topper 1981:78). Given this, it would be expected that following cultural prescriptions for alcohol use, as

well as for other behaviors would not cause Pre-Baptism Amish to experience self-discrepancy. However, it was reported that these prescriptions did indeed generate high levels of self-discrepancy, and hence, functioned to distance many Pre-Baptism Amish from the Amish identity.

As will be discussed more fully below, many reported that they felt they had been harmed during the simmie period, either emotionally or physically. They felt that they had been hurt by other simmies, by themselves, and by parental neglect and complicity in the abhorrent practices.

The hostility generated by the perception of parental complicity was sufficiently great that every Defected Co-Ethnic reported that they had not wanted to raise their own children as Amish. In essence, they left for the sake of the children. They reported that their decision to leave the Amish, despite the shame it would bring upon their parents and the resultant uncertainty regarding their salvation, was fueled not just by their own needs, but also by concern for the future of their children. It is important to note that most Post-Baptism Amish, both Authentic and Inauthentic, shared these concerns.

"I absolutely don't want my kids to do what I did, to be what I was. That's our main battle, right now, thinking of what they might do someday, being Amish kids. Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"Not knowing how they're going to be, and knowing what I done, it'll be tough for me not knowing where my kids are. There would be many nights when my parents didn't know where I was." Male, Post-Baptism

"I didn't want my kids to be Amish for the way they act, for what they go through. Rebellious. Just exactly what I done, exactly. You know, there's no way I want my kids to go through what I did, do what I did." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

These are powerful statements, in and of themselves, but especially when considering that these individuals were very young and in the midst of the decision-making period themselves when they were thinking, and making decisions, about their future children. Several Defected Co-Ethnics reported that the need to not have their children raised Amish was sufficiently strong to have caused them to formally express this desire in their wills, and to name legal, English guardians for their children, rather than risk having family granted, or taking guardianship.

Each of the Defected Co-Ethnics stated that they had no illusions about the fact that English children are deviant, too, and they expressed having had this expectation when their own children had been born. These subjects stressed the point, however, that the difference was that, as English parents, they would not be expected to condone deviant behaviors. Even among the Post-Baptism and Pre-Baptism Amish, the fact that the parents knew, and to varying degrees, approved of their children's deviant behavior, appeared to cause great distress, and as most expressed, a strong sense of disappointment.

"As a young boy, to me it didn't add up (parents' permissive response), but it's the innocence of the child to believe your parents are right in what they teach you. As I got older, it became more clear. I got to the point where I was disappointed, I was heart-broken [long pause while subject

190

crying]. All those feelings added up to why I left. These are things my wife doesn't even know. When I left home, it wasn't because I didn't like my mom and dad. I left home because I couldn't stay Amish. I couldn't live that culture. It just didn't add up. I couldn't do my kids that way." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

Even though subjects from each condition expressed concern for these practices and discomfort regarding the role of the parents, the response was strongest among the Defected Co-Ethnics. Both conditions of Post-Baptism Amish appeared to have resolved the self-discrepancy that had been generated by relying on the need to preserve tradition as an explanation.

Additionally, the higher degree of internal locus of control among the Defected Co-Ethnics could explain this difference in affective response. Those with a high internal locus of control would have a greater need to act in juxtaposition to, in order to avoid complying with the external. Those with a greater external locus of control, would not have as great a need to stand in juxtaposition to, but rather, would have a high need to conform to the external agents.

It is possible that Amish adolescents with a high internal locus of control need these otherwise deviant behaviors to not be normalized during this decision-making period, as doing so restricts resistance against the authority of their parents. For those with an internal locus of control, resistance appeared to be a mechanism

through which identity developed, in contradistinction to that of their parents.

Most subjects expressed having been distressed, to various degrees, over the sense that some parents derived vicarious pleasure from knowing that their children were engaging in these behaviors. It was reported that some parents expected a detailed account of their child's activities.

The Defected Co-Ethnics much more strongly articulated this as a violation of appropriate parent/child boundaries, even though this behavior was culturally prescribed and therefore sanctioned. The discomfort could best be described as stemming from being the object of parents' transference, whether their own parents, or just parents, in general. Several expressed having felt as though they had engaged in behaviors simply to be able to report to their parents that they had, to win their parents' approval by having a story to tell.

"I think some of the parents who feel that way (supportive of deviance) are still battling with it themselves. It's something that they're not quite able to let themselves, you know, from years past, heal from. They're probably more lenient towards their kids then. They can't view it as wrong if they haven't accepted that for themselves." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I felt as though we had to do those things so that our parents could remember what it'd felt like to be free, like they needed us to do that for them." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

A sense of disappointment with their parents pervaded the interviews. Several subjects, from among both the Post-

192

Baptism and the Defected Co-Ethnics, expressed having felt ashamed for their parents, as it appeared as though their parents, and the Amish, in general, through their complicity with these practices, were neglectful of their children.

The claim was made that this neglect took the form of not providing adequate supervision, not providing adequate education regarding the use of alcohol, not providing adequate protection from victimization, particularly that which accompanied alcohol use during the sings, and not providing an adequate response when victimization did occur. The subjects made the point that, if English parents were condoning, and to some extent encouraging these types of deviance, their children would be placed in the care of the State.

It was reported that not all parents were in support of the culturally sanctioned deviance that occurs during this period. But it was also reported that there was tremendous peer pressure among parents to encourage their children in this deviance, or at a minimum, to not speak out strongly against these practices. It was explained that, particularly within a collectivist culture, which maintains stability through consensus and tradition, and which is arranged in a hierarchical fashion, raising objection to a long-held cultural practice would not be welcomed.

It was apparent that the subjects felt no power in changing these cultural practices, nor did they feel that they would have power to raise their children in a different

fashion if they remained Amish. When queried directly on this point, the response given was that the peer pressure, to parent your children in "the Amish way" would have been too strong to resist. In other words, these parents did not seem to be able to imagine not conforming, if living as an Amish person, and either acquiesced, if remaining Amish, or saw no alternative but to defect. Even the Post-Baptism parents did not express a high degree of confidence in their ability to raise their children counter to cultural mandates.

It was reported that parents oftentimes encouraged children in their deviance because they wanted their children to be "popular." Given the importance of marriage in this culture, as well as the fact that divorce is prohibited and that the marriage pool is limited due to the practice of endogamy, it is desirable, especially for women, to create as large a pool of potential marriage partners as possible.

"We were told that's just the way we do it in this culture. If you didn't you weren't part of the group. Just for an example, when I was about 17, 18 years old, there was a group of us girls that hung out together, and we were sick and tired of the party scene, so we decided we were going to organize a church youth volleyball game, every Tuesday night, or one Tuesday night of the month, or whatever. And we went home and told our parents what we were going to do and they didn't want that. We don't do that sort of thing. That's the worldly way of doing things." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"Just lately, a girl who turned 16, it was her first time to be with the youth, and she right away started dating a guy that was much older than she. He had her every weekend, just like that, and I said, boy, I bet that mother thinks

194

she's got it good 'cause she always did appear to me like she wants her kids to be very popular. But her nephew said he didn't think she was happy about it, because she wants her kid to be popular, to have 100 different dates, rather than just the one boy." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"Today those that don't get involved with that kind of stuff (drugs and bedding) are the goody-goodies, the second class. You want to be the number one class. You want to be with the top class, and if you're going to be there, you're going to have to drink alcohol." Male, Pre-Decision Amish

"Some groups don't drink. Then we've got a middle-class, and they do have some alcohol and some smoking, but they don't dress way out. The ones that are number one, they don't dress the way we're taught to dress, and they do everything else, a lot." Female, Pre-Decision Amish

"I didn't know, I just don't feel I knew better, I wasn't taught the consequences, I think. I just didn't know what alcohol could do. There was no teaching. In fact, my parents encouraged me to drink and go 'round. They knew I didn't like to drink, but they were afraid I wouldn't be popular if I didn't go along." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I had an Amish mother talk to me about her daughter, and she's all upset because some guy did this to her daughter, took her out Saturday night, brought her home, then left. That's not the way Amish do things." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"There is one Amish lady who comes around, and she'll talk about it (drinking), and she got mad because the cops stopped her kids and they were drinking, and she says they weren't hurting anybody, so why don't they just leave them alone. They were breaking the law, but she just didn't see a problem." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I never had too many (Amish) friends. I never dated around very much like most of them did. I was never real popular with the youth and part of it was because of my different feelings (referring to drug use)." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

As such, it was reported that it was not uncommon for parents to discount their children's reports of victimization entirely, or for the parents to simply advise

195

their children to view their victimization as part of their

duty to perform.

"They (her parents) knew that bad things were happening. I
told them, but they ignored it. They brushed it under the
carpet. They didn't do anything to change it." Female,
Post-Baptism Amish

"Yes, my parents knew what we were going through. There was
six of us kids, and every one of us went through it. We
were told to turn the other cheek, the way they do, you
know. You don't fight back, and my mother especially, she
was (long pause), she was a very humble person herself. She
took a lot of abuse, uh, and a lot of the same, you know,
because of my dad, and she just turned the other cheek, and
faced life. That's what Amish women do." Female, Post-
Baptism

The Process of Repudiation: I Am Not Who You Said I Was

As will be described, resolution of the new identity

emerged as a result of a process of "affiliation cycles"

(Goffman 1986:38), wherein the newly defected person

gradually and in a one-step-forward-two-steps-back fashion

came to accept their new group membership and to more fully

believe in the rightness of their new group. As noted

earlier, it was clear during the conduct of the interviews

that the Defected Co-Ethnics had come to accept that a moral

career (Goffman 1986:34-37) as one who had left the church

had been imposed upon them.

Reflection upon their moral career had allowed them

three things. First, every Defected Co-Ethnic identified

their act of leaving the Amish as a significant turning

point in their life, an epiphany, as such (Goffman 1986:38).

Goffman notes that these epiphanies generally occur as a

result of having been ostracized due to some social failing,

196

in Goffman's work, being placed in a mental institution (Goffman 1986:40).

In the case of the Amish, the ostracization period was the excommunication event, as will be discussed below. The Defected Co-Ethnics reported that they certainly had known what response the Amish would make to their defection, but that it was not until the actual moment of leaving that they "got it." In this expression, the role of experience was highlighted. It was only upon defection that they could actually begin to emotionally, as well as cognitively, process their experience.

Second, reflection allowed them to construct an account of their past experiences (Goffman 1986:38). One of the limitations of this study that will be discussed in Chapter 9 was that the accounts were retrospective, so it was difficult to assess the extent of reconstruction that occurred in these accounts. But, several of the subjects had defected fairly recently, such that they were indeed well within the throes of the affiliation cycle, such that concurrent account were indeed gathered. Additionally, even subjects who had been defected for many years were able to discuss the nature of the process of account making that they had engaged in.

As Goffman has noted, when a stigmatized person cannot directly change their circumstance, they will attempt to ameliorate their experience through indirect methods, one of which is to reassess the "normals" and put them into a

different perspective (Goffman 1986:9). And indeed, the Defected Co-Ethnics reported this phenomenon, as they recounted the process of coming to internalize, rather than merely understand, that notions held by the Amish about those who defect were based upon fallacies.

As noted earlier, the Defected Co-Ethnics, as well as the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish demonstrated an uncanny ability to construct a politics of identity analysis, which served them well in being able to deflect rather than internalize the stigmatizing identity. Some might argue that this reassessment of the limitations of the normals was merely a self-serving act. While certainly the consequences of constructing a politics of identity analysis cannot be denied, the claim cannot be made that their analysis was sociological incorrect. Their process should not be discounted as merely self-serving. Putting the normals into perspective was a highly salugenic occurrence.

Third, having done this work of making an account, they were able to then move on to normalize (Goffman 1986:38) their life in relation to the imposition of their moral career as one who had left, and construct what they reported to be highly successful and satisfying lives as English person. And, because their resocialization as an English person had been so successful, they expressed a high level of resolution of identity.

The newly defected did not get to this point alone, however. As will be demonstrated below, social networks

among previously Defected Co-Ethnics and sympathetic
Mennonites were crucial to their success, as Goffman and
social network theorists would have predicted (Goffman 1986;
Portes et al. 1996).

Reports regarding the process of defection resonated
with the experience of homosexuals "coming out of the
closet," both logistically and emotionally. Formal
repudiation began with the declaration event, followed by
the penalty stage (excommunication), and culminated with the
resolution of the new identity, through the resolution of
guilt, the development of alternative social networks, and
the adoption of alternative religious doctrine. Each of
these steps in the affiliation cycle will be discussed more
fully below.

The Declaration Event

Because identity had been realized long before reaching
age 16, the decision-making period had been used to make
preparations to leave, rather than to deliberate that
decision. When conditions were deemed right to leave, the
declaration event occurred. Two models of the declaration
event emerged: leaving without giving notice, and leaving
with confrontation. Both models are illustrative of the
fact that the question of the adoption of identity did not
appear to be open to discussion.

The first model, leaving without giving notice,
appeared the most common. A few reported that their parents
had not even suspected that they would leave. Most reported

199

that they had left without notice in an attempt to avoid

having to see and hear the pain that they felt certain their

parents would experience. The concern was that witnessing

the pain would have made leaving more difficult. And too,

the subjects saw no reason to put their parents through the

experience of having to say good-bye.

Because they were resolved in their decision to leave,

the subjects reported that they did not feel much, if any,

guilt over leaving without notice. As one subject

explained, "Why should I have felt guilty over something

that I knew I had to do? There was no decision to be made

here. My leaving was inevitable. I just was not Amish. I

am sorry that they were hurt, but I didn't create that

situation."

"My mom and dad came home one day and found me gone. That
was the best way for all of us. Just to go quietly."
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

The less common model was that of leaving with

confrontation. Those using this model had made their

decision known to their parents, and had announced when they

would be leaving the home. These subjects reported that

they had wanted a peaceful parting, and an understanding, or

at least an agreement, that leaving was the best for

everyone involved. As such, the confrontation was most

generally the result of the declaration, rather than the

intent.

Instead of a peaceful parting, this declaration

resulted in what most described as a great deal of angry and

pain-filled confrontation, as making the declaration gave the parents an opportunity to challenge the decision. Some parents also used the declaration as an opportunity to thwart the defection by attempting to sabotage plans that had been made, such as housing or employment plans or the purchase of an automobile.

Excommunication

Historically, excommunication was complete, to the extent that all family and community members would be ordered by the Defected Co-Ethnic's Bishop to have no social relations with the Defected Co-Ethnic. The two sides virtually went their separate ways. The Amish and Defected Co-Ethnics reported this excommunication to be an extremely painful state.

It was reported that within the past few decades, some of the Bishops within this community have begun to demand such total excommunication for only a short amount of time, perhaps a few months, rather than for life. It was reported that, if the Defected Co-Ethnic could demonstrate that they had joined a Mennonite church, the family would be allowed some level of communication with their defected child, if desired. The Defected Co-Ethnic must provide their former Amish Bishop with a letter from their new Mennonite minister, verifying good attendance, along with baptism and membership records.

It was reported, however, that even after meeting these conditions, communication generally remained quite limited.

Consequently, excommunication upon defection remained a painful state. It was also reported that family relations remained damaged, or estranged, at least to a certain extent, even after communication had been re-established.

"My Mom finally got us together again...it was very uncomfortable, because I knew, I had told them before hand they will not preach to me or I will get up and leave. I finally consented to coming home (to visit them), OK, but do not stick anything, do not push anything down my throat, don't stick anything in my face. If you want to see me, I want to see you, but you do not shove anything in my face, or I will turn around and leave and I will leave for more than 9 months (the amount of time since defection). You know, the thing about it is we lived right in the same community. I never moved out of the area. My Mom and Dad lived here, and I lived in the same town. I'd see my Dad go around the corner in the horse and buggy. I'd see my Mom go by with tears in her eyes, you know, but they wouldn't stop in. My Dad tried a couple of times. He'd come to the door. He was gonna come in the house, but I sat inside and watched him, 'cause he wasn't coming into my house. This was my house. You see, my Dad had the habit of saying, 'This is my house, and you're going to do what I tell you.' And now the shoe was on the other foot. This was my house. You know what I'm saying? And that's very sad, that that is that way, that it was that way, OK? It isn't that way anymore. We finally had a confrontation....I don't really remember what year it was, or how many years later, but I remember vividly when it happened and where it happened, because there was a mutual understanding that nobody talks about anything (referring to defection), or I won't show up, because I heard it for 18 years and I wasn't going to hear it again, you know that's a very decisive thing, it's a very strong, it's a very strong comment." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I know it was more than 6 months (with no communication). As far as my family, my family really didn't reject me that much. Our neighbors did, people in church, you know. You were just a total outcast. But it was only about 6 months before my family talked to us." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"They wouldn't eat with you, they wouldn't ride with you, if we'd go back to visit to our house. Before there was always a group of us that got together and played cards and stuff,

well that all stopped. We were no longer part of that."
Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"You get rejected and you really feel bad. You know,
there's some times you really feel bad. You're a total
outcast, and you don't have a whole lot of friends."
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"My family never did shun us, but his did. So long as we
were excommunicated, they're not supposed to eat with us and
that kind of thing, where my family did. They really strove
with us, but his family wouldn't. I mean like we'd get
together once a month and we eat cafeteria style, but they
would come and like they'd fix our plates and bring it to us
because we weren't supposed to dip the food out ourselves,
you know. It was more or less to protect themselves."
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"We had left in January, so we would have been
excommunicated soon after that. And then by next Christmas,
we had become members already in another church (Mennonite),
so once we were members of the other church, then they
looked at that. So then I remember the ban was lifted, so
that Christmas, we sat down at the table and we were just
like family, and they actually used us well. It was nothing
like most people have to experience. We had it good."
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

Resolution of Identity: Becoming Openly English

Because Defected Co-Ethnics had experienced Amish

identity as inauthentic, the repudiation of Amish identity

became fairly well resolved upon defection. As evidence,

these subjects reported very low, to non-existent levels of

post-decisional conflict regarding their decision to defect.

Even though these subjects had already adopted English

identity internally for several years, they reported a need

to resolve the public nature of their newly adopted identity

as English. In other words, they had to publicly declare a

new philosophy, to learn to live like the English, and to

deflect the imposition of guilt and shame. Becoming "openly

203

English" was accomplished through the adoption of an alternative religious doctrine, the development of alternative social networks, and the resolution of guilt and shame.

Becoming Openly English Through the Resolution of Guilt and Shame

The explanation for defection given by Post-Baptism Amish is that those who defect are those who want to lead a more worldly life, those who are not sufficiently strong to resist the temptations of the flesh. However, it has been observed that most Defected Co-Ethnics do not live very much more in the world than the Amish, as most join an Anabaptist group that is more liberal by only one or two degrees.

As noted in the opening discussion of this section, every Defected Co-Ethnic reported awareness of this construction, as well as awareness that the construction was false. Further, they reported knowingly and willingly allowing this construction to stand, and even fostering this construction, even though as a consequence, they experienced attempts to impose upon them guilt and shame. They reported that they were willing to sacrifice their own reputation within the Amish community, in order to spare the Amish an even greater sense of rejection. In essence, they willingly allowed the imposition of a moral career as a deviant.

"I've heard (Amish) people say that they (Defected Co-Ethnics) leave because they wanted to go party, or they wanted to·live in the world, or they wanted to do things a different way. I got involved in a lot of that, but that's not why I left. So see, that might just be a cover, it might be a cover given to be accepted. I've never told

anyone that, though. I never told anyone the real reasons why I left. I just let them think it was my weakness."
Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

The subjects were adamant in their assertion that they did not feel ashamed or guilty for having defected. It was explained that in order to feel ashamed, you must first feel guilty. And, no Defected Co-Ethnic reported having felt guilty for having defected. Nor did any subject report feeling guilty indirectly, as a result of the pain that had resulted from their defection.

As discussed earlier, however, many of the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish reported having taken baptism precisely because they would have felt too guilty about the shame brought upon the family upon defection. Again, locus of control appeared to be what separated these two groups. Because the Defected Co-Ethnics appeared to have an internal, rather than external locus of control, they were not as likely to take responsibility for, or be acquiescent to, larger social forces.

In terms of the psychology of the matter, it could be said that the Defected Co-Ethnics were well adjusted, as they explained that they were refusing to take responsibility for a cultural response that they articulated not having had a role in constructing. As one woman noted, "They have to take responsibility for the consequences of their crazy notions about the world. I'm not responsible for what they believe. I did not create those beliefs."

The Defected Co-Ethnics did report having experienced, and some reported continuing to experience, various degrees of "sorrow" over their defection. The sorrow was reported to have stemmed from knowing that their defection had brought shame and hurt upon the family, especially their mothers. As such, the fact that their defection had caused pain was the only regret the Defected Co-Ethnics reported having. But again, even though they were saddened by the response made to their defection, they took no responsibility in creating that response.

As Goffman would explain, the Defected Co-Ethnics had simply decided to accept the moral career that had been imposed upon them (Goffman 1986:40). They were also quite willing to accept and play the concomitant role. Because of this, they did not challenge the accusations made by the Amish that they had defected simply because they wanted to go worldly. As the previous quote indicates, they simply allowed the Amish to think it was their weakness.

Resolution Through the Establishment of Social Networks Among Defected Co-Ethnics and Sympathetic English

The work of Portes and Rumbaut is highly instructive as a framework through which to view the manner in which social networks ameliorate what might otherwise be an excruciatingly difficult and painful plight for the Defected Co-Ethnics (Portes et al. 1996). Even though their work concerns the experience of immigrant and refugee populations, it resonates quite effectively with the

experience of the Defected Co-Ethnics. For in a sense, the Defected could be viewed as an immigrant population.

The Amish Directory provided evidence that most Defected Co-Ethnics locate in close geographic proximity to their parents after defection, so unlike immigrants or refugees, they did not experience geographic dislocation. But, it is important to note that the overarching commonality between those who defect from the Amish and immigrant/refugee populations is that they share the circumstance of having a great deal of social distance to travel.

As such, it will be demonstrated that those who defect share with immigrant/refugee populations four circumstances that social networks function of ameliorate, as identified by Portes and Rumbaut: 1) loss of contact with home, 2) culture/exile shock, 3) the experience of engulfing events that test emotional resilience, and 4) the modification of identity (Portes et al. 1996: 155-191). It will further be demonstrated that, as found among most immigrant and refugee populations, these social networks serve as a buffer against mental distress (Portes et al. 1996).

It was reported that the loss of social capital was diminished a great deal by the pre-defection development of social networks among Defected Co-Ethnics and among sympathetic English, particularly Mennonites. As discovered

within earlier research, previously Defected Co-Ethnics

create valuable migratory streams for those considering

defection. These networks function to serve both the

emotional and instrumental needs of the newly defected.

"You have to go out and make new friends. We started going
to church at another church, a Mennonite church, where my
sister went, so we learned to know those people. We kind of
made a new family." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

These networks were vital in assisting those

considering defection in finding housing, and particularly

in finding employment in English shops. Given the long-held

cultural practice of having the child's income given to the

father, if requested, having an English rather than Amish

employer was vital to assure that a separate economy would

be possible.

Most subjects reported extensive plans that had been

made prior to the actual defection. In almost every case,

these plans were made without the knowledge, support, or

involvement of their parents.

"It was set up for a long time. I started working when I
was 15 or 16 at a local shop, for an Amish guy. Then when I
was 18, I wanted to go to the factory. One of the neighbor
boys down the road worked at a factory, and he knew that I
would like to go, but I had to convince my dad, 'cause I was
still living at home...I probably would have went anyway,
but it was easier 'cause I had my dad's consent, and I was
also at the point where I knew the transition would be
easier. Once I was there (in the factory), once I was
established, and I knew I would have my job, because where I
went, the reason I chose to go there was because I knew that
if I could make it there, be out on my own, I had nothing to
lose. I could make it anywhere." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"It was me and another guy (also Pre-Baptism at the time)
that became friends and he had a job and he got to keep his

208

money. I was bringing my paycheck home (to his parents).
He had money to buy a car, and we scrounged up enough money
to pay rent for the first month and a deposit. He was only
16 and didn't have a license, but I was 18, so I had a
license, so the combination got us out." Male, Defected Co-
Ethnic

Resolution Through An Alternative Religious Doctrine

Many Defected Co-Ethnics reported having resolved their

identity, as well as their defection, through finding the

"correct way that God wants us to be." Most generally, this

discovery occurred in a Mennonite church. As noted earlier,

Mennonite churches were a vital resource for Defected Co-

Ethnics, and many reported not having made their declaration

until they had chosen a Mennonite church to attend. In

addition to providing a social group, a church family,

within which to interact, Mennonite churches offered an

alternative interpretation of scripture and religious

practice.

"The Amish church, as far as your scripture goes, they just
kind of stay at a certain point, and I think someone that's
really searching for the truth is just going to find it's
not there. We found spiritual growth in the Mennonite
church where we go now." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"It's just like, well that verse in 1st John that you can
know that you're saved, they (the Amish) never come across
that scripture, but it's there. We can't ignore it. That's
basically where we came to the conclusion that it was OK
that we left the Amish. We were doing the right thing."
Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"Since I left the Amish, she (her sister) feels we can't be
as close as we used to be. We don't share in the same
things, and they do things different than we do, in some
ways. They all get together and they have a lovely time,
they really do, I agree, but I say life has to be more than
that. As far as putting up treasures in heaven, it's more
than just getting together and having a good time, and all

agreeing with each other and feeling the same. They (the Amish) just don't get it." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"The Amish came to be deceived through Satan's deception of human kind." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

It was common for subjects to have had their first exposure to an alternative religious doctrine as Amish children, while attending Mennonite, summer vacation Bible schools. As children, they had been invited to these Bible schools by Defected Co-Ethnic relatives who had become Mennonites or by Mennonite neighbors. It is important to note that many Post-Baptism Amish reported having also attended Mennonite Bible Schools.

"I know as we were growing up as a youth, I'd always felt that I wanted to go to another church. My aunt, well a lot of my aunts (all Defected Co-Ethnics) had gone to this church (Mennonite), and I always looked up to them because they had taken me there to Bible School, and I just liked that way of life." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

Involvement with Mennonite churches provided religious doctrine regarding salvation that went contrary to that of the Amish. It was reported that this alternative doctrine provided a counterargument that helped to alleviate fear of Hell as a consequence for having violated the commandment to honor their father and mother by defecting from the Amish. As such, Mennonite churches were instrumental in the transition from Amish to English.

However, Mennonite doctrine had not resolved this question for everyone. Several Defected Co-Ethnics reported continuing to be uncertain of their eventual fate, even though they also expressed having no regret over defection.

210

"I will never forgive them (the Amish) for telling me that I would go to Hell if I left. I'm (over 50 years old), and there's not a day goes by that I don't ponder that question. I'm still not certain. I might go to Hell for it, but I would make the same decision again today, even if I was certain that leaving would mean damnation in the here-after. They knew I was leaving. They knew I wasn't Amish, so why couldn't they just let me be?" Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"...worldly was somebody that goes to Hell...didn't make no difference to me where I was heading, 'cause it didn't make any sense being Amish." (Defected Co-Ethnic, male)

What then do we conclude about the role of social networks in the mental health experience of the Defected Co-Ethnics? Certainly the role of instrumental social support in reducing the impact of engulfing life events has been made clear and resonates with the findings of many social network theorists (Bonacich et al. 1980; Gold 1991; Gottlieb 1981; Portes et al. 1996; Wellman 1981). Additionally, the role of emotional social support must be emphasized, for its impact in reducing the extent of culture/exile shock, in recreating family, and in providing an alternative identity.

But, along with those understandings, Portes and Rumbaut would direct us to also consider the relevance of the context of reception and the context of exit in reducing emotional distress (Portes et al. 1996:168-175). As has been evidenced, supportive social networks create for the Amish a highly salugenic context of reception.

Additionally, two aspects of their context of exit help to explain their reports of a generally positive mental health experience. First, unlike refugees and some

211

immigrant populations, they chose to leave. Second, their

decision to leave was based primarily upon the need to

improve their mental health, rather than based upon economic

motivation or political imperative.

As such, it should not be surprising to find that

defection was a salugenic rather than pathogenic experience.

One of the strongest contributions of this dissertation

research has been to illustrate the point that the social

response made to an individual's chosen identity, such as

stigmatization, is perhaps not the most important factor to

consider, but whether the identity that is manifest fits

with the identity that is held.

In summation, self-consistency mattered, but as will be

discussed in the chapter that follows, many other factors

contributed to the experience of depression among the Amish.

Additionally, it should be reiterated that the data was of a

qualitative nature, meant to perhaps suggest correlation,

but certainly not causation.

The reader should also be reminded of the point made

early in this chapter that even though most Amish reported

what could be described as a high level of depression, they

did not appear to be unhappy or dissatisfied with their

life. As Rumbaut has found among other groups (Rumbaut

1991), this counter-intuitive finding can be explained as

stemming from a distinction between cognitive appraisals of

life verses the affective response made to life. In other words, the Amish are satisfied with the more difficult path that they have chosen. They find significant meaning in struggle.

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.
MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
AUG 2 9 2005		
	•	

AN EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMISH IDENTITY
AND DEPRESSION AMONG THE OLD ORDER AMISH

VOLUME II

By

Denise Mae Reiling

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

2000

The third obj

generate and docum

experience of men

in which social i

experience of the

fous on the role

This researc

examine the inter

psychological pr

positions Mechan

how do Amish peopl

their social iden

they feel about b

they engage in to

group domination

What cognitive ra

reconcile their g

questions could b

relationship betw

noted by Broman

The selecti

condition of inte

First, depression

previous research

CHAPTER 6

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE EXPERIENCE OF MENTAL HEALTH AMONG THE OLD ORDER AMISH

The third objective of this dissertation was to generate and document understandings of the Amish experience of mental health. More specifically, the manner in which social identity scripted the mental health experience of the Old Order Amish was examined, with a focus on the role of identity in depression.

This research afforded a much-needed opportunity to examine the interstitial area between micro-level, social psychological processes and macro-level, structural positions (Mechanic 1989; Pearlin 1992). In other words, how do Amish people respond to the structural position that their social identity as Amish places them into? How do they feel about being who they are? What emotion work do they engage in to manage their affective response to in-group domination and in-group stigmatization, for example? What cognitive machinations become necessary? How do they reconcile their conflicted identity? Answers to these questions could be instrumental to understanding the relationship between ethnic identity and mental health, as noted by Broman (1996) and Herman (1996), among others.

The selection of depression as the mental health condition of interest was driven primarily by four factors. First, depression had been the focus of most of the previous research regarding mental health among the Amish

214

see Chapter 2 for

concern regarding

previous fieldwor

The third se

reports and obser

of identity in th

course of this d

mental-health pro

as it was reporte

clinical diagnosi

professionals fur

specific cultural

depressive sympto

The fourth a

theoretical fram

hypothesized as

apparent when in

framework, a conf

identity and locu

important contrib

being inauthentic

been reported up

Four additi

depression era

attention, identi

ambivalence. Ea

this chapter.

(See Chapter 2 for discussion). Second, a high level of

concern regarding depression had been discovered during

previous fieldwork endeavors.

The third selection factor was previous fieldwork

reports and observations that were suggestive of the role

of identity in the generation of depression. During the

course of this dissertation research, reports from English

mental-health professionals supported this line of inquiry,

as it was reported that depression was the number one

clinical diagnosis made. English mental-health

professionals further espoused the belief that Amish-

specific cultural factors were generating high levels of

depressive symptomology.

The fourth and final selection factor was that of a

theoretical framework through which self-discrepancy was

hypothesized as generating depressive states. Although not

apparent when initially developing the theoretical

framework, a conflict between authenticity of Amish

identity and locus of control quickly emerged as an

important contributory factor to depression, particularly

among Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish. These findings have

been reported upon more fully in Chapter 5.

Four additional identity-related factors contributing

to depression emerged: cultural dynamics, self-focused

attention, identity-based shame, and shame-induced

ambivalence. Each of these factors will be examined within

this Chapter. Discussions of the construction of local

nowledge, the cu

he sick role wit

well. The displa

n English medica

this context will

The Relationship B

As noted ear

emerged as contri

ommunity under s

attention, identi

ambivalence. The

be discussed toge

of self-focused a

depression, parti

Irish. Finally,

specific, cultura

contributing to a

The Role of Ident
Ambivalence in Ge

It was repor

depressed because

ashamed reported

shame, stemming a

than out-group s

ter and Post-Bag

ambivalence, whi

Inauthentic Post-

knowledge, the cultural response to mental distress, and the sick role within the Amish context will be included, as well. The displacement of local knowledge, the ascendancy to English medical power, and barriers to help seeking in this context will be dealt with in Chapter 7.

The Relationship Between Identity and Depression

As noted earlier, four identity-related factors emerged as contributory to depression within the Amish community under study: cultural dynamics, self-focused attention, identity-based shame, and shame-induced ambivalence. The latter two are closely related, and will be discussed together as an interaction pattern. The role of self-focused attention will be examined to explain depression, particularly among Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish. Finally, a discussion follows regarding Amish-specific, cultural dynamics that were identified as contributing to depression in a more general fashion.

The Role of Identity-Based Shame and Shame-Induced Ambivalence in Generating Depression

It was reported that, oftentimes, Amish people became depressed because they were ashamed. This sense of being ashamed reportedly was a response to 1) identity-based shame, stemming almost exclusively from in-group, rather than out-group stigmatization, which affected primarily Pre- and Post-Baptism Amish, and/or 2) shame-induced ambivalence, which affected primarily Pre-Baptism and Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish.

In this con...

share was genera...

group stigmatiza...

;. Jones et al. ...

the affective res...

states of anger a...

Scheff has also n...

study of ethnic i...

anger and shame...

that we currently...

relationships, an...

emotions would be...

communication).

Schneider ha...

by the individual...

literature: fear-...

1992:30). Schnei...

third response ha...

articulation of t...

freezing in place...

1992:30). This i...

inauthentic Post-...

response is descr...

Baptism Amish who...

Schneider ha...

having recognized...

being too focused...

In this context, it was discovered that identity based shame was generated primarily by in-group, rather than out-group stigmatization (as discussed more fully in Chapter 5). Jones et al. has noted that very little is known about the affective response to stigma, other than as triggering states of anger and shame (Jones et al. 1984:252-253). Scheff has also noted the importance, particularly to the study of ethnic identity, of understanding the role of anger and shame (Scheff 1994:284). He has further noted that we currently understand little about these relationships, and that a more fully developed sociology of emotions would better address these issues (personal communication).

Schneider has noted that traditionally, two reactions by the individual to shame have been recognized within the literature: fear-flight and anger-aggression (Schneider 1992:30). Schneider has argued, however, that an important third response has been neglected, that of MacCurdy's articulation of the concealment-immobility response: freezing in place and hoping to not be noticed (Schneider 1992:30). This latter response describes quite well the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish, whereas the fear-flight response is descriptive of Defected Co-Ethnics, and Pre-Baptism Amish who eventually defect.

Schneider has critiqued the social sciences for not having recognized the positive function of shame, and for being too focused on expecting to find a diminished self-

217

esteem, or other

being ashamed.

indicates that t

positive, rather

and their social

the individual w

as well as about

offense to (Schn

And indeed,

was evident that

Irish, regardles

Although the su

their lived expe

caring, and con

According t

is nothing more

which should not

state (Schneider

point, stating t

immature sense of

An aroused

describes well t

sanctioned devia

decision-making

shame-induced ar

between feeling

deviant behavior

esteem, or other pathologies, among those who experience being ashamed. Schneider has argued that being ashamed indicates that the ashamed individual probably has a positive, rather than a negative evaluation of themselves and their social group. For Schneider, shame implies that the individual who is ashamed still cares about themselves, as well as about the other they have offended, or taken offense to (Schneider 1992:26-28).

And indeed, during the conduct of this research, it was evident that all of the subjects cared deeply about the Amish, regardless of their current condition of Amishness. Although the subjects reported many negative aspects of their lived experience, they also expressed great love, caring, and concern for the Amish.

According to Schneider's argumentation, being ashamed is nothing more than aroused consciousness about the self, which should not necessarily be viewed as a pathological state (Schneider 1992:24). Lynd has concurred on this point, stating that, "Shame interrupts any unquestioning, unaware sense of oneself" (Lynd 1958:20).

