AMISH WOMEN: WORK AND CHANGE – AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LIVES OF AMISH WOMEN IN PENNSYLVANIA AND OHIO

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes and analyses the changes in the lives of some Old and New Order Amish women in Ohio and Pennsylvania from about 1970 to the present day. To do this, I used an ethnographic method, living with Amish families in both states for each of my three fieldtrips between September 2012 and October 2014.

My work identifies and describes changes that have taken place in the lives of Amish women since 1970's. It identifies ways in which the well-documented move out of farming by the Amish in both states, occurring at the same time as the growth of the tourist industry in Lancaster and Holmes County settlements led to opportunities for Amish women to work outside the home, and may additionally, have created the need for them to do so.

I show how these changes have been able to happen in a community that might initially appear to be unchanging. Using Bauman's Liquid Modernity, I give examples of how the same pressures that are affecting mainstream life are impacting the Amish community.

My thesis fills a gap in the literature in that it concentrates on the lives of women and what has changed for them. It is the first PhD thesis to cover this material.

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1. SETTING THE SCENE

1.1. Introduction

This thesis presents the ways in which the lives of Amish women have changed in the last thirty to fifty years. Changes in the household means technology has helped the women with their work in the home. Technology may have helped women, but still not all choose to work, so I introduce the concept of 'Significant Living Without Work' and what that means for women without paid work

Bauman's *Theory of Liquid Modernity* (2012) is the theoretical framework for my work and illustrates how the Amish are influenced to an extent by trends in mainstream society. I contend that they are influenced by what happens outside their community, even though they aim to live their lives separated from the world, in accordance with their beliefs, 'Wherefore come ye out from among them and be ye separate, says the Lord' (2Cor 6 v 170) and 'Be not conformed to this world' (Rom12 v 2).

This work is academically significant because little has been written about Amish women. Based on interviews with thirty women, it is the first thesis to describe and analyse Amish women's lives in the 21st century. As Simon Bronner writes 'In fact we know far more about Amish men than about Amish women' (Reynolds 1999:ix). My work remedies this.
In this chapter, I describe the serendipitous meeting that made a way for me to include Ohio in my research. Second, there is a short section on who the Amish people are and how they came to be in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Next, a literature review explores previous scholarship on the Amish including literature about Amish women. The next sections look at what has changed significantly since John Hostetler wrote *Amish Life* in 1963. Particularly, I consider

how the impact of a growth in tourism and the decline in farming have developed work opportunities for women outside the home, thus changing the historical pattern of work for Amish women.

1.2. Personal interest in the Amish

My interest in the Amish goes back over forty years. This long-standing interest motivated me to undertake the PhD. When our Amish friends sold their pigs, and stopped going to market in the early noughties, I realised that was part of a larger change taking place in Lancaster County. I found plenty written about the men moving out of farming and developing successful businesses, but nothing about how women were affected by this change, so I wanted to research it.

I had a long-standing friendship with an Old Order Amish couple in Lancaster County. I asked them if they would be agreeable to my doing this work and whether they thought they could help me find interview participants. Seeing their hesitation, I assured them that if they were uncomfortable with my idea, I would do the fieldwork somewhere else, rather than jeopardise our friendship. After several days during which they questioned me about what I planned to do and why I wanted to do it, they agreed to help. Anna became my gatekeeper in Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile, I began the PhD in June 2011 and planned a fieldwork trip for September 2012 and each time we spoke about it, my Supervisor would suggest that I should do a pilot project in Ohio. Each time he said this, I concurred, but thought to myself 'I don't have a single contact in Ohio and I've no idea how to find one'. I asked my friends in Pennsylvania if they had any contacts in Ohio but they did not reply. In May 2012, my husband and I went to a church conference in Redding, California. We had never been there before and knew no-one. There were about 2000 people at the conference mostly from the USA but a small number of international visitors. Shortly after we arrived, I met Reuben Beachy. He was standing at the door welcoming conference participants. I recognized that he had an Amish name and asked him about it. He told me he had been raised in the Old Order Amish. I told him what I was intending to do and he asked me where I planned to do my fieldwork. I told him I would be doing most of it in Pennsylvania but that I was first planning a pilot study in Ohio. 'Who do you know in Ohio?' He asked me. 'No-one' I replied, 'but I shall work on it when I get back. 'Well, where are you going to go?' I didn't know where I would go. But instead of saying that, what I heard myself say very confidently was 'I'm going to Sugarcreek'. 'Who do you know in Sugarcreek?' He asked me, 'No-one' I said, feeling silly. I didn't consciously know there was a place called Sugarcreek at that point.

'My family are all in Sugarcreek. We were all Old Order Amish and my sister, Gertrude is still there. She will act as your gatekeeper and find women for you to interview'.

She did.

1.3. Who are the Amish?

The Amish were Europeans, coming from German-speaking central Europe, who believed that they should separate themselves from the corrupting influence of the world, and follow the teachings of Jesus Christ. Since they were Anabaptists they did not practice baptizing babies (Grebel 1952:13) but proposed that entry to the church should be a voluntary commitment not undertaken until someone is of an age to understand what they were doing (Nolt 1992:54). Practice at that time, baptised babies to initiate them into the Christian church and making them taxable citizens. To refuse was unacceptable to the state. By not baptizing babies, they were bringing themselves into conflict with the state (Cooksey and Donnermeyer 2012:81). Anabaptist understanding also spelt out that the true church was separate from the world and was an 'alternative community distinct from the larger society' (Nolt 2016:14, Wenger 1961:11), distinguished from either Catholic or Protestant society. Officials condemned them as a subversive group and imprisoned and executed many - 2,500 between 1527 and 1614. When this persecution ended, it opened the way for followers led by Jacob Amman to begin moving to the New World and five hundred arrived between 1736 and 1770, into Philadelphia and began to settle in Eastern Pennsylvania (Nolt 1992:49, Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013:38). From then on, they moved into Central and Western Pennsylvania, then eventually moved westward to Ohio and Indiana. From the earliest times, they were encouraged by their church leaders to live close together, support one another and the idea of strong community bonds has been a constant theme of Amish life (Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps 2004:53ff).

Dana describes that:

> An Amish home must also look humble, unadorned and painted white. In 1919, Amish leaders agreed that houses should not be connected to electricity, lest this could lead to temptations and hence deterioration of family values. There is no phone in the house but there is access to one not far away in case of emergency. Each house alternates as a church, they believe that each home can serve as a house of God. (Dana 2007:148).

Today Amish homes are still mainly white and some are humble and unadorned, but not all. It is interesting that the leaders one hundred years ago could see that there could come a deterioration in family values through the advent of electricity. In Chapter 5 and 6, I show how this is an issue that the Amish are still grappling with today.

The Amish today live in more than 30 US states and in 4 provinces in Canada and the total population is estimated to be more than 320,000 with numbers doubling roughly every twenty years (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:155). Large families and strong retention of their young people have been the main factors in this growth. Central to how Amish live is agreeing and following the Ordnung. The Ordnung both proscribes and prescribes how they live.

The Amish are growing and fast. They have grown from 6,000 in 1900 to 50,280 in 1971, 273,710 in 2012 to 318,475 in 2017, an increase of 16 percent. The population is currently around 330,000 in 2018 (Kraybill 2018).

However, almost half are young people or children who are not yet baptised and therefore not considered to have joined the Amish church. In the five-year period to 2015, the population grew by 50,000 according to researchers at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies in Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania. There are about 330,000 in 2018. Since Amish do not proselytize, population growth is primarily by the ability to have children and keep them in the faith. Family sizes are larger among the Amish compared with mainstream Americans (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:157) And the number of children in an Amish family will vary by how conservative the family is, Hurst and McConnell found that 47% families in the stricter *Swartzentruber* Amish will have nine or more children, compared with Amish in Wayne County, Indiana (Hurst and McConnell 2010;100). Estimates are all that is available since there is no Amish census to count their population. It has been found that the Amish double their numbers roughly every 18 – 20 years. Very few English join the Amish (Wesner, Erik J. "Joining the Amish." Amish America 20th February 2015). Estimates suggest less than 100 people have joined the Amish and stayed. Currently, according to the Young Center at Elizabethtown College, 85% of young people join the Amish. "Amish Population Profile, 2017." Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies[1], Elizabethtown College.

[1] http://groups.etown.edu/amishstudies/statistics/amish-population-profile-2017

I researched Old Order and New Order Amish[2]. New Order are the most liberal group insofar as they are horse and buggy driving, speak Pennsylvania Deutsch and reject electricity from the grid.

1.4. The *Ordnung, Gelassenheit* and *Uffgeva*

Ordnung is the German word for 'order' but has a greater meaning for the Amish than the English translation. For the Amish, *Ordnung* implies a Divine order, and carries with it an implicit understanding of life as it should be lived (Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013:42). Defined by Nolt and Meyers (2007) it is the 'accumulated wisdom about the proper ordering of life'. It encompasses general principles such as assuming a humble demeanour, as well as 'specific directives such as the dimensions of a woman's bonnet' (2007:8). *Ordnung* (Appendix 1) is not a set of rules imposed from the distant male church leaders and communicated by letter or epistle; instead it is a consensus of the leaders endorsed by the church community, and which continue to be reviewed twice each year (Hostetler 1963:58). Donnermeyer and Cooksey (2012:84) write that all members of a congregation know their *Ordnung*. The *Ordnung* is rarely written down but is oral and usually unwritten. There are written rules but these derive more from special conferences in history from the sixteenth century and are the guiding principles on which the church is built. An example of this written rule is the Dordrecht Confession of 1623 or the Schleitheim Confession (Appendix 2). The *Ordnung* describes the contemporary agreed discipline of each church district. These

[2] There are also *Swartzentruber* Amish who are ultra-conservative, and live lives that are distinctly plainer than either Old or New Order whom I studied. Some examples of this difference is their rejection of, power mowers, weed-eaters, milking machines, and window-less buggies. Most *Swartzentruber* Amish still farm. They reject upholstered furniture, linoleum floor covering, and indoor plumbing. Cooking is done over a fire or on a wood-fired oven. (Hurst and McConnell 2010:37). They are separated from other Amish in their practices and refuse to participate in Amish directories so it is difficult to know about their church growth. *Swartzentruber* Amish are an Old Order but not all Old Order Amish are *Swartzentruber*. They may consider themselves to be the only true Old Order Amish.

original basic principles include an expectation that Christian believers are to be separate from the world and spelled out what is meant by apostasy; the penalty for which would be exclusion from the group (Hostetler 1993:82). The *Ordnung* clarifies what these principles mean in daily life, how they are to live so that they can be separate from the world. It tells them how they are to live (plainly), how they are to dress and what kind of occupations will enable them to best remain separated from the world. It also describes what their response should be to conflict of various kinds and how they are to raise their families. It covers what should be done if a member of the church sins and how it should be handled. Some of the rules are based in biblical teaching whilst others have been passed down and are more traditional than Biblical. Rules that do not have a Biblical base are sometimes supported by the reason that to oppose them would be 'worldly'. It is very important to the Amish that they are not joined to the world but are seen to have a different standard.

Allied to *Ordnung* is the key Amish concept of *Gelassenheit. Gelassenheit* can be understood by a whole range of words - resignation, calmness of mind, composure, staidness, conquest of selfishness, long-suffering, tranquility, surrender and others (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:65). The concept of *Gelassenheit* is not only Amish, but permeates other Anabaptist writings too (Cronk 1981:7, Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:65). It allows the collective wisdom and prudence of the community to govern the priorities of the individual (Myers and Nolt 2005:9). Also, linked to *Gelassenheit* is *Uffgeva,* which is the belief that individuals should 'give up' what they want, in preference to another person. This was taught to me by an Amish man who was in the last months of his life, and being taken in a converted RV to different US states for various unorthodox treatments that his family hoped would heal him where conventional medicine had failed. He told me, 'I just have to give myself up to what they want for me'. Children are taught to understand *Uffgeva* by the word, JOY, Jesus comes first, Others are next and You come last (Wasilchick 1991:37 Siebert 2005:120).

1.5. Literature Review

1.5.1. Amish Society

Gertrude Huntington (1955) described life among the Amish in Holmes County, Ohio in enormous detail. The author worked as a hired girl for several years helping a growing Amish family in Sugarcreek and used the information she gathered to inform her ethnographic study of the community. She was the hired girl in the family of Reuben Beachy mentioned in 1.2 above.

The first person to write in detail about the aaa was John Hostetler in *Amish Society* (Fourth Edition 1993) although there had been some work before that time. Commissioned by the Department of Agriculture, Walter Kollmorgan (1942) had described the methods that the Amish use to sustain an agricultural economy and how their way of life differed from their neighbours.

The earliest edition of *Amish Society* was in 1963 (Hostetler 1963). Raised in an Amish family he gave an insider's view, of how the Old Order Amish operated at that time. It covers the full spectrum of life in Amish Society, introducing us to the lives of Amish women through chapters on 'The Family', 'Life Ceremonies'. As an insider, he is writing about the women he grew up with and that inevitably colours his view as a son, a brother and a male. The writing is easy to read and provides a picture of the Amish lifestyle with the role of women in a patriarchal society. Nowhere do the women he describes appear to be down-trodden or put upon. The strong sense of 'calling' that women are given in the Amish society permeates his viewpoint, and whilst no-one could argue that it is an easy lifestyle or that women make their own choices in this society, the writing is clear about the place of women.

At that time, the median age for women entering a first marriage was 22 and the average number of live births at that time was seven children.

> The wife's duties include taking care of the children, cooking and cleaning, preparation of produce for market, making clothes for the family, preserving food and gardening. Typically, washing will be done on Monday, ironing on Tuesday, baking on Friday and cleaning on Saturday… Women and adolescent girls frequently help with the harvest of crops… aait is the woman who sees that the fences, posts, grape arbors, and frequently the trees about the farm buildings are whitewashed in the Spring. The appearance of the lawn and the area surrounding the house is largely the responsibility of the wife and she feels obligated to keep the inside as well as the outside clean and neat in appearance (Hostetler 1993:152).

The Amish housewife usually raises a large variety of edibles, often as many of twenty kinds of vegetables (Hostetler 1963:151). She makes sure to grow plenty of cucumbers and red beets because they are part of the standard fare at Sunday lunch. Order and cleanliness are distinctive features of Amish gardening (151) although latterly this has been made easier perhaps by the rise of Amish landscape gardeners which has meant that gardens are no longer the sole responsibility of the Amish wife if they have professional help maintaining the garden. This is a marked change and one which my interviewees quickly identified (140910RS). In *Amish Society* there is considerable detail about how the Amish life, and how the society is structured. Hostetler could write authoritatively because he was raised in an Old Order Amish family in Pennsylvania's 'Big Valley' and later in Ohio.

Family organization within the Amish is strictly monogamous and patriarchal. Overall authority belongs to the husband but there are varying degrees of practice in specific families. In keeping with Biblical teaching in the New testament.

The man is the head of the woman, just as Christ is head of the church (I Cor 11 v 3). The wife has an immortal soul and is an individual in her own right. Although she is to be obedient to her husband, her first loyalty is to God. In marriage, husband and wife become 'one flesh' a union which is terminated only in death. There is no provision for divorce…… Important family decisions typically are joint decisions (Hostetler 1993:150).

> An Amish wife actively participates in any big decisions such as purchases for the house and home and, jointly with her husband, as to whether to flit or move from one settlement to another. This stands in contrast to the position of a 'Company wife' as noted by Huntington (Huntington 1976:307).

Hostetler argues that Amish women serve valuable functions in subsistence gardening, household production and child-rearing (1963:150 – 151). Historically, Amish women were essential co-workers on the family farm, engaged in valued and recognized productive labour. They held high status although the Amish is a patriarchal society. He contended that Amish women were esteemed in the family and community because of the women's economic importance to the family (Hostetler 1994:150). At the time he was writing, 85% of the Amish in Lancaster county farmed and they lived in relative isolation from other local people (1994:234). In Lancaster County today, far fewer Amish earn their primary living from the land (Kraybill 2007:9) and most of the Amish interact daily with outsiders in part either because their work requires them to or because of the growth of tourism and the impact of sheer numbers of visitors to the area. Such contact with the English is a key change from earlier times. The term 'English' is how the Amish refer to any non-Amish people.