An aroused consciousness about the self certainly describes well the reported response to the culturally sanctioned deviance that occurred during the pre-baptism, decision-making period, as reported upon in Chapter 5. Shame-induced ambivalence was generated by a tension between feeling ashamed of the positively sanctioned deviant behavior of the group, while at the same time

218

feeling a need to

these culturally

contemplating def

ambivalence, for

rejecting the gr

has argued, shame

individual, where

"Shame indicates
which the indivi
if the essence of
inadequate before
that better self;
the other, it als
shame, the object
lives." (Schneider

In support o

shame, it was app

the Authentic Pos

ambivalence. In a

heightened levels

st because, alte

that which they

much of the expe

shame-induced an

Identity-ba

stigmatization,

depressed. In-

ally in Chapte

generated an in

feeling a need to defend the group, and to participate in these culturally mandated practices. And certainly, contemplating defection generated shame-induced ambivalence, for the individual would be considering rejecting the group that they still loved. As Schneider has argued, shame induces ambivalence within the individual, wherein:

"Shame indicates that the self still values the other (which the individual has offended). This ambivalence is of the essence of shame. If one stands judged and inadequate before one's better self, one still possesses that better self; while shame may separate the self from the other, it also points to a deeper connection. In shame, *the object one is alienated from, one also still loves.*" (Schneider 1992:28).

In support of the preceding argumentation regarding shame, it was apparent that both the Pre-Baptism Amish and the Authentic Post-Baptism Amish experienced shame-induced ambivalence. Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish experienced heightened levels of shame-induced ambivalence. This was so because, albeit internally, they continued to reject that which they loved. Therefore, it is plausible that much of the experience of depression had been generated by shame-induced ambivalence.

Identity-based shame was further generated by in-group stigmatization, which caused the individual to feel depressed. In-group stigmatization, as discussed more fully in Chapter 5, was experienced as a betrayal, which generated an inability to trust fellow Amish people, and a

sense of despair ｝

subjects reported

"disappointment"

We were a poor f-
myself, not great,
no. Other Amish
were poor. I nev
leaving because o

We were poor, m
referring to sch
im subject cryi
and uh, so I never
don't remember th
tures." Female, D

"They (parents) p
to anything to ha
it was just no, y
was just no other
feel like you're
to Hell if you do
you into staying
doing that." Fem

"There's a (scho
of them and I ke
came, I wouldn't
this year, but t
of those boys, t
defected Co-Ethn

"I've been havin
school. There w
grade year was r
they'd say it to
tall and an Amis
think you're so
that I dressed
was always the
looked nice, an
st particular,
really hurt.
Female, Pre-Bap

sense of despair that the group could not be trusted. Many

subjects reported having become depressed over their

"disappointment" in other Amish people.

"We were a poor family, so, um, I didn't feel good about
myself, not great, anyhow. That's had a lot to do with it,
too. Other Amish people made it real tough on you, if you
were poor. I never really felt that much remorse of
leaving because of that." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"We were poor, more than a lot of the others were
(referring to schoolmates in the Amish school). It's not
fun (subject crying). I still hurt when I talk about it,
and uh, so I never, I mean there was good times, but I
don't remember the good times as much as I remember the bad
times." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"They (parents) didn't see things my way, and they didn't
do anything to help, or they didn't understand my feelings.
It was just no, you don't do that, and that was it. There
was just no other way. You don't do that, or they make you
feel like you're just burning in sin, or you're going to go
to Hell if you do that, you know? So they tried to scare
you into staying Amish. I always hated them somewhat for
doing that." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

"There's a (school) reunion coming up. They've had several
of them and I kept saying I'm going to go, but when the day
came, I wouldn't go. And I keep saying I'm going to go
this year, but I don't know. I just don't want to face any
of those boys, 'cause they were so awful." Female,
Defected Co-Ethnic

"I've been having depression like this since I went to
school. There was a lot of people made fun of me. My 8th
grade year was really bad with Amish kids making fun of me.
They'd say it to my face. One day I was walking down the
hall and an Amish girl said, in Dutch, of course, 'Oh you
think you're so particular.' She thought that I thought
that I dressed really nice, and I never felt that way. I
was always the type of person, I always felt everybody else
looked nice, and here this girl was saying I thought I was
so particular, and that I thought I was so nice. That
really hurt. It's been troubling me for quite some time.
Female, Pre-Baptism Amish

It was inde

me individual

mands that soc

engage in a high

self-monitoring.

hyper-self-focus

ambivalence abo

individual, vis-

Along with

brought group de

well. Most repo

group deficiencie

a positive self-,

impossible to ach

struggle. The fo

illustrates this

Thus the initia

is likely to be

individual's incr

positive self-im

individual that a

reflects a parsi

acceptance of the

in life" (Pyszcz

The Role of Self-Focused Attention in the Generation of Depression

It was indeed ironic that cultural prescriptions for the individual to be other-directed conflicted with the demands that social control placed on the individual to engage in a high level of self-focus, self-checking, and self-monitoring. As noted in the preceding discussion, hyper-self-focus often resulted in shame-induced ambivalence about the group and the relationship of the individual, vis-à-vis the group.

Along with personal deficiencies, excessive self-focus brought group deficiencies into cognitive recognition, as well. Most reported that the deluge of both personal and group deficiencies made the development and maintenance of a positive self-, as well as group-image difficult, if not impossible to achieve. Many reported having abandoned the struggle. The following quote from Pyszczynski et al. illustrates this circumstance:

"Thus the initial benefit of adopting a negative self-image is likely to be that it provides relief from the individual's increasingly futile attempts to maintain a positive self-image. It may thus begin to appear to the individual that accepting a negative view of the self reflects a parsimonious, honest, and perhaps even noble, acceptance of the rather painful reality of his or her lot in life" (Pyszczynski et al. 1987:317).

This statem

the experience o

of the Amish, as

felt to be unreal

themselves, or th

sustained period

been heavily sco

about themselves,

accomplishments

perception was r

about themselves

to take them dow

Reported that fe

achieve.

In essence,

an articulation

made to in-group

Chapter 5). Eve

powerless to esc

negative events

their affective

feeling negative

thwarted in thei

This statement by Pyszczynski et al. describes well the experience of the Amish. Because social expectations of the Amish, as individuals, as well as the group, were felt to be unrealistically high, many were unable to view themselves, or their group, in a positive fashion, for any sustained period of time. Additionally, Amish people have been heavily socialized to be humble, to not "think big" about themselves, nor to be proud, nor boastful about their accomplishments or characteristics. As a consequence, the perception was reported that, when they began to feel good about themselves, or their group, someone was always ready to take them down. Given these circumstances, many reported that feeling positive had been difficult to achieve.

In essence, these expressions can be understood to be an articulation of the masochistic response that some had made to in-group domination (as discussed more fully in Chapter 5). Even though the individual may have felt powerless to escape in-group domination or control the negative events in their life, they at least could control their affective response to that domination. For many, feeling negative was more beneficial than continually being thwarted in their attempts to feel positive.

Certainly, t

understanding the

between social is

control in this s

emerged between s

uld predict tha

the adopted socia

And certainly, p

relationship betw

et al. 1977).

When applied

point was well il

Post-Baptism Amis

likely to have a

external, which

their destiny, at

attempts continue

depression would

However, as

about their ident

inauthentic Post-

level of depressi

experience such a

Certainly, this reaction pattern contributed to understanding the power and function of the conflict between social identity and held verses expressed locus of control in this setting. Based upon the relationship that emerged between social identity and locus of control, we could predict that, if the locus of control conflicted with the adopted social identity, self-discrepancy would result. And certainly, previous support has been found for the relationship between self-discrepancy and depression (Janis et al. 1977).

When applied to the Amish context, this theoretical point was well illustrated by the case of the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish. Those within this group were more likely to have a higher internal locus of control than external, which led them to feel that they could control their destiny, at least to some degree. When those attempts continually were thwarted, self-discrepancy and depression would follow.

However, as noted in Chapter 5, becoming politicized about their identity and in-group domination afforded some Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish a buffer against a very high level of depression, as they were not as likely to experience such a high level of self-discrepancy. Nor were

they as likely to

their own lives.

Obviously,

been able to cons

were more likely

n perceive their

of concern, beca

predicted when al

fixate on the los

in creating the

similar to what

Abramson et al.

Post-Baptism Aris

for their condit

contributed to t

negative attribu

group.

As noted ea

mal and Wicklu

effects of self-

as failed expect

negative self-co

generation of de

factors played a

they as likely to internalize their failures to direct

their own lives.

Obviously, of greatest concern were those who had not

been able to construct this analysis. These individuals

were more likely to have internalized their failures, and

to perceive their failures as a loss. This circumstance is

of concern, because, as many have noted, depression can be

predicted when an individual experiences loss, continues to

fixate on the loss, and what they perceive to be their role

in creating the loss (Fenigstein et al. 1984). And,

similar to what has been noted within other populations

(Abramson et al. 1978; Beck 1967; Freud 1953), Inauthentic

Post-Baptism Amish depressives tended to blame themselves

for their condition of being depressed. This self-blame

contributed to the creation of a self-perpetuating cycle of

negative attributions about the self, as well as about the

group.

As noted early by theorists such as Beck (1967) and

Duval and Wicklund (Duval et al. 1972), regarding the

effects of self-focused attention, cognitive factors, such

as failed expectations, negative attributions, and a

negative self-concept, etc., were often involved in the

generation of depression. And certainly, these cognitive

factors played a large role in the generation of depression

among the Amish

have a strong co

important factors

these cultural d

following discuss

surveillance; 3

emotional states;

otherwise worldly

The Role of Cultu
Depression

"In one word, eve
And the downsid
There's no doubt
things are well.
are hurting, suff
cannot hide that,
light at the end
The very things
weak." Mennonite

It is indeed

regarding Amish

identity is spar

Amish as an idea

1937:137), as no

the Amish are a

social change ha

that many socio-

is affecting the

demonstrated lit

among the Amish under study. Five cultural dynamics that
have a strong cognitive dimension were identified as
important factors in the generation of depression. Each of
these cultural dynamics will be illustrated in the
following discussion: 1) the practice of social control; 2)
surveillance; 3) gossip; 4) the suppression of negative
emotional states; and 5) the suppression of creative or
otherwise worldly thought.

The Role of Cultural Dynamics in the Generation of Depression

"In one word, every positive that you can find you can also
find the downside to it. For every up, there's down.
There's no doubt about it. They put on a pretense that all
things are well. They dare not let people know that they
are hurting, suffering. If your barn burns down, you
cannot hide that, but if you're depressed and can't see the
light at the end of the tunnel, they dare not let that out.
The very things that make the community strong also make it
weak." Mennonite Liaison

It is indeed a paradox that empirical research
regarding Amish mental health or issues surrounding Amish
identity is sparse, for academics have constructed the
Amish as an ideal group to study (Floersch et al.
1997:137), as noted in Chapter 2. It has been assumed that
the Amish are a homogeneous group, within which little
social change has occurred. As such, it has been assumed
that many socio-cultural variables that have been theorized
as affecting the experience of mental health have
demonstrated little variance within this group, such as

income, educatio
status, urban/ru

Additionall
onstructed that
and isolation fr
assumed that the
dentified to be
dentity researc
1993; Schwab et
constant among t

As discusse
theoretical prop
Gemeinschaft ver
reasonable to pr
would provide an
society. Howeve
hypothesized tha
of individuality
Brewer 1991:475

With those
and, design of
to discover both
high cultural e
exploration, it
found their voi

Overwhelmin
the voice was mo

income, education level, family size, religion, marital status, urban/rural residence, etc. (Cockerham 1992).

Additionally, cultural prescriptions have been constructed that strongly mandate non-assimilation with, and isolation from, the out-group. As such, it has been assumed that these social processes, which have been identified to be problematic within mental-health and identity research (LaFromboise et al. 1993; Neff et al. 1993; Schwab et al. 1978), have been held relatively constant among the Amish.

As discussed more fully in Chapter 2, given the theoretical propositions regarding the salugenic aspects of Gemeinschaft verses Gesellschaft societies, it would be reasonable to propose that the study of Amish populations would provide an opportunity to study a mentally healthy society. However, in juxtaposition, both Brewer and Simmel hypothesized that the individual would experience distress if individuality has been too greatly consumed by the group (Brewer 1991:475; Levine 1971:333).

With those two competing theoretical orientations in mind, design of this research was inclusive of the intent to discover both salugenic and pathogenic aspects of the Amish cultural experience. However, before beginning that exploration, it is imperative to sufficiently contextually ground their voice.

Overwhelmingly, during the conduct of this research, the voice was more negative than positive, even though many

attempts were r

emphasis on the

have been an ar

this particular

considered that

negative that t

through partici

As evident

the opportunity

lived experience

been sanctioned

further expresse

was being conduc

community could

the disclosures

instigate in-gro

they could expos

Therefore,

diminished ident

aspects of their

following reason

were already suf

their belief tha

to them. Given

it is plausible

inductively spe

be in need of

attempts were made to discover the salugenic. The greater

emphasis on the expression of the negative, however, could

have been an artifact of the conduct of research within

this particular context. In other words, it must be

considered that the strong in-group suppression of the

negative that the Amish encountered may have found release

through participation in this research.

As evidence, many subjects expressed appreciation for

the opportunity to discuss the negative aspects of their

lived experience, and to do so with an outsider who had

been sanctioned by their Bishop. Many of the subjects

further expressed appreciating the fact that the research

was being conducted, so that problems within the Amish

community could be exposed. It was the hope of many that

the disclosures brought forward by an outsider would

instigate in-group discussion of what they did not feel

they could expose themselves.

Therefore, it is plausible that the subjects'

diminished identification and discussion of the salugenic

aspects of their cultural practices was due to the

following reasons: 1) their belief that salugenic aspects

were already sufficiently well known by the English; and 2)

their belief that what was salugenic did not pose a threat

to them. Given the instrumental orientation of the Amish,

it is plausible that they felt the time would be more

productively spent engaging in discussion of what they felt

to be in need of a remedy, rather than praise.

These commen

r direction of

into question.

for the strong,

indeed strong an

expected, and sh

attempt should b

fully as possible

understanding.

With this ca

were identified a

pression will h

dynamics will be

the practice o

gossip; 4) the s

and 5) the suppre

thought.

The Practice of S

"Sometimes I jus
and how to do it
every little thi
what I do. I ge
would just like

Being a col

in-group norm

more than creati

achievement. Fo

constructed duri

These comments are not meant to diminish the strength
or direction of the voices, or to call their legitimacy
into question. For indeed, regardless of the explanation
for the strong, negative voice that was given, it was
indeed strong and more negative than would have been
expected, and should not be discounted. However, an
attempt should be made to contextually ground the voices as
fully as possible, in order to ascertain a more enlightened
understanding.

With this caveat in mind, five cultural dynamics that
were identified as important factors in the generation of
depression will be presented. Each of these cultural
dynamics will be illustrated in the following discussion:
1) the practice of social control; 2) surveillance; 3)
gossip; 4) the suppression of negative emotional states;
and 5) the suppression of creative or otherwise worldly
thought.

The Practice of Social Control

"Sometimes I just can't stand always being told what to do
and how to do it, and feeling like everyone's watching
every little thing I do, then they make rude remarks about
what I do. I get real depressed about that. Some days, I
would just like to run away." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Being a collectivist culture, obedience and conformity
to in-group norms have been emphasized among the Amish far
more than creativity, competition, or individual
achievement. To maintain the strict norms that had been
constructed during the original Anabaptist movement a

228

system of

early Amis

large par

Obedi

through t

culture.

instrumen

to be empl

having su

that is d

enforce t

social co

taken to e

primary c

The A

personal

shared th

quilt-mak

patterned,

the dress

risk havi

Given

collectiv

within co

locus of c

entered

center-in

system of vigilant social control was established by the early Amish (Nolt 1992:17). Vigilance continues to be a large part of Amish social life.

Obedience and conformity continues to be managed through the relational and associative nature of their culture. Surveillance and gossip remain the primary instruments of social control. These instruments continue to be employed, despite the fact that many Amish report having suffered greatly from the compliance to rigid norms that is demanded and the constant surveillance needed to enforce the norms. The extraordinarily high level of social control that Amish culture demands, and the measures taken to enforce that control, were discovered to be the primary cultural factors in generating depression.

The Amish reported that they experienced little personal freedom or expression. For example, one woman shared that she had secretly sewn a patchwork dress from quilt-making scraps, so that she could experience wearing a patterned, rather than a solid color dress. She destroyed the dress after she had tried it on, however, rather than risk having her desire to be different discovered.

Given the fact that the Amish constitute a collectivist culture, and that individuals socialized within collectivist cultures generally exhibit an external locus of control (Hamid 1994), the finding that many Amish suffered under the implementation of social control was counter-intuitive. One would expect an individual holding

an extern

sense of

from stil

To e

ould be

individu

that has

to displa

argumenta

levels of

of contro

example,

the Inau

earlier.

This

the subje

identity,

findings

had deve

degree t

predicte

Whe

distinct

emerges.

individu

is a fun

agrees

an external locus of control to find comfort, safety, and a sense of well being from the predictability that resulted from strict social control (Hamid 1994).

To explain this counter-intuitive finding, an argument could be made that there was a discrepancy between an individual's held locus of control and the locus of control that has been prescribed for the individual's social group to display. Evidence was found to support this argumentation. For certainly, those expressing the highest levels of angst were those personally experiencing a locus of control that was more internal than external. For example, the Defected Co-Ethnics, prior to defection, and the Inauthentic Pre- and Post-Baptism Amish, as noted earlier.

This argumentation contributes to the understanding of the subjects' reports of having "always known" their identity, intrinsically, from a very early age. These findings suggested that the location of locus of control had developed outside of cultural influence to a greater degree than previously thought or that would have been predicted. What remains unexplained was, why?

When making application of Brewer's model of optimal distinctiveness (Brewer 1991), a possible explanation emerges. It could be speculated that the expression of an individual's internal locus of control had been augmented as a function of the strength of the social control exerted against group members. In other words, social control

uld have

hat the

hous of

individua

total eng

As s

to see cu

and the

particul

developm

support

discussi

Con

managing

difficul

instrume

most gr

negativ

or othe

Surveil

"here'
"worried
He did
say he
about h
always
wrong.
and anx

could have so overwhelmed the individual's sense of self that the assertion of an artificially inflated internal locus of control was necessary to bring balance to the individual's sense of self, in an attempt to escape the total engulfing of personal identity by the social.

As such, even though, theoretically, we would expect to see consistency between an individual's locus of control and the locus of control prescribed by their social group, particularly given the apparently early nature of its development, evidence was not found in this context to support this conjecture (see Chapter 5 for a more fully discussion).

Consequently, most subjects reported that they found managing the social control employed in this context to be difficult. Further discussion follows regarding the instruments of social control that were reported to be the most grievous: surveillance, gossip, suppression of negative emotional states, and the suppression of creative or otherwise worldly thought.

Surveillance as an Instrument of Social Control

"There's one big problem amongst a lot of folks, being worried about what someone else might say, because of what you did or didn't do. My dad had that problem until the day he died. He was afraid someone might say something about him. He knew they were always watching. Everybody's always watching, just waiting to catch you doing something wrong. That about drove him nuts. Made him real depressed and anxious." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"My aunt was sick, she was mental. She was one of our favorite aunts, always helpful, just loved kids. She had

mental problems, and just out of the blue she did this
terrible thing. We always thought that if she'd left the
Amish, she never would have gotten so far down. We
wondered if she'd been harboring these feelings all those
years, and being Amish was hard on her. She just couldn't
stand people always watching her. She was called a
schizophrenic. She's on medication now. But I don't think
it was all in her head like they say. People *were* always
watching her. Someone's always watching." Male, Post-
Baptism Amish

Surveillance, of course, makes social control

possible. The Amish articulate understanding the function

of surveillance, and they agree that social control is

vital to group cohesion and cultural maintenance. Despite

these understandings, however, they reported that managing

the pressure of constant surveillance was extraordinarily

difficult. As illustration of the pressure, many subjects

responded with surprise to learn that paranoia was

considered to be an abnormal thought pattern.

On this point, as well as many others, the case of the

Amish resonates quite strongly with that of the Mehinaku, a

Brazilian Indian tribe, as discovered by Gregor (Gregor

1977). It is important to note the Mehinaku along with the

Amish, for their experience adds another example of the

fact that even societies considered to be "simple" or less

developed struggle with issues of authenticity, and the

delicate balance between social and personal identity.

These same struggles were noted earlier, as well, in the

case of Cohen's Whalsay (Cohen 1987).

Gregor found that privacy among the Mehinaku was

primarily only symbolic (Gregor 1977:91-107), and certainly

this was fo

within the

illustrates

curtains at

curtains a

for they a

Havin

highly sym

life open

all times

immensely

ment, th

As such, t

powerful a

also be un

'conscious

create com

accomplish

Anoth

became app

Again, as

there was

Every word

literally

The stress

Rules for

this was found to be true among the Amish, as well, even within the home. The use of curtains within the Amish home illustrates this notion. Most Amish homes do not have curtains at any window, but within those few that do, the curtains are primarily symbolic, rather than functional, for they are rarely, if ever drawn closed.

Having windows without curtains is, in and of itself, highly symbolic of the prescription to have all of social life open for discovery and scrutiny. Being observable at all times functions to keep the Amish on front stage and immensely self-aware. Even if no one is peering in at the moment, the possibility remains that someone might appear. As such, the imagined other at the window is a very powerful agent of social control. The imagined other can also be understood as evidence of Cohen's idea of "consciousness of community," wherein the symbols used in create community as a mental construct function to accomplish boundary maintenance (Cohen 1992:13).

Another example of symbolic privacy among the Amish became apparent during the conduct of the interviews. Again, as Gregor found among the Mehinaku (Gregor 1977:89), there was little background noise within an Amish home. Every word, every motion could be detected. Having a literally private conversation was not possible. To manage the stress of this circumstance, the Amish have constructed rules for symbolically private conversations.

For

sent int

listen t

heard th

ironing

was bein

private.

cause he

enter th

reheat h

every ca

voices.

charade.

Obv

primaril

family s

large, t

an Amish

radio, t

as well.

A m

privacy

would ha

culture,

privacy

act that

privacy.

For example, it was not uncommon for children to be sent into an adjoining room, with the admonition to not listen to the discussion, even though it clearly could be heard throughout the house. One girl had been set to ironing at the end of the large kitchen where the interview was being conducted, but was told that the matter was private. This pronouncement was sufficiently strong to cause her to stand a few feet away and ask permission to enter that space when she needed to access the stove to reheat her iron, as if separated by an invisible door. In every case, the adults would make no attempt to lower their voices. Everyone was expected to be complicit in the charade.

Obviously one explanation for why privacy was primarily symbolic within an Amish household was the large family size. Despite the fact that the homes tend to be large, the rooms are quickly filled. The quiet nature of an Amish home, absent noise made by appliances, television, radio, telephone chatter, etc., was a contributing factor, as well.

A more critical understanding to emerge for why privacy was primarily symbolic was that requesting privacy would have been a deviant act within this collectivist culture, for primarily two reasons. First, achieving privacy would have entailed monopolizing social space, an act that would have violated the principle of group primacy. Second, requesting privacy would have violated

the cul

solitar

Bu

factors

the gro

sociali

thought

that de

sociali

cultura

the hom

surveil

Co

alone i

outside

that th

the curr

overly

Th

possibly

that the

the para

defined,

painful.

imagined

became s

the cultural prescription to be a social, rather than solitary being.

But, more important to consider than these physical factors, is the fact that the social control demanded by the group extended into the household. Appropriate family socialization into group life required that the behavior, thoughts, and feelings of family members be observable, so that deviant behavior could be corrected. And, too, family socialization properly prepared children to engage in culturally prescribed surveillance of group members outside the home, and to be aware that they would be objects of surveillance, as well.

Consequently, a common report was that, even when alone in an Amish home, it was not uncommon for even an outsider to feel as though they were being observed, and that the silence could be truly unsettling. In particular, the curtain-less windows contributed to a feeling of being overly visible, of having no place to hide.

This sense of feeling constantly under observation possibly stemmed from an appropriate and rational awareness that they were extraordinarily socially controlled, that the parameters of acceptable behavior were very clearly defined, and that the punishment could be serious and painful. These conditions appeared sufficient to cause an imagined other to emerge, and the imagined punishment became sufficient to generate conformity.

The

cther gen

depressio

and sever

of locus

internal

particula

The

prior to

social co

reported

defectior

unauthent

been more

Post-Bap

Depressi

severity

Gossip a

"This is
Mennonit

"I don't
such as
in the e
and tell
discoura
about yo
just bec
some."

Pre

appeared

The pressure to conform to both a real and imagined other generated some level of anxiety, frustration, and depression among all subjects. In this context, the extent and severity of these conditions appeared to be a function of locus of control. Clearly those with a high level of internal locus of control found the social control particularly grievous.

The Defected Co-Ethnics, for example, reported that, prior to defection, managing their affective response to social control had been extremely difficult. Hence, they reported having been quite depressed during this pre-defection period. Of greatest concern, however, were those Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish whose locus of control had been more highly internal than external. These Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish reported the highest levels of depression, and episodes of the longest duration and severity.

Gossip as an Instrument of Social Control

"This is a culture that has made a fine art out of gossip."
Mennonite Lay Counselor

"I don't feel good about the gossip. We don't socialize as much as some. We don't go away as much as some people do, in the evenings. But then sometimes my sisters will come and tell me what is being said. It can be very discouraging to a person, to even hear what is being said about you, knowing there are bad things said about you, just because you don't run around and be social as much as some." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Pressure to conform to the real and imagined other appeared to be sufficient to generate the experience of

236

paranoia a

that surve

to be harm

however, a

sentiment

irrational

Gregor fo

also reco

tring har

thers (G

As h

culture,

other.

understo

Buckman

oth to

make ev

They exp

When us

way to

Gregor

and spr

felt to

I thin

sharing

make a

talk t

paranoia among some within this latter group. They argued that surveillance and the subsequent gossip were intended to be harmful, that others truly were out to get them. However, as noted earlier, those articulating this sentiment did not believe that their paranoia was irrational, or constituted an abnormal thought pattern. Gregor found the same understanding among the Mehinaku, who also recognized gossip as a communication form designed to bring harm, rather than convey useful information about others (Gregor 1977:84-86).

As has been noted throughout, as an associational culture, the Amish relied heavily on information of the other. The cultural importance of sharing information was understood and highly accepted. Most also expressed Gluckman's interpretation of the functions of gossip as both to sanction deviant behavior as well as to set and make evident the boundaries for behavior (Gluckman 1963). They expressed that, at times, gossip could be effective when used to "...gently pull someone back into the right way to be." However, the Amish, as with the Mehinaku (Gregor 1977:84-86) made a distinction between sharing news and spreading malicious or ill-intended gossip, which they felt to be highly destructive.

"I think gossip is telling negative things, not just sharing news. Sharing news can help people, but gossip is like adding, repeating stuff that you're not sure is true. Talk that hurts." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

237

"It's l
don't t
vale, R

"I thin
bad, the
to go b

"I woul
sometime
and they
it just

"If some
false,
how it
others
time to
way tha
you get
fish

"I try
to carr
to look
you can
routine
with yo
fish

An

gossip

among t

forced

withsta

gossip

generat

Se

have be

which

"It's like, if the pail is full, you'd better stop. So don't tell more than you need to to get the news across." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I think the people that I see that try hard to not have it bad, they're not gossiped about as bad, as long as they try to go by the rules." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I would say it's (the gossip) their own fault. I think sometimes there is a family that is a little bit different, and they try to work themselves up to the right level, but it just doesn't quite work." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"If somebody is telling something that you know is a little false, just let it go. Don't try to tell the other people how it is. So many people will not even hear you, and the others will think you deserved it, so you've gotta give it time to bring it out. People will respect you more that way than if you try to tell people it's not true, 'cause you get in deeper as you do that." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I try to be friendly, try to smile, try to be honest, and to carry a conversation if you can. Hardly anybody's going to look down on you if you can do those things. I think you can make a phrase that can hurt you more than any daily routine can hurt you, or dress can hurt. Some phrase can ruin you more than anything else." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

And indeed, it was reported that, although functional, gossip was also highly destructive. Gregor found the same among the Mehinaku, documenting that individuals had been forced to leave the group when they could no longer withstand the injury (Gregor 1977:86). Among the Amish, gossip was given as a leading contributory factor in generating depression among all subjects.

Several reported their depression because of gossip to have been sufficiently high to cause them to have felt suicidal. Several others reported this condition to have

een true

ney had g

socially w

targeted

pepression

    Goss

health he

those exp

pepressio

The Suppr
Instrumen

"I'm not
.. (like
when I wa
there was
in my min
Why didn
couldn't
ticket o
hanging
as it sc
afraid -
clock in
nalf hou
ter? Bu
ust lik
said, th
express
the way
getting
express
baptism

    The

describe

been true for family members. These subjects reported that they had gone through periods of becoming avoidant and socially withdrawn, in an attempt to escape becoming targeted for gossip. This isolation further deepened their depression, and, they were targeted for further gossip.

Gossip was also listed as a leading barrier to mental-health help seeking. Fear of gossip functioned to silence those experiencing mental distress, particularly depression, as will be discussed more fully below.

The Suppression of Negative Emotional States as an Instrument of Social Control

"I'm not concerned anymore that I'm going to be mentally ill (like certain family members), but there was a time when I was afraid that I might take my own life. At home, there was a building with a rope hanging down, and it was in my mind that rope was hanging there to take my life. Why didn't I go take that rope away and burn it? But I couldn't. I got spanked by my dad once for not filling a bucket of water all the way up, with a chain that was hanging up, kind of like that rope. It didn't hurt as much as it scared me. Because I got spanked with a chain, I was afraid I'd use the rope to take my life. And like the clock in the nighttime that struck the full hours and the half hours, and why didn't I tell mom and dad to shut that off? But I didn't dare, and I didn't talk to anybody. Just like I said, communication wasn't there. What dad said, that's the way it was going to be. I couldn't express myself. If you expressed yourself and it wasn't the way dad felt it was, you were pretty close to maybe getting a whipping, and that was what made me afraid to express myself about what was in my head." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

The suppression of negative emotional states was described as the most destructive instrument of social control employed by the Amish. The collectivist need to

maintain in-

depended upo

states. Con

positive con

maintain ha

stoicism ha

elements, w

violate.

The s

depression

in-group h

observed y

a public

betrayal

intended,

depressio

Bas

explanat

God, as

The subj

Rate e

even to

is subj

burde

maintain in-group harmony through consensus and face-saving depended upon the successful suppression of these negative states. Consensus regarding the need to promote only positive components of their stereotype functioned to maintain harmony, as well. And certainly, personal stoicism had been constructed as one of the more positive elements, which the expression of negative emotions would violate.

The suppression of acknowledgement or discussion of depression was a powerful example of the need to promote in-group harmony. Amish subjects reported, and it was observed that experiencing depression and making depression a public matter was viewed by most in-group members as betrayal of the group. For if the Amish were living as God intended, then why would any Amish person experience depression rather than joyful living?

Based upon this belief, the primary cultural explanation given for depression was not being right with God, as will be discussed more fully in a later section. The subsequent stigma surrounding depression functioned to quite effectively silence those suffering from depression, even to the point of suppressing expression of high levels of suicidal ideation.

The stoic management of grief, and bearing one's burden without complaint were further examples of suppression of negative emotional states. Loss or tragedy was attributed to God's plan. As such, to complain about

240

U

me's bur

resistant

rather th

for the s

threat to

"We've bee
all these
still acc
n for a
still, I
feel we'r
'cause so
life like
would mak
given. W
in mind f
but sadne

"Well, uh
of his w
were real
about it,
but with
hadn't re
wife. Sh
these neg
Irish

       One

the death

though he

feelings,

Right t

referred

Minister

one's burden or to grieve excessively was viewed as being

resistant to God's will. Additionally, grief and complaint

rather than stoicism were viewed as indicative of concern

for the self and of self-pity, both of which presented a

threat to the collectivist culture.

"We've been taking care of (a disabled family member) for
all these years, and we're depressed as we go. But we
still accept that God gave us our hands to help and he done
it for a reason, you know. And we've accepted it. But
still, I always kind of in the back of my mind, I always
feel we're very depressed, but we don't want to show it,
'cause so many people have helped us. We try to go on with
life like nothing happened. To say that we're depressed
would make us seem ungrateful for the help that we've been
given. We have no right to be sad. This is what God had
in mind for us, so we must bear our burden with gladness,
not sadness." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Well, uh, I know I was kind of in my own world at the time
(of his worst depressive episode). My sister died, and we
were real close. I just sat around more and just thought
about it. I finally, I came to believe that I had to get
out with other people. The world was going to go on. I
didn't really talk to anyone about my sister, except to my
wife. She's about the only one I could let on to, about
these negative things, this sadness." Male, Post-Baptism
Amish

One man recounted the depression he experienced after

the death of a family member, wherein he did not feel as

though he had any role through which he could express his

feelings, or even discuss the event. He compared his

plight to that of a minister in his church that frequently

referred to losses within his family. He saw the

minister's expressions of grief as appropriate, however,

given tha

minister

In t

grief eve

used as a

reminded

need to c

discussi

instrume

whereas

which di

therefor

"I thoug
but I do
preacher
can unlo
place wh

An

finding

express

individu

during c

witness

recounti

within c

as a po

Beg

tragedy

given that the expression fell within the role of the minister.

In the case of a Bishop or minister, discussion of the grief event was instrumental. The grief event could be used as an object lesson, through which the Amish could be reminded of the uncertainty of their eventual fate and the need to draw close to God. Therefore, the minister's discussion of his grief and resultant depression was instrumental, as well as appropriate given his role, whereas the subject making the report had no role through which discussion of his emotions would be instrumental, and therefore culturally appropriate.

"I thought, well, he could be up there and tell the people, but I don't have that chance. I wouldn't make a good preacher, but I thought, well, he's got it nice where he can unload, where he can get it out. He's got himself a place where it's OK to do that." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

An indeed, observation among the Amish supported the finding that it was more appropriate for the Amish to express emotions as a collective instead of as an individual. Collective grief was frequently expressed during church services, where it was not uncommon to witness many weeping openly for the loss of others. The recounting of tragic events, even those that occurred within other settlements, and to families unknown to them, was a popular social activity, as well.

Because they had been heavily socialized to accept tragedy as God's will for the individual, hearing of the

sad event

cathartio

of anothe

sadness w

self-pity

about the

The Suppr
Social Co

It w

developer

of an Ar

otherwis

practice

the same

experien

individu

their ow

creative

about tr

emotiona

other th

Tha

with an

but a c

ective,

sad events that occurred to others was reportedly a cathartic experience. For an emotional release on behalf of another had been constructed as appropriate, as the sadness was then a demonstration of empathy, rather than self-pity, of caring for the other, rather than caring about the self.

The Suppression of "Worldly" Thought as an Instrument of Social Control

It was apparent that, within an Amish home, a tension developed between the introspection evoked by the silence of an Amish home and the need to suppress creative or otherwise "worldly" thought. Silence as a cultural practice prohibited expression of the inner self, while at the same time the silence of an Amish home evoked the experience of the inner self. The result was that the individual was forced to express their thoughts only within their own mind, as the culture provided no outlet for creative or otherwise worldly thought, or even thought about the self. And, due to the suppression of negative emotional states, there often was no outlet for negative, inner thoughts, the ones that most "bother the mind."

The Amish reported that their culture provided them with an enormous amount of time for quiet contemplation, but a common response was that sometimes, as suggested above, the silence bothered the mind. Few diversions for the mind were available. Because talk was minimal and generally did not extend beyond a limited range of

instru

conver

cognit

F

range

restri

Critica

limited

reading

restri

the Eis

Te

of cour

by most

cogniti

survive

alterna

managed

socializ

Obv

personal

designin

a distin

but agai

and, it .

instrumental, and, of course, non-worldly topics, little
conversation occurred. And certainly, creative or
cognitively stimulating talk was minimal.

Reading was an acceptable cognitive activity, but the
range of approved material was quite limited, and generally
restricted to that of religious content or instruction.
Critical analysis of acceptable reading material was
limited, as well; the Bible, for example, was approved
reading material, but the analysis of that reading was
restricted to the interpretation given by the ministers and
the Bishop.

Television or radio was not allowed as a distraction,
of course, and even working jigsaw puzzles was considered
by most to be a frivolous waste of time. As such, few
cognitive challenges were available, other than how to
survive the silence. Many Amish explained that the lack of
alternatives available for cognitive stimulation was
managed through a high level of physical activity and
socializing with other families.

Obviously the Amish found some opportunity for
personal expression in their work and their crafts, such as
designing a flower garden, woodworking, or even developing
a distinctive way of frosting a cake or cutting a pie top.
But again, the range of creativity allowed was limited,
and, it was reported that these tasks often did not satisfy
the mind entirely, for "there's only so much you can do
with a garden." For example, one woman reported that she

worked intricate crochet or quilt patterns to give her mind
relief, but she added that doing so offered only a
distraction, not satisfaction.

Numerous accounts were received from subjects within
each of the three conditions of Amishness of the experience
of being denied creative or otherwise worldly thought. The
cultural mandate to withdraw from formal education at age
16 frequently was given as an example of what one man
described as "mind control."

Many of the subjects reported that the suppression of
creative thought extended outside of the classroom,
however, as they felt obliged to not think worldly thoughts
even privately. One man reported that, as a child, he had
felt compelled to hide in the field in order to think
freely, even though he knew that he would be punished
severely for the resultant absence and neglect of his
chores. One woman reported that she had allowed herself to
think only while in the English school building, and upon
reaching the age of mandatory withdrawal from school, she
forced herself to stop thinking altogether.

**Local Knowledge Regarding Mental Distress: Constructions,
Symptoms, and Care**

It was reported that historically, most Amish people
have not sought outside treatment for their mental
distress. This circumstance remains true yet today. It
was reported that English treatment or institutionalization
had been sought for only the most extreme cases, and then

genera

had c

violer

given

A

local

strong

upon a

intens

mechan

In

placing

than in

approac

without

circums

wherein

upon lo

or outs

The

illness,

health.

expected

ith God

from the

east as

hich to

generally only after the behavior of the distressed person had come to the attention of outside, formal agents. A violent, schizophrenic episode was the most common example given of the need to involve outside agents.

As such, absent the intrusion of outside influence, local knowledge had developed, which remained quite strongly in force. This local knowledge had been based upon a strong collective conscious, the strength and intensity of which would approach an almost ideal type of mechanical solidarity.

In her study of one French community's experiment with placing the mentally ill within lay foster homes, rather than institutions, Jodelet found that the host families' approach to the mentally ill was one of "understanding without knowledge" (Jodelet 1989:149). The same circumstance was found to be true in the Amish context, wherein the community response had been largely constructed upon local knowledge, rather than through formal education or outside influence.

The Amish had not constructed a definition of mental illness, per se, except as in juxtaposition to mental health. The Amish assumed that mental health should be expected when the individual was in a state of "rightness with God." It was reported that this assumption stemmed from the construction of Amish culture as Utopian, or at least as the foundation of the most salugenic manner in which to live.

Even though the Amish had constructed mental health as the norm, mental illness was not an unexpected state. For their Social Darwinist perspective would predict that some Amish would have difficulty achieving the ideal state, as not all were deemed equally fit to be Amish. And certainly, the Amish would find much merit in Durkheim's assertion of deviance as functional to the maintenance and strengthening of the collective conscious. The manifestation of mental illness afforded the Amish an opportunity to continually assess and reconsider their construction of norms, as well as an opportunity to illustrate the consequences of deviance.

Given their self-imposed social segregation and in-group reliance, the Amish had constructed definitions of, and responses to mental illness in relative isolation from out-group influence. These local-knowledge-based constructions and responses remain dominant, despite recent encroachments upon their local knowledge by the out-group. Consequently, a relatively low level of medicalization of mental distress as deviance had occurred, and bio-medical definitions had not been widely accepted, except for schizophrenia, as will be discussed more fully below.

The Amish were aware of the subjective and culturally relative nature of mental illness constructions, as most Amish subjects reported not knowing, or being uncertain of what constituted an English conceptualization of mental illness. Several subjects reported that they had been

of the

definit

encount

A

minimal

constru

to whic

through

but pri

physic

breakdo

disorde

English

hese s

cultura

afflict

As

the eti

was per

ed.

their

nd arg

necessa

which,

intrigued by the research question, and had agreed to participate because they had been curious to discover the meaning of mental illness "as the English know it." Some of the subjects were well acquainted with English definitions and understandings, however, through previous encounters with English institutions and formal agents.

Although contact with the English had been relatively minimal, the research revealed that the Amish had constructed primarily three categories of mental distress, to which they had applied labels that had been learned through contact with English mental-health professionals, but primarily through their contact with English physicians: depression, schizophrenia, and the nervous breakdown. A fourth, new category, border-line-personality disorder, had recently emerged through contact with the English, upon their involvement with one high profile case. These social constructions regarding etiology and culturally specific symptomoloy, as well as the care of the afflicted will be discussed more fully below.

As an overarching finding, the primary construction of the etiology of mental illness, regardless of the category, was personal, spiritual failing, of not being right with God. This construction can be understood as reflective of their collectivist culture, in that, the Amish projected and articulated an external locus of control (although not necessarily held by most of the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish, as previously noted). As such, an extremely

248

their li

their Go

A p

provide

construc

conseque

therefor

construc

had beco

distress

and they

without

If

becomes

performa

solo per

become

mitted,

acting

directi

stigmat

circums

a discu

if cond

important component of their collective conscious was that their lives were under the direction of an external agent, their God.

A primary tenet of their theology was that God would provide and direct all, even their mental health. The construction of mental health as a spiritual matter was a consequence of their articulated external locus of control; therefore, those experiencing mental distress were constructed as a threat, because it was believed that they had become separated from God. Those experiencing mental distress thereby violated the Amish collective conscious, and they were accordingly sanctioned, albeit silently and without direct notice.

If all of life is indeed a stage upon which even angst becomes acted out, within the Amish context, angst is performed as a pantomime. The mentally distressed gives a solo performance, while those around the solo performer become the narrative chorus, or as Goffman would have noted, the "performance team" that becomes complicit in the acting out of mental distress (Goffman 1959:79). Stage direction of the solo performer comes to be managed through stigmatization and gossip. The consequences of this circumstance will be discussed more fully below, along with a discussion of each category of mental distress, in terms of constructions of etiology, symptomology, care of the afflicted, and construction of the sick role made available to the Amish.

The Case of Depression

"Someone that doesn't talk about their depression, I could see how that could lead to suicide. They just keep everything inside of themselves. They don't see any other way out. I've thought about it already, but I know that would never be right, to do that, but I truly think that people who commit suicide are not in their right mind at the time. And I just hope I never get to that point, where I get out of my right mind for too long. What scares me is you probably wouldn't realize you're not in your right mind, that your depression has taken you out of your right mind, and if you're not talking to anyone, they can't tell you that you're not in your right mind." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

No age or gender differences were reported in the distribution of depression, nor were the symptoms reported to be very different. In both cases, it was reported that the depressed individual becomes gradually quieter and socially withdrawn, and may become quite emotionally upset for no apparent reason. Given the collectivist nature of this group, becoming social withdrawn was the symptom that drew the greatest concern and notice.

"I think you would have to get to know a person before you'd know if they was depressed, 'cause most Amish people are quiet, so it can be hard to know whether their being quiet because they're depressed, or just because they're Amish." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"If an Amish person were depressed, they would have their eyes averted to the ground, certainly, that makes it difficult, because especially for a female, it's expected. There are so many cultural issues that make it difficult to detect depression. By the time I get with them, they've reached serious proportions, so it's hard for me to generalize about what I would associate with a depressed Amish person. It's not as easy as it might be in the world. They might be dragging or sleeping a lot, but you know with the Amish work ethic, they generally just work

all the

counselc

"When I'

maybe nc

I'm upti

Then I v

"When I

down. I

If some

back to

to runn

of fuel

feel go

snap ou

brush

"I just

to, it

It

manifes

reporte

or phys

treated

generat

reporte

discuss

because

abuse,

remedy

"Stress

depress

ober a

know

abuse,

all the harder when they're depressed." Mennonite Lay
Counselor

"When I'm depressed, I'll think I can't concentrate and
maybe not relaxed. Every now and then, I get that feeling.
I'm uptight, and I can't talk the way I would like to.
Then I really get uptight." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"When I can't concentrate, that's when I know I'm going
down. It sounds kind of silly to say this, but it's been
20 some years ago since I left home, but then that comes
back to where things weren't right at home. That idea gets
to running just a little bit, and then it gets a little bit
of fuel, and then it kind of pulls you down. You don't
feel good, but if you can get ahold of yourself, you can
snap out of it, but it's pretty hard." Male, Post-Baptism
Amish

"I just get the blues, I guess. Unless I've got a goal to
do, it just looks kind of dark." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

It was reported that men who were depressed oftentimes

manifested their depression through anger. It was further

reported that this anger often was expressed through verbal

or physical abuse. This inappropriate expression of anger

created deeper depression within the abuser, and it also

generated depression within the victim/s. Many subjects

reported that the prohibition from acknowledgement or

discussion of depression exacerbated the consequences

because the underlying factor that was generating the

abuse, the depression, could not be expressed. As such, a

remedy could not be sought.

"Sometimes anger and abuse is a problem when men are
depressed. At home, you could always tell when my dad was
under a lot of stress and depressed, 'cause he was angry.
I know my older sisters got some stories about real bad
abuse, but money was tight, and I think it sometimes just
got the best of him. We always knew he was depressed, by

the wa]

Post-B

De

reporte

problem

observe

and pri

Irish h

they fe

engende

The gu
people
times w
the next
re. I h
Female,

Mo

were dre

depressi

context,

depressi

being de

disloyal

reported

all that

sufficie

should b

The

families

the way he acted. We just stayed out of his way." Female,
Post-Baptism Amish

Depression was the most frequent mental distress
reported by the Amish. Even though the Amish had
problematized depression, they reported, and it was
observed, that the experience of depression was a solitary
and private experience. A primary finding was that the
Amish had been reluctant to admit to depression, because
they feared the gossip that such an admission would
engender.

"The guess the thing I have a problem with is trusting
people to not talk about my problems. There have been
times when I've thought I could trust that person, and then
the next thing you know, they went and told everyone about
me. I have a really hard time trusting Amish people."
Female, Post-Baptism Amish

More precisely, it was the resultant attributions that
were dreaded, and that caused the individual experiencing
depression to attempt to avoid detection. For in this
context, the primary cultural explanation to emerge for
depression was "not being right with God." Therefore,
being depressed was reported to be almost an act of
disloyalty to the group. This sense of disloyalty
reportedly stemmed from the belief that God would provide
all that was needed, that what God provided should be
sufficient for happiness, and that God's people, therefore,
should be joyful in the Lord.

The perception was reported that depression "runs in
families." But rather than giving a biological

explanat

failing

"infecte

A t

given fo

individu

Even tho

explanat

depressi

this cir

within A

As

factor i

member,

family,

source o

Add

disappoi

example,

accordin

"identif
started
h, I gue
realized.
about it,
anymore."

Addi

explanation, the primary explanation was a spiritual failing of one of the parents, which then permeated and "infected" the entire family.

A tension emerged between the cultural explanation given for depression and the attributions the depressed individual held internally regarding their depression. Even though spiritual failing was the primary cultural explanation for depression, those who had experienced depression suggested that there was an interaction between this circumstance and various precipitating factors at work within Amish culture.

As already illustrated, the most common precipitating factor identified was that of "disappointment" in a family member, generally one of their parents. Abuse within the family, whether physical, verbal, or sexual, was a major source of this disappointment.

Additionally, subjects reported having been disappointed over their parents' lived contradictions. For example, knowing that their parents were not living according to the mandates of their Bishop in some fashion.

"Oftentimes you don't realize you're depressed, but what started it was that my dad disappointed me very much, and uh, I guess I got to thinking more about it than I realized. I didn't realize that I was thinking that much about it, but all of a sudden, I couldn't work much anymore." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Additionally, as discussed more fully in Chapter 5, many reported having become greatly depressed during the

pre-b

felt p

cultur

harmfu

share-

conseq

they w

positi

ideal.

W

becaus

The cu

given

surveil

states,

Ge

acknowl

sufferi

reporte

issue,

anger

Sex

acknowle

stigma s

pre-baptism, decision-making period. They reported having felt pressured to engage in deviant behaviors, albeit culturally sanctioned, that they believed to be ultimately harmful. This period generated the greatest level of shame-induced ambivalence, self-discrepancy, and consequently depression, as the children felt as though they were expected to act in a way that was counter to the positive image of Amishness that had been constructed as ideal.

Many subjects expressed having become depressed because of disappointment in the Amish as a collective. The cultural factors discussed in the previous section were given as the source of this disappointment (social control, surveillance, gossip, suppression of negative emotional states, and suppression of worldly thought).

Generally, the experience of depression had not been acknowledged. Others did not bring attention to the suffering, either, even when noticed. It was repeatedly reported that family members often did not address the issue, unless the individual was thought to be a physical danger to themselves, or others.

Several reasons were given for this reluctance to acknowledge the suffering of a family member. For one, the stigma surrounding depression was sufficient to prohibit

discus

was pe

the su

relatio

that ca

conditi

will be

As

depress

as iden

point o

allowed

respons

discuss

work co

depressi

"The you
feeling
don't ca
we all h

"My wife
likely
as far a
Post-Bap

"Is depre
up.
ook sad,
. They
Post-Bapt

discussion. And, even if acknowledged, no viable remedy

was perceived as available. For it was believed that only

the sufferer could bring about relief, by repairing their

relationship with God. Additionally, concern was expressed

that calling attention to the depression would worsen the

condition by causing the person to throw a "pity party," as

will be discussed more fully below.

As such, the sick role for Amish experiencing

depression bore no resemblance to the conventional model,

as identified by Parsons (Parsons 1951). The most obvious

point of divergence was that because the Amish were not

allowed to make a claim, they were not released from the

responsibilities of their expected role/s. As will be

discussed more fully below, silence, stoicism, and hard

work constituted the Amish sick role available for

depression.

"The younger ones who are home might say something about it
(feeling depressed), but by the time they get old, they
don't talk about negative things anymore. They learn that
we all have our bad days." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"My wife will say to me that she's depressed, but she's not
likely to say it to anyone else, if she's having a bad day,
as far as spreading it around to other people, no." Male,
Post-Baptism Amish

"If depressed, we try to be smiling all the time, covering
it up. I know people like that, but I also know people who
look sad. You can see they're suffering, but they just go
on. They're quiet, and we're quiet about it." Female,
Post-Baptism Amish

"I'm th
way (de
the way
well th
he'd fe

"He jus
you'd s
terribl
about j
end of

Ev
conven
silent
emotio
of it."
medicat
depress
from ph
concoct
although

Ha
ures f
Parson'
context
tles.
given th
depressi
primary
certainl
conceptu

"I'm the type of guy that don't say a word when I get that way (depressed). I'll just shut up. I don't know, that's the way my mom was, I guess. My grandpa used to do pretty well the same thing. He'd lay on the couch, you know, 'til he'd feel better." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"He just cried a lot (referring to father). Let's say you'd sit down at the dinner table, he'd just bawl terribly, you know, just cried a lot, really emotional about it. It went on for a long time, really right to the end of his life." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

Even though the Amish were not allowed to claim the conventional sick role and for the most part, remained silent about their struggle, there struggle did not go unnoticed. As such, they were indeed expected to "snap out of it." It was reported that the rate of secretive self-medication and physician-prescribed medication for depression was quite high. The reported remedies ranged from physician-prescribed anti-depressants, to herbal concoctions, to chiropractic treatments, to alcohol use (although primarily among only the Pre-Baptism Amish).

Hard work and prayer were prescribed as the leading cures for depression, which supports the assertion that Parson's sick role (Parson 1951) was not evidenced in this context, for the Amish were not exempted from their normal roles. Prayer, of course, was given equal importance, given the attribution of spiritual failing as the cause of depression. The fact that hard work and prayer were the primary culturally prescribed treatments of depression certainly can be viewed as further expression of Weber's conceptualization of ascetic Protestantism.

"That's w
gives you
Sometimes
busy you
just thin
pity. If
much." I

"When an
to think
if it do
my wife
I try to

"Reading
helped m
is when
me. The
Bible we
that eng
else. I
to be wi
depress.

The

the men

when re

continu

after m

mental

they ha

Their e

problem

"That's
freely
they we
worked
Talk t
to the

"That's why we stay so busy (to manage depression). It gives you a feeling of accomplishment afterwards. Sometimes when you're just down and out, if you go and get busy you can better forget everything. If you sit, you just think. If you're down and out, you think about self-pity. If you're busy, you don't focus on yourself as much." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"When an Amish man gets frustrated or depressed, most try to think about the problem for a while, and pray about it if it doesn't get better, that seems to be best. And, like my wife said, we'll work. I'll get engrossed in more work. I try to keep busy." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Reading the Bible helps me to not feel depressed, that has helped me a lot. I guess a lot of things that depress me is when I hear that somebody has said something bad about me. Then sometimes, when I read the Bible, it says in the Bible we're not supposed to do that to other people, and that encourages me that I don't want to do that to somebody else. I just try to live the way the Lord wants me to, and to be with the Lord. But there's a lot of gossip, and that depresses me." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

The admonishment to pray for a cure, or a release from the mental distress, however, had deleterious consequences when relief did not come. Several reported that they continued to remain silent about their depression, even after many years, because despite their prayers, their mental distress continued. Because of this circumstance, they had become even more troubled and reluctant to speak. Their emotional problems had become compounded by spiritual problems.

"That's the way we were taught, to keep quiet. Now I can freely talk about it, now that my parents are gone, because they were very much like that. We think trouble should be worked out, not spoken about. Mom and dad always said, 'Talk to Christ, talk to God, you don't have to expose it to the world, talk to God.' But sometimes God doesn't seem

to answer

Male, Pos

"One lady

anymore,

burden, a

sick, it'

The Case

"I think

stuff. W

everythir

there mu

with you

Female,

"We read

good peo

up to."

"My wife

I went t

to pray.

to tell

lost my

the more

"I thin

lives, k

very you

the eve

children

this ve

have a

Baptism.

"Some m

for oth

everwhe

vulnera

Se

just co

differe

to answer. That's when we were told to pray for patience."
Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"One lady told me she's not able to pray for patience
anymore, because every time she does, God sends her another
burden, and she becomes even more depressed. When you're
sick, it's hard to hear God." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

The Case of the Nervous Breakdown

"I think sometimes we're too hush-hush about a lot of
stuff. We try to be too perfect. We try too hard to have
everything under control, and when it gets out of control,
there must be something wrong with you, because if God is
with you, there should be nothing that goes against you."
Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"We read in books and the paper and things that we are the
good people, without many problems, and that's hard to live
up to." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"My wife had a nervous breakdown, and I had one myself, and
I went to Dad, but he said the same thing, that you've got
to pray. So I got to the point that I depended on my wife
to tell me what's right or wrong, because I thought I had
lost my connection to God. That made my nervousness all
the more worse." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I think we have a lot of mental problems all through our
lives, but I think the worst time is when the children are
very young, and because the Amish have a lot of children,
one every year. I used to not feel good about myself (when
children were younger) because I thought I wasn't doing
this very good. You get so worn down. It's hard to not
have a nervous breakdown. I had one." Female, Post-
Baptism Amish

"Some manage the stress of living pretty good, but I think
for others it's real hard. Sometimes you just feel
overwhelmed with responsibilities. That's when you're
vulnerable to breaking down." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Secondary to depression, the nervous breakdown was the

most commonly reported mental distress. No gender

differences in prevalence or symptomology were reported,

although

among y

It was

during

Ma

depress

persona

nervous

event,

conditi

breakdo

As

fieldwo

characte

wherein

depleted

well. A

sometime

ver-exc

characte

ot nece

concentra

Thes

of a sta

literally

control a

matic sta

although the nervous breakdown was more likely to occur among young adults, especially during childbearing years. It was reported that stress was at its greatest level during this time, for both females and males.

Many of the symptoms were similar to those of depression, particularly a feeling of hopelessness, of personal failure. The major distinction was that the nervous breakdown was characterized as more acute, as an event, or an episode, rather than as a chronic, or extended condition. The beginning and end points of the nervous breakdown were more clearly defined.

As described by the Amish, and observed during fieldwork encounters, the nervous breakdown was characterized by complete mental and emotional exhaustion, wherein the individual's coping resources had become depleted. A set of physical symptoms was experienced, as well. Although contradictory, physical exhaustion sometimes accompanied a sense of physical agitation, or over-excitement of the body. The agitation was characterized as the body being physically shaky, although not necessarily visibly noticeable, and an inability to concentrate on physical and mental tasks.

These symptoms could be characterized as descriptive of a state of hysteria or mania, however this state was not generally manifest in a boisterous, or wildly out-of-control fashion. Although counter to the stereotype of a manic state, and although there were reportedly exceptions

among

largel

just g

be qui

ursel

nerves

i

lively

suggest

nervous

that "j

finally

sadness

"I didn
depress
nich, a
I shoul
about i
anymore
just ex
before
Baptism

Un

had bee

Wish i

Spiritu

he ind

rarely i

among the Amish, this state of mania generally remained largely confined internally. As one subject stated, "You just go nuts kind of quietly, because Amish are supposed to be quiet. We're not supposed to draw attention to ourselves, even when we're losing our minds, when our nerves are breaking down."

It was further reported that a nervous breakdown was likely to occur at the end of a depressive period, suggestive perhaps of a manic-depressive event. The nervous breakdown was characterized generally as an event that "cured" the depression, that is was "the depression finally coming to a head," "a breaking point for the sadness," a "snapping out of it."

"I didn't realize, a lot of times I don't realize that I'm depressed. What started it was my dad disappointed me very much, and uh, I guess I got to thinking more about it than I should have. I didn't realize I was thinking that much about it, but all of a sudden, I couldn't work in the field anymore. I couldn't stand to hardly do the laundry. I was just exhausted. This started about 6 or 7 years ago, right before I had my first nervous breakdown." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Unlike depression, the cause of the nervous breakdown had been constructed primarily as a stress response to Amish life, rather than as a more direct, or significant spiritual failing. In the case of the nervous breakdown, the individual had not become separate from God, but was merely having difficulty managing the stress related to

living a Christian life, especially according to Old Order Amish prescriptions.

The breakdown was brought about by pressures and stress of everyday living, by having to withstand the high level of social control, the continual surveillance and gossip, the suppression of negative emotional states, the suppression of worldly thought, and the high expectations associated with being Old Order Amish. It was reported that a nervous breakdown would commonly occur among men when financial or work pressures became too great. Among women, the breakdown was more likely to occur when their children were young, or when they were preparing to host church services or a wedding in their home. For both women and men, it was within these life stages that the greatest social scrutiny occurred.

Although the nervous breakdown was not as highly stigmatized as depression, the nervous breakdown was indeed stigmatized. The breakdown had been constructed as a time when an individual was given allowance to "put their burden down for a bit," but needing to do so was perceived as a weakness. Breaking down was deviant to the prescription to be stoic. An inability to live up to expectations, to cope with what life handed you, signified human failing. As such, the stigmatization surrounding having a nervous

breakdown was highly effective in silencing the sufferer, analogous to the experience of depression.

The primary cure for the nervous breakdown appeared to be simply waiting it out. Many subjects suggested that the best remedy was to try to stay as busy as possible, again relying on work as a distraction. The emphasis on work, however, should not be surprising, given the fact that the Amish are allowed few other forms of distraction for the "bothered" mind.

The individual was more also more likely to seek help from their English medical doctor, asking for "nerve medicine" to manage the physical symptoms. Creating a mind/body split was quite functional, in this regard. This mind/body split, however, should not be misunderstood as an attempt to somaticize the emotional disturbance by experiencing it in the body. To the contrary, the Amish were very aware of the emotional nature of their distress, but they found the accompanying physical symptoms to be a legitimate mechanism through which to obtain medication that would also calm the mind.

The sick role for those suffering a nervous breakdown differed from that of those suffering from depression. Acknowledging a nervous breakdown was more acceptable, possibly because the stress of daily living was considered

; be

suffer

within

more a

physica

The Cas

"We ca
won't
they'll
they're
before
are af
Post-B

"I'm s
ut the

C
been co

medica

underst

mental

explana

Th
influen

profess

genetic

communi

this con

schizoph

symptoms

to be its trigger, which most could relate to. Those

suffering were allowed to be less productive and effective

within their expected social roles. And, they were given

more allowance to seek treatment, via a physician for the

physical symptoms.

The Case of Schizophrenia

"We can always tell a schizophrenic. They walk funny, they
won't make eye contact, they're always in a hurry, and
they'll be worried and break down a lot, wondering if
they're OK. They can't concentrate or finish a chore
before moving on to another one. Babies and young children
are afraid of them. They'll point them out to you." Male,
Post-Baptism Amish

"I'm surprised that children are the first ones to know,
but they do." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Of the four categories of mental distress that had

been constructed, only schizophrenia appeared to have been

medicalized by the Amish. Schizophrenia was fairly well

understood to be a family, or genetically transmitted

mental illness. The construction of this biological

explanation appeared to have been relatively recent.

This construction appeared to have been greatly

influenced through contact with English mental-health

professionals or medical researchers who had investigated

genetic factors related to schizophrenia within other Amish

communities. It was reported to have been more common for

this contact with the English to occur in the case of

schizophrenic symptomology, because of the severity of the

symptoms.

Man

community

into gen

that the

pol. B

widely a

genetic

vulnerab

"What I'
take tha
that I h
mental p
like tak
schizoph

"Since m
wondered
concerne
Baptism

"From wh
they don
years ol
not in a
Post-Bap

How

been lar

sufficie

cultural

surveill

states, a

identifie

discussed

Many reported that as a consequence of other Amish communities having been the subject of medical research into genetic transmission of disease, they were quite aware that their practice of endogamy had created a limited gene pool. Because the bio-medical explanation had been so widely accepted there was a high level of fear of potential genetic transmission. Many expressed feeling quite vulnerable to schizophrenia.

"What I'm taking (medication for depression) is what people take that are mentally ill, you know, but the doctor said that I had it in my family because my aunts and uncles had mental problems. My cousin takes the same drug. I don't like taking it, but I remember how my uncle was. He was a schizophrenic." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Since my husband has a schizophrenic in his family, I have wondered before if he will get it. I've been more concerned that my children will get it." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"From what I've seen and analyzed, most of the people, if they don't start showing the symptoms after about 30 or 35 years old, I'd say they're over the hump. That's why I'm not in as much fear over that as I was at one time." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

However, even though the bio-medical explanation had been largely accepted, genetics had not been deemed sufficient to cause the expression of schizophrenia. Cultural factors, such as the level of social control, surveillance, gossip, the suppression of negative emotional states, and the suppression of worldly thought were identified as contributory factors, as previously discussed. Spiritual failing, stress, and harsh discipline

or physi

identifi

"We've w
very sen
naughty
now, and
think sh
get. I
mild be
Female,

Eac

exacerba

one subj

conditio

as doing

although

cest by

of God,

a valida

were inc

To

schizoph

because

even hal

given th

deviant

symptoms

or physical, sexual or verbal abuse within the family were identified as important additional causal factors.

"We've wondered about (a family member). She was always a very sensitive child, she was a mild child, but she wasn't naughty or anything like that, but she has schizophrenia now, and I know she did have harsh discipline. Relatives think she got her schizophrenia from the discipline she got. I wonder did the discipline make it worse? Could a child be made schizophrenic by the harsh discipline?"
Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Each of these factors was further identified as exacerbating the experience of schizophrenia. For example, one subject shared her belief that a family member's condition had been made worse when forced to attend church, as doing so aggravated her paranoia. As she explained, although the church leaders were doing what they thought best by bringing the affected individual into the presence of God, being forcibly led into the church meeting created a validation of the schizophrenic's concerns, as people were indeed staring and talking about her.

To a certain extent, one could argue that diagnosing schizophrenia among the Amish would be made more difficult because of these cultural dynamics. Having delusions and even hallucinations could possibly be an expected response, given the extent to which free, creative, and otherwise deviant thought had been suppressed. Schizophrenic symptomology, in this context, could have been generated by

the m

too-c

genera

partic

In add

trough

stigmat

Al

schizop

potenti

often as

stigmati

Because

medicali

social o

because t

within th

esulting

deemed ne

social con

Given

responsibi

afflicted

the mind at play, a salugenic response to save an otherwise too-confined mind.

It was apparent that cultural factors were believed to generate symptomology associated with schizophrenia, particularly paranoia and related personality disorders. In addition to the cultural factors already discussed, they brought forth their history of martyrdom and in-group stigmatization as contributing factors.

Although perhaps counterintuitive, even though schizophrenia was considered to be the most serious and potentially threatening mental illness, due to the violence often associated with its expression, it was not as highly stigmatized as depression or the nervous breakdown. Because the etiology of schizophrenia had been largely medicalized, it did not pose as large a threat to the social order as depression or the nervous breakdown, because the deviance was not viewed as intentional or within the individual's volition, nor was it viewed as resulting from a spiritual failing. Therefore, it was not deemed necessary to use stigmatization as a mechanism of social control.

Given the bio-medical explanation, low levels of responsibility and accountability were assigned to the afflicted for the associated behaviors. Diminished

responsibility for contracting the disorder generated a
community response to the afflicted that was relatively
salugenic. It was reported that the primary response was
one of compassion and empathy for the afflicted, as well as
for the family. The circumstance of a limited gene pool
certainly may have augmented the empathetic response, as
every family would be keenly aware of their vulnerability
to genetically transmitted diseases or conditions.

Given these dynamics, the sick role available to Amish
suffering from schizophrenia more closely follows Parson's
conceptualization (Parsons 1951). First, social
recognition of the distress was forced by the severity of
symptoms. Plus, the sufferer had no ability to hide their
affliction. Second, the severity of symptoms prevented the
schizophrenic from acting within their expected social
roles. Third, because the schizophrenic was incapable of
performing within their pre-morbid social role, a new
social role had to be constructed. Because the primary
explanation for schizophrenia was biological, rather than a
spiritual failing, creating a new social role was not as
threatening for the group.

The Case of Borderline Personality Disorder

According to the DSMR-IV, Borderline Personality
Disorder has been primarily characterized by an instability

in pers

accept

adults

unstabl

disturb

reporte

one hig

discuss

been di

discuss

Wh

profess

an expl

had bee

argue t

charact

person,

these be

but rath

Thi

diagnosa

made tha

affectio

in personal relationships, an unwillingness or inability to accept social boundaries, impulsivity beginning in early adulthood, inappropriate affect, particularly anger, unstable self image, and high need to create drama, or a disturbance, etc. Although Borderline Personality Disorder reportedly had not been a common diagnosis among the Amish, one high profile case had recently brought awareness and discussion of the diagnosis to the forefront (This case has been discussed more fully in Chapter 8, within the discussion of the marginalized man).

When queried, neither the English mental-health professionals nor the English paraprofessionals could posit an explanation for why this particular diagnostic category had been rarely seen among the Amish. However, one could argue that, because the diagnostic criteria describe characteristics that are in striking opposition to an Amish person, it is likely that those who would later manifest these behaviors as an adult do not remain among the Amish, but rather, they opt out through defection.

This is not to say that all those who defect would be diagnosable as Borderlines, but the suggestion could be made that perhaps more Borderlines would be diagnosed if defection were not an option. For what is Borderline

Perso

unwil

A

must

relati

impuls

affect

must n

life.

this c

quite

decisi

cultura

tolerat

As

factor

Defecte

it woul

theoreti

internal

to fall

of these

have exhi

criteria

Personality Disorder other than an inability, or an
unwillingness to conform?

To be sanctioned as appropriately Amish, an individual
must capable of the following: creating stable personal
relationships, accepting social boundaries, extinguishing
impulsivity, even as a child, demonstrating appropriate
affect, presenting a stable self image, and certainly, they
must not create drama or disruption within their social
life. It is additionally important to consider that, in
this context, the range of each of these dimensions is
quite restricted, and that long before reaching the
decision-making period, Amish children clearly know the
cultural norms, the degree of deviance that would be
tolerated, and under what circumstances.

As such, it is possible that a mental-health selection
factor was at work in defection, in that, among those who
defected were those who knew that they would not able to,
or would not be willing, to conform. Certainly it is
theoretically sound to argue that those who exhibited an
internal locus of control would have been those more likely
to fall into this category. One could speculate that some
of these individuals, if they had not defected, would later
have exhibited behavior that would have met the diagnostic
criteria for borderline-personality disorder.

e as

mdiff

challe

peculiar

group,

bounda

the gr

cohesi

peculian

the gr

importa

They ma

becomir

"The se
comes a
really
of show
ses. T
not to
our bou
Irish

Be

disorde

instru

it had

asrloo

Although the psychiatric label was new, dealing with the associated behaviors was not. The Amish reported that "difficult" or "willful" people had always presented a challenge. It was explained that, historically, this deviance served to actually increase conformity within the group, by making norms and sanctions manifest. Testing the boundaries of the group presented a threat against which the group could respond, thus augmenting their sense of cohesion. Given this important function, even though deviants may have been marginalized, they were embraced by the group because they were recognized as making an important contribution to the maintenance of Amish culture. They made an excellent example of the consequences of becoming separated from God.

"The self-pity part has kept her from moving on. There comes a point when the person makes a choice. Do you really want to get well? The decisions that she made kind of showed us that she was more comfortable with the way she was. That makes it very difficult when people simply chose not to get better. She just did not want to live within our boundaries, to live our way." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Because the category of Borderline Personality Disorder was a very new idea among the Amish, no constructions regarding its etiology had been constructed, nor had a sick role been produced that would allow the afflicted individual social margin or an escape from normal

socia

indiv

expla

asso

acco

sever

disru

fully

have

borde

appro

more

break

Local

"I al
them,
stron
inste

regar

attit

menta

stigma

stigma

respon

social roles. Except for one or two highly influential

individuals, the Amish had not accepted the bio-medical

explanation. Instead, they continued to view the

associated behaviors as simply deviance, and to respond

accordingly.

The one case that had gained so much attention within

several of the districts, however, had generated tremendous

disruption and consternation. As will be discussed more

fully below, it was recognized that allowing the English to

have the authority to medicalize deviance by renaming it

borderline personality disorder and developing an

appropriate sick role posed an extraordinary threat, much

more so than with the case of depression, the nervous

breakdown, or schizophrenia.

Local Knowledge and Constructions Regarding Caregiving

"I always feel you should show them love. To just ignore
them and shut them off is not showing love. Affection is a
strong tool, and abuse is a strong tool, only one drives
instead of draws." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Perhaps the most salugenic aspect of Amish culture

regarding mental illness that was discovered was their

attitude toward, and treatment of, those experiencing a

mental disturbance. It was indeed ironic that in-group

stigmatization of mental distress was so high, because the

stigmatization did not appear to negatively influence the

response made to the distressed individual, in terms of

direct

of the

counse

"I can
there
distri
strong
throug
commun
weakes
is gre
commit

          H

afflic

empath

emotio

become

distan

was wi

taken

involv

the bej

physica

as if e

afflic

          Th

primary

allowa

become

individ

direct care given. This sentiment had been echoed by one of the Mennonite ministers, who had provided pastoral counseling to the Amish.

"I cannot generalize across the settlement, but I think there are elements within the healthy Amish church districts in which people who suffer mental illness have a strong community base and are much more capable of going through life with that. But I also know that not all Amish communities have developed that yet. But, even within the weakest of our Amish communities, the potential for growth is greater than in general society, because of its commitment to community." Mennonite Minister

However, even though the Amish approached the afflicted with tremendous gentleness, compassion, and empathy, their approach was more instrumental than emotional. In fact, great restraint was shown to not become too emotionally involved. Indeed, an emotional distance was created and maintained, as if the caregiver was willing to extend empathy toward the afflicted, but had taken measures to guard against further emotional involvement. Instead, the primary focus was on correcting the behaviors of the afflicted, and taking care of their physical needs, suggestive of mind/body dichotomy. It was as if extending even empathy put them too close to the affliction.