Hostetler's writing about women concentrates heavily on the descriptions of motherhood and domestic work because historically, that is what the women did. Caring for and raising children was a key component of many years of their lives. Whilst families are now smaller, raising the children and running the home remains a large part of women's responsibility. Running the home included sewing clothes for all the family and looking after the garden and growing and preserving all the food they needed for the year (1993:154).

Hostetler argued that women were esteemed in the community because of their economic importance to the family. Graybill argues that with the advent of many Amish women working outside the home, they have now moved from being producers to 'Domestic Managers' (Graybill 2009:23).

In both Graybill's research and Stoltzfus Taylor (1995), some women admit that they no longer have time to do all their own bottling, canning and producing that they once did. Some will say that they no longer sew. One of my own research respondents admits to never having enjoyed sewing even when she did have time and to doing it only because of the expectation that she would make her own clothes. Instead, some women may now pay for household or gardening help, buy produce to supplement what they grow (140606SR) eat out in restaurants more, and purchase some of their clothing ready-made. Others have started up businesses to provide cleaning/sewing/gardening service for these working women.

One entrepreneur said she never enjoyed sewing as most Amish women do so she was happy to delegate it to other Amish women. Another said she enjoys canning, however it is not cost effective for her to do it any longer since she loses at least $100 a day when she takes time off work (Stoltzfus Taylor 1995:59).

An increase in consumerism, whether that is foodstuffs, clothing or leisure activity is a key finding in this thesis (140617ET, 140417WH, 140620MB).

In the book, *The Riddle of Amish Culture* (Kraybill 1989) the author sets out to examine the contradictions in Amish life. What can be the reason the Amish will not own a car yet ride one owned by someone else? Why can they cook on gas but not use electricity from the grid? Why can there be a difference between riding a foot scooter but not own a bicycle? *Riddle* provided material for another publication, *The Puzzles of Amish Life* (1990) written as a small readable book, providing information for tourists who want to understand what they are seeing in Amish Country. *Riddle* goes into much more detail.

In contrast with Hostetler, Donald Kraybill admits that power dynamics are at work, arguing 'Age and gender create a patriarchy that gives older men the greatest clout and younger females the least' (P.82). At the same time, Kraybill describes women owning and operating these small businesses as 'one of the remarkable changes in gender relations' (2001:84). Noting that Amish women are active in church governance (they vote in church business and nominate men for leadership positions) his book contains some surprisingly outspoken quotes attributed to Amish women. One woman said,

> How people see women hasn't changed that much. We're still seen as second class…We emphasize family life. That's what's important to us, to have good family relations. But I don't think women are becoming more free in our community. That's how it seems to me (P.82).

Nevertheless, he concludes by writing that 'Amish women view professional women working away from home and children as a distortion of God's created order' (P.86). This may be the case, but the Amish women interviewed in the research of Graybill and Stoltzfus-Taylor did not appear to let it inhibit them. Both researchers had full and frank answers to their questions. And, I did not have the impression that any women I interviewed felt differently.

Kraybill mentions that;

> In a patriarchal society, this (business ownership by women) will induce some changes as women have more access to money, other resources and the outside world. Women, in fact, are gaining more power and this will likely impact their broader influences within the community as well (P261).

My study confirms this.

In *The Amish Struggle with Modernity* Kraybill and Olshan (1994) argue that modernization has not bypassed the Amish, but rather the Amish are making informed and deliberate choices, selectively rejecting some technology and accepting others. They argue that the move towards business entrepreneurship for men and women could be construed as one example of that choice towards modernity. Written in 1994, the book's examples now appear a little outdated some twenty-three years later. In addition, Amish entrepreneurship is now an accepted practice and no longer seen as such a risky and radical alternative to agriculture as it once did, because a whole generation or more have grown up 'off the farm'.

In *Amish Enterprise* (1995, 2004) Kraybill and Steven Nolt, mention Amish women's business enterprises but only to discuss the problems inherent in combining business and motherhood. They do not mention the success of women's businesses or discuss the strategies they employ for success. Instead, they quote four women who said how challenging the combination had been. They do not say, either how many women they interviewed. What percentage of their total interviews do these four women represent? In Graybill (2009) the women she interviewed described some creative solutions they had found, to work whilst raising a family, and whilst they acknowedged the challenges, they found solutions that worked for them. It was disappointing that Kraybill and Nolt did not address this.

The collection of 14 essays in *The Amish and the State* edited by Donald Kraybill (2003) looks at issues like military service, taxation, social security, insurance and health care; issues which have all brought the Amish into disagreement with government. In each of these areas, the writers show how negotiation has been used to maintain Amish distinctiveness. Some of the issues discussed in these essays are still having repercussions among the Amish almost twenty-five years later. Issues such as the buggies carrying red warning triangles was resolved in Pennsylvania, but occasionally make headlines elsewhere, (most recently in Kentucky and Virginia in 2017) where the Amish are reluctant to trust man's invention over God's sovereignty. Another current issue (2018) is complementary health care; a Kentucky Amishman has recently been jailed for six years for selling home-made salves, found in many Amish homes, but which do not conform to the Department of Health's labelling regulations. Another case in Adams County, Indiana involved the case of two Amish midwives who were accused of practicing and administering medication to pregnant mothers and their children illegally. The latest edition of *The Amish and the State* was published fifteen years ago, but it seems as if there are still issues and cases pending that could be discussed now in the light of a changing Amish community who have conflict and dispute in their attempt to live separated from the world.

If Hostetler was considered the first to write down a comprehensive sociology of the Amish, then the most detailed analysis of Amish life is the 2013 edition of *The Amish.*, authored by three prominent, experienced and prolific researchers in the field, Donald Kraybill, Karen Johnson-Weiner and Steven Nolt. The material in the 2013 book was compiled from new research in the field and by reviewing a wide range of Amish literature. It builds upon what already existed but was anchored in present-day research. The book supersedes the Hostetler works, but at the same time, the authors acknowledge that it builds upon all that Hostetler wrote.

In 2016, one of the authors of *The Amish,* Steven Nolt, wrote *The Amish – A Concise Introduction* - to coincide with his taking up a position of Professor of History and Senior Scholar at the Young Center for Pietist Studies at Elizabethtown College. More readable than his previous work on *The History of the Amish* (1992), it has a more sociological approach. It provides an updated view of the Amish in the 21st century, drawing on earlier research. The first chapter situates the Amish and gives them a context that is only very slightly historical but delves straight in to some of the perplexities of Amish life with a story of a meeting for the public hosted by a local Amishman, who guided people to the venue by using GPS coordinates to illustrate the point that whilst some Amish may appear to be living in time past, they can be conversant with technology when it serves their purpose. The second chapter contains their history and explains how they reached the standpoint that they now take on many issues, the third considers how the Amish live in modern-day America whilst the fourth covers the structure of church and the community. Chapters 5 – 9 cover *Rumspringa*, the Family and Amish schooling, Work and Technology, the Amish relationship with their neighbours and lastly, Amish Images as portrayed through various media, print, TV, Shows, Cinema and the role of Social Media. At the end of the book is a short section on Amish Spirituality. It is easy to read and thought provoking as it sits between being an academic textbook and a simple introduction for readers or tourists.

Little attention is paid to the views of Amish women in either Hostetler or later scholars and I think this may be because, numerically, most Amish scholars are male.

A*mish Education in the United States and Canada* (Dewalt 2006) surveys Amish schools in every Amish settlement across the two countries and provides ‘an ethnographic description of

Amish Education in the 21st Century' (p vii). It includes detailed participant-observation passages of typical school days and the Amish curriculum of reading, writing, arithmetic and English which quickly became monotonous. There are regular summary statements throughout the book, but these are given without data to support the conclusions.

Train up a Child by Karen Johnson-Weiner, is a comparative look at Old Order Amish and Mennonite schools in nine communities in Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania. In most of the schools the teachers are young single women. The narrative and the analysis are written in an engaging and interesting way with vignettes to illustrate the analysis. A key point is the importance of the private, Amish-run schools in reinforcing religious education. She identifies that 'the private school has become an educational firewall, a barrier limiting the influence of the world on Old Order youth' (2007:35). Almost in passing, we learn that the male teachers are more sought after and better paid, earning more than twice as much as the young women teachers, (P158). Since the study includes Amish and Old Order Mennonite schools one limitation is that in Lancaster County the school studied was not Amish, disappointing for my purposes. Since the author's main interest has been with the *Swartzentruber* Amish, the inclusion of schools that cover such a range of experience and practice from *Swartzentruber*, Old Order, New Order and Mennonite schools across nine communities in five states is striking. It makes stimulating reading and provides insight into the differences and similarities of each community.

Richard's Stevick's book, *Growing up Amish: the teenage years* (2007) is a comprehensively written study describing Amish practices in several settlements. He visited 70 communities in 15 states over 12 years, talking to more than 1500 people whilst researching the book. He is a psychologist and wanted to understand what it was about the Amish community that they retain such a high percentage of their youth, despite the *Rumspringa*, 'running around' period in adolescence (Inside front cover). It has extended ethnographic passages about weddings, singings, youth gangs, baseball teams and courting. He has some interesting comments that emphasise difference, highlighting sex-role differentiation and same sex socializing. The task of Amish young people is not to distinguish themselves from others by their uniqueness and achievement but rather to conform to the group. The expectation is that they will ‘give up’ their own self desires and sacrifice their personal autonomy to develop their Amish identity. A major component of that, positive or negative, is shaped by their peers, and so peer groups provide an important arena for identity formation especially in the larger settlements. As in mainstream society young people tend to gravitate toward those who are like themselves (Brown and Larson 2009).

A second edition in 2014 included updated information about the use of technology by Amish young people. It included much more detail about usage of smartphones, the Internet, Instagram, Twitter, texting, and Facebook than the eight words in the earlier edition. Charles Jantzi built on this in an article entitled, “Amish Youth and Social Media: A Phase or a Fatal Error?” published in Mennonite Quarterly Review (2017). He traced smartphone use in progressive settlements and questions whether having successfully negotiated other forms of technology, the Amish will be able to do the same with the smartphone, given that the Internet affects so much of 21st century life. Not only allowing people to do new things like internet shopping, but watch films, read books, and ‘live chat’ with one another via Skype or Facetime. Jantzi found that Facebook was widely used to make announcements for singings, games nights, speakers and birthday parties. Use of the smartphone to access social media has, he writes, changed the way, Amish young people relate to each other.

The Amish and the Media edited by Diane Zimmerman Umble and David Weaver-Zercher (2008) is a collection of ten essays covering a wide range of topics, covering how Plain People are portrayed in films, and how the growth of tourism has affected towns with a high percentage of Amish people. The authors range from academics with a strong record of writing about the Amish to some who were raised Amish but did not join the church. All have an interest in describing truthfully how they see media portrayals of the Amish community. The collection includes an article by Steven Nolt about Amish scribes; these are volunteers from each community who send news to the Budget and to Die Botschaft[3], and he notes that becoming a scribe 'is one avenue of empowerment for women in a culture in which they otherwise lack formal leadership roles' (188). It is refreshing that Diane Zimmerman Umble's essays include quotations from Amish women rather than relying on comments from an Amish man or from an Amish leader (2008:231: 234:238). The essay by Susan Biesecker 'Heritage vs History' speaks of how tourists are not able to get to 'real Amish' and how the comparison between the two towns, Walnut Creek and Mount Hope provides the tourists with different experiences. One provides 'a well-planned and beautifully executed cultural memory of an era' (Biesecker 2008:122) whilst the other, is a village where Amish and tourists rub shoulders more by chance than by design. It's as if the tourist experience must be mediated via something other than real life, authenticity replaced by unreality. Biesecker's writing is not the Amish commenting upon the towns, but an outside observer making these observations. She has no direct quotations or views from Amish people either in her paper or her book. She writes that in Walnut Creek, the tourists encounter Amish people as 'their predecessors from a past heritage' (Biesecker 2008:123). By contrast the

[3] The Budget and Die Botschaft are subscription newspapers that literally bring news of local life in each community so that distant friends and family can be updated on what is happening. Scribes write of weather, births, visitors, preachers, and other local events which may be of interest to readers.

Mount Hope tourist encounter them as ‘contemporaries in a present alternative’ (126). The way the towns are described rather suggests that tourists prefer a mediated experience. This did not seem to be supported by data, so may simply be the author’s opinion based on assumption. This article formed the basis for a longer work (Trollinger 2012) *The Tourism of Nostalgia*, comparing three towns in Amish Country - Walnut Creek, Mount Hope and Sugarcreek and the experiences of tourists visiting them. The same comments about the contents of the book replicate those made about the earlier article.

Hurst and McConnell’s *The Amish Paradox* (2010) describe the wide variety of Amish people in Ohio, as a ‘paradox’. It’s true that Ohio is less homogenous than, say, traditionally more conservative, Pennsylvania. Some of this diversity was reflected in my sample of interviewees, who came from the Old Order and the New Order. Even among the Old Order Amish in Ohio, there is a diversity not seen in Pennsylvania. I believe the reason for this is that in Pennsylvania, there is an *Ordnung* that hardly varies across the state because it is agreed by the Bishops there, whereas in Ohio, each Bishop is responsible for crafting and agreeing the *Ordnung* with his two congregations. This means, in Ohio, there are many more Bishops agreeing *Ordnung* with their congregations and thus the possibility for much more variation across the settlement.

1.5.2. Amish Women

Two books have same the title, *Amish Women*, both written by women from an Amish heritage. Now deceased, Louise Stoltzfus from the Lancaster settlement had left the Amish when she wrote this book, and Alma Hershberger is no longer *Swartzentruber* but part of the Old Order from Ohio. The book by Stoltzfus, *Amish Women, Lives and Stories* (2002 [1994]) provides snapshots into the lives of her contemporaries, insights into gender, women’s roles, family and community in a way that other books do not. Written more for a popular audience, rather than an academic textbook, it is filled with details that would otherwise be lacking in the more academic books. Interestingly the style seemed more ‘feminine’ as if, being a woman, gave her insight into what other women would find interesting. Several of the women she wrote about were also women whom I interviewed, but this was by accident rather than design on my part. The motivation for Hershberger’s book was that she was often asked ‘What is it like to be Amish?’ Her response was to compile this book of stories about Amish women she had known. Simply written, it presents stories and accounts from the lives of Amish women from different streams – *Swartzentruber*, Old Order, New Order, from a woman who joined the Amish, an insight into Amish family life, what it’s like to be an Amish mother and many other topics. It’s another source of data rather than analysis, but useful to see how far it accords with the analysis of academics.

There are two Ph.D theses on Amish Women and Business, the most recent by Beth Graybill, a Mennonite historian, ‘Amish Women, Business sense : Old Order Women Entrepreneurs in the Lancaster County , Pennsylvania Tourist Market Place’ (2009) and an earlier quantitative study, by Ann Stoltzfus Taylor titled, ‘A Demographic and Developmental Profile of Newly Emerging Entrepreneurs among Married Women in the Old-Order Amish Society of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania’ (1995). Both works are relevant and interesting, not least because of the positions they take in the writing and then the common conclusions they draw from fieldwork in the same geographical area. Graybill is continuously concerned that Amish scholarship should be ‘gendered’ and that Amish women should be credited for their viewpoint so that their voices should be heard. She writes from a strongly feminist point of view. Her academic discipline is Sociology, and she approaches the work from that background. She makes a strong argument, but this is diminished by the sample size which is only 6 in total and one of those is not an Amish woman, but an Amish-

Mennonite. Access may have been an issue here as Graybill's background is Mennonite and ownership of her own background, interest and at times, her love for it, comes through in the writing. Her frustrations with the mainly male scholars in the field of Amish Studies can also be heard and occasionally sours the writing. She is, though, passionate about the success of the Amish businesswomen and how they have overcome the challenges before them as well as having broken through the historical taboos in their settlements.