Their instrumental approach was characterized primarily by a willingness to give tremendous social allowance. Even though the behaviors of the afflicted had become deviant and violated the collective conscious, the individual had not been constructed as pathological, per

272

The

_ditio

desire t

individu

appeared

conditic

being a

sufferin

or a ne

expectat

accounta

Loo

within t

of empa

or psych

difficul

they wer

had deve

other, a

theolog

live acc

people a

How

of norma

1951).

particula

become me

se. The root of the deviance had been located within the condition, rather than constructed as the individual's desire to be deviant. No assumption was made that the individual just wanted to be bad. This circumstance appeared true more for schizophrenia than for the other conditions, however, with borderline personality disorder being at the opposite end of the continuum. Those suffering from depression, borderline personality disorder, or a nervous breakdown were held to higher standards and expectations, as they had been assigned a higher level of accountability.

Locating the deviance within the condition rather than within the individual appeared to be generated from a state of empathy, rather than an understanding of brain chemistry or psychology, however. Because the Amish understood how difficult being Amish was, they clearly understood that they were just as vulnerable to failing at that task. They had developed an enormous capacity to take the role of the other, a stance from which all empathy flows. Their theology further directed this response, as they attempt to live according to the "Golden Rule," of treating other people as you would have them treat you.

However, regardless of the mental condition, a paradox of normalcy emerged, similar to that described by Lemert (1951). Defining an abnormal state as normal for that particular individual, as a consequence of their having become mentally ill or having become separated from God,

allowed others to redefine, and otherwise more productively cope with the behaviors, even if this work was not verbally acknowledged.

It was reported and observed that much discretion and flexibility were used in enforcing norms and in punishing violations of those experiencing mental distress, with the response being dependent primarily upon the type of distress. Decisions regarding the proper treatment of the afflicted were made on a case-by-case basis, although some general guidelines had certainly been established.

The most appropriate description of the nature of the response made to the afflicted would be that of behavior modification. However, a high degree of flexibility had been built into the "treatment" plan. For example, whenever a particular approach failed, the caregivers would often allow greater social margin, when defining the person's mental illness or condition being the cause of their deviance. The response appeared continually negotiable. It was also apparent that no attempts were made to set someone up for failure. In other words, the individual's current level of functioning was taken into account.

As noted earlier, the Amish had become highly effective in making a distinction between the illness and the ill person. This circumstance perhaps had been created through their long history of maintaining those afflicted with Alzheimer's disease and mental retardation in their

homes

insti

the p

the a

perha

what

approx

approp

curren

their

again

the ma

iseas

indiv

impor

age, c

had be

regard

than c

strong

was be

talk w

the pa

case c

homes. Because the Amish historically had not
institutionalized those suffering from these conditions,
the practice of separating the illness or condition from
the afflicted had been highly honed. This separation had
perhaps contributed greatly to their ability to provide
what could be described as highly compassionate care.

Another example of the instrumentality of the Amish
approach was that expectations were age appropriate. Age
appropriateness, however, was based on an estimation of the
current mental functioning of the individual, and not on
their chronological age. This practice reportedly stemmed,
again, from the experience of providing home-based care for
the mental retarded and those suffering from Alzheimer's
Disease. Centuries of providing home-based care for these
individuals had sensitized the Amish to place greater
importance on the mental age, rather than the chronological
age, of the afflicted.

The "cures" or "treatments" for mental illness that
had been constructed were instrumental, as well. In this
regard, the Amish had taken a strong behaviorist, rather
than cognitive approach. Most Amish expressed being
strongly opposed to cognitive-based, talk therapies. It
was believed that talk "cultivated" depression, because
talk kept the bad feelings "turned-up, instead of letting
the past stay buried in the ground." And obviously in the
case of schizophrenia, attempting to talk the afflicted out

of t

futil

not b

past

stoi

cont

rath

perc

thei

dist

enor

"You
that
you
give
or t
Bapt

"My
like
myse
sorr

His

syst

exte

comm

seve

hist

the

of their alternative reality had long been discovered to be futile.

There was also a prevailing attitude that, what could not be changed, should not be discussed, whether it was the past or the present. The Amish cultural prescription for stoicism and their articulated external locus of control contributed to their need "...to deal with today as it is, rather than how you'd have it be." Because the Amish perceived that they had little to no ability to change their lot in life, using talk as a treatment for mental distress was viewed as wasting time, as seeking "pity", and encouraging complaints rather than responsibility to duty.

"You need to work with the pattern of your life, whatever that may be, so that the pattern of your life won't cause you more stress. You've just got to work with what God has given you, with no complaints. There's no use complaining or talking about what you can't change." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"My friend got me through my nervous breakdown. She was like a boss to me. She wouldn't let me feel sorry for myself. The worse thing you can do is let someone feel sorry for themselves." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

The large extended family and social system among the Amish allowed for a type of community-based foster care system to emerge. Sharing caregiver responsibilities with extended family members and families within the Amish community afforded the afflicted, as well as their family, several important benefits. In addition to the obvious instrumental social support experienced by the families, the primary benefit was that the afflicted were able to

rer

to

the

expe

fam

the

and

Anis

the

the

inhe

vari

be c

term

felt

fam

enco

ii.

symp

inter

temp

role

impos

exper

remain in their cultural context. This offered consistency to the distressed person, but it also offered assurance to the family that their vulnerable family member would not be exposed to a worldly context.

It could be argued that the mentally ill and their families benefited from the afflicted remaining within their cultural context because the environment was known, and would remain predictable. When institutionalized, Amish patients and their families had to contend with both the illness and the strangeness of the place. In addition, the family had to be concerned with the vulnerability inherent in being exposed to the English world. The various problematics involved in institutionalization will be discussed more fully below.

Instrumental social support provided respite care, in terms of physical needs of the family, but many subjects felt that their own mental health and that of extended family members had been negatively impacted by the lack of emotional social support for caregivers of the mentally ill. Family members of those experiencing depressive symptomology reported the greatest harm.

It is important to note that the slight was not intentional. The barrier created by the stigma surrounding mental illness and the absence of the conventional sick role made extending emotional support difficult, if not impossible in most cases. Stigma compounded the family's experience, because it prohibited directly requesting or

recei

prohi

from

the p

"My
matte
know,
aroun
take.
with
for y
done
aroun

"My d
was t
his e
talki
cloud
did I
it, s
Male,

"He d
mothe
take
didn'
I thi
docto
docto
his f
medic
meant
to."

a sick

of the

in ter

claimed

receiving emotional social support. The result of this

prohibition was that families became emotionally isolated

from others, as well as from each other. Again, think of

the performance of mental distress as pantomime.

"My mom died when I was (young), and that didn't help
matters at home any, so that was tragic at the time. You
know, that really hurt the home life, to see my dad sit
around and mope all day, you know, it was hard for me to
take. I could deal with my mom dying, but I couldn't deal
with my dad sitting around moping about it all the time,
for years on end. People saw to it that the chores were
done for us, but nobody said anything about him moping
around." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"My dad had a problem with depression. Our whole problem
was to try to figure out what Dad wanted us to do going by
his expression, because he was often depressed and not
talking. He didn't say anything. His face would be all
cloudy, and you'd think, oh, I did something wrong! What
did I do? But you couldn't ask. We couldn't talk about
it, so we couldn't tell anyone else about it either."
Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"He did not want to take medication, but sometimes my
mother put medication on his plate, so he would remember to
take it at meal time, when he was supposed to. If he
didn't take it, she'd smash it up and put it in his food.
I think the medicine came from an Amish person, not a
doctor, 'cause I don't remember that Dad ever when to a
doctor. I think the way he lived, Dad felt he had to make
his faith stronger to get better. But Mother put the
medicine in his food to make our life easier in the
meantime. We didn't know what else to do, who else to turn
to." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

As such, the degree to which the Amish construction of

a sick role approached that of Parson's conceptualization

of the sick role can be placed along a continuum, as well,

in terms of the degree to which the sick role could be

claimed, the degree of social margin given, the degree to

whi

the

the

rol

con

ce

no

nex

wou

| TYP |
| MEN |
| DIS |

| Rep |

| Mer |
| Pre |

| Son |
| Sor |
| Per |
| Dis |

Redi

this

Engl

it w

of b

atte

trep

which the individual was allowed to openly seek treatment,
the degree to which the individual was allowed to escape
the responsibilities associated with their normal social
roles, and the degree to which a new social role had been
constructed for them. Borderline personality disorder would
be located at the low end of the continuum, for virtually
no sick role had been constructed. Depression would be
next, followed by the nervous breakdown. Schizophrenia
would be placed at the high end.

Table 6.1 Cause of Mental Distress, Stigma Attached, and Sick Role Allowed, by Type of Mental Distress

TYPE OF MENTAL DISTRESS	CAUSE OF MENTAL DISTRESS	STIGMA ATTACHED TO MENTAL DISTRESS	SICK ROLE ALLOWED
Depression	Spiritual Failing	Highest	Amish
Nervous Breakdown	Stress Spiritual Weakness	High	Amish
Schizophrenia	Bio/Genetic	Lowest	Conventional
Borderline Personality Disorder	Deviant Nature Spiritual Weakness	High	None

It should be noted that the degree to which a bio-
medical explanation had been accepted could be placed along
this same continuum, as well as could the acceptance of the
English as an appropriate agent to address the condition.
It was precisely for this reason that the one of the cases
of borderline personality disorder that had gained so much
attention within several of the districts had generated
tremendous disruption and consternation.

279

reco

to m

pers

role

the

sch

dis

al

as

par

be

As will be discussed more fully below, it was recognized that allowing the English to have the authority to medicalize deviance by renaming it borderline personality disorder and developing an appropriate sick role posed an extraordinary threat, much more so than with the case of depression, the nervous breakdown, or schizophrenia. In the next chapter, concern over the displacement of local knowledge will be discussed more fully, and a discussion will be made regarding the ascendancy of English medical authority. Additionally, barriers to mental health help seeking in this context will be explored.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Displacement of Local Knowledge

As noted in the previous chapter, the Amish reported
that in the past, there had not been a high level of
concern regarding mental illness among them. Mental
illness behaviors had been normalized, and satisfactory
cultural definitions and responses had been constructed.
However, the Amish reported growing concern over the
increased notice and attention that their mental health had
been receiving from English formal agents.

The recent involvement of English mental-health
professionals, the subsequent application of English
psychiatric labels, and in particular, the imposition of
the conventional sick role (Parsons 1951) upon encounters
with English systems appeared to be generating a high level
of discussion and disruption. As discussed in Chapter 6,
it was recognized that allowing the English to have the
authority to medicalize deviance by renaming it and
developing an appropriate sick role posed an extraordinary
threat.

Zola (1972) and Conrad and Schneider (1980) have
described the medicalization of deviance as occurring when
non-disease-based, social behaviors become viewed as
medical problems. Medicalization has three direct
consequences: 1) medicalization shifts perceptions
regarding appropriate agents, 2) it allows for the
avoidance of acknowledging the moral nature of the

281

ba

fa

no

to

cr

co

di

Te

si

th

cha

The

kno

Te

For

to

tha

ser

Whe

Est

app

Ade

tho

app

behavior, and 3) it allows societies to not address moral
failings (Conrad et al. 1980).

Among the Amish, these consequences would certainly
not be benign, for addressing moral failings is considered
to be paramount to their survival. Violation of the moral
order poses the greatest threat to their stability, group
cohesion, and ultimate cultural survival. As such,
displacement of local knowledge, the ascendancy of English
medical authority, and the acceptance of the conventional
sick role could be deleterious in this context. Each of
these concerns will be addressed in the remainder of this
chapter.

The History of Displacement of Local Knowledge

When asked to identify when displacement of local
knowledge had begun within this community, the Korean and
Vietnam wars were given as the earliest points in time.
For during these engagements, many Amish men were ordered
to serve as psychiatric orderlies within English mental
institutions, as a condition of alternative, military
service, due to their status as conscientious objectors.

It was discovered that these experiences had been
woven into the pre-existing local knowledge, hence the co-
optation of psychiatric labels. The primary lessons
appeared to have been that mental hospitals were
undesirable places to be, and that the mentally ill in
those places were highly vulnerable to abuse.
Additionally, some reported that their Amishness had become

the

enco

Aris

psyc

as f

info

made

indi

whos

repo

expe

expe

susp

the

enga

expr

spon

it w

indiv

made

label

famil

the p

the focus of psychiatric inquiry. It was through these encounters that they first experienced the pathologizing of Amish culture through psychiatry.

Amish people who had experienced English counselors or psychiatric facilities first-hand, either as in-patients or as family members of an in-patient, had become conduits for information, as well. Having experienced the phenomenon made their reports highly influential. Essentially, these individuals functioned as scouts, or cultural sacrifices, whose reports became valuable resources for the group.

What had become problematic, however, was that the reports varied. Some had been quite pleased with their experience, while others reported highly negative experiences. This discrepancy generated a great deal of suspicion and skepticism, and allowed divisions regarding the legitimacy of English verses Amish treatment to remain engaged.

In particular, much trepidation and concern was expressed regarding diagnostic labels that had been applied upon encounters with English mental health professionals. It was as if in the naming, the label had changed the individual, had made their behavior unpredictable, and had made their identity foreign to the Amish. Those officially labeled by English formal agents as mentally ill had become familiar strangers, as described by Jodelet in the case of the French (Jodelet 1989:32).

The label appeared to have also changed the identity and role of the caretaker. The sentiment was that the care formerly given by the Amish was now being called into question by "authorities." The Amish reported not feeling as competent to deal with the disordered individual and their behaviors after a formal, diagnostic label had been applied. And indeed, during the conduct of this research, subjects frequently sought validation regarding the manner in which they had been dealing with those exhibiting mental illness symptomology.

The treatment of depression was frequently given as an example of the displacement of local knowledge and the making strange of what was once normalized. As previously discussed, depression among the Amish generally manifested itself through the individual remaining silent about their experience. Numerous reports were gathered, however, regarding dramatically changed behavior after involvement with an English counselor.

The most striking difference in behavior was reported to be that the depressed Amish person was no longer silent about the depression, no longer performing through pantomime (Chapter 6), having been encouraged by the counselor to express their feelings and emotions to family members. Many Amish reported this change in behavior to be quite unsettling and disruptive to the household.

It was believed that English talk therapy encouraged the individual to demand attention, a self-focus that was

viewed by many Amish as an expression of vanity, a violation of their collective conscious regarding the position of the self vis-à-vis the group. Talk therapy was viewed as "cultivating" depression, because generating rumination about the self would only lead to further unhappiness with the self and the group, rather than directing focus on healing their spiritual relationship to God.

> "She was told (by English counselor) that talking about her past would help her accept it, so that she could get over on the bright side. She thought she had to lay that back (her past), she had to cultivate it, so that she could accept the facts of her life. I told her we have to take it as a lesson, maybe, on what she had in her background, and what's not good, but that she should try to forget it. She shouldn't be cultivating her problems." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

As a consequence of the rejection of talk or otherwise cognitive-based therapies, negative attributions were made of those inpatients that had accepted the treatment as legitimate. For example, the person was often felt to be a "crybaby" or someone just wanting a "pity party." Once these attributions were made, the response made to the individual would become generally harsher.

Additionally, the Amish reported believing that the "patient" had actually become worse after in-treatment or at least had not become better. Many expressed believing that the in-patient treatment plans were "silly" or

"nonsense," and that the in-patient was oftentimes more difficult to handle upon release.

Being admitted into an English psychiatric facility brought along with it the imposition of the conventional model of the sick role, which greatly conflicted with the Amish construction. Allowing the individual to be exempt from their normal social roles was found to be especially disruptive in this cultural context, for two reasons. For one, from an instrumental standpoint, the patient's exemption created more work for others within the household, and two, the exemption violated the Amish prescription for hard work and prayer as a cure for mental distress.

Perhaps the most bothersome aspect of inpatient treatment, however, was the length of time it necessitated, and the virtual incapacitation of the individual from taking part in the life of the family and the community, which further ostracized the inpatient. Because the Amish had not received socialization into the nature of English treatments, they expected to receive treatment that was similar to what they received when seeking treatment from English physicians for physical symptoms, in terms of length of time and directness and clarity of treatment.

"Whe
I do
if y
imme
Heal

plan

enco

they

know

into

"As
from
lost
coun
prog
off
goin
lost

appro

which

to th

if th

anti

The

matte

couns

displa

"When you do therapy with them, they want to know, 'What do
I do? Tell me quickly what I can do so I'll be OK.' And
if you don't have an answer for them, and if you don't
immediately bond, they'll stop therapy." English Mental
Health Professional

The Amish further expected the diagnosis and treatment

plan to be made in much the same manner as during

encounters with physicians. Similar to their physicians,

they expected the English counselor to be the

knowledgeable, and to have the solution quickly and with

little input from the patient.

"If you don't immediately understand where they're coming
from, they may be very polite, very nice to you, but you've
lost them. You haven't connected, and people (English
counselors) who don't know that, they think they're making
progress! But the Amish are going to be saying that you're
off the wall. 'I'm going to get out of here.' They're not
going to say that, they're going to be nice, but you've
lost them." English Mental Health Professional

The practice of providing token rewards for

appropriate behavior was another example of the manner in

which rules and procedures of the institution were foreign

to the Amish, and were contrary to Amish practices. Each

of the following practices was identified as being

antithetical to the practice of Amish culture, as well: 1)

the restriction of visitation; 2) the discussion of family

matters with out-group members, whether with the English

counselor or within group-therapy sessions; 3) the

displacement of the father and Bishop as authorities; and

4) the perception that the family was being identified and labeled as a pathological unit. It was further argued that each of these practices undermined Amish cohesion, and would lead to further displacement of local knowledge.

"They (English counselors) told us that she should have consequences to face, and if she faces those consequences, she should be rewarded, but in the long run, why should a person be getting rewarded for what they should be doing anyway? That's not the way life is. Our rewards are in heaven, not on earth. On earth, we have consequences. I just don't buy that English way of doing things. That's not who we are." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

It was reported that, as a consequence of exposure to English institutionalization, the patient, upon release from in-treatment, would begin to question their treatment by family members within the household. Many times the authority of even the Bishop, and the Amish, in general, to regulate the life of the patient had been called into question.

Related to this questioning, the most disruptive behavior reported was that of playing the English counselor against the family. As an example, there had been cases where the patient had declared that they had been told by their counselor to defect from the Amish, in order to achieve a cure. It must be noted that, because these were retrospective accounts, it was impossible to ascertain, with any accuracy, the actual role of the English practitioner in creating these disruptions. But, it was reported by several English mental-health professionals

that

heal

this

they

offe

acc

This

anot

by t

This

give

popu

The

shou

at l

Engl

atte

pote

that

pote

Whe

Bish

Bish

work

that there had been a few occasions when an English mental-health worker had, indeed, recommended defection.

However, because the Amish generally expected others Amish people to deal with them honestly and without guile, they had not immediately suspected manipulation. Of course Goffman and others have noted that manipulation is not an uncommon response pattern among non-Amish mental patients. This response may have been more pronounced and intensified among the Amish, due to the high level of deference given by the Amish to English agents.

For certainly, when encountering the institution, the Amish were in the position of much less power, particularly given their status as a disenfranchised, dominated population within this community, vis-à-vis the English. Theoretically, at least, displacement of local knowledge should have been, and might yet be fairly easily achieved, at least within the institution. For compared to the English, the Amish lack psychiatric knowledge, psychiatric authority, and a general, formal education, which could potentially prohibit a sufficiently high level of efficacy.

Of the various consequence of displacement, the one that had generated the greatest concern was that of the potential diminishment of the Amish cultural structure. More precisely, the concern was that the authority of the Bishop to regulate the life of his district would be diminished. Even though English counselors recognized working within the prevailing structure to be necessary at

this moment, several expressed finding this structure to be cumbersome, and a barrier to their work among the Amish.

"I find that if you do avoid the Bishop, generally speaking, you can create problems for them (the patient) and problems in dealing with their issues. I find these kind of games very frustrating to try to work around, and I wish I didn't have to." English Mental Health Professional

It was a related concern of the Amish that the displacement of local knowledge regarding mental health would result in the Amish developing social networks among other out-group members, with in-patients being particularly vulnerable. As Goffman's work has demonstrated, mental patients encounter resocialization into a new "club," as such (Goffman 1986:20).

The Amish, of course, do not want the mentally ill to join the new club and develop a moral career as a mental patient, for joint membership would be contradictory and counterproductive. The fact that social networks among the Amish have been limited to in-group members has always been viewed as instrumental to the maintenance of Amish culture.

Displacement of local knowledge regarding mental illness, therefore, was viewed as the opening of the floodgates. This concern had generated a large discussion regarding the determination of legitimate agents to deal with issues of mental health within this context. A review of that discussion and debate follows. The chapter will end with an examination of the barriers to help seeking within this context.

Determining Legitimate Agents

"They think that if they get depressed, they should just forget about it, that they should try harder. As time goes on, it develops into clinical major depression. Their first thoughts are not to get professional help. Most of them will not come to a place like this (English mental health facility) for help. In fact, I went out to a place where I heard the husband had a very serious plan, and he was starting to act on the plan when he was stopped. I talked to the family. He would have been willing to come in because he was desperate, but his wife just absolutely refused because, 'Your place is just going to ruin him. You just don't help people like us. We have to help them,' she said. He never did come. I recommended some other things he could try, and I suggested medication. He never had tried medication. They (the Amish) may have tried something like herbs, or something that was popular, more vitamins, work harder, just pray. That kind of stuff is their answer. And that's a shame." English Mental Health Professional

"I find that generally speaking, Amish minimize their illness a lot, and it's very difficult for them, for me, to really get to what the problems are in the initial interview. It generally takes more time than it would with English. Most English people who come in here who are depressed come in here and just lay it out: I'm depressed. I'm suicidal. I don't want to live anymore. For the Amish, they may feel that, but for them to own that is almost impossible. It's very difficult. They may very well act on it before they speak about it, which makes it very dangerous." English Mental Health Professional

The case of "Paul" that was discussed earlier was particularly illustrative of the debate regarding legitimate agents. Paul was a diagnosed schizophrenic from a different settlement, who had murdered his wife during a schizophrenic episode. Paul reportedly had been well managed on medication prescribed by his English psychiatrist prior to this tragic event. But, it was reported, church members had convinced Paul that he should

stop taking his medication and take an herbal preparation, supplied by a local Amish herbalist, instead. He was also reportedly instructed to simply try harder, to pray harder, to believe that God would bring him relief. The murder occurred while Paul was taking the Amish treatment. He spent time in prison for the crime, and is now reportedly living in a group home, trying to re-establish himself back into his Amish community.

Even though Paul was from a different Amish community, his case had generated a lot of discussion within this community, for he was raising some challenging questions. Basically, Paul had begun to call for a change in how the Amish responded to depression, as well as other mental illnesses. He was supportive of involvement with English mental health professionals. Even more radically, he called for changes in the basic belief system of the Amish. He refuted the notion among the Amish that mental illness, especially depression, was caused by a spiritual weakness, by not being right with God. Because Paul's was such a vivid case, there was great concern that his notions would hold sway.

The fact that Paul's voice had been given support from a leading and highly influential Mennonite minister added to the concern that Paul's voice would be given legitimacy. This particular minister was already viewed as suspect by some, because he had long been advocating for Mennonite

ministers to act as liaisons, by providing pastoral counseling.

However, the pastoral counseling that the Mennonite ministers provided was viewed as problematic, because the two theologies differed around some fundamental points, as discussed elsewhere. And indeed, it could be argued that providing pastoral counseling that went contrary to one's held religious beliefs would be difficult, if not impossible to do, especially for Mennonites, who place a high belief in John 3:16, that salvation is assured upon acceptance of Jesus Christ.

In response to these felt encroachments, the Amish had begun to develop their own organized response. The development of co-ethnic paraprofessionals was viewed as a culturally appropriate and salugenic response to the clamor for a more aggressive and direct approach to mental illness.

The Development of Co-Ethnic Paraprofessionals

It was reported that several years previously, one of the private mental health facilities had hired a specialist to deal specifically with Amish clients. Even though the facility had seen only a few Amish clients, the administrators clearly recognized that a large potential market existed. The particular person chosen for the position was a Defected Co-Ethnic himself. He had been charged with developing an "Amish track," which was to be culturally sensitive to the Amish community.

A few key Amish Bishops were then approached by this facility for their assistance in creating this culturally appropriate response to Amish clients, and to generate interest in their program. To further facilitate this process, an Amish man was given a position on the advisory board of the private facility.

The longer version of this history is that the few key Bishops who became involved with this venture were the same Bishops who had been brought together by other formal agents at an earlier time, to address issues of drug use among Amish youth (Reiling et al. 1997:27). A key organizer of both groups was one of the local Mennonite ministers, who had positioned himself as a liaison between the Amish and the larger community, as well as a provider of pastoral counseling for the Amish.

A loosely defined coalition of Amish church leaders (primarily Bishops and ministers), whose mission it was to provide co-ethnic counseling as an alternative to English counseling, grew out of these ventures. However, to date, the success of these co-ethnic paraprofessionals has been quite limited. The primary reasons for this circumstance were identified as 1) the stigmatization of mental illness, 2) a lack of legitimacy of the co-ethnic paraprofessional as counselor, and 3) the perception of the co-ethnic paraprofessional as a non-credible communicator. Each of these factors has been discussed more fully below, in the section regarding barriers to help seeking.

In an attempt to find a remedy for these barriers, one paraprofessional had become quite ardent in his proposal that the co-ethnic paraprofessionals undergo some level of training, under the direction of English mental health professionals. According to his plan, the co-ethnic paraprofessionals would become interstitial agents. As such, they would attempt to augment local knowledge through a more thorough integration of the traditional, bio-medical, psychiatric model. It was also his hope that the bestowing of credentials by English agents would legitimate Amish practice.

His proposal is an excellent example of an attempt at boundary maintenance. For indeed, unless the Amish can become more successful in providing an in-group response, it can be expected that local knowledge will continue to be eroded as the English continue to develop this market.

His proposal had been largely unsuccessful, however, due primarily to the fact that there had been a backlash against his affiliation with the English agents. Most Amish continued to view English agents through a very high level of skepticism and suspicion. Until this condition changes, debate over the legitimacy of English agents will continue, as will the debate over the legitimacy of co-ethnic paraprofessionals.

Case of the Marginal Man

It is vital to note that the phenomenon of the co-ethnic paraprofessional as a non-credible messenger

(discussed more fully below) possibly had been heavily influenced by the actions of one particular in-group member. This man had been attempting to engage in counseling in a renegade fashion, as he was not a member of the co-ethnic paraprofessional, counseling group.

The actions of this particular man and the social response generated by his actions had resulted in his marginalization, his excommunication from his church, and the construction of this marginal man as an illegitimate mental-health agent. The case of the marginal man illustrated and highlighted the fundamental issues involved in constructing appropriate agents and responses within the Amish community.

It is imperative to note that this individual had been marginalized long before he began to engage in counseling in this setting. To some extent, he was considered an outsider because he had not been born within this particular community, and had joined this community only a few years before. Second, when he had left his original community several years before, he had done so under undesirable circumstances, which immediately brought him into suspicion within this community.

Stories about this marginal man varied greatly, but there appeared to be consensus on the fact that he had been accused of inappropriate conduct toward women he had been counseling for sexual abuse, in his original community. It is important to note that none of the accounts had been

verified, but none-the-less remained quite active at the level of unsubstantiated gossip.

During the summer months, the marginal man operated an outdoor craft booth within the tourist town, and as such his actions were continually under public scrutiny. The manner in which this man drew a crowd of women around his booth became a popular topic of discussion, and further evidence of his indiscretion. It appeared to escape the realization of his critics that perhaps the reason why primarily only women visited his booth was the fact that women constituted the vast majority of tourists in this setting (Reiling 1995b:12).

However, the fact that women flocked around his booth and engaged in flirtatious behaviors should not be surprising, considering the reports female tourists had given regarding their sexual fantasies about Amish men, in general (Reiling 1995b:12). The legitimate question that did not get asked was whether his responses to these women were made out of deference to the customer. After all, could he have responded in a standoffish manner, given that he was also trying to sell his product?

Related to this behavior, many claims were made that the marginal man had the ability to mesmerize young Amish women. Older Amish women reported that they were reluctant to meet his eyes upon encounter because of this attribution. Whether these were misattributions remains an empirical question, but certainly, as W. I. Thomas would

have predicted, the belief became real in its definition, and developed its own power and concomitant consequences.

The defensive and defiant manner in which the marginal man responded to the criticism and suspicion engendered further negative attributions. Thus the factors that contributed to his initial marginalization furthered his continuing marginalization. The overarching and primary offense was that he refused to acquiesce to the definitions and demands of his Bishop and ministers. In short, the power struggle escalated to the point of his excommunication, as well as that of his wife.

The case of the marginal man was instrumental in illustrating the manner in which aspects of the counseling process, as he had constructed it, violated Amish culture. It is important to note that because the Amish had received little to no socialization into the English practice of counseling they were not able to distinguish what about his conduct would be deemed inappropriate, even in the English context. Therefore, many assumed that the marginal man was presenting the English model.

As such, the case of the marginal man was used by those opposed to counseling as an example of the dangers inherent in the process of counseling itself, especially given the attribution that he was able to cast a spell over women. These suspicions were compounded by reports of unscrupulous English practitioners violating Amish women in other communities. For example, a common account, based on

a verifiable news report, was that of the case of an English counselor who was believed to have sexually molested women that he had placed in a trance state, as a cure for anxiety or depression.

The fact that the marginal man dealt only with cases of sexual abuse cannot be discounted for its potential influence on the manner in which the community responded to his practice. Sexual abuse does indeed occur within this community, as it does within every community, regardless of ethnic identity. And indeed, the issue was probably the most sensitive issue imaginable among the Amish, particularly given the attribution within the English community of the Amish as hypersexual (as discussed in Chapter 4).

However, the fact remained that the marginal man had been engaging in several practices that directly conflicted with the practice of Amish culture, and that he continued to do so despite severe church sanctions. The following complaints were lodged against his practice: 1) he met with young women in unsupervised situations; 2) he allowed young women to come to his home at very late hours of the evening; 3) he encouraged young women to talk about private, family matters; and 4) he encouraged young women to speak only to him and to not confide in others.

Much of the discussion and objection pivoted around the involvement of the marginal man with a young woman who had been diagnosed by an English mental-health professional

as exhibiting borderline personality disorder. Her case

became widely known, as her behavior was highly disruptive

and she presented her home district with many challenges.

Several families became involved in trying to manage her

behaviors, and their lives were disrupted a great deal. It

is very possible that the marginal man would not have drawn

such intense notice and strong rebuke if not for the

frustration this woman generated for the entire district.

It could be argued that he had become a scapegoat for her

disturbance. If the community could not control her

behavior, they would at least attempt to control his, as a

path of lesser resistance and perhaps greater success.

During the time that the interviews were being

conducted, many of the subjects were not aware of the

diagnostic criteria for borderline-personality disorder.

Consequently, they were unaware of the extent to which the

borderline personality behaviors may have been creating the

situation. Because English formal agents had labeled her

as mentally ill, she had been given a wider margin of

social allowance, and a lower degree of responsibility for

her actions than would otherwise be expected.

When informed of the diagnostic criteria, they began

to consider that perhaps her behaviors and her involvement

with the marginal man had been a manifestation of her

illness, rather than a result of his involvement or at his

instigation. Additionally, much insight into the

complexities of dealing with borderline personality

disorder began to emerge as other families took this woman into their homes. As the host families began to experience similar problems, they began to better understand the dilemma working with her had posed for the marginal man.

The Amish also did not appear aware of the degree to which their attributions may have begun to generate self-fulfilling prophecies. For example, because a few believed that the marginal man had the power to mesmerize women, many began to closely observe him when in the presence of women. Because of the marginal man's resistance against social control, he would return their stares, in a manner that could be, and would be, described as piercing and challenging. His refusal to look away was interpreted as his attempt to mesmerize with his unbroken stare.

Regarding the attribution that the marginal man's obsession with sexual abuse was rooted in his own pathology, many did not know that his own son had been the victim of sexual abuse by an English person, in his original community. But even those who were aware of this circumstance generally did not factor this experience into their analysis of his interest in the topic.

It became apparent during exploration of this conflict that many of the Amish had become locked into a culture-bound analysis. When the case of the marginal man would be discussed, the Amish would give their definition of the situation, which had been constructed through a culturally restricted analytical framework. For example, given their

limited constructions of appropriate male/female relationships, the fact that the women were going to the home of the marginal man, especially at all hours of the day and night, was looked on with great suspicion. The attribution was made that an unacceptable relationship was occurring.

In his defense, the marginal man made a counter claim that he and his wife had been unable to turn these young women away, out of their felt compassion for their plight. For after all, the Amish community had turned a deaf ear to their claims of abuse. And certainly, this circumstance was reported to be true during the course of the interviews. However, most Amish at first appeared unable or unwilling to entertain the possibility that it was not that the marginal man had been luring the women to his home, but rather, as word spread of his treatment, he was sought out.

When these possibilities were brought to their attention, they were given careful and thoughtful attention by most. However, the valid question remained of why the marginal man had been willing to work outside of culturally prescribed parameters, and why he had been willing to suffer excommunication, rather than acquiesce to the group. This remained his fundamental offense.

At the completion of data collection, the man and his wife had begun to acquiesce, however, and the Amish had begun to consider that there might have been some

legitimacy to alternative explanations for his behavior.

The borderline personality woman had moved to another

state, and the marginal man had agreed to no longer engage

her, or other women, in counseling. As such, the ban and

excommunication against the marginal man and his wife had

been lifted, but an uneasy tension remained. The issues

raised by the case also remained unresolved, and will

certainly emerge again. Issues generated by this case

underscore the barriers to help seeking from English mental

health resources that will be discussed in the next

section.

Barrier to Help Seeking From English Mental-Health Resources

"In the Amish, we try to handle problems ourselves, instead
of getting outside help. I think that's one of the
drawbacks. We try to stay away from the English mental
health people as much as possible, but your mind's a
turmoil that sometimes you can't deal with." Male, Post-
Baptism

"My biggest problem with the Amish, I guess, is their lack
of understanding. Then I get frustrated. I get angry when
I see someone become suicidal and yet they're not allowed
to get help. We try to go out and talk to them, those who
are so opposed to any kind of English treatment. I think
that's my biggest frustration. They're so difficult to
work with if they do finally come in. They're so
depressed, and they end up having to be hospitalized longer
(than if they had come in sooner). English Mental-Health
Professional

Within the Amish community, there was a high level of

reluctance to use English mental-health professionals.

Consequently, the voluntary use of English services was

reportedly quite low. For the most part, only the most

303

serious or, life-threatening cases had come to the attention of English agents. Oftentimes this contact had occurred only after the condition had become sufficiently serious to involve law enforcement.

It was reported, however, that general, medical practitioners were sometimes used to address mental-health issues. Physicians were in a key position, as the individual could obscure their mental distress under the guise of a physical-health ailment, which was not stigmatized. And too, the suffering individual could seek help as an incidental; for example, when their sick child was being seen, or when they were being seen for a physical-health complaint.

It was reported by the Amish that the most common response made by the physician was to dispense medication for depression, or for "nerves", although the physician sometimes suggested that counseling might be helpful. Several reported that some physicians would go so far as to dispense medication to a spouse or parent for individuals who were reluctant to be seen. The Amish reported appreciating the fact that physicians understood their situation, and that as such, no questions were asked regarding the nature of their emotional distress.