Stoltzfus Taylor, on the other hand, writes from the perspective of someone who has grown up in an Amish family in the locality she is writing about. Her case studies include 23 recently married women who became entrepreneurs. It seems she had no problems with access but other questions were raised for me. We are not told if these interviews were conducted in English or Pennsylvania Deutsch which would seem to have been possible, since the researcher and the subjects would all speak Pennsylvania Deutsch. Another issue for me in Stoltzfus Taylor's work is that although interesting, it sometimes appeared as if she was not able to break through her own background and question the women about what they were doing and how they felt about it, in case it unearthed issues that made them question what they were doing. There was a sense of protectiveness about her questioning, not simply being sensitive to the interviewee, as would be expected, but rather stopping short on occasions, when I wanted her to ask a more probing question. It may be that depth wasn't being sought, since there was an emphasis on whether they felt their lack of education after 8^{th} grade had impacted on their ability to start a business. It does not appear that it held them back as the women she interviewed were all described as successful business owners. Her thesis was a quantitative study, in partial fulfilment for the vocational degree of Doctor of Education, so this provides one explanation for the difference between the emphasis it has and the writing of Graybill. It may also be that Stoltzfus Taylor was interviewing her own peers, some of whom may even have been relatives and that could have affected the way she approached the women.

One of the challenges that Graybill identifies was the sense that the women respondents were struggling to explain or answer a question just because they were not answering in their first language (Graybill 2009: 232). In Stoltzfus-Taylor, I struggled a little with information gleaned being shown in statistical tables, with only a few direct quotes from the women she surveyed. Coupled together, however, the two theses make a very solid contribution to the literature and were highly relevant to my study.

Despite the 13-year time-lapse between the two studies, there is a congruency of results and few discrepancies. For me, Graybill's was the easier to read. She concludes that the Amish women becoming entrepreneurs is a significant change within Amish life. Donald Kraybill believes that the move from farming to business is 'the biggest social change' the Amish have ever had to face (1998) and the same is true for women (Graybill 2009: 239). Like the women studied in Ann Oakley's *Women's Work* (1974:150), Graybill found that the cash women earned by working increased their status at home, and in their community by their move into business. A third finding is that these women entrepreneurs are highly motivated, making autonomous business decisions and less concerned with what others thought of them in contrast with her previous findings of a study with conservative Mennonite women. Those women, Graybill found, were very much concerned with the needs of others, prioritising others, appearing submissive and quiet. The Amish business women she categorized as outgoing, assertive and self-directed (2009: 242).

In 1989, Sue Bender wrote *Plain and Simple – A Woman's Journey to the Amish* which tells her own story of being a New York city-living and loving artist and how she found inner peace and renewal from her stay among the Amish (1989). It's reflective, questioning and frequently at odds with Bender's own background and beliefs. In it, she appears to find herself on what Graybill (2009:41) calls a 'Redemptive pilgrimage'. It feeds into assumptions about rural redemption under Amish influence.

Just a little earlier than this was *The Gentle Art – A midwife's story of the strange Amish community of Pennsylvania* by Penny Armstrong and Sheryl Feldman (1987). Armstrong, although American, trained in Scotland as a midwife and then went to Pennsylvania to work among the Amish helping them with natural child-birth without high-tech medical intervention, indeed, sometimes without any medical intervention. It is an interesting book to read, but frustratingly vague on the details in the interests of protecting her patients. For me, the best part was the description of the tensions between retaining the Amish lifestyle and pushing back the boundaries of the *Ordnung*. Not an academic book, but one which provides data to support the academic texts covering the move out of agriculture.

Dachang Cong's chapter on 'Single Women in Amish Society' found in *Sects, Cults and Spiritual Communities* edited by Zellner and Petrowsky (1998) gives an insight into those women, whom, according to Kraybill (2001:86) are considered 'a distortion of God's plan'; they are even described by their families as 'leftover blessings' (Cong 1998:132). The case studies he offers are of two single women in Northern Indiana who have created for themselves, fulfilling and interesting lives, that more closely mirror the options open to 'English' single women. The way their lives are described, and the way in which they reached their end decision about how to live, do not seem distorted to the individuals themselves. The chapter is short and although there is reference to further writing, this is undated and no details are provided. The chapter is frustratingly short and two case studies hardly typical. It could be a topic for further study for someone, not least because in the Elkhart La Grange settlement where he carried out his fieldwork, eligible females outnumber eligible males by about 80 in a five-year period (Cong 1994:132) so there could be other single women who have completely different experiences. It would be interesting to discover if this same pattern were the case in other settlements and if so, how have those remaining single women reconciled themselves to being single in a society that gives such value to married women. I interviewed three single women, all of whom have careers that do not follow the traditional Amish pattern for single women and none appeared to feel they were lacking in any way.

Beyond the Plain and Simple: A Patchwork of Amish Lives (Stevick 2006) is written by the wife of Richard Stevick mentioned above. This book provides short accounts of meeting women whilst travelling with her husband who was researching Amish young people. The experiences of and the conversations with the women provide something approaching a qualitative ethnography although, it seems somewhat naïve, achieves her goal of 'enabling readers so to ponder the practice of our culture as a well as Amish culture' (9).

James Cates' *Serving the Amish* is aimed at helping professionals who work with Amish who are having difficulty living within the community, either because they are sick or because their behaviour breaches the law. The book aims to help professionals to assist the Amish move from understanding everything in terms of the need for confession before the church, so that they can be aware of the treatment options available to those with symptoms of serious illness that require more than basic church support. Cates works in Indiana and his examples demonstrate the willingness of some of the Bishops there to use and even promote his services to those who need them, or not[4].

[4] Additionally, there are some personal stories told by those who have left the Amish, but I have not included them. There are some other biographical books from people whose lives have intersected with local Amish, because they drive them or provide a service to them. I chose not to include these either. Some of the 'escape narratives' concern people whose families were dysfunctional or who had to contend with abuse or mental illness that was ill-understood by the Amish community.

My work sits across these books. I identified that there was very little written about Amish women and how the move away from farming had affected their lives. In examining the academic books mentioned above I found only a few pages which described the lives of women and gave space the views of these women. So, I set about interviewing Amish women so that what they had identified as changes since their mother's generation and how lives had been affected by those changes could be reported. I interviewed 38 women, using the material from 30 of them in this thesis. I interviewed Old and New Order women in Pennsylvania and Ohio, between September 2012 and September 2014, using semi-structured interviews finding women via snowball sampling. I give more detail about the methodology in Chapter 2.

1.5.3. Liquid Modernity

To analyse the changes that are occurring within the Amish, I have used Zygmunt Bauman's *Theory of Liquid Modernity* (2012) through which to view his conclusion, that 'constant change is here to stay'. 'Modernity means many things and its arrival and progress can be traced using many different markers' (2012:8). As I have encountered 'markers' in the body of my work, I show how they can be used to demonstrate Liquid Modernity in Amish life. Bauman uses the term 'liquid modernity' to describe the condition of constant mobility and change, which he sees happening to relationships, identities and global economics within contemporary society. He does not use the term 'post-modern' but speaks instead of a transition from solid modernity to a more liquid form of social life where what was once fixed and certain, is certain no longer. This is expanded in Chapter 3.

1.6. A High Context Society

Amish society is what is known as a 'high context' society (Hall 1976). Typical of high context societies are collectivist practices that value interpersonal relationships, prefer face to face communication to any other and form stable relationships. Collectivist practices however, does not mean that they are communal in the sense of sharing homes, finances or belongings. Amish families have ‘typical’ patriarchal households, headed up by the husband, with his wife and children living together in the same home. It is unusual for children, even older teens to move out of the family home until they marry. For this reason, the Amish speak of ‘We’ rather than ‘I’ and prefer ‘visiting’, which means being face to face with someone else, rather than speaking to them over the telephone (Hostetler 1993: 219 – 222). The reason for this is that the telephone separates the person’s voice from their body and their clothing and gives no clue about their surroundings and this takes them out of context. The Amish like to have a context, this is one explanation why the Amish dislike photographs, because, apart from the Biblical injunction to refrain from making graven images, photographs show people out of context (Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013:404).

1.7. The Position of Amish Women

Since the Amish draw on Biblical instruction for their understanding of gender roles, a little explanation of what that means may be helpful. The Amish bring together two understandings. First, the Bible teaching

> Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is head of the church and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be subject to their own husbands in everything (Eph 5 v 22).

So, although women are to be in submission to their husbands, this does not mean domination, exploitation or mistreatment. It means, instead areas of responsibility and authority are clearly defined and adhered to (Kraybill and Olshan1994:220). Second, the Amish see family as ‘a partnership in the Lord and the basis of a family whose function is to produce willing, responsible members of the believing family' (Huntington 1994: 116). In other words, the husband and wife share responsibility and are mutually dependent on each other. However, Amish women are frequently perceived by non-Amish as being 'dominated and downtrodden' (Hurst and McConnell 2010:119, Johnson-Weiner 2001:231). This is far from the truth, but may be a common misperception because the husband takes the lead in earning an income and dealing with outside issues, whilst the wife watches over the children and runs the house and garden. However, as will be argued in the thesis, this is far from being all that she does. Hostetler writes that 'The Amish woman's sphere and work is at home, not in the factory or in a paid profession' (1993:15). Thirty years ago, when this was written this was truer then than it is now as I will show in the rest of this work, particularly in Chapter 4.

1.8. Amish and Work

Working together as a family was always the goal of Amish families. When most Amish farmed, the farm was the vehicle by which children were 'taught' to work. The Amish work ethic is well-known and highly respected. Hostetler wrote that 'The Amish ideal of work is not to get rid of it, but to utilize it in giving every member an opportunity to develop his faculties' (Hostetler 1977:358). Children as young as three or four are asked to do small tasks with their siblings, such as sweeping the floor, collecting eggs, helping in the garden (Hostetler and Huntington 1971:18 Hostetler 1993:157). References by my interviewees to having 'been taught to work' were commonplace in the interviews. When the Amish first moved off the farm, researchers questioned how children will be taught to work (Kraybill and Huntington 2012:441). The answer seems to be that although it is different now there is no farm work, children are still being trained to work by their parents. The women said, they just need to be a little more creative about it. The attitude to work and the strong work ethic of the Amish are directly related to the deep and inherited sense of their faith which they get from biblical instruction. For example, Colossians 3 v 17 states ‘Whatever you do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks through Him to God the Father’. Rumsey (2009) asked her research participants to describe what they meant by ‘work’. The answers varied e.g. “Being there every day, doing a good job at whatever I do” “When I’m on a job, I hold up my end” “It means you are dependable, not afraid to work, you work hard and are honest”'. Rumsey goes on to say that whenever she went to the home of an Amish woman for an interview ‘she would be working’ (2009: 78). That was my experience too, even when the women knew I was coming. Only one woman was sitting down on the front porch waiting, when I arrived.

1.9. Change or Drift?

Drift is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, as the slow and gradual movement from either one place or condition, to another. In anthropology, it is extrapolated from analogies in biology and arguably, as such, is ‘incomplete but useful’ (Harris 1971:150). I will argue in this thesis, that because of factors external to the Amish community, the effect of drift, has been to enable change within the Amish community. It should be clear, however, that drift is not a recent occurrence. Hostetler wrote in 1963 that ‘Although this Amish farmer, typical of many is abiding by the rules of his church, he has drifted far from the behaviour patterns of a generation ago’ (1963:322). Thus, Hostetler was acknowledging that some change was taking place within the Amish community as early as 1963 and that change does not always involve disobeying church *Ordnung*.

Take the use and growth of cellphones, for example, drift has enabled change. Cellphones were used gradually by more and more people but did not violate the *Ordnung*, because cellphones were not mentioned at that time in the church regulations. By the time the Bishops decided that they needed to discuss them with the church and make a decision about them, it was too late to take them back, because they had become so widespread. One of my interviewees told me:

> The cellphones have been an issue for quite some time already, and I don't think it has changed much. When they join church, they're supposed to give them up but I don't think a lot of them do. The Bishops turn a blind eye to it and also they don't know what to do. About two years ago, I guess it was, the Bishops in the church really wanted to crack down and get rid of all the cellphones. Well, I didn't verbally express myself but in my mind, you know, I thought, that's not going to happen because they're too deeply rooted with the guys and the gals too have had them for so long that they're not going to go back, they won't go back (140611RZ).

This woman was one of several to tell me this. Taken together, the external factors affecting drift have been the increasing cost of land in Lancaster County, causing men to move away from agriculture, the growth in the Amish population and the impact of a growing and thriving tourist industry in both Lancaster County and in Holmes County Ohio. Alongside drift, change has been allowed to happen either by decisions made by the Bishops to incorporate change into the *Ordnung*, or conversely, by default when the bishops do nothing. This will be explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

In 1964, Hostetler could write that 'the Amish charter REQUIRED that persons aspire to be labourers on farms and eventually farm owners' (I use capitals for emphasis) (Hostetler 1964:190). In the same chapter, he writes that "All family heads are required to limit their occupation to farming or to closely related activities such as operating a sawmill, carpentering or masonry". What was the norm in 1964 is no longer the case, in 2018. Amish men are successful entrepreneurs in a wide range of businesses – they are no longer limited to farming, masonry or working with wood. In the light of the high cost of land, a decision was made by the Bishops to allow men to become entrepreneurs so that they could remain on the farm wherever possible (Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps 1994:709). Being an Amish businessman is no longer just tolerated but completely accepted. This move has, in turn, generated wealth for the formerly agricultural community and will be discussed later in Chapters 5 and 6.

Kraybill and Nolt (1995, 2004:38) list twenty-three diverse occupations which are now common among the Amish. They include bakeries, garden furniture manufacturing and sales, animal sales, auctioneering, contracting and building and many more. It allowed them to 'enjoy the pleasures of profit whilst preserving the virtues of their religious community' (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:56). It enabled some men to work from home and thus continue the Amish tradition of working with their children. For those not able to work at home, the possibility of self-employment, rather than being a day labourer for a non-Amish employer, enabled them to continue the tradition of being available for the community events like barn raisings, weddings, frolics etc. For those who were not cut out to run businesses, there was the possibility of working for or with another Amish man who could. For a few, they would become employees in companies owned by non-Amish but in Lancaster County they are a small minority.

Dana makes that point that whilst outsiders might view Amish as living in the past and unchanging, the Amish do not consider themselves to be static at all: instead they view themselves as being successful entrepreneurs in the business of making things and growing food (Dana 2007:147). They see that they have changed and adapted when it was necessary. He goes on to elaborate on the Amish work ethic, 'Central to Amish culture is a highly-disciplined work ethic. Idleness is shunned. Discipline and self-determination are admired' (Dana 2007:147).

1.10. Community Life

Overall, it seems as if Amish community life has adapted surprisingly well to a minority remaining in agriculture. However, one of the most obvious outcomes has been the growth of wealth within the community. When all were farmers, earnings were very similar. But that is no longer the case now that some of the Amish businesses have multi-million dollar revenues from manufacturing operations (Kraybill and Nolt 2005:218). They quote a credit officer as saying, 'The wealth generated in the Amish community in the last ten years is just fantastic; it's phenomenal'. Forbes (9th March 1998), Fortune 500 (June 1995) and The Wall Street Journal (8th February 1996) have all had articles on Amish millionaires and the new wealth unexpectedly created by entrepreneurial success within the Amish community. However, change begets further change and the disparity in income has created something akin to an Amish class system (Hurst and McConnell 2010:210). Because entrepreneurship is a recently created Amish phenomenon, it is still evolving. But, it can be seen already that where Amish society was previously rather flat, because there was uniformity of education and occupation, there tended to be uniformity of income. Now there is a greater financial disparity (Moledina et al 2014). One entrepreneur noted:

> Anyone who has a fine eye can detect a clear difference between the farmers and the business owners. They buy finer clothing, it is the same colour and style but better material. They buy a new carriage every three or four years and have a high-quality horse (Kraybill and Nolt 2005:217).

Kraybill and Nolt predict that there will come to be a three-class society that will consist of farmers, entrepreneurs and day-labourers (2005: 221). When they wrote *Amish Enterprise*, the authors mentioned the fact that homes in Lancaster County were becoming much larger and better landscaped than before. This has only continued and in Chapter 5 I expand on this theme, supported by comments from some of the women I interviewed.

1.11. The Impact of Tourism

In Hostetler's first edition of *Amish Society* (1963), there is one paragraph in the entire book devoted to tourists. He writes that

> The curiosity and demand of the tourist for Amish products, whether for antiques, baked goods, or handcrafts has led to the creation of meaningful market associations with outgroups. The realization that goods can be sold for needed cash has caused many Amish households to sell these products (323).

He goes on to explain that some Amish families have sold family furniture or the contents of their corner cupboards because a tourist offered cash for it (323).

In the period between 1963 and 1993, there was a big increase in visitors to the area.

So that in the 1993 edition there are 6 pages devoted to tourism and the growing number of tourism with its attendant effects on the Amish. 'The major attraction is the Old Order Amish themselves, their farms, their traditions of farming and their dress and their customs' (1993:317). People from nearby metropolitan areas were buying up land and moving to the countryside where they could still be in reasonable commuting distance (Testa 1992:57, Walbert 2002:67ff). Land was wanted for farming by the Amish, 16,000 of them in 1988, but much more by developers for housing tracts, shopping malls and entertainment. In 1988, the Pennsylvania Dutch Tourist Bureau marketed the Lancaster area as a place to visit outlet malls 'and while you're here you can see the Amish at work' (Testa 1992:54). The Amish as a tourist attraction was and continues to be, promoted by the Pennsylvania Dutch Tourist Bureau but at that time the main attraction promoted was outlet shopping. In 1974, it was reported that three million tourists spent $160million dollars (Copeland and Copeland

1974:3). By 1988, figures for spending by tourists went up by $71 million dollars from just the year before, to a total of $416million in 1988 (U.S. Travel Data Center Testa 1992:53). By 1997 Buck described that there are staged 'Amish Farms' that the visitor can tour, Amish-themed restaurants, shows based on Amish themed novels, a wax-works school room as well as tours and trips on an Amish buggy (223). In all of this, there is little opportunity directly to interact with Amish people, because of the sheer numbers of tourists they would get little work done. According to Buck, the structure of the tourist enterprises is such that the Amish can remain separate and the tourists 'face away' from the Amish thus maintaining separation from the mainstream. In his research, he found tourists satisfied with what is offered to them, and that there was little desire to encounter Amish face to face. However, in 1993, Hostetler found that there were 600 tourist-related enterprises in Lancaster County, and this would only increase. During this period of growth there was great concern for the way that the land in Lancaster County was being developed, petitions, protests and planning appeals were almost routine as one development followed another. A journalist warned of over-development in July 1988:

> This is reality. The county's 'unique balance' of agriculture, business – industry and tourism broke down in the past decade. Business and industry soared. Tourism fattened. But farming declined…… (Klimuska 1988:1)

At the same time, similar tourist businesses were being developed in Holmes County, that mirrored those in Lancaster County and in 1970, Amish Acres opened in Nappanee, Indiana. Tourism was developing wherever the Amish were living. In Holmes County, Ohio, Berlin is the centre of the tourist industry there. The Amish Heritage Village opened in 1976 and consists of about 20 buildings. Visitors can tour an Amish farm, take a buggy ride and there are several shopping options. Twice yearly is an arts and crafts festival, Der Dutch Pedlar, which draws crowds from outside the state. Berlin is also home to the Amish and Mennonite Information Centre, *Behalt.* Nearby, visitors can tour several cheese factories that employ Amish workers and take home samples of 'Amish' cheese.

In 2016, the organisation, 'Discover Lancaster', estimated that there were 8.4 million visitors to Lancaster County, and that visitor spending supported 24,000 jobs making tourism the fifth largest non-agricultural private sector provider of jobs in the county (DiscoverLancaster.com) and in 2018, Forbes placed Lancaster in the top ten cities to visit in the US (DiscoverLancaster.com March 1st 2018). Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt (2013) say that in the 25 years following the film *Witness* (1985) annual visitors to Lancaster County skyrocketed to 11 million visitors each year (54). All these visitors needed hotels, motels, shops, restaurants, as well as souvenirs to take home. They have provided work for Amish people – girls and women are waitresses clerks, and hostesses in restaurants and shops, some women offer meals for tourists in their homes, there are Amish recipe books and Amish patchwork quilts are fabulous keepsakes and a great reminder of the trip to Amish Country. Other women have Farmers Market stands where tourists can take home pies and pickles that they have enjoyed on holiday. Many of the farms have produce stands where tourists can purchase locally grown fruit or vegetables to take home. The village of Intercourse is largely given over to shops for tourists, places like Kitchen Kettle Village, Lapp Valley Ice Cream and The Old Country Store to name just three and whilst English entrepreneurs dominate these places, Amish people may also be working there as owners or staff. Small wooden toys or forged metal items, a silhouette of an Amish man in a horse and buggy, for example, can also be keepsakes for the tourists.

These outlets and items would likely not exist without the tourist industry. The tourists visit because it is 'Amish Country'. The Amish may believe that tourism is worldly foolishness but there is a co-dependency when it comes to infrastructure and employment. One of my interviewees in Holmes County told me,

> You cannot stand still. You cannot. And, as the community grows this is the largest Amish community in the world and as the community grows, there's not farmland for everyone. You cannot make more farmland. So again, the men have been forced to go into other jobs. We are very fortunate in this area, we have a big community and we have a lot of industry here, and because of the big community we have a lot of carpentry work, a lot of furniture making because of the tourism. We are very fortunate but that has changed our lifestyle drastically (140620 MB).

It was interesting to me that Mary linked tourism to the local furniture making industry, explaining that many Amish who moved from farming went into woodworking and furniture making. To my thinking there is a strong link that has allowed Amish men to move from farming, into a local industry that has grown with the tourist industry. Prior to the advent of tourism in the Holmes County/Tuscarawas area, there was some furniture making, but mostly the area was previously known for its brick kilns. But she could recognise that the three industries were linked together. When the decision was made to move from farming in Holmes County, there were already a few furniture workshops that could absorb men with woodworking skills. Some workers remained there in the factories, whilst others honed their skills and then became self-employed. Some men joined together to make construction crews and travelled further than ever before to work on new homes and refurbishments. The increase in tourism brought customers to buy the goods. Others made wooden or metal items specifically for the tourist market, bird boxes and bird houses, children's toys and small pieces of furniture that could easily be transported home with the tourists (Hurst and McConnell 2010:176).

In summary, the Lancaster Amish were affected negatively and positively by the increase in tourist numbers. Negatively because of the effect of increased road traffic, until they developed a preference for using back roads to be safer (Testa 1992:42). On the positive side, the economic boom brought prosperity to them in the form of construction sites, manufacturing shops, quilt shops, repair shops, paint stores and storage barn manufacturers. There may have been other factors which helped the Amish people to accept the inconvenience of tourists, some who did not want to live in such a busy area moved away. But Buck (1979:11) has suggested that 'the Amish may perceive tourism as persecution in a modern form' so that tourism may actually serve to reinforce collective solidarity and strengthen individual character. The Amish men working in them were 'making a wage they could never earn on the family farm' (Testa 1992:58).

Others joined mobile work crews, picked up each morning by van and transported to wherever they were working (Testa 1992:58). Amish family farms were being subdivided to accommodate a population who wanted to farm but who could not afford to do so. Instead they kept the land and opened a workshop, so that they could live on the land they owned but could no longer farm.

1.12. Thesis outline

In Chapter 2, I write about my methodology and why I used ethnography as my research method. Chapter 3 considers changes and stability in Amish life and looks at how the community has changed in response to changes in mainstream life. I look at four characteristics that define an Amish person and consider how these have changed. I expand Zygmunt Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity and consider how the lives of Amish people may be viewed through this lens. Chapter 4, looks at changes in occupations of women and uses Pal Repstad's analysis of what happens '*When Religions of Difference Grow Softer'* to examine if this is what may be happening with the Amish. I also consider how Amishness is being transmitted to upcoming generations despite ongoing change. Chapter 5 considers the mechanics of change and how change is negotiated. In Chapter 6, I explain what I call, 'Unyielding Flexibility', the way in which Amish incorporate change into their lives. I use the examples of Women's Dress, Amish Lifestyle Changes and Attitudes to Vacations to demonstrate this flexibility. Chapter 7 triangulates with Chapter 1 and summarises the previous 6 chapters, and then moves to discuss how what I have discovered could be taken forward in further research.

1.13. Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the thesis and surveyed the existing scholarship.

I outlined some salient points about Amish society, looked at the position of Amish women and talked about the importance of work to the Amish.

I then looked at what had happened in Lancaster when the Amish moved away from farming and became entrepreneurs. In Chapter 2 I consider my Methodology and describe what I did and why I did it that way, when I entered the field for the first time.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological choices available to me as a researcher and my choice of ethnography. Next, I describe how I went about doing the work, and the challenge this posed in a community which traditionally is not completely open to outsiders. I consider the problems faced by researchers in gaining access, finding women willing to talk to an outsider, and the hurdle of record-keeping, note-taking, and recording the interviews and how these were overcome.

I discuss the process of combining interview material and other observations with field notes. I acknowledge the struggles I had in finding a balance between doing this and disclosing too much about my own life.

2.2. Research Design

2.2.1. Method

Mason argues that any questions beginning with 'What' or 'How' are best answered by choosing a qualitative method (Mason 1996:164). Since I was asking the question, 'What has changed?', I knew that a qualitative approach would work best. This is because I was looking for an answer about what is going on, what changes have happened and continue to happen in the lives of women. If my question had been a 'Why' question, then a quantitative method would have been more appropriate, since it would have allowed for a comparison of groups but in this case a qualitative method seemed best.

Creswell writes;

> Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of enquiry that explore a social or human problem. The

> researcher builds a complex holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting. (1998:15)

Primarily, I wanted to talk to women in their own setting, their homes, gardens, and workplaces if such places existed. I wanted to be as near as possible to the women's own natural environment. Alongside this, I expected to be able to talk to others in the community about their views of what had changed although I had no idea who those people might be. Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) claim;

> Qualitative research is multi-method in focus involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives.

This definition, described exactly what I had in mind, that I would ask different Amish women to describe their lives to me, tell me stories of how they remembered life in the past and make a comparison with what they now described.

Qualitative research also allows a researcher to 'tell a story' or write in a way which includes the researcher and makes the researcher an active learner in the process of finding out rather than an 'expert' in the field, passing a judgment on the participants and research findings, (Mason1996: 164). I wanted to tell the story of how life had changed and what differences the changes have made in the lives of Amish women. I knew from my previous visits to stay with Amish friends, that we held different world views and that their practices and lifestyle differed from mine, so I felt it would need several visits for to me accurately portray what I was hearing, and I planned several fieldwork trips to gather data.

Mason identifies what makes for good qualitative research practice. It should be:

> Systematically, rigorously and ethically conducted although not rigid or structured. It should be strategically conducted yet flexible and contextual, showing both a sound research strategy and sensitivity to changing contexts in which the research takes place. There should be a recognition that the researcher cannot be neutral from the knowledge and evidence they are generating in the study and therefore it is important that there is self-scrutiny and active reflexivity to understand the researcher's role in the process. (Mason 1996:5)

She argues strongly that description is insufficient but that good qualitative research will produce social explanations about the subject of the study, and that it should be possible to show that these explanations have a wider resonance than just the topic in the study.

After three fieldwork visits, in September 2012, June 2014 and September 2014, I had more than sufficient material from interviews and conversations to begin making sense of it all.

2.2.2. Research Location

My original intention had been to interview Amish women in Pennsylvania, but after my first fieldwork in Ohio, I decided to consider the experiences of Old Order in Pennsylvania and Old and New Order in Ohio: there is more diversity in Ohio and therefore there was an increased opportunity to interview women from both groups[5].

I had intended to look at ways in which these changes might be connected to the move out of farming which I had observed on visits to Pennsylvania. This shifted slightly, due to my

[5] The New Order in Pennsylvania closed in 2012.

findings during my first fieldwork in Ohio. I did not meet women whose husbands had been farmers. So, I decided instead to concentrate on the changes that have taken place in the lives of Old and New Order women themselves, rather than associate it with that of their husband's employment. I changed my idea so that it would now include changes that had taken place for the women, whatever they were now doing.

2.2.3. Population

I chose the Lancaster (Pennsylvania) settlement for two reasons, firstly, it's the oldest Amish settlement in the US, and secondly, because I had Amish friends there who were willing to find women there for me to interview.

I chose Holmes County, Ohio because it's the largest settlement and is more diverse than Lancaster (Ref: Hurst and McConnell2010: ix) which seemed as though it would provide a useful comparison with Pennsylvania. In the account of how I came to go to Ohio described in Chapter 1, it 'just happened' that the Beachy family came from Sugarcreek, which is at the heart of the Holmes County/Tuscarawas settlement in Ohio, so that was both convenient and serendipitous.

> Every field situation *is* different and initial luck in meeting good informants, being in the right place at the right time and striking the right note in relationships, may be just as important as skill in technique. Indeed, many successful episodes in the field do come about through good luck as much as through sophisticated planning, and many unsuccessful episodes are due as much to bad luck as to bad judgement. (Sarsby 1984:96).

From the time I met him, I felt blessed in meeting Reuben Beachy because it led to exceptional access to Amish women in Ohio that I could not otherwise have anticipated and most likely, would not have experienced. In Ohio, Gertrude, Reuben's sister became my gatekeeper and initial key informant whilst in Lancaster County, Anna, filled that role. Later, others, notably Marlene and two Mary's all became key informants for different parts of the research.

2.2.4. Access to & Curiosity of the Group about my Research

When I started planning this research, Anna was the only Amish woman I knew in Pennsylvania. I did not even know if it would be possible to find women who would talk to me. A serious limitation in ethnography is that it relies on being able to gain access into a group, also is the choice of key informants and how to ensure that they are representative. The researcher must make decisions about how to get the key informants 'on side' to maintain their willingness to support the research and continue to enable access to the group. Recognising the potential challenge of finding women in Ohio, I was grateful for a gatekeeper as I knew no-one there at all. Gertrude found women for me to interview and it was a great relief to me, because several researchers have reported difficulty in being able to gain access to Amish people for purposes of research (Bender 1989; Graybill 2009, Feeley 2009). Sue Bender who was living in California when she began her search for Amish women, says 'I wrote hundreds of letters asking for help. I searched quilting magazines writing to anyone vaguely connected with Amish life' (1989: 29). Eventually, she advertised in *The Budget* but, six weeks later, had had no response. She wrote to the grandparents of her son's girlfriend who lived near an Amish community in Iowa, asking if they knew of any Amish who might let her live with them for six weeks. That did not work because they knew of no-one. She asked two quilt-dealer friends if they knew anyone and they assured her "No Amish family will take you in, it's just not done" (Bender 1989: 30). Eventually, she got a contact from one of these dealers who put her in touch with a man, who ran a General Store in an Amish community in Brimfield, Iowa, and he eventually found a family who would let her stay with them. It took her more than one year.

Beth Graybill, who had been living and researching among Amish and Mennonite women for 12 years when she began her PhD, wrote that ‘In this research, my partial membership was an asset. Being Mennonite gave me a beginning level of entry with Amish women that probably would have been harder to achieve otherwise’ (Graybill 2009:76). But even so, her sample size was very small and some were Mennonite, rather than Amish. She goes on to say that:

> Despite my promises of anonymity, it seemed to me that with each research participant there was a period of proving which necessitated several visits before a time could be agreed to tape-record an interview. And some would never agree to be taped (78).

So, even though she had contacts with Amish women, she still encountered some difficulties finding women to take part in her project.