"When I started using the medication (for depression), the day I came into the doctor's office, I said I want something to help me not to lose my mind or hurt myself, to get through this, and he recommended this medication. He advised me if that don't help, I could see a counselor. I know some people that do, and I thought, if you talk to a

304

counselor, what's wrong with you? That's not how Amish are
supposed to be. The medicine helps calm my nerves, stops
my shaking, but I can't see talking to no counselor about
what's troubling my mind." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I went to the doctor (for depression), and he said I've
got high enough blood pressure from my depression that I
could get a stroke when I'm 20 years older, so I started on
medication. That really helps me, too. I just decided I
just don't want to get into the same situation as my dad
(referring to father's untreated depression), so those kind
of helped me out, so that my depression won't cause me a
stroke." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

As noted by the preceding quotes, for many Amish,

accepting treatment from a physician for depression,

anxiety, or a nervous breakdown, as well as other forms of

mental distress, had been more acceptable than seeking

counseling. In essence, seeking help from a physician had

located the problem within the body, rather than within the

mind. The subjects reported that medication had been

sought merely to "calm the body." The fact that it also

calmed the mind had been treated as an incidental, as a

side effect of the drug.

These individuals had managed to treat their

depression through the creation of a mind/body dichotomy.

The physician had been deemed appropriate to treat the

physical symptoms generated within the body by their

emotional distress, but the symptoms generated within the

mind had been left under the authority of God.

It was reported that, within this settlement, the

question of the appropriateness of accessing English

physicians and medicine had been resolved about 3 decades

ago, with most districts now fully approving of the use of English physicians. As such, accessing physical-health care from an English physician was no longer stigmatized within this particular settlement.

The circumstance just described is not a clear case of somatization, as found among some ethnic groups (Rumbaut et al. 1991). As described by Kleinman (1986), somatization occurs when emotional or personal problems are expressed through the body. The Amish are aware that part of their depression is felt in the body, but they are also aware that their body is speaking the mind's torment. It is this awareness that makes their response not a clean example of somatization. They are aware that their physical symptoms are being caused by their emotional/mental state, but they are also aware that their bodies have been approved as an appropriate domain for which they can seek help.

However, help seeking for mental-health concerns from English mental-health professionals remained highly stigmatized in most districts. Four barriers to help seeking from English mental-health professionals emerged: the practice of boundary maintenance, suspicion of English mental-health professionals, objection to secular counseling, and fear of detection.

The Practice of Boundary Maintenance

"As an Amish person, to let the outside person know that there is a problem, that's a tough stint. I guess because we rely on our church for everything, so if the church hasn't helped the way we feel it should, we have nowhere

306

else to go but to the outside. And that's real tough to do." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

The most common reason given to explain resistance to English mental-health professionals was that of boundary maintenance. First and foremost, resistance was a matter of principle, based upon the need to keep with tradition, the need to maintain their cultural identity pure from English influence, and the need to exclude the out-group as a cultural practice.

But as a collectivist culture, fostering mutual aid and in-group reliance was also instrumental to boundary maintenance. As such, they had an equally compelling need to be inclusive. Further erosion of local knowledge and a weakening of in-group authority were of high concern, given the power differential that existed between the institution/agent and the client/family, particularly in this cultural context.

In addition, seeking help from the English was viewed by most as a betrayal of the group. Many expressed that making "Amish problems" known to the English weakened the group bond, just as it was thought that making family matters known weakened the family bond.

"I guess it's just something that's been passed down from generations, staying within ourselves. It's important to not let any of the English in, to let them see our weakness. That makes us stronger, because we then have no option but to strive together." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"A lot of them have too much pride to go to counseling, if they have marriage or mental problems, to let the outside world know. You never know what's going to happen if

others find out, what they'll think of you. That makes you real vulnerable." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Suspicion of English Mental-Health Professionals

As stated previously, most Amish perceived English mental health professionals to be illegitimate agents to deal with Amish mental health problems. This illegitimacy had fostered a strong suspicion of English agents. Several factors emerged to explain this suspicion. Fear of and lack of education regarding English counseling practices, such as treatment plans, medications, and the culture of the institution were leading factors. Concern regarding cultural and theological differences and a general reluctance to allow the English dominion or authority over them created additional barriers.

More specifically, awareness of the negative composite portrait that had been constructed of the Amish by the out-group had created suspicion of the Defected Co-Ethnic and Mennonite helpers. As noted elsewhere, most of the English professionals and paraprofessionals were from these groups. As noted in Chapter 5, many Amish believed that those who had defected, or those who were Mennonite, had adopted an attitude of superiority over the Amish. As such, the Amish had been reluctant to subject themselves to their scrutiny and authority.

In addition to suspicion of Mennonite or Defected Co-Ethnic paraprofessionals, suspicion was expressed that even non-co-ethnic or non-Mennonite English mental health

workers would work to undermine the Amish community and lure vulnerable members away. Concern was expressed that these individuals would advocate for the patient to resolve their distress by defecting from the Amish.

It was argued that Amish culture, and therefore Amish mental health, had become pathologized, as a natural outcome of the negative composite portrait of the Amish that had been constructed (Chapter 4). An additional point to make is that English mental-health workers would be vulnerable to pathologizing Amish culture because they tend to see only those individuals who are the most greatly disturbed.

And indeed, it was reported that defection as a resolution to mental distress had been chosen by some Amish patients who had been working with English mental health workers. These cases had become widely known within the Amish community. However, what remained unclear was the extent to which the English mental health workers had actually advocated for that response, if at all, or whether responsibility for that decision had been inappropriately assigned.

It was acknowledged by the English, though, that advocating defection had been a practice of some, albeit only a few English mental health workers. Those engaging in this practice were more likely to have been those who held strong Christian beliefs regarding salvation that ran counter to those held by the Amish on this matter. It was

further noted that attempts of these workers to proselytize had not been limited to Amish patients.

"There's some truth to that suspicion (that some English advocate defection). We have had social workers or mental health workers here that were rather fundamentalist in their theology, and tried to convert some of these people to their way of thinking. We don't let people like that work here very long. That would destroy our resources in a hurry." English Mental-Health Professional

The English reported that these few cases had resulted in tremendous harm being done to the fragile entre the English mental health professionals had been able to develop, as all English counselors had fallen under suspicion. Those representing private facilities strongly asserted that it was not the policy of the facility to intervene regarding matters of faith.

"We have a policy that if someone asks about faith, about what we believe, we tell our workers they can tell them what they believe, but don't try to tell them you have to believe like I do." English Mental-Health Professional

What was problematic with this plan, however, was that the most visible private facility strongly identified as Mennonite. Given the deference shown to Mennonites by most Amish, and given the probability that most psychiatric patients, whether Amish or not, enter the facility with issues regarding their family, it was perceived as likely that the patient would view the Mennonite way as the better way. This concern was echoed by English mental-health professionals, and identified as a major obstacle when dealing with the Amish.

"Particularly some who have had serious mental illness and who have been punished for it, ostracized by the church, accused of something spiritual, then they come in and they're angry, and they may be paranoid (about the Amish). Once they come here, they realize they never thought non-Amish could be like this. So, they begin to think that maybe they shouldn't be Amish. Well, we don't want to encourage that." English Mental-Health Professional

"When I worked with a girl who ended up leaving, I also worked with the Bishop and the ministers and the deacons, and I know they know, because they sat in on the counseling sessions, and I did absolutely nothing to pull that person out of the church. I wished they could tell others, but the fear is that, well, you know, they can't go out and tell others that I'm OK, because they're going to be associated with me, and then they're going to become suspect. Others are going to say, 'Ya, that girl went to see him and now she's gone.' So, they think I'm the vehicle out of the Amish. I have my supporters and my detractors." Mennonite Paraprofessional

Objection to Secular Counseling

"Some of their theology really creates some of their pathology, but when I go over the reasons why we do things the way we do (in English counseling), I'm finding some of them open to learn, but some just say, 'Counseling isn't necessary. It's just a worldly way of trying to deal with spiritual problems.'" English Mental-Health Professional

"I get calls from Amish saying, 'You're teaching this person to do things we don't believe in.'" English Mental-Health Professional

Because the Amish had constructed spiritual failing as the primary explanation for mental illness, particularly depression, they maintained a high belief that only God could provide the cure (Chapter 6). They believed strongly that through faith, one could, and should be healed. As such, continuing to be mentally ill was viewed as continuing to be spiritually troubled. Consequently, the

311

problem would require a spiritual, rather than secular

solution. This perception was held regarding even

schizophrenia, an illness many Amish had accepted as

largely organically based.

Traditional, secular counseling, whether talk-based or

behavioral, went contrary to the Amish cultural

prescriptions for prayer and pastoral guidance back to God.

The former located the problem within the individual's

mind, rather than within the individual's relationship to

their God.

The need to have God remain a more powerful element

than the mind was well illustrated in the reported

community response to "Paul", the schizophrenic from

another settlement who had murdered his wife. As discussed

previously, Paul had encountered resistance in various

Amish communities to his attempts to advocate for English

mental-health treatment.

"He can very well articulate the role of the professional
community (English), the wrap-around services that can be
incorporated within professional and church circles. I
think they're (Amish people) afraid of him because of what
he did to his wife. But I think people fear him more
because they think he's bringing in some new fancy thinking
about counseling; he's not excommunicated from his church
because of his crime, he's excommunicated from his church
because of the language he uses, the plain ideas that he
now espouses. He's acknowledging that his community was
ill suited (to deal with his problems), although he's not
blaming them. I think he clearly knows that the
professional mental health community has something to offer
that his community couldn't give to him because of their
strong insistence on separation from English mental-health
people." Mennonite Minister

Fear of Detection

A final barrier to be noted is that of reluctance among the Amish to have their help seeking exposed, to be observed entering an English mental-health facility. Within this setting, the community mental-health center was located on a main thoroughfare. Consequently, those entering the building were highly visible.

Because of the distance and road hazards involved in traveling by horse-and-buggy to reach the private mental-health facilities, the services of an English van driver were usually needed. This was problematic because the van drivers have a reputation for being notorious gossips themselves. As such, it was strongly believed by the Amish that their help seeking would be exposed.

As discussed previously, as well as more fully below, having mental problems was highly stigmatized. Because spiritual failing was the primary cultural explanation for mental distress, especially depression, these conditions were usually not exposed. Therefore, only the more serious conditions had come to the attention of English mental-health professionals.

Given the resistance to English involvement or influence, accessing English mental-health professionals was interpreted as having lost confidence in the Amish way. Some viewed those who voluntarily sought English treatment as traitors, for they had circumvented the culturally prescribed treatment plan, of relying upon prayer and the

counsel of their ministers and Bishop to lead them back to God.

It was reported that in some districts, the Bishops were sufficiently opposed to English treatment to prohibit individuals within their districts from accessing English facilities. Those who chose to violate this prohibition faced the risk of their disobedience being discovered and punished. Generally, only the most seriously disturbed, schizophrenics, for example, were allowed to work with the English without retribution, or at least some level of rebuke.

Barriers to Help-Seeking from Co-Ethnic Paraprofessionals

"You asked me why I didn't want anybody to know about my depression, 'cause it's something to be ashamed about. That's why I would not go to an Amish counselor, because I wouldn't want *any* Amish person to know about that, not even an Amish counselor. That's why there's so much disagreement about working with or acknowledging trouble." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Similar to the case of help seeking from English mental-health professionals, it was reported that most Amish remained reluctant to seek help from the co-ethnic paraprofessionals. However, similar to the use of English physicians, the Amish did not appear to be reluctant to access other forms of Amish treatments. Chiropractors, for example, were often visited under the guise of having an adjustment made to a bad back. Given the physical nature of Amish work, seeing the chiropractor did not raise suspicion.

Analogous to seeking treatment from English physicians, many Amish believed that chiropractic treatments brought relief to physical symptoms generated within the body by depression, anxiety, nervous breakdown, etc. One particular Amish chiropractor had even earned a reputation for being able to adjust the behavior and attitude of unruly children.

In addition, the Amish made great use of Amish herbalists and their non-prescription preparations. Because most herbs, vitamins, and concoctions could be indicated for numerous symptoms, concern over being observed purchasing a particular curative was not great, because the condition of concern was not obvious.

However, the idea of accessing Amish paraprofessionals for counseling was quite a different matter, and great reluctance was discovered. The primary barriers appeared to be the stigmatization of mental distress, a lack of legitimacy of co-ethnic paraprofessionals as counselors, and the perception of the co-ethnic paraprofessional as a non-credible communicator.

The Stigmatization of Mental Distress

"It's like, if you do get outside help, there's something really wrong, between you and God. A lot of people think that if you're a good Christian, and you read your Bible, you can keep control of your life, and you shouldn't need counseling." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I don't feel ashamed of Amish getting outside help, but most people do. It's hard on the people, judging from what I've seen people go through. It's real tough for them to

talk about, and having people know they have mental problems." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"We know someone whose daughter has schizophrenia, and it's really hard on the family, especially the dad. He won't even talk about it. And the mom, she's on medication, too. They're real close, and she (the mother) really feels for her. Every time she talks about it, she almost breaks down. It's bad enough seeing your daughter suffer, but it's harder knowing what people are saying about her." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

As noted earlier, most Amish, as members of a collectivist culture, outwardly exhibited an external locus of control (even though inwardly they may have held an internal locus of control). As such, individuals, as well as the group, expressed a high need to believe that their lives were under the direction of an external agent, in this case, their God. A primary tenet of their theology was that God would provide and direct all, even their mental health. The construction of mental health as a spiritual matter was a consequence of their stated external locus of control; therefore, those experiencing mental distress, and especially those seeking counseling, were constructed as a threat, against which stigmatization and gossip were used as mechanisms of social control.

In-group stigmatization of mental distress interacted with the intense level of in-group social scrutiny and lack of privacy among Amish (Chapter 6). This interaction created a powerful barrier to help seeking, from even within their family. Most reported that they would be willing to access mental-health services if they could do

so without observation, and without the fear of gossip. In—group stigmatization, then, would easily rank as the number one barrier to help seeking. The following quote captured the trepidation and angst quite well.

> "It used to be our Anabaptist heritage. We were martyrs because of our relationship with God. They put us in racks, and put us through torture, beheaded us. Now, we just run them through the rumor mill." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

The Lack of Legitimacy of Co-Ethnic Paraprofessionals as Counselors

Because of the construction of mental distress being caused by spiritual failing, most considered that God was the only legitimate agent to have dominion over the matter. And, even though historically it had been within the role of church leaders to "counsel" with church members, engaging in "counseling" was viewed as an entirely different matter.

No subject, however, was able to sufficiently articulate the distinction between these two practices. It came to be understood, though, that it was considered inappropriate for even a church leader to engage in counseling because counseling was an English, not an Amish practice. Counseling was viewed as inappropriate, for it was inclusive of more than directing the distressed person back to God. Counseling dislocated the problem, from within the individual's relationship with God to within the mind of the individual.

During the course of the interviews, subjects were asked to consider and discuss the point that the Bible listed "Counselor" as one of the names for their Jesus. And, if this had been an appropriate role for Jesus, then wouldn't it be an appropriate role for any Christian? For were not all Christians supposed to follow in the path of Jesus? This query was perceived, however, as a suggestion that a mere mortal could ever be equivalent to Jesus. As one minister reported, "I'm not a counselor. I just help people get to the Counselor, who is Jesus, and only Jesus."

A few subjects had been willing to concede that church leaders, such as Bishops, ministers, or deacons, would be satisfactory as proxies for God, acting as God's agents here on earth. These subjects were adamant that men should not think themselves God, neither should they be responded to in that fashion. The role as proxy for God was extended only to church leaders, not so much to church members, because they had not been ordained by God, or chosen by God as a messenger.

They also strongly stated that relying on a proxy would be appropriate only for those who were too mentally distressed to reach God on their own, and not as a general practice. As one subject explained, it was imperative that the Amish not be associated as supportive of the theology and practice of Catholicism.

Justification for the use of Amish clergy as a proxy was that the individual's mind had become too weak to seek

God alone, because Satan had drawn them away from God. In
this case, Amish clergy could act as a liaison between God
and the distressed person. However, even those who were
willing to concede this role to church leaders remained
suspicious of their efficacy, because of the perception of
co-ethnic paraprofessionals as non-credible communicators.

The Perception of Co-Ethnic Paraprofessionals as Non-Credible Communicators

" He'd be no different than we are. He'd be no better than
we are. So how effective could he be? If we can't solve
our own problems, how could he, if he's one of us? Male,
Post-Baptism Amish

Among those Amish willing to consider that a more
broad understanding and practice of counseling might be
appropriate and useful, the credibility of Amish people as
counselors was questioned. Within social psychology, it
has been generally accepted that credibility is comprised
of two components: expertise and trustworthiness (Myers
1999:256). The Amish found both of these qualities to be
lacking among their members, as a whole. As an
extrapolation, they especially called into question the
expertise and trustworthiness of co-ethnic
paraprofessionals.

The question of expertise centered primarily on the
lack of formal education and training of those Amish
attempting to work as counselors. Although counter-
intuitive, for most Amish subjects, it was inconceivable

that Amish people could be effective as counselors without education and training.

" I think one of the problems is that most Amish are only
educated up to the 8th grade, and mental health is
something that we just don't know about, so it would be
difficult for an Amish person to be able to counsel."
Female, Post-Baptism Amish

That education and training would even be considered

as important in this context was further evidence that the

Amish viewed counseling to be an English practice, for they

were using English standards to measure expertise. This

further suggested that they had not yet sufficiently

conceptualized or constructed counseling as an Amish

practice.

Of course, in order for this construction to ever

occur, justification must first be found that satisfies the

contradiction between the need for counseling and the

current construction of legitimate treatment. For the

stated locus of control of this group directs that they

seek God, not counseling.

The preceding discussion of formal education and

training could also be indicative of low group efficacy,

regarding the ability of the Amish to be effective

counselors, based on the English model. This circumstance

was of concern, given that displacement of local knowledge

had begun to result in a diminishment in belief in the

efficacy of the Amish model, as discussed previously.

Additionally, the trustworthiness of co-ethnic paraprofessionals was perceived as very low. Because of the associational nature of this group, the fact that the co-ethnic would know them, and would be known by them was problematic. For one thing, everyone would know the life story and the faults of the counselor, which could potentially diminish the counselor's ability to be effective. As one woman explained, "Why would I want someone correcting my life when I know theirs is troubled, too? Who would they be to tell me how to direct my life?"

A related difficulty, however, was that the counselor's having previous, intimate knowledge of the individual would not allow the individual to withhold disclosure. Although at first counter-intuitive, within this cultural context withholding and deception were viewed by many as potentially important in the counseling process.

The primary explanation given was that telling the whole truth, engaging in full disclosure, especially in the beginning of a relationship, would be difficult. This practice would conflict with the cultural prescription for keeping private matters private, and suppressing negative emotional states and/or worldly thoughts.

It can be argued that being allowed to construct your story and history, without intervention or correction, could be highly therapeutic. For after all, what could be most instructive is an individual's interpretation of their

life, because it is through that interpretation that they
act.

"Well, I think they should go to a counselor that they
don't know. We've got some Amish men who claim they're
counselors (referring to the co-ethnic counseling group)
and want to help people, but I don't feel that you're going
to get much help if you go to somebody that you know real
well. You don't want to tell, you know. If you go to a
person like that, they know your life, a lot of your life
story. So that counselor's going to tell you where you
went wrong, and where you messed up to start with, and
that's the wrong way to start off with somebody." Male,
Post-Baptism Amish

"Another thing is why some people wouldn't want to go to
our Amish counselors is that, well I've known him from way
back, why would I want to go to him? He knows too much
about me as it is." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

The primary suspicion about co-ethnic counselors that

resulted in a diminishment of their trustworthiness,

however, was that they would gossip. It was reasoned that

since they were co-ethnics, they would be vulnerable to the

same cultural pressures, practices, and prescriptions for

behavior. It was inconceivable that co-ethnic counselors

would not report details of counseling sessions to their

wives, for example, and that their wives would not then

tell other women. Of greater concern, of course, was that

the co-ethnic counselor would report to the individual's

Bishop, an act that could have negative consequences.

As with the case of accessing English mental-health

care, the Amish were concerned that accessing Amish mental-

health care would be observed, or would otherwise become

known, and their problems would become fodder for gossip.

As such, the matter of distrust and concern for privacy extended far beyond suspicion of co-ethnic counselors, and indeed signified a distrust of the entire community.

"There's a lot of Amish people that are doing counseling and I've always told myself that I'd never go to an Amish counselor because I don't trust them to not tell others. Because every now and then you'll hear, did you know so and so's been seeing a certain counselor, and their problem is so and so? That should never come out, but it does."
Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I felt comfortable going to my family doctor, 'cause I knew he wouldn't tell anybody, 'cause he's not Amish. So hardly anybody around here knows about my nervous breakdown, but they would if I had gone to someone Amish."
Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Concern over conflict of interest further diminished the trustworthiness of co-ethnic counselors. Because of the relationship that had been established by some Amish church leaders with several English mental health professionals, suspicion was expressed that co-ethnic counselors were working in cahoots with the English private and community mental-health facilities. It was further suspected that these co-ethnic counselors had a vested economic interest in leading the Amish into acceptance of English treatment.

Especially given the fact that counseling was not a generally accepted practice, it appeared as though those supportive of counseling were arguing against the best interest of the Amish, and arguing for what was in their own best interest. And as others have found, it is arguing against one's self-interest that generates trustworthiness,

rather than vice versa (Eagly et al. 1978; Knight et al.
1980). The perception that gaining acceptance of
counseling would benefit the co-ethnic paraprofessionals
functioned to greatly diminish their trustworthiness, and
hence, overall credibility.

Barriers to Help Seeking From Natural Helping Networks

As discussed in a previous section, the role of
natural helping networks has historically been hypothesized
as highly salugenic (Mitchell et al. 1981:277). And
indeed, one would expect this to be the case within a group
with intricate and highly developed social support
networks, such as the Amish. But as discovered in the case
of the co-ethnic paraprofessionals, strong evidence of this
relationship was not found among the Amish.

Even though low support for reliance on the co-ethnic
paraprofessionals was found, one would expect to have found
evidence of the salugenic aspects of relying on other
natural helping networks within this context, such as
family, friends, church, and Amish community networks.
However, again, low support was found, and, it was more
likely that the pathological aspects of natural helping
networks became the focus of reports, rather than salugenic
aspects.

It was discovered that the barriers that prevented the
Amish from help seeking from among co-ethnic
paraprofessionals were also barriers to help seeking from
these other, natural helping networks. Stigmatization of

mental distress, a lack of legitimacy of natural helping

networks to provide counseling regarding emotional

distress, and the perception of natural helping networks as

non-credible, were the primary barriers.

Additionally, social support from the natural helping

networks of the family, friends, church, and Amish

community appeared to take the form, and be limited to,

providing for the physical needs of the individual or the

family. Given dynamics of the sick role that was available

for depression, the nervous breakdown, and borderline

personality disorder, social support was almost exclusively

instrumental in nature, rather than emotional. As such,

social support from natural helping networks reportedly

added little to the emotional well being of the individual.

"Being supportive" appeared to connote only "...doing

chores, not doing talk".

"That's one thing I can say for the Amish that's much
better than anywhere else I've ever seen, is the
interaction between neighbors, and how close-knit they are.
You know, take for example, funerals. Somebody dies and
the whole neighborhood just takes over, you don't have to
do anything. It's taken care of. Fields, animals, food,
everything." Defected Co-Ethnic

"If you have a need, there's always someone there to help
you. They just take over for you, 'cause they know you're
going through a lot. And if you're laid up or sick,
whatever, they're always coming in and helping you."
Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"Like if your child's in the hospital, there's always
people here, and to stop in to see you. They're always
ready to help." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

Although instrumental social support was reportedly very high and very much appreciated, emotional social support was reportedly lacking. In addition to the absence of a sick role that would allow for emotional support, because of the high degree of suppression of acknowledgment of negative emotional states, the Amish had not been socialized to discuss emotional issues with others. And indeed, feeling words were fairly well absent from their talk. A common fieldwork difficulty was getting the Amish to respond to questions of how they felt about a particular matter. More generally, they would say what they thought about the matter, what they thought should be done, for example. Most were reluctant, and a few remained unable to express how they felt.

"I think there's where I'm saying we're socially inept.
We've been following our horses around too long, you know,
and never really took the time to learn how to talk to
anybody, basically, and maybe don't try to do it." Male,
Post-Baptism Amish

"I don't know, but I think, for one, uh, if I would have
stayed Amish, I don't think I would have had quite the
support that I had going through the illness that I have.
I don't know because one thing the Amish do not know how
to, in many cases they do not know how to relate about
their feelings." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

The collectivist prescription for reciprocity reportedly created a very high degree of social pressure to provide instrumental social support. Even though the Amish reported understanding the need for, and highly valuing this type and level of social support, providing it,

without complaint, was reportedly experienced as demanding, draining, and generating a high level of stress. It was reported that reciprocity oftentimes pushed an individual or the entire family beyond a comfortable level. As an additional stressor, gossip was used as a social control mechanism, to ensure that social support would be forthcoming.

"Let's say there's something going on at somebody's house, and everybody's supposed to go to it, but you know, you're tired from working on your own stuff, so you don't go, you get talked about, a lot." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Receiving instrumental social support was reported by many to be highly stressful itself, as well. The receipt of social support was sometimes experienced as too much outside involvement, as a violation of the family's private life. There was reportedly little the Amish could do to manage this, because even though the Amish practiced very effective boundary maintenance against the out-group, to attempt to practice intra-group boundary maintenance was considered to be a deviant act.

"There are definitely times when you want to be alone, and I think that's where the husband comes in, and can relay the message to whoever's coming in too much, to try to relay the message to give some time off. I think it's difficult sometimes, 'cause you don't want to hurt somebody's feelings. 'Cause taking care of someone's physical needs is about the only way we have of expressing our support. That's how we've been taught, to pitch in and get busy." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"Um...we kept going to church and things (during periods of parents' depression). Oh, we had a lot of visitors, constantly. That always got to be a bore, too, you know,

'cause here you're ready to go fishing on a Sunday afternoon, and here you've got company, you know, and you've got to stay home. A lot of people did come visit. That's one thing they do for each other. But that can really wear out the family, too." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

Intra-group reliance and reciprocity, while beneficial to the maintenance of the group, was reportedly not always beneficial to individual group members. For example, it was discovered that a latent function of social support was that, many times, individuals and families strove to not become a burden upon others. Frequently, this reluctance resulted in failure to report distress or need.

Accepting instrumental or emotional social support oftentimes generated a high level of shame-related stress, due to viewing oneself as a burden, as a pull away from, rather than a contribution to the group. Being a collectivist culture, the self was viewed and defined more through its social, rather than personal identity. Because the Amish viewed themselves more as an extension of the group, rather than as individuals who were members of the group, having an individual need was viewed as self-, rather than group-centered.

Discussion of Displacement of Local Knowledge and Predictions for the Future

As has been illustrated within the preceding text, the Amish find themselves at a significant crossroad. Will ascendancy of English medical authority increase or will it be thwarted? Can medical sociology predict the path that

most likely will be taken, and can it predict whose power will hold sway?

Two conflicting paradigms exist within the literature regarding the ascendancy of medical power. According to Starr's model, the ascendancy of bio-medical power can result only with the consent of the cultural group over which it is seeking power (Starr 1982:229). The cultural authority of medicine, according to Starr, depends upon "belief rather than force, on its growing cultural authority rather than sheer power, on the success of its claims to competence and understanding rather than the strong arm of the police" (Starr 1982:229).

Navarro takes strong exception to these statements as he argues that "To see the structure of power in America as the outcome of what Americans want, however, is to beg the question of which Americans" (Navarro 1984:515). He critiques Starr's analysis as being based upon two faulty assumptions: 1) that Americans share a common set of beliefs, values, and desires, and 2) that Americans have the power to create the systems that they want (Navarro 1984:515).

Instead, Navarro argues that medical authority ascends within a dominated/dominator framework, with the dominator always being the victor (Navarro 1984:515). He argues that the dominator does not achieve power through persuasion, but rather, through coercion made possible through economic power (Navarro 1984:515).

While the argument of Navarro is an attractive example of conflict sociology, social psychology would instruct us in a synthesis of these two competing frameworks of analysis. Basic elements of the process of persuasion make sheer force, economic power (Navarro), or cultural authority (Starr) unnecessary. Individuals can indeed, be persuaded to act against their own interest, and this scenario is quite likely to occur in the Amish context.

The medicalization of deviance that would result from the ascendancy of English medical dominance may indeed come to be an attractive option for the Amish, for the paradigm shift would provide a way for the Amish to avoid having to manage mental distress (deviance), especially identity-related depression, as a violation of the moral order. Consequently, the shift would allow the Amish to ignore claims of injury brought against their cultural practices. It would also potentially change the circumstances sufficiently such that fewer individuals would experience injury.

Long term, allowing displacement of local knowledge and the ascendancy of English medical authority could, indeed, become a viable solution. This move might also contribute to cultural maintenance, rather than destruction or destablization. This would be so particularly as the population continues to increase, a circumstance that magnifies small discontents into large ones. The increased population size also makes social control more difficult.

Indeed, we may see this paradigm shift occur if and when the claims makers within the Amish develop into a critical mass.

It can be argued that the concomitant imposition of Parson's conventional sick role (Parsons 1951) would be an attractive feature of this paradigm shift. The conventional sick role would provide relief for the individual sufferer. Claiming the conventional sick role would prohibit or at least diminish stigmatization. Additionally, the individual would be allowed to openly seek treatment, and to experience relief from their expected social roles in the meantime.

Adoption of the conventional sick role would also offer relief to the group, a need identified in Chapter 6. First, the sick role requirement that the deviant condition must be temporary would assure that the deviant would be returning shortly to their expected social roles. Second, having the afflicted legitimately released from their roles and normal obligations would allow those who must cover for the afflicted a way to have their efforts openly recognized and rewarded; under their current system, their additional burden cannot be recognized. Third, allowing the conventional sick role would also provide for emotional support to be given to the caregivers, a deficit that currently is experienced as quite painful.

The fourth important consequence would be that the Bishops would appear as more flexible and benevolent. This

shift in perception could potentially allow the Bishops to cool out discontent regarding other matters. As such, the group could become more amenable to the influence of their Bishops than they already are.

The large question of sociological interest that remains is not so much which direction the Amish will favor, but which direction they will be able to take. Will the ascendancy of English medical authority over issues of mental health continue, and if so, according to which model, that of Starr or that of Navarro? Or, will the Amish be successful once again in thwarting outside influence?

CHAPTER 8

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND SCALE CONSTRUCTION

Getting Entre

The third objective of this dissertation was to explore methodological issues involved in conducting research on mental health and identity among the Old Order Amish, in order for more full-scale examinations to be made in the future. It was most important to examine the degree to which social desirability would influence responses and how the Amish would respond to the survey method.

Entre had already been established during prior fieldwork endeavors over the previous seven or eight years. However, strong entre had been developed only within several districts of this very large community. What needed to be accomplished during stage 1, then, was to expand the pre-existing entre, by incorporating new districts into the subject pool.

Incorporating new districts into this research design was important for primarily two reasons: 1) to be able to sample districts in a random fashion, given the wide range of intra-group difference and the politicized nature of the issue of mental health already discovered during previous fieldwork; and 2) to control for any potential effects of pre-existing fieldwork relationships and previous exposure to the research process, in order to assess the effectiveness of various components of the research design.

To have remained solely within the districts already opened and where field relations were quite close and strong would have told me little regarding how people within other districts would respond to me or to the research process. These factors will be discussed in greater detail below.

Expanding entre involved more than expanding geographic territory, though. It was also necessary to expand "topic" entre, by gaining cooperation from Amish people in discussing the sensitive topics of mental health and defection. Previous research inquiries among this group had not dealt with such highly sensitive topics.

Expanding Entre Geographically

Prior to this research endeavor, entre had been gained primarily within districts that could be considered as more liberal, rather than conservative. There was concern that restricting the research to only those more liberal districts would potentially bias the findings, particularly regarding ideas about, and attitudes toward mental health, as well as toward the use of English mental-health professionals.

And indeed, evidence was found to support that within the more liberal districts there had been greater displacement of local knowledge regarding mental health, and there were more positive attitudes toward, and greater acceptance of the use of English mental-health professionals. This greater exposure and acceptance appeared to be due to greater likelihood of interaction

334

with English mental-health professionals, stemming from more liberal attitudes toward interaction with the English, in general. As such, I assumed that I would be more easily accepted within these districts, but I could not assume that I would be accepted elsewhere.

I further speculated that those Amish living within the more liberal districts would report a more positive mental health experience, and as such, they would be less resistant to discuss the issue. As suggested by the writings of Simmel, one could argue that the more liberal districts would provide a more salugenic atmosphere, due to the allowance of greater personal freedom and opportunity to express individuality. And indeed, I did encounter less reluctance to discuss mental health in districts that were more liberal.

In addition, it was speculated that more lenient attitudes toward and greater acceptance of defection would be found within the more liberal districts. It followed that, because one of the dimensions of being liberal was defined as being more accepting of involvement with the English culture, more positive attributions would be made toward the English cultural experience. Therefore, defection of a group member would be viewed as less pathological, and hence, less threatening to the family, as well as the group.

One method of gaining entre into new, and particularly more conservative districts would have been to proceed in a

snowball fashion, flowing from previously opened districts. And indeed, one Bishop made an unsolicited offer to write a letter of introduction, within which he would make clear his trust in, and acceptance of me.

I found this approach to be unacceptable, however, for several reasons. For one, taking this approach would have identified the Bishop, and consequently members of his district, as former or current research subjects. Even though I was aware that former subjects often reported to others that they had been research subjects, or that they knew me, I judged my involvement in or support of that acknowledgment to be unacceptable. This approach would have violated the promise of confidentiality, which Amish subjects were not only entitled to, but had frequently expressed greatly appreciating.

There was further concern that the Bishop's unsolicited offer may have been more an indication of his desire to be supportive of me, rather than as an indication of his understanding of, belief in, or support of my research. As such, allowing this Bishop to assist in expanding entre felt exploitive, and in violation of the research relationship.

Given the highly politicized nature of this setting and the research topics, one Bishop's endorsement could have possibly thwarted, rather than assisted, achieving entre among other Bishops. Great differences in attitudes toward use of English mental-health professionals had

already surfaced during Stage 1 of this design, and the divide appeared to follow liberal/conservative lines.

It had already been discovered that the Amish greatly believe that "...you shall be known by the fruit of your vine, what works you produce." As such, to rely on the testimony of another to build trust, rather than my own, would not have been greatly respected, and indeed, would probably have been met with much suspicion about my character, as well as my motives. This speculation was supported, as subsequently, many Amish people reported appreciating having been given the opportunity to judge me for themselves.

Given these dynamics, the method of gaining entre among the Bishops was to make a cold call. This method proved to be extraordinarily time-consuming, as most often, several stops were necessary before making contact. Making a successful cold call necessitated an average of five attempts.

Although counter-intuitive, especially given the romanticized notions about the Amish lived experience, Amish people are away from home a great deal, possibly even more than non-Amish. Because they do not have telephones, most of their social and business contacts are made face-to-face, or at least necessitate leaving their home to use a pay telephone. Consequently, it was not uncommon to find no one at home, to encounter a home where the wife or children who were at home would not come to the door (a

common practice if the husband/father is not at home), or to find that the family had visitors, in which case, I would not attempt to make contact.

Not being able to make contact by telephone greatly added to the length of time needed to do research among this group. In addition to difficulties in making the initial contact, it was also not uncommon to arrive at the specified time for the follow-up contact or to conduct the interview, only to find that the Amish person had been called away from home, or was involved in a matter that prevented them from giving the interview at that time. Examples that I encountered were an extended-family member being critically ill, an injury requiring seeking outside medical assistance, a sick horse, requiring veterinary care, and weather that finally was suitable to allow completion of a particular task.

In each of these cases, a note had been left for me, and the interviews were rescheduled, which provided evidence that the Amish were not attempting to avoid me. On the contrary, I found that Amish people agreed to give an interview only after much thought, and that their decision to do so was then quite firm.

I had considered making initial contact by mailing a letter of introduction, inclusive of a request for an interview. On the surface, this appeared to be a better plan than making cold calls, for doing so would have

allowed use of the mail to arrange a meeting time, rather
than numerous, unsuccessful trips.