Siebert states in her section on Research Procedure:

> Because the Amish have often been misused by non-ethnics, especially by representatives of the mass media, they are reluctant to grant interviews to strangers. Tank and Merk were confronted with the insurmountable obstacle of Amish people indifferent to their purposes and both were unable to achieve their results with the collaboration of their subjects (2005; 7).

The researchers she mentions, Heide Tank and Kurt-Peter Merk are both native German speakers and it might be imagined that because of this, access would have been more easily achieved.

Ashley Feeley wrote:

> After failing to obtain a substantial sample, more participants were recruited through snowball sampling. Some Amish community members were wary of researchers. One Amish community felt they had been misrepresented by previous researchers and were concerned this might happen again. Thus, many potential participants rescinded their agreements to participate. Wariness of researchers could have also influenced participant responses. (2009:9)

Aware of all these difficulties before I began my fieldwork caused me some anxiety. But I really did not experience problems in gaining access; in fact, I believe I had exceptional access for someone coming from another country, once my gatekeepers began to find women for me to interview. Only one woman, who agreed with Gertrude to spend some time with me, later put a note on her door that she had changed her mind, and I should not ring the doorbell as she would not answer. So, although we did not meet, my one regret is that I did not bring the note away with me, as it was a characteristically blunt message that reflected no rudeness but simply a change of mind; although to my English eyes, it looked amusing and a prime example of what Hurst and McConnell meant when they wrote 'the Amish can be 'beastly blunt' (2010:191).

I came to understand that in Sugarcreek, the Amish community have a lot of respect for Gertrude and because of wanting to help Gertrude, women were willing to talk to me. I discuss later in this chapter what actions I took that may have assisted such good access to and contact with the women. What I do not know, is if there were women that Gertrude approached who declined to be interviewed.

Overall, it appears that Amish people have little curiosity about what goes on in 'the world' (Hostetler 1993:75) and it was striking to me that I was rarely asked by anyone, who else I had interviewed or was intending to interview. There are two explanations for this. The first is that they already knew who I had been speaking to, without my telling them, since news travels fast within the community. The second reason why they may not have shown interest in who I was interviewing might be that they have little interest in what people ‘in the world’, do, as and I am in that group. That said, almost all the families I know, show great interest in me and demonstrate care for me and my life regularly asking about my health and my husband. Some of them mail me articles or photographs that they think I should see, in case it will help my research.

From knowing no-one in Sugarcreek, I now have a cohort of Amish families where I know I will be welcomed. The people we already knew in Pennsylvania are still good friends and the research has not had a negative impact on our relationship, although, especially latterly, I have had far less time to nurture the relationship.

2.3. Ethnography and Participant Observation

Malinowski (1922) is sometimes described as the father of ethnography and he believed that researchers should spend time with the people being studied in their natural surroundings, learning from them through their daily business and watching events as they unfold. He described this as more scientific and more reliable approach to the work of a researcher than using someone else’s accounts. Second, he believed it was more trustworthy than interrogation of an individual, although he did give place to taking time to talk with individuals. Third, he believed that ethnography needed time, so as:

> to mitigate the effects of being an outsider to the extent that they, the researched, then become comfortable with the researcher’s presence. It must be remembered that as the natives saw me constantly every day, they ceased to be interested or alarmed or made self-conscious by my presence, and I ceased to be a disturbing element in the tribal life which I was to study (Malinowski 1992[1922]8).

Fourth, he felt time was necessary to allow the researcher to become something of an insider, to learn, as he put it, how to behave and acquire the feeling for good and bad manners, to feel in touch with the natives (1992:8). Another reason Malinowski felt time needed to be taken in the field is so that there could be ‘a cross-fertilisation of constructive work and observation’ (74) this means observations and findings can be integrated to enable accurate conclusions to be drawn.

In his understanding, it was important not only to watch but to join in the activities going on, so that the researcher lives among and joins in the life of the people being studied. His method of joining in and accessing the group was via a ‘key informant’.

In addition,

> Key informants may become particularly important to the research. They often develop an appreciation of the research and direct the ethnographer to situations, events or people likely to be helpful to the progress of the investigation (Bryman 2012:439).

However, it is important that the researcher does not develop an over-dependence on key informants and the researcher should always weigh up what he is being told with what he sees in the field. That way, bias can be guarded against, rather accepting what you are told, which may come with bias or prejudice.

2.3.1. The Nature of Ethnography and Participant Observation

Living with an Amish family gave me opportunity for participant observation. Participant observation is a main method of ethnography and involves taking part as a member of a community while making mental and then theoretically informed observations (O’Reilly 2009:150), whereas participant involvement means that I do what the people I am observing are doing, in this case, quilting, gardening, cooking and many other domestic tasks. For me, the purpose of taking part, wherever I was invited, was to feel and experience what the women were doing. It added greatly to the data gained in interviews to help me to understand what I was hearing by seeing and experiencing daily life. My main method of getting information was by interviewing; anything else that I did, such as visiting or helping with errands was simply an opportunity to add to the information gained in interviewing. Living with a family enabled me to be involved with their daily lives in the way that I might not, if I had stayed in a motel or found a short-term apartment, and just visited them to carry out interviews, and returned to my accommodation. Living with a family and taking part in daily activities made the research experience richer than it might have been if I had only conducted interviews.

2.3.2. What Participant Involvement was like

Participant involvement found me sitting at a quilting frame with seven older Amish women (allowed only to stitch along the underside of a quilt top since my sewing ability was unproven). What I learned at the quilting frame was an appreciation for the friendship and fellowship that these women have, with and for one another. It surprised me that sometimes there were five or six quilting frames with women sitting at each of them. I had been more familiar with seeing one frame in a home or in a room above the Thrift Store with four to eight women working at it. The larger event was more than just a few women getting together to quilt. It was an opportunity for older women to spend time with younger women, even teens or children and to teach younger women. Additionally, it was an opportunity to meet and quilt with women that were not in the immediate locality. Piercy and Cheek (2004:17) speak about quilting as a ‘means of expressing generativity and transmitting family and cultural lore’. It was evident that teaching as well as talking to others was part of getting together. In Piercy and Cheek’s study (2004) the Amish women spoke of how they had long-standing friendships with some of their fellow-quilters for fifty years or more. Quilting seemed to be sustaining friendships as much as it was about making a quilt.

I sometimes spent a morning picking vegetables from the garden with family members and then slicing and chopping by hand, to get them ready for cold packing. It was hard work because, although I consider myself both a gardener and a cook, I am unused to working with large quantities of food such as they were preparing. What I learned from it, was that Amish women are raised with a different attitude to work than in the mainstream. Rumsey speaks of the way Amish are 'taught to work' (Rumsey 2009:73). The adults did not need to do something for the children to persuade them to work or to 'make it seem like fun' – the young girls joined in and worked consistently until the job was done. Or as I found myself sitting at a table outside, one evening, hulling box after box of strawberries picked from the ground by three sisters earlier in the day, I noticed the same care with which even the young children worked. Emma told us that we hulled 80lbs, which she wanted for a community event the next day.

Laga Kirkham (2013) writes that:

> By engaging in this communal practice (of food preparation), the Amish table their individual needs and focus on helping others. By doing so, they not only emphasize the community over themselves but they also work to create communal bonds and unity with each other (26).

This was my experience each time I worked with Amish women. Perhaps they would not have been able to verbalise that this is what was happening when they prepared mounds of vegetables for canning or spaghetti sauce, but it helps to explain why they have such strong bonds in their community.

After each of these events I wrote copious notes, recording what I had experienced that day, making notes about little stories of the day, writing answers that I had been given to questions, as well as my own impressions of what was happening. And, interspersed with these activities I made appointments and conducted interviews. The notes and stories were in addition to the transcripts produced by the interviews I conducted. It all added up to a lot of hand writing. Consequently, by the time I had completed three fieldwork trips, I felt as if I was drowning in data, and, oddly, this helped to confirm for me that what I had done, was to use ethnography as my method. Ethnography is a qualitative methodology that draws on information gathered from the daily life of the people being studied (O'Reilly 2009:3).
I lived with several different Amish families during my fieldwork, and took part in their family life, I watched how the families lived, listened to what took place within the family and asked many questions. I attended a variety of community events, Sister's days, Auctions, Frolics of several sorts and large family gatherings, usually called reunions. My car and driver took the host family shopping on trips to Walmart, Costco and Target on a regular basis. Several times we made one-off trips to Garden Centres or specialist stores for floor-covering, DIY stores or to do errands that were too far away to take a horse and buggy. When the journey or activity was over, I would disappear to my bedroom and note down my impressions of the event or how I had experienced it, write up my field notes and what I had learnt. It was often very tiring. In the evenings when we would gather in the family room, I would write up my journal. Many Amish people keep diaries so spending time reflecting on the day and writing about it was in keeping with Amish life and I did not stand out as a researcher but instead, it allowed me to blend in with the family. I was doing what many of them did each evening. Since journals are private, I was never asked what I was doing and no-one showed interest in reading it. If I wanted to think about or write about something

which had been particularly challenging or emotional, then I did that in the bedroom, after everyone had retired for the night.

One last comment on the benefits of participation for me, was that, since I came from overseas and only knew Anna when I started, if I had not been able to develop relationships with people by taking part in daily life, I don't think they would have shared with me in the way that they did if I had not worked alongside them in the kitchen or garden. I did not ask about these topics, but four women talked to me about use of birth control and three spoke about two separate cases of homosexuality in their church district. I regard these both as intimate subjects but I believe they talked about them because they felt comfortable with me and trusted me. Adkins (2011:46) makes a similar point about participant ethnography creating a trust that impacts on the quality of information gained in interviews. Charmaz (2006:25) argues that ethnographers are more likely to participate then observe because their aim is to understand something from the inside rather than trying to look at it from the outside. Fieldwork enables us to see people acting informally and spontaneously and it often forces the fieldworker to learn how to behave according to the rules and norms of the society. Thus, taking part helps to gain an insight into things people might not mention because it is obvious to them, but not to the visitor (O'Reilly 2009:155).

2.3.3. Ethnography and Sensory Ethnography

Afterwards, reading through my field notes I realised that I had made notes about my visits to Amish homes in a way that provided evidence for sensory ethnography. Although incomplete, since I did not know about sensory ethnography at the time I did the fieldwork, they are a useful tool to recreate the memory of my visits. If I had known, I would have made a concerted effort to include more of this material in my descriptions in the field notes. A sensory ethnography of an Amish home is provided as scene-setting as Appendix 3. Pink (2007a:22) defines ethnography as:

> A process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers' own experiences. It does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and inter-subjectivities through which the knowledge was produced.

Thinking about what ethnographers do in practice, O'Reilly writes that although they work across various disciplines and incorporate different practices, the minimum definition of what they do is:

> Iterative-inductive research (that evolves in design through the study), drawing on a family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human agents within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience that acknowledges the role of theory as well as the researcher's own role and that views humans as part object/part subject (2005:3).

This is a wider definition than that proposed by Delamont (2004) where she defines 'proper ethnography' as being 'participant observation during fieldwork' (206), something that she proposes is 'done by living with people being studied, watching them work and play, thinking carefully about what is seen, interpreting it and talking to the actors to check the emerging interpretations' (206).

I admit that this is closer to what I thought I was doing during my first two fieldwork visits but by the time I did the third, I had begun to appreciate that it was part of the whole of experience of gathering data during a fieldwork visit, more in line with O'Reilly's definition.

In addition, from my reading I see that ethnographic methods are not fixed but evolving, and that the popularity of various ethnographic methods are emerging all the time. Pink (2009) describes sensory ethnography as a developing field of practice. This is because it is now possible for digital and audio technologies to be used in ethnography as well as these being virtual or online. Digital methods include video or film making, song writing or inventing a recipe with one's research participants (Pink 2009:7). To sum up the understanding of sensory ethnography, it can be an important method of gathering information that adds to the sum of information gathered by qualitative methods. Participant observation combined with non-directive interviewing remains a key method used in different kinds of ethnography. Whilst I did not set out to specifically carry out a sensory ethnography, I have used it as part of my work, because I had recorded my sensory impressions in my field notes and wanted to incorporate it.

2.3.4. Making Field Notes

I used field notes to describe two things. Firstly, what I was seeing and second, how I interpreted what I saw. I used pencil to do the first and then added in biro anything that I felt was raised as a question that contributed to the second. That way, I could easily distinguish between what I saw and experienced and the follow-on questions it raised. For each trip, I used an A4 Pukka Project Pad with tabs, so that I could use different tabs for each geographical area. That way, the people in Sugarcreek were placed in a different part of the notebook to those in Dundee. Those in Perry County in a different tab to those in Baltic. This kind of practical separation helped me to separate them in my mind. The challenge it raised was that on my next visit, I might go back to those places to see different women, and then I had the information in two different notebooks. I dated the notebooks to enable me to work out which women were seen on which visit. I have diaries also with appointments, which helped me to cross-check this and dates on the transcripts confirm the interview dates. When I am quoting from an interview transcription, I have used a six-digit date and the initials of the interviewee. Sometimes the initials appear at the end of the date and sometimes at the beginning. Normally they will appear at the end, but I put them at the beginning, if I had a second conversation with the woman, and I did this just to remind myself, that it would not be in the main transcript. It appears inconsistent, but was a personal reminder to myself how to identify the transcription.

2.3.5. Advantages and Disadvantages of Participant Observation

Taking part in activities with the group being investigated allows the researcher to gain a genuine personal experience of that group. By acting alongside the group, the researcher can gain insight into viewpoints, problems, meanings of actions and this helps to authenticate the experience. Participant observation can be useful in accessing groups where access might be difficult. Participation also makes it possible for the researcher to see for themselves what is happening, and get a feel for how the group really live. The experience can produce rich qualitative data. It may also lead to further contacts for interviews, as people in the group feel more comfortable with the outsider. Being willing to take up genuine unplanned experiences of the group allows the researcher to follow different directions as the opportunity arises, for example, to find out about something that the researcher might not have thought to ask. In my case, one of the families I lived with, took me on a tour to see ‘new’ businesses that had started as the families left farming. I saw an Amish General Store, a new mattress-making business, a buggy workshop and an ice-cream start-up business which provided jobs in the community. (Field notes). Wholly unexpected, it led to several interviews.

There are also disadvantages to participant observation. This type of research is very time-consuming and disruptive to the researcher's 'normal' life and in addition, it may be financially costly to travel and stay away from home. Some ethnographic studies have taken years to complete Trench's study (1970) of the homeless in London took her three years of living on the streets, Whyte took four years to study his Street Corner Gangs (1992). When a study covers illegal activity or where covert observation is used to gain access to a group, the researcher may need to reconcile serious ethical difficulties. There may be an emotional cost to undertaking studies like this. Joining a gang or studying criminal gangs or drug users by being with them, may create a dilemma for a researcher who did not intend to get involved in anything illegal and who does not want to blow his cover and admit that he is not in fact a true member of the group but is researching and studying the group. Any covert research is emotionally demanding and stress may make project completion difficult to achieve without considerable emotional support. Also, small sample sizes may make it hard to generalise from the data and lastly, there is a risk of bias where researchers become close to their research subjects because of close interaction or sympathy with the group. It may become difficult to maintain research objectivity. For myself, I felt so close to two families who very willingly hosted me, and went out of their way to provide me with interesting experiences among the Amish community that I felt the need to remove them from my research.

2.4. Interviewing

Kvale (1983:174) defines the qualitative research interview as 'an interview whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena'. The goal of any qualitative interview is to see the research topic from the perspective of the interviewee and to understand how and why they have come to this perspective (King 2004:11). Wherever possible, I used a digital voice recorder to record the interview. This is a small piece of equipment, similar in size to a mobile phone, and indeed some of my interviewees thought that was what it was. I always asked permission to record them, and explained that I would then be transcribing the interviews to write down what they had said. At the end of the interview, I asked them if they would like a written copy of their interviews sent to them. Most said that they would not, but a few did ask for it and I sent it off to them, usually within a month of returning home. King also makes the point that the interviewee is a key player in research process, such that they are 'actively shaping the course of the interview' (11). To ensure their part in the process my aim was to respond to the direction that they took the interview. This felt risky because on occasion they took it in directions I would not have chosen and that could take a lot of time. Overall, it worked once I had reconciled myself to it.

Throughout the interviews, I used open-ended questions and avoided multiple questions. In my professional life, I had been trained to do this and although I had not worked for the last three years; after the first two or three pilot interviews, I found the techniques came back to me.

2.4.1. 'Choosing' a sample and Conducting Pilot Interviews

Pilot interviews in Ohio were carried out within the Holmes County and Tuscarawas settlement, mostly around Sugarcreek. Initially, Gertrude, my gatekeeper approached women she knew and if they expressed a willingness to talk to me, she gave me their telephone number and I would call them.

They usually asked if I was writing a book, or if I planned to do so. In one informal telephone conversation prior to an interview, I had mentioned writing 'papers' and the participant misunderstood that to mean writing for a newspaper. At the time we met, I clarified that this was not the purpose of the interviews and explained the likely use of the material, describing how academics speak of their written work as ‘papers’ that may or may not ever be published. Wilma, the interviewee was happy with that explanation.

An academic from Ohio State University gave me an introduction to a New Order Bishop so I called on him to explain what I was hoping to do, before starting any interviews. He spent an afternoon with me, answering my questions and asking his own. Doing that seemed to ease the way for in-depth conversations with others. It was as if my talking to the Bishop helped some husbands to trust me with their wives.

2.4.2. Arranging interviews

Gertrude had already explained to the women who I was and what I was wanting to do, before asking them if they would see me. Use of the telephone is only partially successful in setting up interviews. This is because most phones are ‘message only’ so it is rare that they answer the telephone when it rings. My practice was to leave a message saying, ‘I will come at such and such a time, and if this isn’t convenient, please call this number and leave a message.’ I could receive messages on the telephone that belonged to my hosts but, like many Old Order Amish, the telephone is in the barn and is for voice messages only. I could then pick up messages if they called back and if not, then I would keep the appointment I had made. Using my own mobile phone to make and receive calls was unworkable, since there is little mobile coverage in the area, and if the Amish were to call my number, it could prove costly to them, as the call would be routed through the UK. Offering them an option to leave a message for me on the voice mail of my hosts, usually worked. The disadvantage of it was that it identified for the caller where I was staying, although no one in the Old Order asked me about this. Families in the New Order, if they have a telephone usually have them inside their homes and so they can answer it when it rings. Both Old and New Order women spend a lot of time at home, so it is relatively easy to arrive unannounced at their home and either to do business at that time or to make an appointment to call back at a mutually convenient time for the interview. I was more comfortable making an appointment and calling back another day. 'Visiting' in this way is common to both Old and New Order and welcomed by them. They did not appear to find it an unusual arrangement that I would call without a prior appointment. Six years on, it is becoming common to be given a cellphone number for Old Order Amish.

2.4.2a <u>Conducting Interviews</u>

I used a semi-structured interview style of interviewing (Bryman2012:470). Semi structured interviews allow the interviewee to say what they want to talk about without my directing them. The use of an interview schedule (Appendix 4) enables the researcher to use a set of questions as a reminder of the direction of travel but is not welded to them and detours can be taken to incorporate the interviewees' responses. Semi-structured interviews have been called 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess, cited in Mason1996:38) and are used to encourage interviewees to talk, even at length about a topic or a range of topics. See 2.4.3a – c for more on the actual interviews.

Since none of the women were known to me and they knew I was from England, most of them were curious to know how I had selected them and why I was interested in the Amish community. After the first week, word had circulated quickly that I was interviewing women for a research project, that I was English from England, and that I had already spent some time with the Bishop. Although I tried to talk about the confidentiality issues and to stress that no-one would see the material, how it would be kept safe and what it would be used for, this is not an issue that concerns many Amish as they typically have much more 'open' lives in their community than do non-Amish. The Church encourages them to avoid having secrets; living in close contact with one another they are accustomed to sharing aspects of their lives that non-Amish might want to remain private. They had no difficulty if other members of the family sat around the table whilst the interview was taking place, although, at times, in the beginning, I was sometimes uncomfortable with this arrangement.

So, after the first two or three interviews, I relaxed more into the role, and felt the interviews were more like the purposeful conversations I had anticipated. Since both sides of the conversation were recorded, the transcriptions were more logical. After the first fieldwork, I did not to place a restriction on interview length so that if necessary, I could return for a second visit, if the woman had plenty to say. During the pilot interviews, I did one interview, possibly two interviews a day. But on my second and third trips, when I was spending more time with women in the community, I tried not to do more than two interviews in one day, but occasionally this did not work and I had to do three. When that happened, I found I needed to give myself at least half of the following day to recover, as I found conducting interviews exhausting.

Eventually, data was obtained from interviewing thirty-eight women; thirty of them are used in this thesis. Interviews were recorded when women were comfortable with a voice recorder and who were permitted by their *Ordnung* to be recorded. I used a notebook for the remaining interviews to record the content of what they were saying and to make my own field notes about my feelings, any explanations of noises, interruptions and responses. It was not easy to write down what was being said, in response to my questions and at the same time to write down what was happening in the room – people coming and going etc. To help to distinguish between my own thoughts and the answers of those women who did not wish to be recorded, I used pen and pencil, pencil for the interview content and pen for everything else.

2.4.3. The Nature of Interviews

I intended to use non-directive, client-centred interviewing techniques to talk with the women, focusing on open-ended questions and allowing time for the women to answer. If I wanted the women to add to their initial answer, I stayed silent to encourage them to expand their answers. This did not always work. Amish have no difficulty listening to silence so sometimes they left a much longer period and felt no need to speak, where non-Amish might have filled the silence with more words. I used an interview guide as a basis for my questions, more for my sake than theirs, because I wanted there to be a measure of uniformity about the topics we covered, without repetition. The interview guide served too, to jog my memory on the days when I did not feel as sharp or perceptive as I would have liked.

a) Creating the interview setting

The interviews took place in the homes of Amish women, and often at the kitchen table. Sometimes women were quilting at a quilting frame adjacent to the table, as we spoke. About half of the time other people were present for the interview, these included children, sisters, friends, and sometimes, unidentified relatives. Three times a husband was present although silent.

It did not seem problematic to the women to have other people there. Also, because Amish people are very comfortable with silence, it never appeared that the visitors around the table were intrusive or that they felt compelled to take part. Whenever I was asked, by the women, if it was okay if someone else was present, I explained that 'in the world' we would regard it as preferable that there was no-one else there to safeguard the confidentiality of the interview, but that the final decision was theirs. I was initially uncomfortable with interviewing women when others were present but I did get used to it.

b) Form of the interview

Sometimes there was a gap of up to one month between Gertrude arranging the appointment and my visit, when I turned up to talk to them, and sometimes, they had either forgotten the reason for my visit or forgotten what it would be about. To counter this, I explained to the women before I started that there are no right or wrong answers. I was simply wanting to identify changes that had happened over the last 30 years or so. I explained to them they would not be identifiable from the information they gave me. Confidentiality is an unfamiliar concept to Amish people, since Amish culture does not encourage secrecy. So often I found I had to explain why confidentiality might be important and why it is generally considered important to guard the identities of people who take part in research. My explanation about how material would be stored and who might access it, was viewed with something approaching incredulity by most of the women being interviewed.

c) <u>Role of the Interviewer</u>

I would usually begin, not with a question, but by saying something like, 'So, let's start. Tell me about your family'. That would usually be enough to start them talking. I jotted down notes as they spoke to me about what they were saying so that I could ask follow-up questions. I had an interview schedule of the topics I wanted to cover. Interviews typically were between 75 minutes and 2 hours, excluding time at the beginning for informal talk and introductions. Since none of the women were known to me and I was unknown to them, most of them were curious to know how I knew Gertrude and why I was interested in the Amish community.

d) <u>Using Dress to my Advantage</u>

The importance of dressing in a way that will not distract or get in the way of cooperation from the participants has been well-documented (Halliwell, Lawton and Gregory 2005:43). Before the field trip, I bought two longish denim skirts that would be serviceable and comfortable to wear. I was pleased therefore, to be told, by an older Amish woman, during the second week, "Fran, we were talking about it, and we're pleased that you're wearing a skirt, we don't know what to say to women who come here wearing trousers".

Secondly, I removed my jewellery knowing that the Old Order women do not wear jewellery. Married women do not even have a wedding ring.

Thirdly, I also decided that for the period of the research, I would not wear make-up.

I had read that some researchers wear a head covering on fieldwork trips, but I decided not to do this, as it would be an unfamiliar situation to me, and Amish don't expect English women to have their heads covered.

2.4.4. Managing Personal Disclosure

During the first visit, I did not find this to be an issue, but the more time I spent with the Amish women and the more familiar I became with them, I became increasingly aware of needing to hold back from sharing my own life with them. I think this happened because I felt so privileged to share their lives that it was not always easy for me to manage my role as a researcher and secondly, I felt very new to this role and unsure of where to draw the line for myself, between Fran the researcher and Fran 'the friend from England'. I knew, in theory, that I was not there to make friends and yet, when friendship and hospitality were offered, as it often was, I found it a challenge to keep a distance because I believe myself to be a naturally warm and friendly person. Visiting and talking, particularly with New Order Amish, with whom I have similarity of theology and lifestyle, it was sometimes a challenge for me to remember that I was not there to 'fellowship' with them, but to research them.

2.5. Insider/Outsider or Besider Research

To identify their position researchers will often describe themselves as 'insiders' or 'outsiders' to their research domain. Generally, insiders are those who choose to study a group to which they belong, whilst outsiders study a group of which they are not a member. Issues affecting the position of insiders in research, are well documented (Taylor 2011:6). Advantages of being an insider, include easier access to the group being studied, awareness of the group, greater understanding of the norms of the group and knowing the key personnel you can approach to gain access – all factors that lead potentially to a greater relational intimacy with the group. A second advantage of being an insider is the knowledge and awareness of the organisation, its norms, values and challenges. These will not need explanation, whereas to an outsider, all this needs full explanation. Thirdly, an insider will have pre-existing relationships and a history with the organisation, that may be helpful and assist in the research. Another insider advantage is a superior understanding of the group's culture and the ability to interact naturally with the group and its members although, this can create a loss of objectivity (Breen 2007:163).

Advantages can have corresponding disadvantages. The very knowledge of the norms of the group may lend itself to overfamiliarity and making assumptions about the group. An established history with the group and greater intimacy (Bonner and Tolhurst 2002:3) may prevent the researcher from coming to the work with a fresh perspective or an open mind (DeLyser 200:445). Pitman calls it 'the illusion of sameness' (Pitman 2002:285). The researcher may have pre-existing views on what the research might, or ought to find) which colours what they do find (Kanuha :2000:439ff).

Additionally, some insider researchers report a difficulty in collecting data especially via interviews, if interviewees believe that the interviewer already knows the answers to their questions (Saidin 2017:851).

Beth Graybill makes the point that:

> It is useful to note that women researchers to the Amish are able to interview Amish women as well as Amish men and male leaders, but male researchers have a much harder time gaining access to Amish women, given the gendered nature of Amish society (2009:79).

In my own case as an outsider researcher, looking at a group that traditionally does not readily open itself up to outsiders, I consider that I have had exceptional cooperation and access. That said, I tried not to assume that what I had learnt from my reading replaced the experience of being raised Amish. Being tentative in this way seemed to work for me.

Most of the literature on the idea of insider/outsider positions seems to treat the issue as an either/or situation. I am considering whether it might be that an argument could be made for there being a third option. For example, Breen (2007) considers that she positioned herself 'in the middle' as a researcher. She writes:

> I considered myself to be neither an insider nor outsider in the context of my PhD research. I argue that the insider/outsider dichotomy is simplistic and neither term adequately captured the role I occupied throughout the research. (Breen 2007:165)

As an alternative, Collins (2002) describes the insider/outsider debate not as a binary choice but as a continuum. He asserts that this is more realistic and helpful because the binary position is a socially constructed reality (2002:78, 79). It was created, he argues, by anthropologists who wanted to stress the scientific nature of their method and using the insider/outsider binary description was the way of creating distance between the researchers and the researched.

This idea that there might be a 'third way' provoked my interest because, although I do not consider myself to be 'in the middle', I saw an interesting parallel for me working with two groups of Amish women. The two groups, Old Order and New Order whilst both being

Amish, are different in the way they express their understanding of salvation. One of the original reasons why the New Order formed, was because there came to be a difference in the understanding of the doctrine of assurance of salvation (Hurst and McConnell 2010:48). The Old Order traditionally have believed that one can only *hope for* salvation and not be sure and certain of it, where the New Order was formed from people who believed that Scripture teaches it is possible to know salvation and to have a personal and individual assurance of salvation. For the Old Order this could sound like pride and therefore would be something they would shy away from. This is not the only difference but is nevertheless, a major difference between members of the Old and New Order. The New Order, thus tend to be more overtly evangelical.

Since I am not a member of the Old Order Amish, to them, I am clearly an outsider. However, with members of the New Order, I experienced an acceptance and a sense of something approaching belonging, based on my own church membership and religious experiences which both the women and the men of the New Order that I met, were keen to explore with me. When I went to visit Ruth, her husband was present and he asked me about my assurance of salvation and when I confirmed that my church affiliation believed in a personal experience of salvation, they were both clearly welcoming and accepting of me. Her husband told me 'Then, we shall be spending eternity together with you'. After this encounter, it seemed others received me easily.

Accepting the idea that there is an insider/outsider continuum, I wondered whether my own position could be an 'outsider' to the Old Order Amish but approaching that of an 'insider' in research terms, for those in the New Order. But because this might be confusing, I decided to think of myself more as being beside these people, I would call myself a 'besider'. Not outside, not inside but beside both Old and New Order women. Reading the transcripts, I realised my tendency to find common ground with the women. I noted that I twice mentioned the fact that we live simply, raising our vegetables and cook everything 'from scratch', and that we do not own a television as if something in me, wanted to find commonalities with these women and identify myself as not so different from them. With Old Order women, because so much of my time was spent with them aside from interviewing, I was often literally 'beside' them and thus, this seemed an appropriate way for me to view myself, beside them at the quilting frame, beside them weeding carrots or processing tomatoes. It seemed we were always working. This recognition again, resonates with Rumsey's findings (2009:76ff) about her Amish participants.

2.6. Consent and Ethics

a) Interviews

In gaining ethical approval for this study, I outlined how the Amish would be likely to express suspicion and reluctance to participate if they were asked to sign a consent sheet for an interview. The Amish believe that their word should be good enough to guarantee their action. I understood that the University would always want to be reassured that no interviewee would be at risk of harm from an interview, and sought to reassure the Ethics committee that this was so. For the Amish, they rarely resort to law, even if they have been wronged. Since I wanted to be able to interview the Amish on their terms, I was not keen to use written consent forms, but spent the first few minutes talking with them to establish that they understood, as much as possible, what I was doing, and that there was no compulsion on them to take part in my research. Such is the standing of my gatekeeper, Gertrude, that several women explained, that although she is no longer Amish, they have great respect for her and her husband, that if they could 'help Gertrude' they would like to do so. As she had introduced me, they were willing to be interviewed. In place of formal consent forms, I used the beginning of the interview to reiterate what I was doing and give the women (and their relatives, when they were present) the opportunity to ask questions and clarify anything that they did not understand. Part of my interview closure was to check again if they had any questions about the process. I printed this on a small card but not a single woman wanted a copy.

b) Participant observation/Participant Involvement

There was no sense at all that I was anything other than an overt researcher. I never tried to look like an Amish woman. I was mindful though, that Barbour says, 'Some of my most valuable data have been collected when my respondents have opened up on social occasions, having forgotten about my research involvement' (Barbour 1979:90) and it was my experience that I gained useful information by these informal activities. I wanted to use every opportunity to gain information. Although, working in a kitchen or an Amish woman's garden might not pass as a 'social occasion', the very fact that I was there and having conversations that were not part of the interviewing process allowed me insight into many facets of women's lives. Sometimes, it added information to that which I had gleaned in an interview and at other times, it was an entry point for another conversation. I am sure that the women forgot I was a researcher and I did not remind them. Usually whether I was introduced as a researcher, depended on who was making the introduction and for what purpose. Those who were meeting me for the first time, and who had agreed to be interviewed would know that I was doing a research project. But if I was introduced as 'This is Fran, from England, she likes gardening' and we were going to weed a line of carrots, I did not intervene, and tell them I was doing a research project. So, there is a sense in that although I am saying I was an overt researcher, it is also possible that I could have been more open when I was weeding carrots or sitting at the quilting frame, since I am sure the women did not remember I was there as a researcher.