However, given what I had previously come to
understand about the Amish, I knew the importance of the
initial contact being face-to-face. Doing so allowed the
Amish an opportunity to question me, to make attributions
about my character based upon my physical presentation (a
greatly-used technique among the Amish), and to assess the
manner in which I "make a phrase," which means how I
expressed myself verbally. The Amish appear to be, and
report themselves to be respectful and admiring of someone
who is articulate, and who has what could be described as
lyrical, or poetic speech. It has also been described as
speech that is "clever", however without guile.

As discussed in Chapter 1, collectivist cultures in
general, and the Amish in particular, practice exclusion of
the out-group as a boundary-maintenance technique. As
such, they are quick to dismiss an unknown out-group
member. To pre-empt immediate dismissal, within the first
few minutes of contact I would inform the Bishop that I
would not expect him to decide on participation at that
time. I would explain that I would leave some printed
materials for him to review, at his leisure, and would stop
out again in a couple of weeks, to answer any questions
that he might have.

Allowing time to pass before the next encounter was
extremely important. I had discovered from previous field

work that the Amish are more likely to participate in the research if given sufficient time to think over a matter, but are more likely to refuse if not.

Given the high mistrust of unknown out-group members that most Amish hold, I further instructed the Bishop in how to verify my credentials and my intent. As an example of this mistrust, one Bishop questioned how he would know whether the telephone number on the letterhead was legitimate, and not simply belonging to someone working in "cahoots" with me.

Directions as to how to reach directory assistance in East Lansing, Michigan, were supplied, to verify that the number given was valid. In anticipation of his next question, he was instructed that the number for reaching directory assistance could be verified by directions on the front of any pay telephone.

While this suspicion may appear to some to be extreme, it should be noted that the Amish report that outsiders have "tricked" them before, especially journalists. On several occasions, it was later discovered that these journalists had not given proper identification, nor stated their true, nor full intent.

The written material that was left with the Bishops included a copy of a published article that I had authored, regarding the social construction of an Amish drug problem, a list of the questions that would be asked during the interview, an informed-consent form, and an informational

packet that would be distributed to households within his district describing the research, upon receiving permission to allow his district to participate in the research. These materials were provided in an attempt to allow the Bishop to judge my work, as explained earlier. Even though many of the Bishops later reported that they had not fully read the material, they expressed appreciating the fact that I had been open regarding my intentions.

Following these procedures proved to be successful, as upon subsequent contact, every Bishop gave his permission for households within his district to participate in the research. Given this success, the same procedure was used to approach households within the sample that was later selected. However, not every household agreed to participate. Within some of the districts, no consent was gained, or perhaps only one household agreed to participate. In most districts, however, consent was gained from every household contacted.

When attempting to understand this pattern, it appeared that consent was more readily gained from among those living in the more liberal districts, possibly due to the fact that those districts have more encounters with the English. And in general, as previously discussed, the more liberal districts also appear to have more favorable attitudes regarding the English.

It was also noted that those within the more liberal districts were more likely to express placing value on

science and knowledge. These Amish were more likely to be working in factories, working within the tourist industry, or to be engaged in a home-based, micro-enterprise. Participation in these occupations correlated with the presentation of their self as more aware, and even appreciative of worldly matters. Individuals within these districts were more likely to ask me questions about my work, about universities in general, or about things they had read about in the newspaper.

Expanding Entre by Topic

Even among those Bishops with whom I had previously established relationships, it was necessary to expand my entre by topic. In other words, the fact that Amish people had previously been willing to discuss their transition from farm to factory, or their experience of tourism based upon the commodification of their culture, did not guarantee that they would be willing to discuss issues of mental health or defection.

And indeed, hesitation, and in many cases, trepidation was encountered. As such, considerable time was invested in explaining the research process and the importance of the research. In so doing, considerable time was also invested in working through a risk/benefit analysis with the Amish. It was found to be important and beneficial, as well as obviously ethical, to expose the risks, the best that they could be predicted, so that the Amish could see that their interests and vulnerabilities had been taken

into consideration, as fully as possible. Additionally, it was ethically and methodologically important and productive to allow the Amish an opportunity to participate in the process of identifying their risk.

The most frequently asked questions were, who would have access to the findings, and what use could be made of these findings? These questions were answered as honestly and fully as possible. Doing so could have closed down entre, but instead, the Amish expressed being appreciative of the fact that their vulnerabilities had been considered, and that an attempt would be made to write in as sufficiently contextually grounded manner as possible. As one person requested, "Don't just tell them what we do, tell them why we do it. Otherwise, we're going to seem kind of odd and some might even take offense to us and our ways."

A great deal of time was invested in making clear that it was my intent to be a neutral party in this investigation. It was clearly stated that: 1) it was not my intent to influence the definitions of mental health that had been constructed by the Amish, but simply to document them; 2) that I was not an advocate for, nor opponent of the English mental-health professionals, nor those Amish who were supportive of counseling and other forms of treatment, but rather, that it was my intent to document the various positions; and 3) that I was not a de-

programmer, on a mission to save Amish children from being brainwashed by the Amish "cult."

Several subjects expressed this third concern, which was probably driven by the fact that I was also interviewing Defected Co-Ethnics. I discovered a strong belief among some Amish that some English do indeed view the Amish as a "cult." Several Amish reported that they had heard this said among the English, from unknown out-group members on the streets to English formal agents, particularly counselors and schoolteachers.

Several reports were given of cases in which schoolteachers had been instrumental in encouraging Amish children to defect. In one case, an English schoolteacher reportedly took an Amish child into their home, without notifying the Amish parents. The teachers actions were not prompted by a claim of physical or sexual abuse, but rather, the child had merely expressed wanting to continue in school beyond the age of 16, an act that would necessitate defection.

The parents eventually discovered where the child was, and quite easily and successfully communicated with their child, and brought their child home. Even though the child formally defected from the Amish, the child was allowed to remain in the home of the parents, to graduate from high school, and later to attend college. The parents reported that they maintain a very close relationship with the child yet today. They further reported having been deeply

scarred and traumatized by the unwarranted involvement of the English schoolteacher.

Several of the Amish reported that they either knew first-hand, or had been told of cases where an English counselor had encouraged an Amish person to defect from the Amish, reportedly in order to restore their mental health. Given that the Amish place an extremely high value on truthfulness, it appeared inconceivable to them that the patient may have been fabricating or misrepresenting the counselor's role in defection. Instead, many appeared to have accepted this response as standard practice among English mental-health professionals.

Concern was also frequently expressed that, upon learning more about the Amish, I would make negative attributions. This concern had been encountered before, and was not surprising. I had previously noted that, among the Amish with whom I had the deepest relationships, when I reappeared after an unusually long absence, it was not uncommon for them to express that they feared I had learned something about them that caused me to want to disassociate with them. Statements such as this generally were accompanied by laughter, but the laughter had always appeared to be nervous laughter, intended to obscure the strength and level of true concern.

Some Amish initially expressed feeling insufficiently competent to participate in the research, due to their lack of formal education, their level of literacy, and a more

general sense that "...the Amish don't know anything important." For example, one man had agreed to give an interview, but when the appointed time came, the entire family was not at home. No note had been left in this case, so a subsequent visit was made. At that time, his wife explained that her husband had been too ashamed to give an interview. He had reported to his wife that he wouldn't have been able to talk about things that he wasn't educated to know about.

Because it would have been a violation of the principle of voluntary consent to attempt to persuade compliance after initial refusal, after this experience, I began to take a pre-emptive approach toward addressing the issue of education and literacy, rather than wait for the concern to be expressed. When requesting that they consider giving an interview, I would state that some Amish had expressed concern over their lower level of formal education, but that years of formal education would have no impact on their ability to participate. I reiterated that I was interested in their experience and their opinions, not in their book learning. I also stressed that only the Amish could tell me their story.

This tactic proved to be successful, as it resonated with the Amish belief that the most important lessons are learned through experience with life, rather than through experience with a book. Additionally, much to the expressed delight of the Amish, I made the point that if I

346

were such an expert, and if book-learning were sufficient, I would not need to ask them questions to find answers to mine.

Recruiting Subjects

Once permission had been obtained from the Bishops, recruiting subjects from among the Amish was not difficult. The same process used to gain entre among the Bishops was used to recruit subjects. Following this procedure resulted in most individuals agreeing to be interviewed.

One problematic did arise, however, in that, in most cases, it was impossible to interview a participant without also interviewing their partner. As such, most of the interviews were conducted as interviews of couples, rather than individuals, as noted in Chapter 3. This same dynamic was present among the Defected Co-Ethnics, as well. It can be understood, then, that the 20 interviews of Defected Co-Ethnics and the 20 interviews of Post-Baptism Amish actually constituted interviews of almost 40 couples.

When this situation first arose, there was concern that the presence of the marriage partner might possibly inhibit, or in some other way negatively affect the interview. However, this did not appear to be the case. To the contrary, it appeared that there were very few secrets between wives and husbands, and when secrets were told, there appeared to be little reluctance to do so.

It came to be understood that the participant's insistence that their partner also be interviewed was an

347

indication of the close and mutually dependent relationship that develops between wives and husbands in the Amish context. Given that the Defected Co-Ethnics had received considerable family socialization within the Amish context, it was not surprising to find this dynamic was also present among them. Indeed, several of the Defected Co-Ethnics reported that the mutual-dependency that develops between an Amish wife and husband was one of the salugenic aspects of the Amish lived experience that they strove to maintain after defection.

Additionally, it was discovered that the desire to be interviewed as a couple stemmed from the fact that their decision to adopt or repudiate Amish identity had been made in conjunction with their partner, who they had been dating during the decision-making period. Given this circumstance, having the partner present was instrumental in more fully understanding the decision-making process.

For example, one Amish man reported that he had agreed to adopt Amish identity only because his girlfriend could not bring herself to defect, even though she reported desperately having wanted to do so. As a couple then, the decision was made to adopt Amish identity, and together they worked out coping strategies to "...make being Amish bearable."

Pulling a sample and recruiting subjects among the Defected Co-ethnics was not as complex a process, nor as time-consuming as working among the Amish. Because the

Defected Co-Ethnics had assimilated into English culture, albeit to varying degrees, they at least had telephones, which greatly facilitated making contact and scheduling interviews.

Assimilation into English culture had also afforded the Defected Co-Ethnics greater socialization regarding the production and acceptance of science. Consequently, not as much time was invested in explaining the research process, and my motives were not as greatly suspect. The Defected Co-Ethnics interviewed expressed placing a high value on science and education, and therefore, appeared more understanding and supportive of the research.

Because the Defected Co-Ethnics were no longer members of a highly identifiable group, they did not express the same concern regarding their visibility. However, most of the Defected Co-Ethnics expressed concern regarding potential negative consequences of the research for the Amish, given the sensitive nature of the topics and the high visibility of the Amish.

Defected Co-Ethnics were easy to identify and locate, as their names were listed as "D's" in the Directory (Chapters 2 and 3). I created a subject pool by listing all the Defected Co-Ethnics within each district. In the case of multiple defections within a family, the name of one child was selected through a coin toss. Only those children for whom a geographic location had been included were eligible. The residence information was used to

locate telephone numbers, through which contact could be made. Only those for whom a telephone number could be found were eligible.

Having telephones made contact with the Defected Co-Ethnics easier and less time-consuming. However, making the contact proved to be a much more intense and sensitive matter, due to the strong emotions triggered by the call. The most common response upon contact was one of tremendous surprise, and in some cases, an unpleasant shock, to have been identified as a former Amish person. To diminish this response, an explanation regarding how they had been identified was quickly given.

After hearing this explanation, the shock diminished for most of those contacted. Some had not been aware of the existence of the Amish Directories. Among those who had been, some were surprised to learn that their names had been included in their family's listing. Every subject needed a few moments to collect themselves. Several became quite emotional, and crying was a common response.

When asked about their strong emotional response, the subjects reported that they had been quite moved to discover that their family had included their name in the Directory. A few of the subjects had not had any, or at most minimal contact with their family since defection. Most expressed feeling positive about the fact that their name had been listed. They expressed that being named signified that on some level, they were still considered

part of the family. None of the Defected Co-Ethnics appeared to be aware of the shaming function of the "D" category (Chapter 3).

After taking some time to regain their composure (some requested a call-back), most of the subjects agreed to be interviewed, and most expressed being quite eager to do so. It was not uncommon to hear a subject respond that perhaps it was time to talk about their experience, viewing the interview as a potential catharsis. No subject, however, expressed having, nor did any appear to have vindictive motives for participating.

Seven potential subjects had a much stronger response, and did not agree to be interviewed. Most of these were quite hostile, expressed anger at having been identified, and ended the call quickly and abruptly.

Four others expressed very strong suspicion that I was "working for the Amish," as a deprogrammer, and appeared to be afraid. A few others had joked about this possibility, but it had been clear that they did not seriously suspect my intent. Although recognizing that their stories could have provided valuable data, when confronted by the high level of suspicion and fear of these four individuals, I felt it unethical to continue to recruit them.

I stated that I was not a deprogrammer, and briefly reiterated the intent of my research. I provided contact information so that they could verify my identity. I then

assured them that no further attempt to contact them would be made.

One of these four individuals called a few days later, and said that he wanted to be interviewed. He canceled the first two interviews, however. When the interview finally took place, I was disturbed by, and concerned over the subject's level of distress. I offered to terminate the interview, but he indicated that he found the process cathartic, and that he wanted to continue. Following the debriefing process used with all subjects, he was urged to contact me if he later found himself distressed by issues discussed during the interview, and contact information for a variety of mental-health professionals was provided.

Although he had agreed to have the interview tape-recorded, I refused to take the tape-recording with me. He expressed appreciating that consideration. Three months later, the tape arrived in the mail.

Keeping Entre

While expanding entre was extremely time-consuming, keeping entre was additionally problematic, and a great deal more complex to finesse. There was concern throughout the data collection period that my entre would close down, even though I had been active in this field site for several years. Apprehension regarding continued access was well founded, as the Amish are highly effective at boundary maintenance. One of their most powerful boundary-maintenance techniques is refusal to engage in discourse

with the out-group. Because of the high level of authority held by the Bishops and their function as gatekeepers, I knew that each Bishop had the power to close their entire district to me, and would have a great deal of influence in closing other districts, as well.

Even after topic entre had been expanded, and the interview phase had begun, continued entre remained quite vulnerable, and was perhaps the most vulnerable at that point. This vulnerability stemmed from the politicized nature of the debate regarding mental health, and the possibility that I would become a pawn in the battle. As such, managing factions among the Amish was a daily, time-consuming, and draining activity.

Managing Factions: Not Becoming a Pawn

Prior fieldwork experience had suggested that the issue of mental health was extremely sensitive among the Amish. Experiences during stage 1 verified that this was so, but to a greater extent than previously expected. It is a given that culture is not static, but due to the recent displacement of local knowledge among the Amish regarding their mental health (Chapter 7), cultural prescriptions regarding mental illness were in a state of significant reconstruction.

In particular flux were the cultural prescriptions regarding response to the mentally distressed person, or in English terms, treatment options. The debate was centered upon who should be considered an appropriate and legitimate

agent to treat mental illness in this context, Amish or English. Besides these two factions, those opposed to any "treatment" constituted a powerful third faction. These issues have been discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

The primary goal in managing these factions was to prevent being used as a pawn. I made no attempt to mediate the debate because I did not view mediation as a component of my role. Nor was I acting in the role of consultant in that setting, even though I believe mediation and consultation to be important services that a sociologist might offer, if working in an applied fashion.

To the limited extent that I was in control of definitions of my role, the management plan was fairly straightforward. I was to continually assert the parameters of my role, and refuse to be taken beyond those. However, managing my role was not easy. The line did indeed become blurred and difficult to finesse, especially when presented with individuals who expressed being distressed, in need of information, or who were locked into culture-bound analyses of situations and events. The problematics involved in managing stance have been more fully illustrated in Chapter 7, regarding the case of the marginal man as an illegitimate agent.

A great deal of time was invested in asserting that it was my intent to be a neutral party. It was clearly stated that: 1) it was not my intent to influence the definitions of mental health that had been constructed by the Amish,

354

but simply to document them; 2) that I was not an advocate
for, nor opponent of the English mental-health
professionals, nor those Amish who were supportive of
counseling and other forms of treatment, but rather, that
it was my intent to document the various positions; and 3)
that I was not a de-programmer, on a mission to save Amish
children from being brainwashed by the Amish "cult," as
discussed earlier.

To say that I was not out to change them does not mean
that I did not challenge their responses. I did not
passively accept at face value every thing that I was being
told. But, I was concerned that there might be a
precipitous, fine line between presenting a challenge and
instigating change.

I was continually aware of the high level of authority
that was conferred upon me in that community because of my
level of education, and the propensity of the Amish to
acquiesce in these situations. As such, I measured my
words and responses carefully, so as to minimize my
influence. However, in the end, I realized, as do all
field researchers eventually, that I was not sufficiently
powerful to create cultural change. I remained aware,
though, that my presence and my responses could create
temporary disruption within the community, and could,
indeed, directly impact the responses that I was given.

In order to minimize this influence, I was careful to
make clear that when I presented a challenge, I was doing

so as the "devil's advocate" and that I was not presenting

my own personal opinion. Involvement in the case of the

marginal man (Chapter 7) proved to be the greatest

challenge. During these interactions, the Amish were more

likely to ask me for my opinion or advice on how to

proceed, to which I replied that to do so would be

inappropriate, given my role as a researcher.

This answer was satisfactory, as were my attempts to

direct them to consider other sociologically grounded

points of view and theoretically sound explanations for the

behavior of the various actors that might be brought to

bear, just for argument's sake. Although some individuals

clearly would have liked my support for their stance, many

Amish expressed appreciating the fact that I was attempting

to remain a neutral party, and that I was not trying to

involve myself in their decisions. This process allowed me

to probe and examine intricacies and dynamics of this

setting that might otherwise have ensnared me.

Assessment of Social Desirability

The Amish are highly aware of the deified nature of

their composite portrait, as constructed by tourists-as-

out-group. And as discussed more fully in Chapter 4, most

engage heavily in impression management when interacting

with the English. Ross and Mirowsky have noted that

populations or individuals who are characterized by a high

need to present a good face and adhere to conformity are

more likely to give what they perceive to be normatively

right responses (Ross et al. 1984:189). Given the importance within this collectivist culture of the illusion of unanimity regarding their image, there was considerable concern that social desirability would be problematic.

Formal, qualitative exploration of social desirability began during Stage 1 of the research design, and continued to be informally assessed throughout Stage 2, during the formal interviews. Exploration of social desirability was conducted in only a qualitative fashion, with no attempt to create or use a measurement instrument. Due to sample-size requirements, quantitative assessment would have necessitated the use of a mailed-survey. And, as stated in Chapter 1, the degree to which the mailed-survey method would be successful among this population was unknown, particularly given the normative-charged nature of the topics.

Assessment of the applicability of the mailed-survey method was one of the objectives of this dissertation. As discussed below, the mailed-survey method, used to test the modified Well-Being and Collective-Self-Esteem scales, proved to not be successful, primarily due to the collectivist nature of this setting.

During Stage 1, informal interviews regarding the research process itself were conducted with several Amish informants and two Defected Co-Ethnic informants, with whom a pre-existing, research relationship had developed. The level of social desirability that could be expected was one

area of inquiry. Given the influence of early childhood socialization within the Amish culture, social desirability among the Defected Co-Ethnics was of concern, as well. The impressions and estimations given by these subjects resonated with understandings gained through participant observation.

Social desirability was evident during the testing of the measurement instruments, and will be discussed more fully below. However, during the conduct of the interviews, social desirability was not evident. The collectivist need to give socially desirable responses to normatively charged questions appeared over-ridden by a competing high need to be truthful in self-disclosure, when engaged face-to-face, and upon having agreed to do so. Statements given as preface to disclosure, the content of the disclosures, and the emotion evoked by certain disclosures were taken as evidence that social desirability was not influencing the accounts.

"I never told this to another living soul, not even my wife." Male, Defected Co-Ethnic

"I can't believe I'm telling you these things." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"You're going to think I'm bad when you hear this." Female, Post-Baptism Amish

"I don't know what you'll think when you hear this, but..." Male, Post-Baptism Amish

"I probably shouldn't be saying this, but..." Female, Defected Co-Ethnic

It is possible that social desirability was diminished through the use of giving social allowance. During previous fieldwork, and especially during stage 1, when the investigation of these more sensitive topics began, it was noted that subjects often deflected their voice by assigning their expression to others. This deflection of voice appeared to be a test to first assess my response, before admitting that they held the same belief, or had the same thoughts. Most prefaced their comments with statements such as, "I can see where some would..." or "I know that some ....".

This same technique proved quite productive for me, as well. The following are examples of statements that I used to preface questions that I thought would be highly normative-charged. This technique functioned to allow the subjects to speak through another voice. I was convinced that using these statements did not result in the subjects merely acquiescing to what I had expressed because they appeared quite willing to counter what I had presented.

"Some Amish people have expressed _____ to me, whereas some Amish have expressed the opposite. What do you think about those responses? Which do you agree or disagree with more, and why?"

"If I were Amish, I might think _____." Or, if I were Amish, I might feel _____."

"What do you think Amish people, in general, might feel?"

Feedback Loop: The Use of "Feed-Backers"

Throughout the data collection period, assistance was sought from three Amish individuals and two Defected Co-Ethnics, referred to as "feed-backers." The research findings were discussed with each of these feed-backers. For the most part, they responded in agreement with the understandings presented. Their insight was most valuable in posing additional questions and in asking for clarification of ambiguous points.

This feedback loop was created in an attempt to prevent what Dressler has termed "intellectual colonialism" (Dressler 1991:67). Dressler has defined this phenomenon as one that occurs when a researcher attempts to research in a cultural context other than their own, and imposes their definitions onto the group under study, to the disregard of the cultural context of the subjects (Dressler 1991:67).

Dressler has made the case that previous research on Black experiences has been devoid of sufficient input from Black communities (Dressler 1991:67). He has argued that intellectual colonialism stems from the researcher's unwillingness to acknowledge their cultural incompetence, due to their sense of intellectual entitlement (Dressler 1991:67).

By being sensitive to the problem of intellectual colonialism, Dressler was attempting to rectify the negative consequences of the exclusion of Black cultural

experiences from the research, namely an insufficient, culturally-specific grounding of measurement or findings (Dressler 1991:66). One should note that intellectual colonialism is a general criticism that has been leveled against most cross-cultural, psychiatric epidemiology (Gaw 1993).

Feedback was sought from participants during the interviews, as well. Phrases such as, "Let me see if I'm understanding you correctly ..." or, "Are you meaning to say that..." would be used in an attempt to check interpretations and understandings. Having been socialized within a collectivist culture, the Amish and Defected Co-Ethnics responded well to the fact that their input was valued. Their socialization made them well suited to this dialogue-as-process model.

The participants were informed that selected Amish and Defected Co-Ethics, the feed-backers, would have an opportunity to review and respond to the findings before publication. It was made clear, however, that seeking feedback did not mean seeking approval of, or permission to publish what might be interpreted as negative, or unflattering findings. Despite this, using a feedback loop appeared to afford the subjects a measure of control in the process. Having been socialized within a collectivist culture, being given voice appeared to be sufficient.

Willingness to allow preview before publication addressed the culturally-specific need of the Amish to

grant increasing levels of trust based upon increasing willingness to be known by one's fruit, as discussed previously. Continuing to demonstrate throughout the process that I had nothing to hide allowed the Amish greater assurance that I would remain who I said I would be.

Human Subjects Issues

Of primary concern regarding doing research among the Old Order Amish was that they are a highly visible, and therefore identifiable group. The number of Old Order Amish enclaves within the United States is relatively small, and within their local communities, their homes are visually distinct, and therefore, highly identifiable. This visibility makes the Amish a more vulnerable research population than other ethnic groups.

Publication of the research findings could potentially expose the Amish to further stigmatization, and even victimization, if aspects of their lived experience are divulged that the lay public would find unfavorable. While it is the responsibility of the researcher to sufficiently contextually ground research findings, it is naive to expect that the findings will remain contextually grounded. Particularly given the recent entertainment and news-media interest in the Amish, there was concern that the research findings would be exploited and sensationalized.

Prior field experience among the Amish supported this high level of concern, regarding the potential vilification

362
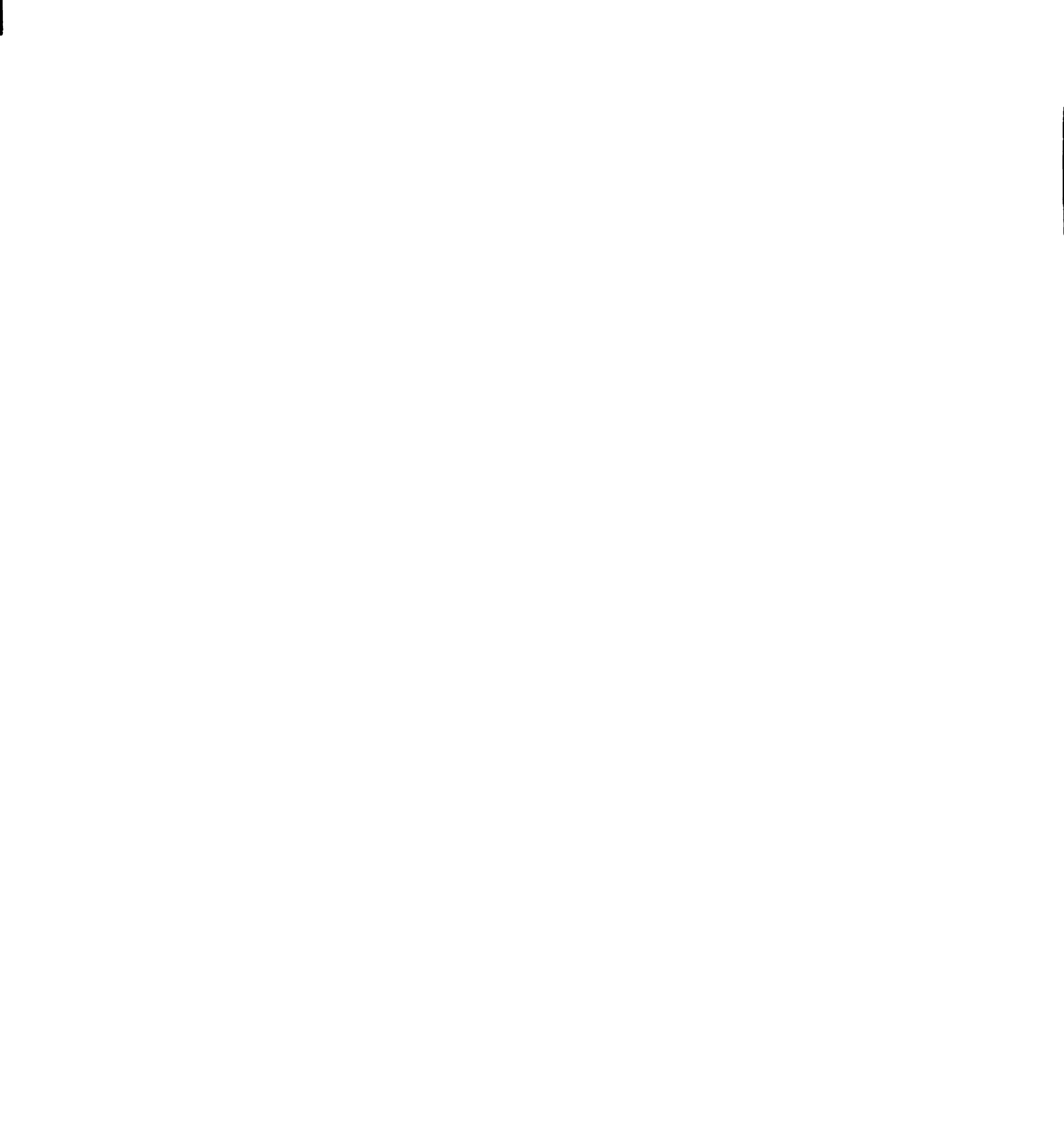
of their lived experience. Even in the role of researcher, value neutrality remained a continual consideration; therefore, there was a high level of concern regarding the ability of the lay public to receive the research findings with sufficient cultural awareness and sensitivity.

There was also the potential for intra-group harm, or at least de-stabilization within the Amish community. Given the cultural dynamics regarding mental health (see Chapters 6 and 7), making poor mental health manifest, particularly depression, through the research process and by publishing the research findings, could be quite de-stabilizing for the group, as well as for individual members.

Another human subjects dilemma was that of what remedy could be offered to those reporting high levels of depressive symptomology. In past research endeavors, the Amish and human subjects review boards had recognized the Bishops as appropriate agents to whom problematic situations could be reported.

However, given the secrecy and stigma surrounding depression among the Amish, bringing the suffering of an individual to the attention of their Bishop, or even other family members, might have resulted in negative sanctions being applied, rather than a salugenic response. Many informants validated this concern during stage 1.

Despite this concern, it was decided that the most prudent course of action would be to again rely on the

families and the Bishops as the most appropriate agents to whom problematic situations could be reported (specifically, if the subject appeared to be a danger to themselves or others). Additionally, contact information for both English and Amish mental health professionals was provided to each subject.

Fortunately, none of the subjects within the three populations appeared to be, nor did any subject report believing that they were in imminent physical danger to themselves or others. Therefore, involvement of the Bishops was not necessary.

Several post-baptism Amish did report having experienced high levels of depressive symptomology, as well as occasionally having experienced suicidal ideation. These subjects were given contact information for both Amish and English mental-health professionals. In each of these cases, another adult member of the household was already aware of the situation.

It did become necessary to involve one of the Bishops, however, on behalf of a suicidal Amish woman, although she was not a subject in this research at that time, or by design. She called from a pay telephone very early one morning, claiming to be ready to commit suicide with a knife, having obtained my telephone number from an Amish person who had previously given an interview. Steps were taken to calm her and keep her engaged on the telephone

until another Amish person had arrived to assist her. I drove into the community immediately to notify her Bishop.

As noted previously, the Bishop has been instilled with an extremely high level of authority and power over the life of the group and the individual. Bishops also serve as gatekeepers, a function essential for boundary maintenance. As such, in order to conduct this research in a culturally sensitive fashion, it was deemed necessary to first gain permission from the Bishop of each district to recruit subjects from within their jurisdiction.

It was a concern that, because the Bishop would have sanctioned the research by allowing access to members of the church district, individuals would feel coerced into compliance, albeit indirectly. An additional concern was that the Bishop would mandate compliance. Both circumstances would negate the condition of voluntary compliance.

To counteract potential coercion, voluntary compliance was stressed, and the individual was assured confidentiality. Individuals were informed that their Bishop would not be given the names of those who had, or the names of those who had not complied.

The circumstance of Bishops as gatekeepers posed an additional ethical dilemma in that permission from some of the Bishops' to conduct research within this settlement potentially exposed all Amish people to outside scrutiny upon publication of the research, even those within this

settlement who had not participated and those within other settlements. Even though I have not explicitly identified the particular settlement and certainly would never divulge names of individuals who participated in the research, the daily, lived experience of Amish people, in general, has been exposed.

Ethical dilemmas generated by the need to access subjects through a gatekeeper are not uncommon among field researchers (Gold 1989:100; Thorne 1980: 292; Wax 1980: 278-79). And indeed, one could argue that exposure of the lived experience of one's group without the consent of each group member is true of all research involving human subjects, whether or not a gatekeeper is involved.

For example, research on cancer patients routinely is generalized to all cancer patients just as research on Hispanics routinely is generalized to larger Hispanic populations. But, cancer patients and Hispanics are not as highly identifiable as the Amish, nor are they as culturally vulnerable. The fact that Amish settlements are relatively few and easily located geographically makes the Amish more vulnerable to identification.

The question, then, was whether the Bishops as gatekeepers were representing the best interests of those over whom they had power, or whether the Bishop was merely a representation of power. Fortunately, this dilemma was fairly easily resolved, as I had become convinced through my fieldwork that the Bishops strove in great earnest to

366

take the best of the people into consideration. After all, it was in their best interest to do so, as they believed that they had been called by God to do exactly that.

Further evidence was the length of time that the Bishops needed to engage in dialogue with other Bishops and to consider for their own self whether participation in the research was in the ultimate best interest of the Amish. Additionally, even though there is no formal authority over the Bishops, I had great confidence that rouge or reckless Bishops would be dealt with quite effectively, albeit in an informal fashion, such that a bad decision would be effectively overruled.

Despite customary practices on my part to ensure confidentiality, Amish participants were not able to experience confidentiality fully because their association with me had exposed their participation to other Amish persons. Because I was so distinct and visible in the Amish setting, I was not able to effectively disguise my movements and activities. Obviously, my car was highly visible, especially in those areas where English traffic and visitation with the Amish was not high. If my car was parked in the drive of a home, those Amish living nearby or passing by were able to place me there.

Overall, the Amish were cooperative in respecting the confidentiality of others. Frequently, during the course of the interviews, an Amish participant would refer to another person by name, and then ask if I knew that person.

While it could have appeared that they were trying to expose other participants, I did not believe that to be the case. But rather, within collectivist, associational cultures, name-dropping becomes habitual, as it conveys information regarding the extent and direction of the speakers' social networks.

Although not being willing to admit with whom you have associations violates the associational nature of collectivist cultures, almost all of the Amish appeared to accept this practice from me, with only a few remaining skeptical of my explanation. When questioned regarding whom I knew, or whom I had interviewed, I restated that I was not able to acknowledge whom I knew, due to concerns for confidentiality of participants. Most subjects expressed being appreciative of the protection of their privacy, and a willingness to extend that privacy to others, given that privacy was a condition of the research relationship.

A final human subjects consideration was that of further pathologizing an already stigmatized population, by making their mental health the subject of research. However, the research was designed to ascertain the salugenic aspects of the Amish identity and lived experience, rather than merely the pathogenic. This concern has been addressed more fully in Chapter 3.

The Defected Co-Ethnics did not pose as many human subjects concerns or dilemmas, primarily because they were

not as easily identifiable, nor had they become the focus of media and tourist interest. However, because the Amish have been constructed as an ideal type, there was concern that the Defected Co-Ethnics would experience disdain, and possibly hostility from the those English who accept and participate in the romantization of the Amish culture, if the Defected Co-Ethnics portrayed the Amish in what could be perceived as an unfavorable manner.

And indeed, several of the Defected Co-Ethnics expressed concern that there might be a "backlash" against them among the tourists, for having spoken. Some were concerned that "telling the truth" might paint a negative picture of the Amish, which might hurt the tourist industry itself.

Several Defected Co-Ethnics expressed concern over how their families and other Amish people would feel about their participation. As one Defected Co-Ethnic expressed, "We've already betrayed them (the Amish) once, I'm not certain if it's right to do it again. But I guess the truth always has to hurt."

As such, there was concern that Defected Co-Ethnics might experience guilt or shame after having granted an interview, particularly if the findings were perceived as unfavorable. To help control for post-decisional conflict that might trigger negative affective states, each participant was reminded that they had the right to revoke their consent to participate, up until the time of

publication, which, they were informed, would occur in about six to eight months.

There was concern that telling their stories might produce disruptive emotions and thoughts. Most subjects expressed that they were speaking about their defection for the first time. To provide post-interview assistance, the subjects were reminded how they could contact me at any time, and they were also provided with the names of mental-health professionals in their area.

The Development of Culturally Appropriate Measurement Instruments

The construction of appropriate measurement instruments to be used in future, quantitative explorations was a component of the fourth objective of this dissertation research. Because the Amish context had received little empirical attention, no measurement instruments had been designed specifically for this population, which made validity and reliability major concerns for quantitative exploration. As such, a significant amount of testing of measurement instruments was necessary. This work was conducted during Stage 2.

Data from participant observation and the interviews conducted during stage 1 and the beginning of stage 2 guided the decision to make culturally appropriate modifications to two measurement instruments. Modifications were made to the General Well-Being Schedule and the Collective Self-Esteem Scale.