When I carried out interviews, I reminded the women what I was doing and how I would use the information. But when I was in a group of Amish women, I did not. Not once in a group, was I asked about whether I would be writing notes or making a report of what I had been doing that day. The women most likely did not realise that my being there was part of my research. Sometimes the woman introducing me, told the group something of what I was doing and then, if I was asked, I would talk about it with them. But at other times, they would say something that was only partial truth, e.g. 'This is Fran, she's visiting from England'. Occasionally, that felt uncomfortable, but I was also aware that if I told every woman that I met, that I was observing them, that might lead to them doing something just because they were being observed. I had read about this, as the 'Hawthorne effect' (Haralambos and Holborn 2000:970) and did not want to cause women to modify their behaviour just because they were being watched. I decided that on balance, I would be more likely to get an honest picture of how Amish life is, if I told people who asked and gave them opportunity to question me but I did not go out of my way to make it explicit that I was observing daily life. I wanted my participant observation to be as unobtrusive as possible. I wrote in my journal what I had been doing and recorded issues that seemed significant, but I did not, could not, write down everything that had taken place. So, participant observation can lead to inaccurate conclusions where only a partial picture is gained from what has been seen. Where I was unsure that I had understood what I had seen or heard, I was usually able to check it out with the woman whose house it was.

Second, since ethical issues arise at the point at which they do, it is not always possible to be asking participants for their informed consent. As I have explained, the Amish are unaccustomed to being asked to sign pieces of paper to satisfy researchers, believing that their word is 'good enough' in line with Scripture (Matt 5 v 37 NIV). They did not want to do it for interviews and so to do this in a group activity would be odd and disruptive.

Third, it seems to me that in ethnography, there is always going to be a measure of role playing and what has been called 'interactional deceit' (Arnould 1998:72). Arnould says:

> Ethnographers regularly exploit the emotional involvement that naturally develops between persons in regular contact. In this case, the relationships that develop between informant and researcher with an instrumental purpose; do so in order for the former to collect information from the latter. (1998:73)

Although, it seems to me to be more usually the latter from the former. In my own case, the relationship was often equalized by the questions I was asked about how I lived, what work my husband does, what I believed, what we ate in England, how much items cost here and what the weather was like here. It is a complicated relationship, described by Van Maanen in his study On Policing, that whilst he was watching the watchers, they were watching him. An ethnographic researcher, he says, is 'part spy, part voyeur, part fan, part member' (1978:346). I could easily identify with this kind of split role.

c) Issues of Anonymity

In seeking ethical approval, I planned to anonymise the respondents' names by using another Amish first-name, but this proved to be unacceptable to some interviewees, so I ended up using their own first names, which meant I had to keep a key because several women had identical names so I needed to remember how to correctly identify each woman and her conversation. The reason I could not anonymise them as planned, was that when I was explaining this to one of the women, her husband asked me 'Do you mean that you will use Sara's words but call her by another name?' I agreed that that was exactly what I meant and was taken aback when he told me, ‘That is not the truth. It’s a lie for you to change her name. We would rather be protected by the truth than by a lie. Use her own name, please’. I asked several other women what they thought about this and they unanimously agreed they would prefer me to use their own names. So, because they seemed not to have a problem with it I used their first names only. There are a small number of my interviewees who are well-known inside the Amish and to an extent, outside, because of what they do. In those cases, I was especially careful to check with them that I could use their own names because although they are well-known, they do not draw attention to themselves or highlight their individuality.

2.7. Data Management and Analysis

To find out what information I had gleaned in the interviews, I first transcribed the interviews when I returned to England. Having transcribed them, I then worked my way through the interviews colour coding by theme, which I then transferred onto a master sheet, which showed the themes and linked the names of the interviewees who had spoken about each different theme. This enabled me to easily locate quotations I might want to use in the narrative to illustrate what I was writing. (Appendices 5 & 6).

Whilst I was interviewing, I needed to consider where the balance of power lay, in these interviews. From my perspective, the women had information I wanted. I was researching to find out about their lives. They were the experts and I was not. So, I needed them to talk to me, so that I could get the information I wanted, to find out how Amish life had changed. Secondly and simply, I enjoyed their company and finding out this information from them. I had to help them to understand why I wanted to this information, without my suggesting to them what they should say to me. One reason for this is that the women are not working in their first language, so they were perhaps having to use more sophisticated English language and thinking than is usual in their daily lives to understand what I was asking, and secondly, reflective thinking of this kind is an unfamiliar idea to them. Amish schooling is essentially, learning facts, rather than being taught critical thinking or analysis. In addition, to that, they may be unfamiliar with the whole idea of academic research of any topic. I have often been asked by Amish people, why are the English so interested in the Amish? And, then why would someone from another country be interested? Put simply, they do not see themselves as the curiosity or anomaly that others do. It made me feel a little nervous because it felt to me as if I was being given power over them, and I knew that power imbalances have been recognized as inherent in the research process (Acker, Barry & Esserveld 1984:423ff, Ribbens 1989:579ff; O'Reilly 2005: 42). I was keen to minimize its effect. So, it was important for me to recognize the balance of power in these interviews. Amish women are unfamiliar with analyzing the nature of interactions. They would answer my questions without necessarily looking for anything below the surface of the question. So, in analysing the data they provided, it seemed important to me to show them 'unconditional positive regard', (Rogers 1959:209, Bozath 1998: 59 – 60) without being sycophantic. My reflection on the interviews and the conversations, when I listened back to the recordings, was that I may not always have managed to do this as professionally as I might have wanted, but I was, at least, aware that it was a potential issue.

Bryman (2012:717) defines triangulation as the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon so that the findings may be cross-checked. It happened without my asking, that several Old Order women identified some of the same areas of life where changes had taken place and thus they confirmed one another without being aware that they were doing so. Examples would be the impact of gas wells, and use of gas-powered refrigerators and impact of having a freezer in the home, instead of having an ice-man or renting out freezer space. The effect of these changes is both labour and time-saving for the women. Where the *Ordnung* allows it, the possibility to use batteries to generate electricity to power lights and other appliances within the home has made a significant difference in the kitchen allowing the women to run food processors, mixers and other small appliances where previously the process had to be done by hand (another example of making life easier and quicker, thus freeing up time for other activity).

2.8. Summary

In this Chapter I have discussed the choice of methodology and how well it worked. I discussed the value of qualitative research methods, and my choice of ethnography. I wrote about the role of participant observation in ethnography and described my experiences living with Amish families, whilst carrying out research with other members of the community. I described how I carried out interviews, keeping notes and using a digital recorder where possible. Acknowledging the information I had gathered, I discussed how I pulled it together and what I did with it to analyse my findings.

In the next chapter, I describe women's lives in more detail and identify some specific changes that have taken place in the last thirty years.

3. STABILITY, FLEXIBILITY AND LIQUIDITY WITHIN AMISH LIFE

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine stable and flexible aspects of Amish life. I use four areas of Amish life to do this – means and modes of transport, plain dress, selective use of technology and the use of Pennsylvania Deutsch. I examine the degree of stability or flexibility in each and consider the significance of change in each of them. I analyse the changes that have taken place, how these happened and the direction that the changes seem to be taking now. In 3.9 I identify, describe and analyse the secondary factors that promote the stability. I use examples from my interviews, evidence from other researchers to either back up or contradict what I have found and discuss the reasons for this. In the second part of Chapter 3, I describe how the move from agriculture into business has affected Amish life and the various points at which stability, flexibility and liquidity can be found.

3.2. The Importance of Stability to the Amish

In 1943 Walter Kollmorgan noted the stability of Pennsylvania German farmers and found that the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites epitomized stability among all the German immigrants. He wrote that 'their unusual persistence as farmers can definitely be traced to a socio-religious program whose guiding principles are separation from the world and non-conformity to the world' (Kollmorgan 1943:233). He found that the most conservative groups who did not accommodate to the world around them, were more successful and had more stability than those who did. The principle of separation has itself become one of the reasons for their stability. He argued that some of the qualities of the Old Order Amish that make for cohesiveness and stability are peculiar to their culture, describing the larger Pennsylvanian German immigrant group as:

> ….largely self-sufficient in their food supply, which included an unusual variety of vegetables, cheeses and meats; …they resisted secularization of schools and looked askance at higher education which they feared would threaten their chosen way of life; they were dominated by a pro-rural, anti-urban Christian philosophy of life. A common language set them apart from the English-speaking groups and this served as an essential vehicle to perpetuate old values and patterns and became… a cherished tool to be preserved (Kollmorgan 1943:235)

For Kollmorgan, stability meant that the group remained the same. They did not split into factions and were uniform in their approach to life which is why he could write that 'instability increases as factions or subgroups within the denomination become more liberal' (Kollmorgan 1943:234). He found that when groups broke away from the Old Order Amish and became more 'worldly', they tended to become more like the dominant culture whereas those groups that resisted acculturation were most likely to be stable, their boundary uniform and thus able to identify who belongs and who does not.

According to Goss (2007:2), the resiliency of this group can be attributed to the strength of its identity. I look at the main factors that contribute to Amish identity in 3.7 and secondary factors in 3.9.

3.3. Definition of Terms

Stability means the Amish remain the same and do not acculturate. I use 'flexibility' to mean there is some change but it is insufficient to affect their stability. When Bauman speaks of 'Liquidity' he says it is 'the growing conviction that change is the only permanence, and uncertainty the only certainty' (Bauman 2012:90). I use Liquid in this sense to mean that change is a constant. 'Centre' is used to mean factors that are central to Amish life and 'Edge' describes factors that are important but not absolutely at the centre.

3.4. Bauman and Liquid Modernity

The definition of liquid modernity is given above. Bauman uses the analogy of a caravan park where people are living there but have no permanent roots. Everything looks like 'home' but they behave as temporary residents. He uses this picture to explain that in mainstream society there is little or no commitment, people want to exist in their own caravan and then get up and leave when they choose. According to Bauman, people are quite content in their caravans and only wish to engage with their neighbours intermittently. The only reason to complain about the caravan park is when essential services break down or are not provided, otherwise, he says, people will live and let live, feeling no responsibility for any of the services with no need to question what goes on and having no commitment to it. He argues that this shift in engagement is because there has been a concomitant shift from heavy to light modernity (2012:58ff).

Bauman suggests that heavy modernity was solid and reliable, needing only the threat of 'Big Brother is Watching You' or some form of totalitarianism to keep people in line and living as they always did (30).

Liquid or light modernity, on the other hand no longer constrains people in the way that industrial manufacturers did[6]. People do not fear 'Big Brother' because Big Brother is no longer there (2012:30) and people are more actively engaged in defending their individual autonomy, wanting to act alone, be independent and determining their own future. 'No more great leaders to tell you what to do; there are only other individuals from which you may draw examples of how to go about your own life-business, bearing full responsibility for the consequences…' (30). Bauman argues that this has happened because of the way that work

[6] Bauman uses the metaphor of 'Big Brother' to say that people in a society reliant on industrial production had little responsibility for how they worked, because they were told what to do, how and where to do it. In conditions of liquid modernity, this is not the case.

has changed. Organisations and companies have become obsessed with modernizing, cutting costs, downsizing, streamlining, merging, dismantling, becoming more productive or more competitive but always with fewer resources. There is no end to the ways they will find to reorganize their people and resources in that process of constant change. The working people who are affected by this, understand that only they can solve their life's problems. No one will do it for them, and thus they must make themselves resourceful and capable, rather than relying on someone to look after them. They need to find ways to make the ever-changing system work for them, rather than seeing themselves as working for the system to keep it in place.

In relation to work and employment, one example is the way companies have shifted from having 'employees' to hiring freelancers or contractors who do the same jobs employees did, but without the commitment from the company to the individuals. A characteristic of liquid modernity writes Bauman, is the conspicuous absence of an agency 'to move their world forward' (133). This systemic change can be seen in the move from having an office where you are employed to do a job from 9 – 5, to a system of access via a Smart card that gives you entry to a building, recognises your login, and knows your location, in a 24/7 workspace where 'hot desking' is the norm, where you work for as long as it takes to get the job done. You do the same work, but may sit in different places to do it or may do it remotely, being provided with a mobile phone and a 'device' to enable connection to the work. 'Capital travels light with no more than cabin luggage, a briefcase, a laptop computer and a cellular telephone' (Bauman 2012:150). Manufacturing companies recruit workers for 'projects' with short-term contracts or zero hours' contracts and no guarantee of permanent work. This has led to the development of portfolio careers where people do different jobs at different times of the week to enable them to have sufficient income to live. In personal lives, liquid modernity has impacted consumerism through the advent of online shopping with the effect that many 'big name' stores are shutting stores in the High Street because they no longer need the floor space to sell their goods and sales staff are defunct. Instead, customers login, select the product they want, pay with a credit card and have it delivered all without the inconvenience of going to a store:

> Postmodernity means licence to do whatever one may fancy and advice not to take anything you or the others, do too seriously……it means a shopping mall overflowing with goods whose major use is the joy of purchasing them; (Bauman 1992:vii)

Entertainment is mediated similarly. Tickets for concerts, bookings for flights, travel and hotels can all be booked remotely. Hotels and accommodation are changing too. AirBnB and a host of other such companies offer ordinary people the opportunity either to stay away in someone else's home cheaper than they could in a hotel, or rent out space in their own home and make money from another's trip. 'The main source of profits tends to be on a constantly growing scale, the *ideas* rather than *material objects*' (Bauman 2012:151). Flexibility is the key to all these services, that they make it possible for individuals to do what they want when they want to do it. 'In practice, all this means lower taxes, fewer or no rules and a flexible workforce' (2012:150). In addition, the way that these services can be accessed is itself liquid, with a variety of 'Apps' to make it possible to access them. Liquidity in place for every possible scenario. But people should not feel secure, because in mainstream life, constant change is here to stay. They can only experience security if they are adaptable to near-constant change.

However, all that applies to mainstream life, to people who are not Amish. Notwithstanding, there is also an element of liquidity affecting Amish life, so the Old and New Order are not completely free from the impact of Liquid Modernity.

3.5. Stability in Amish Life

I suggest five factors contribute to stability in Amish life. First, maintaining Amish values, second, an emphasis on hard work and thrifty living. Third, maintaining separation from the world, and having eternal rather than immediate goals, fourth living their lives based on biblical instruction and last, advocating marriage and rejecting divorce. These factors are considered in turn.

First, their adherence to long-standing Amish values. Lester Beachy (2014) writes that they 'value the Word of God and believe it to be the key to the inner need of all mankind' (V). He goes on to identify family as highly valued, freedom, honesty, speaking the truth, trusting one another, integrity and moral purity as all keys to their heritage. Their practices are not greatly changed, even though society around them has changed. Without TV, radio, computers with internet access they have been able to maintain their modified view of society without outside influence. Amish worldview is not tainted by input from society (Ediger 1986:6).

Second, embracing frugality and thrifty living. They live alongside mainstream Americans, but dress differently, reject electricity from the grid, farm without tractors, use a different language, and use motor transport only for journeys too distant for them to take the horse and buggy. They choose not to do things the easy way, 'By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food until you return to the ground since from it, you were taken' (Genesis 3 v 19 NIV) is a principle that is lived out daily.