The General Well-Being Schedule was selected for use because it measured both affective mood states and physical symptoms usually associated with depression, and included questions regarding help-seeking behaviors. In addition to measuring general well being, the scale has been used as a measure of demoralization among various refugee/immigrant groups (Rumbaut 1989). Given my argumentation that the experience of Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish and Defected Co-Ethnics is analogous to that of refugees, the use of the scale seemed logical and potentially useful for comparative work. It was also speculated that the language used in the original construction would not need much, if any, modification to fit this cultural context. And indeed, few modifications were made to the language.

No questions were deleted, but questions were added. For example, a question was added to distinguish between mental and physical health. Additional answer categories were added to detect the individual's current experience, rather than just ask about the past. Because it was reported that most Amish do not seek help from English mental-health professionals, but that some seek the help of co-ethnics who have been assigned the role of counselor (as discussed more fully in Chapter 7), questions were added to distinguish between Amish and English mental-health professionals. Questions were added to assess satisfaction with those two different experiences, and to further probe

the debate regarding the legitimacy of English verses Amish counselors.

Given the collectivist nature of this setting, it was speculated that social self-esteem would be a more important indicator of well being than would personal identity. Luhtanen and Crocker's Collective Self-Esteem Scale was deemed appropriate to modify for use in this context, as a measure of self-esteem generated through an Amish person's social identity as Amish, rather than through their personal identity (Luhtanen et al. 1992).

As postulated by Tajfel and Turner, social, or collective identity could be either positive or negative, based upon evaluations the individual makes about their social group, rather than upon their own personal attributes that they perceive as standing outside of that group (Tajfel et al. 1986). They further postulated that the evaluation would be based upon the individual's perception of how one's group was evaluated by the out-group (Tajfel et al. 1986).

In this setting, it was speculated that the negative composite portrait constructed by the English-as-out-group and the in-group hostility that was reported could result in a diminished social self-esteem. As such, it would be important to assess social self-esteem, in order to more fully understand its role in generating self-discrepant states. The Collective Self-Esteem Scale was selected for modification because it afforded the ability to measure the

impact of out-group perceptions on social self-esteem, as well as the ability to assess the individual's evaluation of their performance within that social identity.

The language of the original scale was modified to specify Amish as the referent in-group and English as the referent out-group. Some additional language changes were made, as well, in order to make the language of the scale more culturally appropriate.

Several questions were added to more directly examine the impact of a negative social identity, and to assess the degree to which personal identity had become engulfed by social identity. One question was added to assess post-decisional conflict or ambivalence.

Testing the Method: Face-To-Face Verses Mailed Surveys

After becoming satisfied with the construction of the measurement instruments, six surveys were implemented using the face-to-face method, among Post-Baptism Amish subjects. This method was chosen to further evaluate the appropriateness and accessibility of the scales, before testing the mailed-survey method. All subjects reported that they had been able to understand the questions and directions, and to complete the instruments without difficulty.

The subjects did inquire about the purpose of the survey questions, and the manner in which the data would be used. They were particularly concerned about what conclusions might possibly be drawn. Given the paucity of

373

understanding among the Amish regarding the production of science, their high level of suspicion of the out-group, and the sensitive nature of the questions, these discussions were lengthy, generally averaging around one hour.

The amount and type of questions being asked were suggestive of a high level of suspicion and discomfort. After providing further detailed explanations, and allowing an opportunity to ask additional questions, all of the subjects appeared satisfied with the explanations given, and responded to each of the questions.

The nature of the questions raised suggested that social desirability might be a problem in implementing surveys face-to-face. Given the stigma surrounding the experience of depression, there was concern that subjects would be reluctant to report depressive symptomology on the well-being scale. And, given the high cultural need for an illusion of unanimity, there was concern that they would be reluctant to report in the negative on the collective-identity scale.

The subjects had already given an interview, wherein social desirability had not been of much concern. It was speculated that responding to a survey instrument would be experienced differently than responding to interview questions, however. Because an interview is generated through interaction, the process allows for voices to be drawn-out, probed, or clarified. Additionally, the

interview format allows for the subject to manipulate or finesse their response, in order to obscure their response, if reluctant to provide full disclosure. Additionally, it would be more difficult to maintain a facade throughout the course of a lengthy interview, wherein contradictions could be more easily detected.

In contrast, survey instruments are completed in isolation. This circumstance prohibits exploration of the response by the interviewer, or hedging of the response by the interviewee. When completing a survey, the subject must respond in a more objective, and direct fashion.

In addition, it could be argued that subjects would be more likely to give socially desirable responses to normatively charged questions when completing a survey instrument. Because the Amish live so much of their life face-to-face, being face-to-face would demand an honesty that being physically removed might not.

After each subject had completed both instruments, the concept of social desirability was explained, and concern was expressed that Amish people might be reluctant to fully report what might be perceived as a negative, and therefore socially undesirable response. This process was instructive, as most subjects reported that the concern was justified, and that they had, indeed, been reluctant to fully report what might have been perceived as negative.

As one subject stated, the Amish have "learned how the English expect us to be." Another subject explained that

she had been reluctant to answer more honestly because she was concerned that readers would not believe published reports about the Amish that were too negative. Several of the subjects reported that they had augmented the positive end of the scale, in an attempt to offset the negative, in what was explained as a guilt response. One subject reported that she had responded in a more positive fashion than she felt in order to compensate for the "low marks" she knew other Amish people would give.

More importantly, the subjects reported that they probably would not have been as reluctant to respond honestly if I had not been present. This report was confusing because they had not been reluctant to report negative things during the interviews. When asked about this contradiction, they explained that they had felt embarrassed to give low marks in my presence because the format did not allow them an opportunity to explain their response, whereas the interview had. Thus, I concluded that social desirability would be of less concern if the survey instruments were implemented as mailed surveys, rather than face-to-face.

A second round of six surveys was implemented using a modified face-to-face method. The subjects were presented with the instrument forms and instruction letter, without verbal instruction, as if they had received a mailed-survey packet. They were instructed to complete the surveys without asking questions, but that they would have the

376
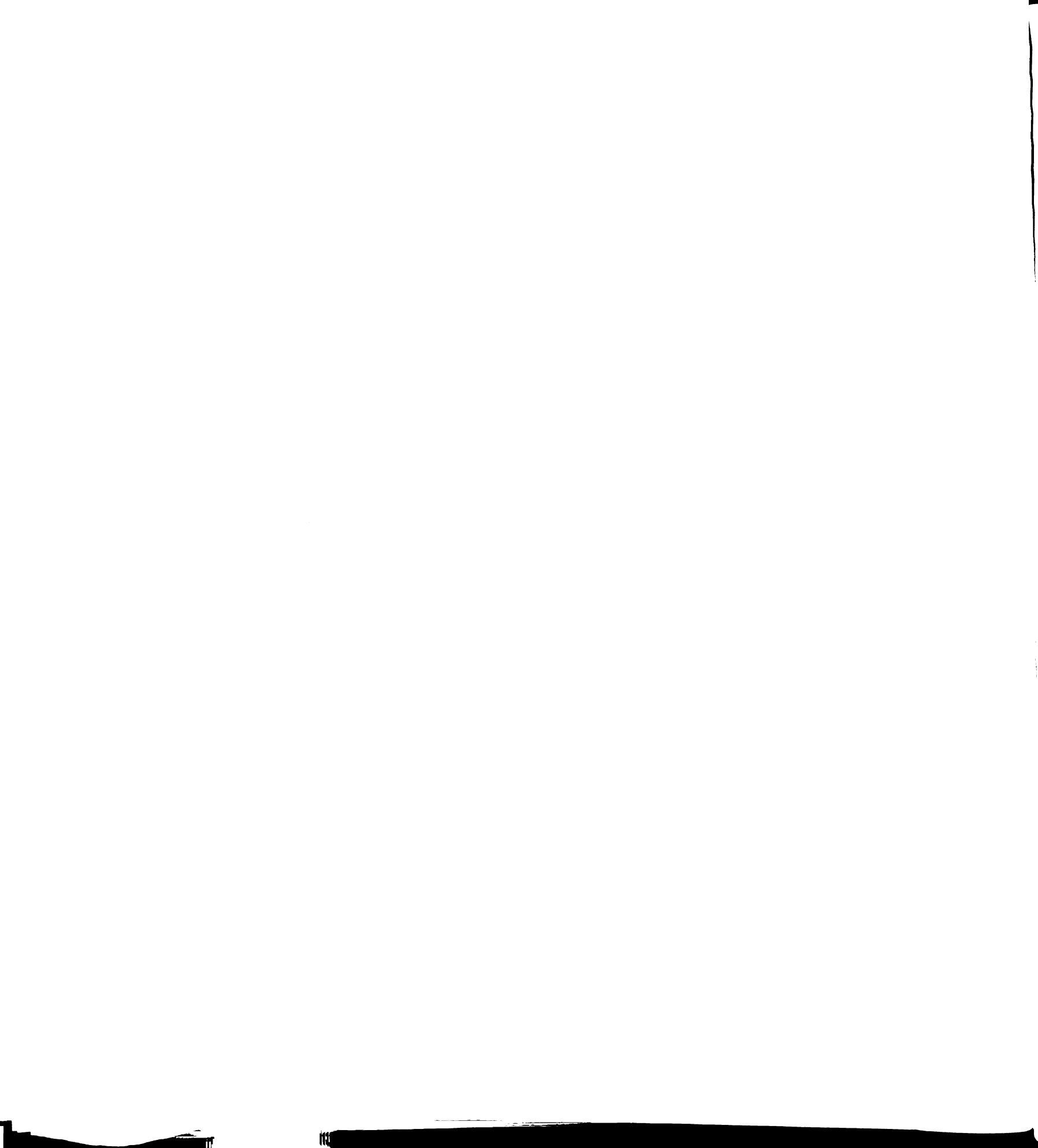
opportunity to ask questions upon completion. This process was used to assess the ease with which the Amish would be able to comprehend the written instructions.

Upon completion, none of the subjects expressed having had difficulty understanding the language or construction of the questions or the directions. When instructed and queried regarding social desirability, the subjects responded in the same fashion as the previous group.

As when implementing the surveys face-to-face, these subjects questioned the manner in which the data would be used, and the motive behind the questions. After giving a satisfactory explanation, the subjects were asked to what degree their suspicions and concerns would have been sufficient to cause them to not respond, if they had received the instruments as a mailed survey.

All of the subjects reported that my presence had been vitally important, as it allowed for their questions to be answered. More importantly, they reported that my presence allowed them the opportunity to assess my character. The subjects reported that these factors were sufficiently important that they probably would not have responded to a mailed survey.

Despite these concerns, given the necessity of using mailed-survey method if intending to collect data on a larger scale, at a later time, and given concerns regarding social desirability influencing responses given using the face-to-face method, it was important to proceed with

testing the mailed-survey method. Twenty survey packets
were mailed to 5 households, within 4 selected districts.
The five households represented approximately one-fifth of
the households within their district. This number would be
low for a full-scale survey, but the intent was to merely
test the process, not to collect data, as such. The
households were selected in a random fashion, by choosing
every nth household, depending upon the size of the
district.

The districts were chosen to represent the range of
districts, from conservative to liberal. It was speculated
that there would be greater compliance from those within
the most liberal districts. This speculation was based
upon prior field experience and the interview process,
wherein it had been noted that those within the more
liberal districts more quickly agreed to give an interview,
and were less hesitant during the interview.

Assessing the effect of the conservative or liberal
nature of the district on the survey response rate was felt
to be vitally important to future research. Having
demographics of each household reported in the Directory
and self-reported on the surveys would allow completed
surveys to be tracked and identified by birth and marriage
date. This identification would allow the response rate
for each district to be assessed.

Households that had previously been interviewed were
excluded from this sample, in order to control for a pre-

existing relationship potentially affecting the compliance rate. Excluding these households also controlled for the influence of prior experience with the research process on the response rate. It was speculated that those with previous involvement would likely feel more comfortable with, and therefore more willing and capable of compliance.

The survey packets were addressed to "Either Mr. or Mrs. ____," in order to assess gender difference in the response rate. It was speculated that females would be more likely to choose to respond, as females in this context generally appear more confident of their reading and writing competence, and in general, are more willing to communicate.

A more important consideration was the concern that targeting a particular individual by name would have created suspicion regarding why that individual was being singled out, a question asked frequently throughout the interview process. It has been observed and reported that most Amish people are not comfortable having attention drawn toward them. Perhaps as a consequence of social-control processes, it has been observed and reported that most Amish are uncomfortable being targeted for scrutiny.

In the letter of introduction, prospective subjects were instructed that their household had been drawn in a random fashion. In an attempt to further diminish suspicion that they had been targeted, subjects were instructed to pass on the surveys to some other adult, whom

they believed might be interested in completing the survey, if they were not.

The discomfort and suspicion of the Amish regarding being targeted for scrutiny could also be understood as a consequence of the collectivist nature of their culture. The Amish place a very high value on consensus seeking, and hold a strong belief that all sides of an argument should be heard, even though they are aware that not all voices have equal power, or are ultimately regarded. This dynamic was made apparent while conducting focus groups and while interviewing couples. Unlike most group-interview situations, there was little to no talking-over fellow subjects.

The importance of all voices being heard was expressed by most of the Bishops, after having learned that only a sample of households would be interviewed, rather than every household. One Bishop required that, after having interviewed those households included in the sampling design, every remaining household within his district be given an opportunity to be interviewed. Many of the subjects remained unconvinced of sampling rationale, and expressed being skeptical of science that was based upon sampling, rather than consensus.

There was concern that the addresses listed in the Directory were no longer correct, given that the most recent Directory was published in 1995. However, because the Amish do not have telephones, the Directory was the

only known way to identity Amish households by mailing
address.

There was concern that the time of year would
negatively affect the response rate. Because of the length
of time necessary to modify the instruments and test the
face-to-face and modified face-to-face method, the surveys
were not mailed until the end of April, with a reminder
postcard sent two weeks later. Unfortunately, this time
period coincided with the beginning of farm and garden
season for the Amish. Having spent a great deal of time
among the Amish, I was aware that their life was neither
simple nor slow-paced. And indeed, the Amish reported that
their lives are too fast-paced, but particularly through
spring and fall. A higher compliance rate would have been
more likely during the winter months, but unfortunately,
time constraints of the dissertation process would not
allow for a more opportune time.

In addition to the concern regarding the sensitive
nature of the survey topics prohibiting participation,
there was concern that if I were not physically present,
the Amish would simply choose to ignore the surveys. In
true collectivist fashion, disassociation with the out-
group has been an extremely effective boundary-maintenance
technique, and they are quite effectively socialized and
willing to refrain from social intercourse with out-group
members. As noted by Triandis, and as observed in this

field, "...collectivists...can be rude, exploitative, and even hostile toward their out-groups" (Triandis 1990:42).

Subjects were queried regarding this concern during the interview process, and indeed, most reported that they would not have responded to my request for an interview, if it had not been made face-to-face. A letter from a stranger could be ignored, they reported, but a face would demand more attention. Given the nature of this cultural context, physical presence would generate greater compliance.

Given the high value the Amish place upon reciprocity, the subjects queried reported that they probably would not respond to a mailed survey because the mailed format would not give them an opportunity to receive anything in return. Almost every subject reported that they had agreed to give an interview because they saw it as an opportunity to receive information regarding mental health, or, ironically, to learn more about Amish people, in general.

It became apparent throughout the fieldwork experience that curiosity about me as an exotic other influenced compliance with the research, as my physical presence held high entertainment value. And indeed, it was not long before I realized that I had become the focus of gossip. Additionally, being a research subject provided a Bishop-sanctioned opportunity to interact with a member of the out-group. Upon transcribing the taped interviews, it

became apparent that the Amish had used this occasion to also interview me.

As speculated, the response rate to the mailed survey trial was dismal. Two of the twenty surveys were returned as undeliverable, with no forwarding address available. Undeliverable addresses had been a concern, given that the available addresses were almost five years old. Of the eighteen sent with apparently viable addresses, only two surveys had been returned at the time of publication of this dissertation.

Conclusions

The various discussions that have been made throughout this chapter constitute a contribution to the methods literature in that this dissertation research produced a case study that resonates with previous work regarding the problematics encountered when working within a collectivist culture. Because of culturally specific dynamics within this context, it can be strongly argued that the researcher attempting to access a collectivist culture must be willing and able to invest a large quantity of time in the field. And, of course, time is also money.

This work also supports the value of using grounded, qualitative methods, as it can further be argued that a number of unexpected findings would not have been discovered if the work had been approached in a deductive, rather than inductive fashion. This statement resonates with those who argue for the use of grounded, qualitative

methods, particularly in the area of research examining the interstitial area between structure and meaning (Dressler 1991; Mechanic 1989; Pearlin 1992; Speight et al. 1996; Thoits 1995).

The material in this chapter also contributes to the literature regarding quantitative methodologies, in terms of scale development. Strong evidence was gathered to support the contention that a measurement distinction should be made between personal and social self-esteem. This evidence resonates with convincing arguments made by Rosenburg et al. and Luhtanen et al. that focusing attention on the self-esteem specific to particular identities rather than self-esteem based on global identity would provide more useful data (Luhtanen et al. 1992:302; Rosenburg et al. 1995:141).

Evidence was found to support the call of Sanders-Thompson to develop multi-dimensional scales to measure the various components of racial (social) identity (Sanders-Thompson 1995:220). Sanders-Thompson has argued that the tendency within the literature to measure only one dimension of identity potentially disallows a full understanding of intra-group difference (Sanders-Thompson 1995:220).

Phinney has made the same charge, and has suggested that three measures be gathered: self-identification (what you call yourself); behavior (participation in cultural activities); and attitudes (what you think/feel toward your

own cultural group) (Phinney 1990). The need to parcel out components of social identity was evidenced by the Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish who had adopted Amish identity as a cultural form. Clearly, based upon their qualitative reports, if each of the three components had been measured on separate scaling instruments, large differentials among these components would have been seen.

Given the problematics of researching within a collectivist culture and the sensitive nature of the topics of identity and mental health, usage of mailed measurement instruments would not be recommended for future research. However, great caution regarding social desirability would be advised if implementing measurement instruments using the face-to-face method. In order to be successful, the subjects must be given an opportunity to comment on each of their responses. And finally, successful future research on these topics among the Amish will necessitate time-intensive, grounded, qualitative field research as one component of the endeavor.

CHAPTER 9

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Given the problematics of researching within a collectivist culture and the sensitive nature of the topics (Chapters 1 and 7), usage of mailed measurement instruments would not be recommended for future research. And, great caution regarding social desirability would be advised if implementing measurement instruments using the face-to-face method. Successful future research on these topics will necessitate time-intensive, field research.

An important limitation of this study emerged, in that, it appeared as though social identity formation and decisions about identity had been made long before entering the culturally mandated decision-making period, at age 16. Therefore, given that age 16 was the youngest age included in this study, the findings generated were based upon retrospective reports.

The sampling design was based upon the assumption that Amish children did not give much consideration to their ethnic, or social identity until they reached the age of deliberation, at 16. It was assumed that until this time, Amish children acquiesced to Amish social identity by default. Therefore, it was further assumed that Amish social identity did not generate self-discrepancy within younger children. These assumptions were based upon prior reports from the Amish regarding the importance of this

time period in allowing a culturally prescribed and sanctioned opportunity for a decision-making process to occur.

Future studies should focus on younger children, to more greatly ensure that the process of identity formation is captured concurrently, rather than retrospectively. The ideal study would allow for a longitudinal analysis of the process of identity formation and resolution, throughout the life course.

As discussed more fully above and as described more fully in Chapter 7, a second limitation to be addressed in future research was the fact that many Defected Co-Ethnics refused to give an interview. The concern was that those who refused to participate in the research might have been different in some important way from those who participated.

A recently published popular press book illuminates a type of Defected Co-Ethnic that was expected, but not discovered in this research. The book is a collection of stories of "X-Amish" who are attempting to "expose" the real story behind being Amish, and the trials and tribulations involved in leaving. According to the author, there is to be a made-for-television movie, based upon the text.

Even though the book contributors were from a different Amish community than the one studied, the content of the stories of these "X-Amish" does not differ from the

stories collected during this dissertation research. However, within the stories of the "X-Amish" there is a large difference in the tone of voice and in the absence of a contextually grounded and politicized understanding of their experience.

Unlike the subjects of this research, those reporting their stories in this popular press venue appear to have not been able to resolve their post-decisional conflict. It may be that in comparing these two groups, the factors that facilitated the more contextually grounded and politicized analysis of those interviewed for this dissertation research would be more fully illuminated. For example, one could predict that the level of cognitive capability to engage in critical thinking would be found to be paramount in making a more successful resolution of identity.

Given human subjects restrictions regarding using persuasion to recruit subjects and the extremely high level of suspicion and fear expressed by these subjects, no remedy for refusal to participate was apparent at the time. Before future research is attempted, however, thoughtful consideration should be given to the manner in which the voices of these subjects could be captured.

Contribution to Methods Literatures

Chapter 8 constitutes a contribution to the methods literature in that it provides a case study that resonates with previous work regarding the problematics encountered

388

when working within a collectivist culture. For example,
because of culturally specific dynamics within this
context, it can be strongly argued that the researcher
attempting to access a collectivist culture must be willing
and able to invest a large quantity of time in the field.

It is important to point out that a number of
unexpected findings would not have been discovered if the
work had been approached in a deductive, rather than
inductive fashion. And certainly, to approach in a more
deductive fashion would have been to commit the error of
intellectual colonialism, in assuming that I knew enough
about the context to approach in a top-down fashion. This
call resonates with those who argue for the use of
grounded, qualitative methods, particularly in the area of
research examining the interstitial area between structure
and meaning (Dressler 1991; Mechanic 1989; Pearlin 1992;
Speight et al. 1996; Thoits 1995).

This dissertation research also added to the
literature regarding quantitative methodologies, in terms
of scale development. Strong evidence was gathered to
support the contention that a measurement distinction
should be made between personal and social self-esteem.
The experience resonated with convincing arguments made by
Rosenburg et al. and Luhtanen et al. that focusing
attention on the self-esteem specific to particular
identities rather than self-esteem based on global identity

would provide more useful data (Rosenburg et al. 1995:141; Luhtanen et al. 1992:302).

Evidence was found to support the claim of Brewer and Brewer et al. that it is the salience of personal verses social identities that is most important to measure (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993), as well as the degree to which individuals are able to shift between personal and social identities (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993).

For, as Jones et al., Brewer, and Brewer et al. note, and as evidenced in this context, some who experience a stigmatized social identity protect their personal self-esteem by redefining for themselves what constitutes their "true self," or what the individual chooses for themselves to be their master status (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993; Jones et al. 1984:134). Indeed, it was found that many Pre- and Post-Baptism Amish used this technique, as evidenced by the creation of imagined communities, or a fantasy identity (Chapter 5).

Evidence was found to support the call of Sanders-Thompson to develop multi-dimensional scales to measure the various components of racial (social) identity (Sanders-Thompson 1995:220). Sanders-Thompson has argued that the tendency within the literature to measure only one dimension of identity potentially disallows a full understanding of intra-group difference (Sanders-Thompson 1995:220).

Phinney had made the same charge, and has suggested
that three measures be gathered: self-identification (what
you call yourself); behavior (participation in cultural
activities); and attitudes (what you think/feel toward your
own cultural group) (Phinney 1990). The need to parcel out
components of social identity was evidenced by those Post-
Baptism Amish for whom identity was inauthentic, or non-
essential, but who had adopted Amish identity as a cultural
form. Clearly, based upon their qualitative reports, if
each of the three components had been measured separately
on scaling instruments, large differentials among these
components would have been seen.

Contribution to Literatures Regarding Survival of Domination

Adam has argued that constructing a group as
inferiorized allows the more dominant group to create a
symbolic superiority (Adam 1978:51-53). That the
superiority is merely symbolic is indeed sociological
correct, because superiority is not an objective reality.
But, the fact that difference exists is real. Therefore,
in reading this text, only the fact that the Amish are
different should have been the conclusion, not that they
are inferior in any objective fashion, for every culture
constructs its norms, and every culture practices
oppression.

But as W. I. Thomas has taught us, what is real in its
definition will be real in its consequences. And as

symbolic superiority becomes reified, the consequences of superiority become real, as does the resultant oppression of those who have been inferiorized. To deny this would be to deny the lived experience of these people.

Therefore, the major contribution of this dissertation to the literature regarding survival of domination was that it provided another example of the manner in which individuals affectively respond to, and logistically manage their oppression. As Adam has stated, "The story of how people survive domination through resistance, accommodation, and compliance tells us much about how domination survives and an inequitable social order is reproduced" (Adam 1978:x).

A primary finding was that the Inauthentic Post-Baptism and Inauthentic Pre-Baptism Amish did not appear outwardly to experience "racelessness," but they did experience a depression that appeared to be similar to that found by Arroyo et al. among Black college students (Arroyo et al. 1995:903). A possible explanation is that perhaps Amish identity is so inauthentic for those within this category that they experience racelessness internally, even though showing no outward signs.

It should be reiterated that the Defected Co-Ethnics did not express having felt guilty over having defected. These subjects, as well as most Pre- and Post-Baptism Amish, demonstrated an uncanny ability to develop, at a very young age, and articulate a contextually grounded,

constructionist perspective. This perspective had allowed the Defected Co-Ethnics to deflect guilt through their interpretation that they had not been responsible for creating the norms they were violating (Chapter 5).

This perspective was also instrumental in allowing Inauthentic Post-Baptism Amish to better affectively manage their Amish social identity. As one subject expressed, "It's easier to play the game when you know it's a game that you're playing" (Chapter 5). In essence, even at a very young age, these subjects had been successful in either repudiating or managing an inauthentic Amish identity, without needing to express racelessness outwardly, by developing a contextually grounded, politicized response to their oppression.

Although no definitive or satisfactory explanation was discovered, it appeared as though their politicization, as evidenced by their constructionist perspective, had been driven by their high internal locus of control, interacting with inconsistencies made apparent by intra-group difference. As these children reached the age of defection, the Defected Co-Ethnics were able to find support for this politicization through social networks among the English and previously Defected Co-Ethnics.

Many have found that developing a politicized response to oppression generates positive attitudes toward, and greater desire for affiliation with the group (Brookins et al. 1996; Parham 1985; Plummer et al. 1996; Sanders-

Thompson 1995; Speight et al. 1996). This finding appears to contradict what was found in this context.

However, in the case of the Amish, the oppressor is the in-group and English is the group with which those who become politicized identify. It could be argued that even though politicization did not result in a greater desire among all subjects for affiliation with the Amish, politicization did result in a more positive attitude toward the Amish than otherwise would have been possible. For after all, what is politicization other than an understanding of the social forces that act upon any particular group, an understanding of the relationship between the individual and their social group, vis-à-vis the larger social world?

Contribution to the Literatures Regarding Identity

Rosenthal et al. have advised that the study of identity should address identity as the product of the inter-relationship between the individual, the individual's cultural group, and the wider social context (Rosenthal et al. 1992:215; see also Brewer 1980; Brewer 1991; DeVos 1980). Many have stressed the fluid nature of identity, and have proposed that identity salience slips back and forth between personal and social, depending upon the situation, or upon needs of the self (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993; Jackson et al. 1996; Rosenberg et al. 1995).

Along these same lines, Adam, Swann, Calhoun, and Gergen have proposed that identities are constructions that

are negotiated, albeit not necessarily from bases of equal power (Adam 1978; Calhoun 1994; Gergen 1987; Swann 1987). Swann has noted that, although specifics regarding this process have not been fully detailed, it can be said that an individual's social reality is "...not simply constructed by perceivers acting alone; it is negotiated by perceivers and targets acting together" (Swann 1987:1038).

A politics-of-identity framework such as this allows the construction of the self to be an active, negotiated, and on-going process, albeit taking into consideration differentials in power among the actors (Adam 1978; Calhoun 1994; Hechter 1987; Lemert 1994; Mennell 1994; Scheff 1994; Wellman 1993; Zaretsky 1994). And certainly, the Amish cultural context provided an example of the various manners in which identities were negotiated.

As many have noted, theoretically, it is the unchallenged, or stable identity that promotes positive affect, and consequently, promotes greater health (Brewer 1991; Brewer et al. 1993; Brewer et al. 1996; Brown 1993; Campbell et al. 1993; Higgins et al. 1987; Higgins 1989; Hitch 1983). LaFromboise et al., Neff et al., and Weinreich provide empirical support for the assertion that the level of psychological well-being depends upon the degree to which an individual successfully stabilizes their identity through non-exposure to challenge (LaFramboise et al. 1993:408; Neff et al. 1993:3; Weinreich 1983:154).

In support of these theoretical propositions and empirical evidence, it was discovered that extensive social networks among the Amish, both emotional and instrumental, allowed the Amish to engage in exclusion of the out-group as a boundary-maintenance technique. And, as a result, exclusion of the out-group more greatly assured that their identity would remain relatively unchallenged, which contributed to a more positive affective response to their identity than would be experienced otherwise.

A dramatic example of this principle were the reports of some Amish women being untruthful to out-group members regarding the number of children they had borne, in order to escape the negative attribution of the Amish as hyper-sexual. It was reported that these women experienced feeling ashamed of their family size, only when encountering the out-group (Chapter 4). The lying can be understood as a boundary maintenance technique, applied in an attempt to maintain stability in their identity, through non-exposure to challenge.

The work further informed literatures regarding identity by illuminating the importance of conjuring up imagined communities as a coping strategy, for those who could not, or would not repudiate Amish identity, among those for whom Amish identity was inauthentic. In a sense, managing an inauthentic identity was achieved through the creation of not just an imagined community to which to

belong, but through the development of a fantasy identity: who they would be if they had not become Amish.

The findings contribute to the more general social psychology literature in that it was discovered that the realization of social identity was achieved at a very early age, and without conscious deliberation, even though conscious deliberation had been culturally prescribed. In other words, at least in this context, one social identity appeared to be more intrinsically authentic, even though various identities were available (Chapter 5).

The claim that one identity appeared to be more intrinsically authentic was supported by the reports that the subjects had "always known," and that deliberation regarding authenticity had not been necessary. Even though many Post-Baptism Amish chose to adopt an inauthentic Amish identity, they still were able to articulate that they had always known that Amish identity was not authentic for them (Chapter 5).

The findings further inform the more general social psychology literature through the demonstration of the importance of locus of control in identity formation and resolution. Additionally, the interview data documented the strength that locus of control can exert. The most striking example is that of those Defected Co-Ethnics who reported that they had defected despite the threat of damnation to Hell, in order to escape an inauthentic identity (Chapter 5).

Contribution to Literatures Regarding Social Networks and Social Support

The Amish context provided an excellent opportunity to examine the importance of social networks, especially in managing identity. As several have noted, there is a tendency for some ethnic groups to develop ethnic communities based upon highly visible entrepreneurship networks, rather than solely through shared ethnic identity (Bonacich et al. 1980; Cohen 1969; Cummings 1980; Portes 1995). And certainly within the Amish context, social networks are vitally important, and are therefore extremely strong and complex.

Within this setting, instrumental social networks based upon ethnic entrepreneurship are as important in the Defected Co-Ethnic context as they are in the Amish context. These networks allow the Amish to engage in boundary maintenance, as desired, through the exclusion of the out-group. For the Defected Co-Ethnics, pre-defection social networks among previously Defected Co-Ethnics and sympathetic English are vital to a successful defection (Chapter 5).

However, in this context, emotional social networks are of equal importance, as they supply needed social support. For the Defected Co-Ethnics, these social networks provide the emotional support necessary for defection. Because those who defect are excommunicated for an undetermined amount of time, and are disallowed social

intercourse with any Amish person, a supportive alternative community is a prerequisite to defection (Chapter 5).

For both the Defected Co-Ethnics and the Amish, emotional social networks function to protect the self from extensive harm by allowing for reflected appraisals of their self in comparison to similarly-stigmatized others (Brookins et al. 1996:262; Jones et al. 1984:142; Porter et al. 1991:200). Additionally for both groups, emotional social networks function to foster social support by providing a religious doctrine that is instrumental in resolving a newly adopted identity.

Both groups reported that receiving social support through their religious doctrine, practice, and identification with fellow believers functioned as a coping strategy that they believed facilitated better mental health. These findings resonate with the work of Blaine et al., in that it was found that Blacks employed the practice of religion as a coping strategy, which resulted in greater levels of psychological well-being than would otherwise be expected (Blaine et al. 1995:1031-1039).

Contribution to Literatures Regarding Deviance

An unexpected finding was the rejection of parental complicity in, and cultural prescriptions for, deviance during the decision-making period. Additionally, because the deviance had been culturally prescribed, the high level of self-discrepancy engendered by these practices was unanticipated.

The distress appeared to stem from primarily three sources. First, it was reported that the transition from childhood into the decision-making period was too abrupt. On their 16th birthday, children literally went from a state of being totally engulfed by parental control to being virtually unrestricted. In other words, there was no anticipatory socialization into this new role.

Second, the subjects reported having been distressed during the decision-making period because they believed that they were engaging in immoral behavior, even though culturally prescribed. This was a surprising finding, which again appeared to stem from the fact that Amish children develop a constructionist perspective. As discussed more fully in Chapter 5, intra-group difference made the constructionist nature of their lived experience evident, and created very high levels of cognitive dissonance during this time period.

The third source of distress during this period of culturally-sanctioned deviance was the fact that their parents, and hence, the entire community, were complicit in the deviance. The subjects expressed having wanted their parents to set boundaries, even if those boundaries went contrary to norm expectations. The subjects expressed having felt uncomfortable knowing that, during this time period, they were no longer able to model their behavior after that of their parents and other adults in the community, especially given that the adult model had been

so powerful previously. In essence, these youth were calling for their parents to continue to exhibit an authoritative parenting style.

Those who felt as though their parents had taken vicarious pleasure in their escapades expressed the greatest discomfort. Several reported having been pressured to provide their parents with details that they felt violated their privacy in some very deep, and almost incestuous way. The discomfort indicated that parental/child boundaries had been established within the child, which they felt had been violated. The discomfort also appeared to stem from the interpretation that their parents were committing a violation of their parental role. In this case, Amish children have a strong image of what "ought" to constitute a parental role that stands outside of cultural influence, which was an unexpected finding.

Contributions to Amish-Specific Literatures

The understandings gained that pertain to mental health should be particularly instructive for the Amish in constructing their cultural response to mental illness. For example, it was not uncommon during the interview for an Amish person to express that the interview process had actually caused them to consider whether their response to depression was appropriate, or even necessary, or whether a more salugenic response could be constructed.

The understandings should be instructive for the English mental-health professionals who encounter Amish

clients, as well, particularly in more fully understanding the impact of their involvement, particularly in generating displacement of local knowledge and disruption within the home. Possibly through these understandings, English involvement could be achieved in a manner that more strongly promoted, rather than eroded the integrity of the Amish community.

The most obvious contribution of this dissertation research was to the Amish-specific literatures, particularly in providing a more thick description of their daily, lived experience. This description and the resultant findings provide a counterpoint to the more idealized presentation of Amish life to be found within the literature. However, rather than pathologize the Amish, it can be argued that this dissertation research makes great strides toward normalizing their experience, precisely because a more balanced understanding has been presented.

It cannot be denied, however, that the voices were primarily negative, and we should again, in closing, seek to understand that. As noted in Chapter 5, it is plausible that the subjects' diminished identification and discussion of the salugenic aspects of their cultural practices was due to the following reasons: 1) their belief that salugenic aspects were already sufficiently well known by the English; and 2) their belief that what was salugenic did not pose a threat to them. Given the instrumental orientation of the Amish, it is plausible that they felt

the time would be more productively spent engaging in discussion of what they felt to be in need of a remedy, rather than praise. These conditions must be kept in mind.

For without that caveat, the picture of the Amish that has emerged mirrors the image of rural life drawn out by Lesy (Lesy 1973). Lesy presents the lived daily experience of one Wisconsin community, using photographs and newspaper accounts, from 1890 to 1910. The image of this community is dark and disturbing, filled with violence and insanity. Of course, Lesy prefaces his work by informing the audience that it was his intent to illuminate the darkness beneath the light side of life, to illustrate anomie.

But we must keep in mind that Lesy relied upon only newspaper accounts and photographs of posed faces to tell the story of this community, and of course, would we not expect newspaper accounts to convey mainly the bad news? In a like fashion, it is indeed possible that the Amish told me only the bad news. It would be my hope that this work would be understood as only a counterpoint.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrams, Dominic and Michael A. Hogg. 1990. "An Introduction to the Social Identity Approach." In: *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances*. Abrams, Dominic and Michael A. Hogg (Eds). New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Abramsom, L. Y., M. Seligman, and J. Teasdale. 1978. "Learned Helplessness in Humans: Critique and Reformulation." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*. Vol. 87.

Adam, Barry D. 1978. *The Survival of Domination: Inferiorization and Everyday Life*. New York: Elsevier.

Adelman, Howard (Ed). 1991. *Refugee Policy: Canada and the United States*. Center for Refugees Studies, York University and Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc. Toronto: York Lanes Press Ltd.

Allport, Gordon W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, Mass.:Addison-Wesley.

Amish Brotherhood. 1983. *Light From the Stakes: Selections From Martyrs Mirror About Christians Who Suffered for the True Faith*. Sugar Creek, Ohio: Amish Brotherhood Publications: Schlabach Printers.

Amyot, Robert P. and Lee Sigelman. 1996. "Jews Without Judaism?: Assimilation and Jewish Identity in the U.S." *Social Science Quarterly*. Vol. 77.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verson.

Andreason, Nancy C. 1983. "The Amish: A Naturalistic Laboratory for Epidemiological and Genetic Research." *American Journal of Psychiatry*. Vol. 140.

Armstrong, David. 1989. *An Outline of Sociology as Applied to Medicine*. London: Wright.

Arroyo, Carmen and Edward Zigler. 1996. "Racial Identity, Academic Achievement, and the Psychological Well-Being of Economically Disadvantaged Adolescents." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 69.

Beck, A. T. 1967. *Depression: Clinical, Experimental, and Theoretical Aspects.* New York: Harper & Row.

Benokraitis, Nijole and Joe Feagin. 1995. *Modern Sexism: Blatant, Subtle, and Overt Discrimination.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall.

Berry, John W. 1980. "Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation." In: *Acculturation: Theory, Models, And Some New Findings.* Padilla, A. (Ed). Boulder: Westview Press.

_____1990. "Psychology Of Acculturation: Understanding Individuals Moving Between Cultures." In: *Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology.* Brislin, Richard W. (Ed). Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Blaine, Bruce and Jennifer Crocker. 1995. "Religiousness, Race, and Psychological Well-Being: Exploring Social Psychological Mediators." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* Vol. 21.

Boldt, Edward D. 1979. "The Plain People: Notes on Their Continuity and Change." *Canadian Ethnic Studies.* Vol. XI:I.

Bonacich, Edna and John Modell. 1980. *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese American Community.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Breakwell, Glynis M. 1983. "Formulations and Searches." In: *Threatened Identities.* Breakwell, Glynis M. (Ed). New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Brewer, Marilynn B. 1991. "The Social Self: On Being the Same and Different at the Same Time." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* Vol. 17.

Brewer, Marilynn B., Jorge M. Manzi, and John S. Shaw. 1993. "In-Group Identification as a Function of Depersonalization, Distinctiveness, and Status." *Psychological Science.* Vol. 4.

Brewer, Marilynn B. and Wendi Gardner. 1996. "Who is this "We"? Levels of Collective Identity and Self Representations." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 71.

Broman, Clifford L. 1996. "The Health Consequences of Racial Discrimination: A Study of African Americans." *Ethnicity & Disease.* Vol. 6.

Brookins, Craig, Thabiti M. Anyabwile, and Rupert Nacoste. 1996. "Exploring Links Between Racial Identity Attitudes and Psychological Feelings of Closeness in African American College Students." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology.* Vol. 26.

Brown, Jonathon D. 1993. "Motivational Conflict and the Self: The Double-Bind of Low Self-Esteem." In: *Self Esteem: The Puzzle of Low Self-Regard.* Baumeister, Roy F. (Ed). New York: Plenum Press.

Buck, Roy C. 1978. "Boundary Maintenance Revisited: Tourist Experience in an Old Order Amish Community." *Rural Sociology.* Vol. 43.

_____1979. "Bloodless Theatre: Images of the Old Order Amish in Tourism Literature." *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage.* Vol. 2.

Calhoun, Craig. 1994. "Social Theory and the Politics of Identity." In: *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity.* Calhoun, Craig (Ed). Cambridge,Mass.: Blackwell.

Campbell, Jennifer D. and Loraine F. LaVallee. 1993. "Who am I?: The Role of Self-Concept Confusion in Understanding the Behavior of People with Low Self-Esteem." In: *Self-Esteem: The Puzzle of Low Self-Regard.* Baumeister, Roy F. (Ed). New York: Plenum Press.

Child, Irvin L. 1943. *Italian or American?: The Second Generation in Conflict.* New York: Russell & Russell.

Cockerham, William C. 1992. *Sociology of Mental Disorder.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Cohen, Abner. 1969. *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns.* London: Routledge.

Cohen, Anthony P. 1987. *Whalsy: Symbol, Segment and Boundary in a Shetland Island Community.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cohen, Anthony P. 1992. *The Symbolic Construction of Community.* Routledge: London.

Conrad, Peter, and Joseph W. Schneider. 1980. *Deviance and Medicalization: From Badness to Sickness.* St. Louis: C. V. Mosby.

Coontz, Stephanie. 1992. *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Crocker, J. and B. Major. 1989. "Social Stigma and Self-Esteem: The Self-Protective Properties of Stigma." *Psychological Bulletin.* Vol. 96.

Crocker, J., R. Luhtanen, B. Blaine, and S. Broadnax. 1994. "Collective Self-Esteem and Psychological Well Being Among White, Black, and Asian College Students." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* Vol. 20.

Cross, W.E. 1978. "The Cross and Thomas Models of Psychological Nigrescence." *Journal of Black Psychology.* Vol. 5.

Cummings, Scott (Ed). 1980. *Self-Help in Urban America: Patterns of Minority Business Enterprise.* Port Washington: Kennikat Press.

Dantzer, Robert. 1989. "Neuroendocrine Correlates of Control and Coping." In: *Stress, Personal Control and Health.* Steptoe, A. and A.Appels (Eds). Brussels: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Davies, Christie. 1990. *Ethnic Humor Around the World: A Comparative Analysis.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

DeVos, G.A. 1980. "Ethnic Adaptation and Minority Status." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology.* Vol. 11.

Diab, L. N. 1970. "A Study of Intragroup and Intergrou Relations among Experimentally Produced Small Groups." *Genetic Psychology Monographs.* Vol. 82.

Dresslar, W.W. 1990. "Life Style, Stress, and Blood Pressure in a Southern Black Community." *Psychosomatic Medicine.* Vol. 52.

_____ 1991. *Stress and Adaptation in the Context of Culture: Depression in a Southern Black Community.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Duval, S., and R. Wickland. 1972. *A Theory of Objective Self-Awareness.* New York: Academic Press.

Eagly, A. H., W. Wood, and S. Chaiken. 1978. "Casual Inferences about Communicators and their Effect on Opinion Change." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 36.

Egeland, Janice A. 1983. "Amish Study: I. Affective Disorders Among the Amish, 1976-1980." *American Journal of Psychiatry.* Vol. 140.

_____ 1983. "Bipolarity: The Iceberg of Affective Disorders?" *Comprehensive Psychiatry.* Vol. 24.

_____ 1986. "Cultural Factors and Social Stigma for Manic-Depression: The Amish Study." *American Journal of Social Psychiatry.* Vol. 6.

_____ 1990. "The Impact of Diagnoses on Genetic Linkage Study for Bipolar Affective Disorder Among the Amish." *Psychiatric Genetics.* Vol. 1.

_____ 1992. "Molecular-Biologic Basis of Manic-Depressive Illness." *Pharmacopsychiatry.* Vol. 25.

Ellemers, N., H. Wilke, and A. van Knippenberg. 1993. "Effects of the Legitimacy of Low-Status Group or Individual Status on Individual and Collective Status-Enhancement Strategies." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 64.

Emler, Nicholas and Nicholas Hopkins. 1990. "Reputation, Social Identity and the Self." In: *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances.* Abrams, Dominic and Michael A. Hogg (Eds). New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Ericksen, Eugene P., Julia Ericksen, and John A. Hostetler. 1980. "The Cultivation of the Soil as a Moral Directive: Population Growth, Family Ties, and the Maintenance of Community Among the Old Order Amish." *Rural Sociology.* Vol. 45.

Fenigstein, A., M. Scheier, and A. Buss. 1975. "Public and Private Self-Consciousness: Assessment and Theory." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology.* Vol. 43.

Flaherty, Michael G. 1984. "A Formal Approach to the Study of Amusement in Social Interaction." *Studies in Symbolic Interaction.* Vol. 5.

_____1990. "Two Conceptions of the Social Situation: Some Implications of Humor." *The Sociological Quarterly.* Vol. 31.

Floersch, Jerry, Jeffrey Longhofer, and Kristine Latta. 1997. "Writing Amish Culture into Genes: Biological Reductionism in a Study of Manic Depression." *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry.* Vol. 21.

Foster, Thomas W. 1984. "Separation and Survival in Amish Society." *Sociological Focus.* Vol. 17.

Freud, S. 1957. "Mourning and Melancholia." In: *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud.* J. Strachey (Ed). Vol. 14. London: Hogarth Press.

Freund, Peter E.S. and Meredith B. McGuire. 1991. *Health, Illness, and the Social Body: A Critical Sociology.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Garcia, M. and L. Lega. 1979. "Development of a Cuban
     Ethnic Identity Questionnaire." *Hispanic Journal of
     Behavioral Sciences.* Vol. 1.

Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology.*
     Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Gaw, Albert C. (Ed). 1993. "Cultural Matrices of the
     Psychiatric Encounter." In: *Culture, Ethnicity, And
     Mental Illness.* American Psychiatric Press:
     Washington, D.C.

Gergen, Kenneth J. 1987. "Toward Self as Relationship."
     In: *Self and Identity: Psychosocial Perspectives.*
     Yardley, K. and T. Honess (Eds). Brussels: John Wiley
     & Sons Ltd.

Gerhardt, Uta E. (Ed). 1985. *Stress and Stigma:
     Explanation and Evidence in the Sociology of Crime and
     Illness.* New York: MacMillan Press.

Ginns, Edward I. 1992. "Update on the Search for DNA
     Markers Linked to Manic-Depressive Illness in the Old
     Order Amish." *Pharmacopsychiatry.* Vol. 25.

Gitlin, Todd. 1994. "From Universality to Difference:
     Notes on the Fragmentation of the Idea of the Left."
     In: *Social Theory And The Politics Of Identity.*
     Calhoun, Craig (Ed). Cambridge,Mass.: Blackwell.

Glaser, Barney G. 1978. *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances
     in the Methodology of Grounded Theory.* Mill Valley,
     California: The Sociology Press.

Gluckman, Max. 1963. "Gossip and Scandal." *Current
     Anthropology.* Vol.4.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in
     Everyday Life.* New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, Erving. 1986. *Asylums: Essays on the Social
     Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates.* New
     York: Doubleday.

Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of
     Spoiled Identity.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

411

Gold, Steven J. 1989. "Ethical Issues in Visual Field
     Work." In: *New Technology in Sociology: Practical
     Applications in Research and Work.* Blank, Grant,
     James L. McCartney, and Edward Brent (Eds). New
     Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Gottlieb, Benjamin H. (Ed). 1981. *Social Networks and
     Social Support.* Sage Studies in Community Mental
     Health, Vol. 4. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Gregor, Thomas. 1977. *Mehinaku: The Drama of Daily Life
     in a Brazilian Indian Village.* Chicago: The
     University of Chicago Press.

Hechter, Michael. 1987. *Principles of Group Solidarity.*
     Berkeley: University of California Press.

Herman, Allen A. 1996. "Toward a Conceptualization of
     Race in Epidemiological Research." *Ethnicity &
     Disease.* Vol. 6.

Higgins, E. Tory. 1989. "Self-Discrepancy Theory: What
     Patterns of Self-Beliefs Cause People to Suffer?" In:
     Advances in Experimental Social Psychology.
     Berkowitz, Leonard (Ed). San Diego: Academic Press.

Higgins, E. Tory, Ruth L. Klein, and Timothy J. Strauman.
     1987. "Self-Discrepancies: Distinguishing Among Self-
     States, Self-State Conflicts, and Emotional
     Vulnerabilities." In: *Threatened Identities.*
     Breakwell, Glynis M. Breakwell (Ed). New York: John
     Wiley & Sons.

Hitch, Peter. 1983. "Social Identity and the Half-Asian
     Child." In: *Threatened Identities.* Breakwell, Glynis
     M. (Ed). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Hogg, Michael A. and Craig McGarty. 1990. "Self-
     Categorization and Social Identity." In: *Social
     Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances.*
     Abrams, Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg (Eds). New
     York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Hogg, Michael, Deborah J. Terry, and Katherine M. White.
     1995. "A Tale of Two Theories: A Critical Comparison
     of Identity Theory with Social Theory." *Social
     Psychology Quarterly.* Vol.58.

Hostetler, John A. 1993. *Amish Society.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Hostetter, Abram M. 1983. "Amish Study II. Consensus Diagnoses and Reliability Results." *American Journal of Psychiatry.* Vol. 140.

House, James S., Karl R. Landis, and Debra Umberson. 1990. "Social Relationships and Health." In: *The Sociology of Health and Illness: Critical Perspectives.* Conrad, Peter and Rochelle Kern (Eds). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Huntington, Gertrude Enders. 1988. *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations.* New York: Elsevier.

Ilola, Lisa Marie. 1990. "Culture and Health." In: *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances.* Abrams, Dominic and Michael A. Hogg (Eds). New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Jackson, Linda A., Linda A. Sullivan, Richard Harnish, and Carole N. Hodge. 1996. "Achieving Positive Social Identity: Social Mobility, Social Creativity, and Permeability of Group Boundaries." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 70.

Jakubaschk, J. 1994. "Depression and Hostility in an Amish Population." *European Journal of Psychiatry.* Vol. 8.

Janis, Irving L, and Leon Mann. 1977. *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Committment.* New York: Free Press.

Jodelet, Denise. 1989. *Madness and Social Representations: Living with the Mad in One French Community.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Johnson, E.H. and Clifford L. Broman. 1987. "The Relationship of Anger Expression to Health Problems Among Black Americans in a National Survey." *Journal of Behavioral Medicine.* Vol. 10.

Johnston, Lucy and Miles Hewstone. 1990. "Intergroup Contact: Social Identity and Social Cognition." In *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances.* Abrams, D. and Michael A. Hogg (Eds). New York: Springer.

Jones, Edward E., Amerigo Farina, Albert H. Hastort, Hazel Markus, Dale T. Miller, and Robert A. Scott. 1984. *Social Stigma: The Psychology of Marked Relationships.* New York: Freeman.

Kaplan, Howard. 1983. "Psychological Distress in Sociological Context: Toward a General Theory of Psychosocial Stress." In: *Psychosocial Stress: Trends in Theory and Research,* Kaplan, Howard (Ed). New York: Academic Press.

Kelsoe, John R. 1989. "Re-Evaluation of the Linkage Relationship Between Chromosome 11p Loci and the Gene for Bipolar Affective Disorder in the Old Order Amish." *Nature.* Vol. 342.

Kephart, William M. 1976. *Extraordinary Groups: The Sociology of Unconventional Life-Styles.* New York:St. Martin's Press.

Kessler, Ronald C. 1979. "Stress, Social Status, and Psychological Distress." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior.* Vol. 20.

Kidd, Kenneth. 1984. "Amish Study, IV: Genetic Linkage Study of Pedigrees of Bipolar Probands." *American Journal of Psychiatry.* Vol. 141.

Kleinman, A. 1986. *Social Origins of Distress and Disease: Depression, Neurasthenia, and Pain in Modern China.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Knight, P. A., and H. M. Weiss. 1980. "Benefits of Suffering: Communicator Suffering, Benefiting, and Influence." Paper Presented at the American Psychological Association Meetings.

414

Kollmorgen, Walter M. 1942. "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *Rural Life Studies,* No. 4. September 1942. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Koolhaas, Jaap and Bela Bohus. 1989. "Social Control in Relation to Neuroendocrine and Immunological Responses." In: *Stress, Personal Control and Health.* Steptoe, A. and A. Appels (Eds). Brussels: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Krieger, N. 1990. "Racial and Gender Discrimination: Risk Factors for High Blood Pressure?" *Social Science and Medicine.* Vol. 30.

LaFromboise, Teresa, L.Hardin, K. Coleman, and Jennifer Gerton. 1993. "Psychological Impact of Biculturalism: Evidence and Theory." *Psychological Bulletin.* Vol. 114.

Landrine, Hope and Elizabeth A. Klonoff. 1996. "The Schedule of Racist Events: A Measure of Racial Discrimination and a Study of its Negative Physical and Mental Health Consequences." *Journal of Black Psychology.* Vol. 22.

Langin, Bernd G. 1994. *Plain and Amish: An Alternative to Modern Pessimism.* Herald Press: Scottsdale, Pennsylvania.

Lemert, Charles, 1951. *Social Pathology.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lemert, Charles. 1994. "Dark Thoughts about the Self." In: *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity.* Calhoun, Craig (Ed). Cambrigdge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Lester, David. 1988. "Relationship Between Locus of Control and Depression Mediated by Anger Toward Others." *The Journal of Social Psychology.* Vol. 129.

Lesy, Michael. 1973. *Wisconsin Death Trip.* Pantheon Books: New York.

Levine, Donald N. (Ed). 1971. *Georg Simmel: On Individuality and Social Forms.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Link, Bruce G., Jerrold Mirotznik, and Francis T. Cullen. 1991. "The Effectiveness Of Stigma Coping Orientations: Can Negative Consequences Of Mental Illness Labeling Be Avoided?" *Journal Of Health And Social Behavior.* Vol. 32.

Lonner, Walter J. 1990. "An Overview Of Cross-Cultural Testing And Assessment." In: *Applied Cross- Cultural Psychology.* Brislin, Richard W. (Ed). Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Loomis, Charles P., and Allan J. Beegle. 1951. *Rural Social Systems.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Lorenzi-Cioldi, Fabio, and Willem Doise. 1990. "Levels Of Analysis And Social Identity." In: *Social Identity Theory: Constructive And Critical Advances.* Abrams, Dominic and Michael A. Hogg (Eds). New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Luhtanen, Rita, and Jennifer Crocker. 1992. "A Collective Self-Esteem Scale: Self-Evaluation Of One's Social Identity." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* Vol. 18.

Lynd, Helen Merrell. 1958. *On Shame And The Search For Identity.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

MacCannell, Dean. 1992. *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers.* London: Routledge.

Marques, J. M. 1986. *Toward a Definition of Social Processing of Information: An Application to Stereotyping.* Doctoral Dissertation.

McKusick, V.A., John A. Hostetler, and Janice A. Egeland. 1978. "Genetic Studies Of The Amish: Background And Potentialities." In: *Medical Genetic Studies Of The Amish: Selected Papers.* McKusick, V. A. (Ed). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mechanic David. 1989. "Medical Sociology: Some Tensions
    Among Theory, Method And Substance." *Journal of
    Health And Social Behavior.* Vol. 30.

Melton, James J. 1970. "Old Order Amish Awareness And
    Understanding Of Mental Retardation: A Religious
    Subcultural Approach To The Phenomenon." *Dissertation
    Abstracts International.* 31.

Menaghan, Elizabeth G. 1983. "Individual Coping Efforts:
    Moderators Of The Relationship Between Life Stress And
    Mental Health Outcomes." In: *Psychosocial Stress:
    Trends In Theory And Research.* Kaplan, Howard (Ed).
    New York: Academic Press.

Mennell, Stephen. 1994. "The Formation of We-Images: A
    Process Theory." In: *Social Theory and the Politics
    of Identity.* Calhoun, Craig (Ed). Cambridge, Mass:
    Blackwell.

Miller, Carol T., Esther D. Rothblum, Diane Felicio, and
    Pamela Brand. 1995. "Compensating For Stigma: Obese
    And Nonobese Women's Reaction To Being Visible."
    Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin. Vol. 21.

Mineka, Susan, and Kelly A. Kelly. 1989. "The
    Relationship Between Anxiety, Lack Of Control, And
    Loss Of Control." In: *Stress, Personal Control And
    Health.* Steptoe, A., and A. Appels (Eds). John Wiley
    & Sons Ltd.: Brussels.

Mitchell, Roger E., and Daniel J. Hurley, Jr. 1981.
    "Collaboration with Natural Helping Networks: Lessons
    from Studying Paraprofessionals." In: *Social Networks
    and Social Support.* Benjamin H. Gottlieb (Ed). Sage
    Publications: Beverly Hills.

Myers, David G. 1999. *Social Psychology.* Boston: McGraw
    Hill.

Navarro, Vincente. 1984. "Medical History as
    Justification Rather than Explanation: A Critique of
    Starr's *The Social Transformation of American
    Medicine.*" *International Journal of Health Services.*
    Vol. 14.

Neff, James Alan and Sue Keir Hoppe. 1993.
"Race/Ethnicity, Acculturation, And Psychological
Distress: Fatalism And Religiosity As Cultural
Resources." *Journal of Community Psychology.* Vol.
21.

Nolt, Steven M. 1992. *A History Of The Amish.*
Intercourse, Pennsylvania: Good Books.

Olshan, Marc A. 1981. "Modernity, The Folk Society, And The
Old Order Amish: An Alternative Interpretation." *Rural
Sociology.* Vol. 46.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant (Eds). 1994. *Racial
Formation in the United States: From the 1960's to the
1990's.* New York: Routledge.

Ormel, Johan, and Robbert Sanderman. 1989. "Life Events,
Personal Control And Depression." In: *Stress,
Personal Control And Health.* Steptoe, A., and A.
Appels (Eds). John Wiley & Sons Ltd.: Brussels.

Parham, Thomas A. 1985. "Relation of Racial Identity
Attitudes to Self-Actualization and Affective States
Of Black Students." *Journal of Counseling Psychology.*
Vol. 32.

Parham, T. A., and J. E. Helms. 1985. "Attitudes Of
Racial Identity And Self-Esteem Of Black Students: An
Exploratory Investigation." *Journal of College
Student Personnel.* Vol. 26.

Parsons, Talcott. 1951. *The Social System.* Glencoe, Il.:
The Free Press.

Patton, Michael Quinn. 1990. *Qualitative Evaluation and
Research Methods.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Pearlin, Leonard I. and Carmi Schooler. 1978. "The
Structure of Coping." *Journal of Health And Social
Behavior.* Vol. 19.

Pearlin, Leonard. I. 1983. "Role Strains And Personal
Stress." In: Kaplan, Howard. (Ed). *Psychosocial
Stress: Trends In Theory And Research.* Academic Press.

Pearlin, Leonard I. 1992. "Structure and Meaning in Medical Sociology. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior.* Vol. 33.

Phinney, Jean S. 1990. "Ethnic Identity In Adolescents And Adults: Review Of Research." *Psychological Bulletin.* Vol. 108.

Plummer, Deborah L. 1996. "Black Racial Identity Attitudes And Stages Of The Life Span: An Exploratory Investigation." *Journal Of Black Psychology.* Vol. 22.

Plummer, Deborah L., and Steve Slane. 1996. "Patterns Of Coping In Racially Stressful Situations." *Journal Of Black Psychology.* Vol. 22.

Porter, Judith R., and Beuf, Ann Hill. 1991. "Racial Variation In Reaction To Physical Stigma: A Study Of Degree Of Disturbance By Vitiligo Among Black And White Patients." *Journal Of Health And Social Behavior.* Vol. 32.

Portes, Alejandro. 1995. *The Economic Solidarity Of Immigration: Essays On Networks, Ethnicity, And Entrepreneurship.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro (Ed.). 1996. *The New Second Generation.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. Rumbaut. 1996. *Immigrant America: A Portrait.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Powell, Chris and George E. C. Paton (Eds). 1988. *Humor in Society: Resistance and Control.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Primeggia, Salvatore, and Joseph A. Varacalli. 1990. "Southern Italian Comedy: Old to New World." In *Italian Americans in Transition.* Joseph V. Scelsa, Salvatore J. LaGumina, and Lydio Tomasi (Eds). New York: The American Italian Historical Association.

Pyszczynski, Tom, and Jeff Greenberg. 1987. "The Role Of
    Self-Focused Attention In The Development,
    Maintenance, And Exacerbation Of Depression." In:
    Self And Identity: Psychosocial Perspectives.
    Yardley, K, and T. Honess (Eds). John Wiley & Sons
    Ltd.: New York.

Radloff, L. 1977. "The CES-D Scale: A Self-Report
    Depression Scale For Research In The General
    Population." *Applied Psychological Measurement.* Vol.
    1.

Reiling, Denise. 1995a. "Leaving The Faith: An Analysis
    Of The Impact Of Economic Change On The Decision To
    Defect From The Old Order Amish." Unpublished Second
    Year Paper, Michigan State University.

Reiling, Denise. 1995b. "The Postmodern Cannibal: Tourism
    Among The Old Order Amish: The Commodification Of
    Their Own Self." Presented at The International
    Visual Sociology Association Conference, Windsor,
    Canada.

Reiling, Denise and Michael R. Nusbaumer. 1997. "The
    Amish Drug Task Force: A Natural History Approach To
    The Construction Of A Social Problem." *The Journal Of
    Multicultural Nursing And Health.* Vol. 3.

Retzinger, Suzanne. 1991. Violent Emotions: Shame and
    Rage in Marital Quarrels. Newbury Park: Sage.

Robertson, Miranda. 1989. "False Start On Manic
    Depression." *Nature.* Vol. 342.

Robinson, John P., Phillip R. Shaver, and Lawrence S.
    Wrightsman (Eds). 1991. *Measure Of Personality And
    Social Psychological Attitudes.* Academic Press: San
    Diego.

Rosenberg, Morris, Carmi Schooler, Carrie Schoenbach, and
    Florence Rosenberg. 1995. "Global Self-Esteem And
    Specific Self-Esteem: Different Concepts, Different
    Outcomes." *American Sociological Review.* Vol. 60.

Rosenthal, Doreen A. and Anthony M. Cichello. 1986. "The Meeting Of Two Cultures: Ethnic Identity And Psychosocial Adjustment Of Italian-Australian Adolescents." *International Journal Of Psychology*. Vol. 21.

Ross, Catherine E., and John Mirowsky. 1984. "Socially Desirable Response And Acquiescence In A Cross Cultural Survey Of Mental Health." *Journal Of Health And Social Behavior.* Vol. 25.

Rotter, J. B. 1966. "Generalized Expectancies for Internal Verses External Control of Reinforcement." *Psychological Monographs*. Vol. 80.

Rubin, Lillian B. 1994. *Families On The Fault Line: America's Working Class Speaks About The Family, The Economy, Race, And Ethnicity.* New York: HarperCollins.

Rumbaut, Ruben G. 1991. "Migration, Adaptation, and Mental Health: The Experience of Southeast Asian Refugees in the United States." In: *Refugee Policy: Canada and the United States*. Adelman, Howard. (Ed). Center for Refugees Studies, York University and Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc. Toronto: York Lanes Press Ltd.

Rumbaut, Ruben G. 1996. "The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation Among Children of Immigrants." In: *The New Second Generation*. Alejandro Portes (Ed). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Rumbaut, Ruben G., and William A. Vega. 1991. "Ethnic Minorities and Mental Health." *Annual Review of Sociology.* Vol.17.

Sanchez, Juan I., and Diana M. Fernandez. 1993. "Acculturative Stress Among Hispanics: A Bidimensional Model Of Ethnic Identification." *Journal Of Social Psychology.* Vol. 23.

Sanders-Thompson, Vetta L. 1995. "The Multidimensional Structure Of Racial Identification." *Journal Of Research In Personality.* Vol. 29.

Sartre, Jean Paul. 1973. *Anti-Semite and Jew.* New York: Schockten.

Scheff, Thomas J. 1994. "Emotions And Identity: A Theory Of Ethnic Nationalism." In: *Social Theory And The Politics Of Identity.* Calhoun, Craig (Ed). Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.

Scheff, Thomas, and Suzanne Retzinger. 1991. *Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflicts.* Lexington: Lexington Books.

Schneider, Carl D. 1992. *Shame, Exposure, And Privacy.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Schwab, John J., and Mary E. Schwab. 1978. *Sociocultural Roots Of Mental Illness: An Epidemiological Survey.* New York: Plenum Medical Book Company.

Scourby, A. 1980. "Three Generations Of Greek Americans: A Study In Ethnicity." *International Migration Review.* Vol. 14.

Serpe, Richard T. 1987. "Stability And Change In Self: A Structural Symbolic Interactionist Explanation." *Social Psychology Quarterly.* Vol. 50.

Sheikh, Anees A., Robert G. Kunzendorf, and Katharina S. Sheikh. 1996. "Somatic Consequences Of Consciousness." In: *The Science Of Consciousness: Psychology, Neuropsychology, And Clinical Reviews.* Velmans, Max (Ed). New York: Routledge.

Sherif, M., and C. Sherif. 1969. *Social Psychology.* New York: Harper & Row.

Siegrist, Johannes, and Herbert Matschinger. 1989. "Restricted Status Control And Cardiovascular Risk." In: *Stress, Personal Control And Health.* Steptoe, A., and A. Appels (Eds). Brussels: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Smith, Anthony D. 1992. "Chosen People: Why Ethnic Groups Survive." *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* Vol. 15.

Smith, E.M.J. 1985. "Ethnic Minorities: Life Stress, Social Support, And Mental Health Issues." *The Counseling Psychologist.* Vol. 13.

Smith, Stephen M., Jill L. Findeis, Donald B. Kraybill, Steven M. Nolt, Conrad L. Kanagy, and Michelle L. Kozimor. 1994. Amish Micro-Enterprises: Models for Rural Development. The Pennsylvania State University: College of Agricultural Studies.

Speight, Suzette L., Elizabeth M. Vera, and Kimberly B. Derrickson. 1996. "Racial Self-Designation, Racial Identity, And Self-Esteem Revisited." *Journal Of Black Psychology.* Vol. 22.

Starr, Paul. 1982. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine.* New York: Basic Books.

Steptoe, Andrew, and Jane Wardle. 1994. *Psychosocial Processes And Health.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stevens, Patricia E. and Joanne M. Hall. 1994. "A Critical Historical Analysis Of The Medical Construction Of Lesbianism." In: *Women's Health, Politics, And Power: Essays On Sex/Gender, Medicine, And Public Health.* Elizabeth Fee and Nancy Krieger (Eds). New York: Baywood Publishing Company.

Strauss, Anselm. 1995. "Identity, Biography, History, And Symbolic Representations." *Social Psychology Quarterly.* Vol. 58.

Stryker, Sheldon. 1987. "Identity Theory: Developments And Extensions." In: *Self And Identity: Psychosocial Perspectives.* Yardley, K., and T. Honess (Eds). New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Syme, S. Leonard. 1989. "Control And Health: A Personal Perspective." In: *Stress, Personal Control And Health.* Steptoe, A., and A. Appels (Eds). Brussels: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Swann, William B. 1987. "Identity Negotiation: Where Two Roads Meet." *Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology.* Vol. 53.

Tajfel, H., and J. C. Turner. 1986. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." In: *Psychology Of Intergroup Relations.* Worchel, S., and W. G. Austin (Eds). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Taylor, S.E., and J.D. Brown. 1988. "Illusion And Well Being: A Social Psychological Perspective On Mental Health." *Psychological Bulletin.* Vol. 103.

Thoits, Peggy A. 1983. "Dimensions Of Life Events That Influence Psychological Distress: An Evaluation And Synthesis Of The Literature." In: *Psychosocial Stress: Trends In Theory And Research.* Kaplan, Howard. (Ed). New York: Academic Press.

Thoits, Peggy A. 1995. "Identity-Relevant Events And Psychological Symptoms: A Cautionary Tale." *Journal Of Health And Social Behavior.* Vol. 36.

Thoits, Peggy A. 1995. "Stess, Coping, And Social Support Processes: Where Are We? What Next?" *Journal Of Health And Social Behavior.* Vol 36.

Thorne, Barrie. 1980. "You Still Takin' Notes?: Fieldwork and Problems of Informed Consent." *Social Problems.* Vol. 27.

Ting-Toomey, S. 1981. "Ethnic Identity And Close Friendship In Chinese-American College Students." *International Journal Of Intercultural Relations.* Vol. 5.

Topper, M. D. 1981. "The Drinker's Story: An Important But Often Forgotten Source of Data." In: *Cultural Factors in Alcohol Research and Treatment of Alcohol.* D. Heath, J. Waddell, and M. Topper (Eds). Journal of Alcohol Problems, Journal of Studies on Alcohol. Supplement 9.

Triandis, Harry C. 1990. "Theoretical Concepts That Are Applicable To The Analysis Of Ethnocentrism." In: *Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology.* Brislin, Richard W. (Ed). Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Turner, R. Jay. 1983. "Direct, Indirect, And Moderating Effects Of Social Support On Psychological Distress And Associated Conditions." In: *Psychosocial Stress: Trends In Theory And Research.* Kaplan, Howard. (Ed). New York: Academic Press.

Turner, R. Jay. 1981. "Social Support As A Contingency In Psychological Well-Being." *Journal Of Health And Social Behavior.* Vol. 20.

van Oudenhoven, J. P., and M. T. Willemsen (Eds). 1989. *Ethnic Minorities: Social Psychological Perspectives.* Swets & Zeitlinger: Amsterdam.

Velman, Max. 1996. "An Introduction To The Science Of Consciousness." In: *The Science Of Consciousness: Psychology, Neuropsychology, And Clinical Reviews.* Velman, Max (Ed). New York: Routledge.

Vernon, Sally W. and Robert E. Roberts. 1981. "Measuring Nonspecific Psychological Distress And Other Dimensions Of Psychopathology." *Archives Of General Psychiatry.* Vol. 38.

Waldinger, Roger. 1996. *Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Wax, Murray L. 1980. "Paradoxes of 'Consent' to the Practice of Fieldwork." *Social Problems.* Vol.27.

Weber, Max. 1958. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* (Translated by Talcott Parsons). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Weinreich, Peter. 1983. "Emerging From Threatened Identities: Ethnicity And Gender In Redefinitions Of Ethnic Identity." In: *Threatened Identities.* Glynis M. Breakwell (Ed). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Wellman, Barry. 1981. "Applying Network Analysis to the Study of Support." In: *Sage Studies in Community Mental Health.* Vol. 4. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Wellman, David T. 1977. *Portraits Of White Racism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Westen, Drew. 1991. "Cultural, Emotional, And Unconscious Aspects Of Self." In: *The Relational Self: Theoretical Convergences In Psychananlysis And Social Psychology.* R.C. Curtis (Ed). New York: Guilford.

Wheaton, Blair. 1985. "Models For The Stress-Buffering Functions Of Coping Resources." *Journal Of Health And Social Behavior.* Vol. 26.

Williams, D.R. 1992. "Black-White Differences In Blood Pressure: The Role Of Social Factors." *Ethnicity & Disease.* Vol. 2.

Williams, David R. 1996. "Racism And Health: A Research Agenda." *Ethnicity & Disease.* Vol. 6.

Wooden, W., J. Leon, and E. Toshima. 1988. "Ethnic Identity Among Sansei And Yonsei Church-Affiliated Youth In Los Angeles And Honolulu." *Psychological Reports.* Vol. 62.

Yoels, William C., and Jeffrey Michael Clair. 1995. "Laughter in the Clinic: Humor in Social Organization." *Symbolic Interaction.* Vol.18.

Zaretshky, Eli. 1994. "Identity Theory, Identity Politics: Psychoanalysis, Marxism, Post Structuralism." In: Calhoun, Craig (Ed). *Social Theory And The Politics Of Identity.* Cambridge, Mass.:Blackwell.

Zborowski, Mark. 1969. *People in Pain.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Zola, Irving K. 1972. "Medicine as an Institution of Social Control." *Sociological Review.* Vol. 20.