Third, maintaining separation from the world. For example, in the very plainest groups, one way to emphasise 'separateness' is to keep 'slow time'; refusing to change the clocks for daylight saving time when the rest of the community do, whilst others keep 'fast time, never setting their clocks back in the autumn' (Johnson- Weiner 2005:5, Testa1992:25). Keeping a slightly different calendar to the surrounding community is simply another way to demonstrate separation from the world.

Fourth, lives are based on biblical instruction and their goals are eternal rather than immediate. They are not constrained by the worldly values of competition. For the Amish, acknowledging God in their lives is central.

Two of my interviewees told me:

> I think it's important that we remember where we came from and how our ancestors suffered so we can have what we have now. We need to remember with thankfulness what God has given us and not all the time be wanting more. Be satisfied with the blessings we have. Be thankful to God (SK141809).
>
> What would be important to me would be that we would keep our values and stay the same as we've always been, you know, keep our priorities straight and the things that we stand for, not water down those things that have always helped us keep together. Be content with that we have (EK143009).

Lastly, they contend fiercely for stability in marriage. Lester Beachy writes 'Marriage is a lifetime commitment. We vow to love and care for each other as long as we both shall live. Divorce is not an option.' (Beachy 2014:M). Hence, divorce is virtually unknown among the Amish (Hostetler 1993:150). They marry within the group and expect to have a family; children are understood as a blessing from God (Huntington1994:115). In general, artificial birth control is not practiced and larger families than is usual in American society are the norm. Children are expected to work and help at home, in the garden, on the farm (Huntington1976:306, Ericksen & Klein1981:294, Hostetler 1993:157) or in a family business (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:40). They are given a job or role to teach them that they play a significant part in family life.

These all contribute to the stability of Amish life from one generation to the next. Living arrangements emphasise the stability of Amish life, incorporating multi-generational living: 'Eighty-one year old Jonas bought a farm fifty eight years ago. Four generations now live on it' (Ruth Hoover Seitz 1995:22).

Two families I stayed with live in a Dawdi Haus. What that means is that growing up, young people are exposed to multi-generational living, surrounded by relatives and know that this will be part of their lives when they marry and become parents themselves, thus reinforcing the stability of family living and commonly held Amish values.

Amish life outwardly appears to be a plain and simple life. It is true that there appears to be a lack of complication and a sense of life being simpler but, based on my research, my view is this is only superficially true. A multitude of paradoxes that make Amish life anything but simple. Instead, the simplicities themselves are layered with complexities.

3.6. Self-sufficiency or Thriftiness

John Hostetler states that the Amish are self-sufficient; it became the practice of Amish people not to depend on anyone outside the community (Hostetler 1963:18). Amish women do grow a lot of food and preserve meat, vegetables and fruit to use out of season. However, this is changing as some Amish now purchase foodstuffs in the store. Just as in mainstream society, there is variation in practice from one family to another (Kraybill 2018:57). They may grow or raise the bulk of their own food but, would not see self-sufficiency as a positive virtue because it runs counter to the values of the community and dependency on one another. Rather, growing their own food for the family is simply a frugal way of living, being thrifty and making the most of what they have. Individualism is not encouraged in Amish life and complete self-sufficiency would suggest that the family can manage without other people contrary to Amish teaching. *1001 Questions and Answers on the Christian Life*, a book which it claims helps the Amish to understand why they do what they do and so that they can explain their lifestyle to others, the author specifically praises the rural life (1992:138) and argues a case for being less reliant on the things of the world, but speaks out against self-sufficiency, in the sense of having an independent attitude that does not need others. The Christian community, it states is to be neighbourly and work together to help one another. Caring for one another is a demonstration of their moral code. Elders are cared for at home. Successful businesswoman support other members of their family in getting started in a business, families share surplus with a neighbour or relatives. The above speaks of stability. The willingness of the Amish to increase their contact with 'the English' in order that they continue to live separately and maintain the Amish way of life demonstrates another change in how they live and shows their flexibility.

It also argues for small scale farming and business, rather than large-scale operations so that again, they do not lean towards self-sufficiency (1992:140).

3.7. Amish Family Life

Amish family life is central to the Amish church-community. The German word *Gemeinde* or *Gmay* is used for both church and community; there is no distinction in Amish understanding, hence Karen Johnson-Weiner can claim that 'The Amish are always in church' (Johnson-Weiner 2005, Kraybill 2018:43). The church and the community are one and the same thing. A person's role is defined by his/her place in the family and church-community and his identity is formed by all these community relationships. So, from the time a child is born they learn about the way their gender determines their place in the community and what will be expected of them (Hostetler 1993:156).

Life takes place in the Amish context of a father, a mother and a line of children who make up their immediate family. In addition to that, an Amish child is part of a much wider Amish family. Kraybill (2018) describes this extended family as ‘muscular and significant’, with the typical Amish person having more than two dozen aunts and uncles, more than seventy-five first cousins (2018:55). In addition, these people will likely be living nearby. Amish family life contrasts with fragmented twenty-first century family life in the wider society. (Hostetler 1970:156, Wright 1977:57). Amish society is typically described as a patriarchal society (Hostetler1963:17), one where the father is the head of the family, except where the husband has died, when the woman will be the head of the household (Kraybill and Huntington 2012). Within the Amish community men occupy all the visible leadership roles. When farming was the main occupation, the rhythm of community life was similar for everyone because lived by the agricultural calendar. This has changed now they have businesses.

This description of the Amish family is in sharp contrast to how postmodern sociologists understand family. Postmodernists see ‘family’ as varied and diverse (Cheal 1991:124, Beck-Gernsheim 1998:56) and postmodernism focusses on ‘pluralism, disorder and fragmentation’ (Cheal 1993:146), viewing the structure of families as diverse and variable. Accordingly, in present-day society, there can be many ways of being family. Daly and Dienhart (1998) have suggested that family experience is not a tightly bounded domain, but instead is one which intersects with many other domains and involves regular forays into arenas of meaning that are in some ways quite distant to what was traditionally thought of as family. Eichler (1998:157) concluded that families can no longer be considered as monolithic structures of uniformity of experience whilst Coontz described a variety of forces that have contributed to what she described as the ‘fragility of the private family’ (1992: 119). These contributory forces have been identified as increased participation of women in the workforce, an increase in divorce, decline in marriage, increasing societal violence, the rise of the women’s movement, structural changes in the economy and an emphasis on individualism; Daly and

Dienhart (1998) identify these as forces contributing to the erosion of the traditional family structure (Waite, Goldscheider, and Witsberger 1986:541 - 545).This means that any qualitative study of the family must bear in mind the fluid boundaries that now define families and the different makeup of those families.

However, in dealing with the Amish, this is very rarely the case, and almost the only occasions when an Amish family is 'non-standard' will be due to the death of a parent, when the children are being raised either by a single parent or a parent who has subsequently remarried and blended a new family with the original one. Amish families, in the majority, consist of two original parents and their offspring. This reflects Amish theology that the purpose of marriage is for the (male) husband and (female) wife to live together, with the support of the church, under God, and to produce children who will form future Amish generations (Hostetler 1993: 192).

3.8. The four central characteristics of Amish life

'To be Amish' said one of my interviewees, 'Four things need to be in place, without any one of these the rest will not consider you to be Amish. You have to dress Plain, use the Deutsch, drive a horse and buggy and reject electricity from the grid" (AM120920).

The question arose because, between my first and second visits, her family left the Amish group they were with and began to drive a car. She told me that they still dress Plain and use Pennsylvania Deutsch, but that although they consider they are Amish, their relatives do not. Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps (2004) include these four features in the ten that they consider make up the 'basics' of understanding Amish life. Nolt (2016) includes them in his ten features that he writes are common to all Amish groups.

Figure 1: What is Central to Amishness?

So, for example, if a person leaves the Old Order Amish and joins the Beachy Amish because they want to drive a car, the Old Order would no longer consider them Amish, even though they subscribe to the other three characteristics. I have described (Handrick 2016) these characteristics as 'solid Amish modernity' in counterpoint to Bauman's liquid modernity (2012). Other 'solid' factors, although less central, include commitment to belief in biblical teaching, maintenance of male leadership and a patriarchal family system.

However, in the last thirty years, significant change has taken place within the Amish community, so that although these four descriptors are still true, there is a sense that they no longer have the central position they once had. I argue that changes in Amish life have moved three of these four characteristics from the centre to various places nearer the edge. Dress has probably changed the least.

Briefly, I list these four characteristics and consider changes taking place.

A. <u>Plain Dress</u>

Plain dress is a boundary marker that functions both as a boundary and as a means of binding the community together (Hostetler 1964, Hawley 2008). It identifies those who belong to the group and those in the mainstream community. There is an apparent uniformity about women's dress (Trollinger 2012:16). Plain dress for the Amish, means that women wear a

traditional mid-calf-length modest dress in a limited palette of solid colour, with a loosely fitted bodice, a lightly gathered waist, which may be pinned or sewn. It appears old-fashioned but is comfortable for working, and is usually a heavier material in the winter and a lighter shorter sleeved version as the seasons change. Amish women wear a cape for going out and a white cape for church (Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps 2004:11). The *Ordnung* dictates that women will wear black leather lace-up shoes and a white '*kapp*' on her head (Ibid:12). The style of *kapp* varies from one settlement to another. Men wear black broadfall trousers, with a double opening at the front, no zips or buttons. The trousers are held up with braces, that Americans call suspenders (Ibid:13). A black straw hat covers his head, the width of the brim varying from one settlement to another, and, also as an indicator as to his position in the community (Scott 1997:104). Wearing plain dress prevents competition in fashion and identifies the women one with another. Modest clothing speaks of the place of humility.
With regard to plain dressing, women told me about a change they see happening. An Old Order woman in Lancaster County told me:

> One thing that is happening is that women are not making their clothes like they were. When I was growing up, we made everything, everything, including our coverings. And, they were hard. You know here how they have a heart shape and it does take a long time to get all those gathers in the back even so that they look right. But nowadays, it's too much like it has to be perfect and if they can't do it perfectly, then they want to buy them…But you don't cover your head because something is perfect. You cover your head because the Bible says to do it. It doesn't have to be perfect; but you have to be obedient (150914FL).

I heard several times that the girls today do not sew because it is too time-consuming or it is too difficult. Since many of the young women now work outside the home, there is some truth in the argument that they have less time than their mother's generation for making their own clothes. Reading pieces from Amish women writing about the late twentieth century, they write of spending time cutting out dresses, kapps or making coats (Davis:1997:31, 37, 106, Byler: 2007; Yoder: 2015:8, 35,36,91) in a way that fewer working Amish women would today.

The dress pattern itself, remains largely stable, but there are two ways flexibility is demonstrated. One is that the fabrics have altered, so that it is now lightweight and easier to care for than when they used heavy woollen materials. The second is that the means of getting the clothes is flexible. Women can make their own, pay a relative or seamstress to make them or purchase them from an Amish woman who has developed a business selling Amish clothes. These businesses are usually not advertised but made known by word of mouth. The setting up of such a business, marks a change in community life.

B. Using a Different Language

Pennsylvania Deutsch is the first language of most Amish. It emanates from German, but is not the same high German that is used for church services (Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps 2004:10, Hurst and McConnell 2010:14). It is an oral language only and has only recently been written down. The small number of Amish (6% according to Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:436) who do not use Pennsylvania Deutsch, use instead a form of Bernese Swiss German. Using a minority language serves as a separator between the Amish and the mainstream.

English is a second language for the Amish, and is used to speak with outsiders (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:123). Amish-to-Amish business is normally conducted in Pennsylvania Deutsch. Several women talked to me about the decline of their language, where young people particularly prefer to use English, parents speak Pennsylvania Deutsch and children answer in English. One result of this is their shrinking vocabulary in their native language and a preference among young people to use English.

C. Horse and Buggy Transport

The normal means of getting anywhere is either by walking or by horse and buggy. Amish children grow up walking, often barefoot, along the tarmac roads and paths. It is commonplace to see Amish men, women and children walking along the roadside.

Thus, when they grow to be adults, Amish are accustomed to walking more than climbing into a car. A pedometer study of an Old Order Amish community showed that the average man logged 18,000 steps per day and their average woman logged 14,000 steps per day. They also had one of the lowest rates of obesity of any community in North America (Bassett, Schneider and Huntington 2004).

Because the characteristics of any Amish community is that it is small, local, compact and homogenous (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and and Nolt) 2013:99) anywhere they routinely need to go is within walking distance. This helps to keep the community together. Using a horse and buggy maintains community life and discourages travel outside the settlement (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:130). It also maintains the homogeneity of the community and reflects the 'humility' which is characteristic of the Amish. There is no competition to buy the latest car or motorbike because the buggies all look very similar in any one settlement (Kraybill 2001:70).

In Lancaster County and Ohio among the Old Order, all buggies are black or dark grey.

> The horse and buggy consequently has become a powerful symbol of separation from mainstream American values, a very visible rejection of a culture that values individual mobility, rapid movement, and rejection of animal-powered transportation (Anderson 2014:100).

Riding in a car is reserved when travel to a destination is too far to take the buggy, for example, hospital appointments or visiting relatives in another settlement. It could also be used in an emergency. Horse and buggy travel precludes individualism. People live near to each other, work with and for each other. There is little opportunity to develop individualism. At the same time, they have shown a flexibility by their willingness to change from being an agrarian society to one which thrives on a multitude of small entrepreneurial businesses (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:243, Harasta 2014:25) and to publicly demonstrate their willingness to change to adapt to the impact of tourism in their midst (Boyer 2008:1, Walbert 2002:67).

D. Selective Use of Technology

This decision to limit technology is a key part of Amish maintaining their separation from the world. It is a choice that they make to live differently (Scott and Pellman (1999:4). They don't want to be connected by wires to their neighbours in keeping with the Biblical injunction to 'Come ye apart and be ye separate' 2 Cor 6 v 17 and 'Be not conformed to this world Rom 12 v 2 Love not the world or the things of this world' I John 2 v 15 - 17. The wires would bring electricity from the grid and would permit too many worldly intrusions into an Amish home, intrusions like television, radio which do not equate with Amish values (Kraybill1998:103). Things might become too easy if they had electric labour-saving devices (Scott and Pellman 1999:5). If they could do things quickly, they might develop a pride in how efficient they are. Doing things by hand, alongside neighbours, gives them time to reflect on what they are doing, do it as part of the community and means they must work at the task, not do it the easy way.

Cooksey and Donnermeyer argue that 'restricting the use of electricity serves as a powerful way to limit exposure to the outside world and reduces the likelihood that Amish children are corrupted or that the beliefs that their parents strive to instil into them are contaminated by watching television or using computers' (Cooksey and Donnermeyer 2012:78). Without TV, they are not exposed to violence, war, divorce and homosexuality which are all seen as sin by the Amish world view. The world views worth promoting are those that maintain modesty, purity and lifelong commitments to marriage between a man and woman are unquestioned values (Kraybill 1998:104).

Electricity and its accompanying technology would make individual pursuits more likely and Amish society does not encourage individual activities. For example, electricity from the grid could provide central heating in a home and that might split up the family to their own bedrooms, whereas if there is heating only in one main room, of necessity, it keeps the family together in that one room. Kraybill and Nolt make the point that choices based on cultural criteria are important to the Amish: 'Willing to adapt to changing times, they are also keenly committed to drawing lines of distinction and making choices based on cultural criteria and not simply on cost analysis' (2004:243). This makes it clear that the Amish willingness to change is measured, rather than haphazard and careful selection of what can and cannot be allowed to change guards their traditions, their lifestyles and quite possibly, their future.

3.8.1. Liquid Amish Lives

Throughout my research, I have found that some of these central characteristics are changing and that three of the four characteristics are no longer so central. Instead, I argue that the move out of farming and into entrepreneurship combined with the advent of a strong tourist industry, and with a less consistent and rigid authority system in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and Holmes County, Ohio, has brought about changes in other areas of Amish life and introduced, in Bauman's terms, a liquidity that hitherto did not exist.

a) Liquidity in Language

For example, thinking about the use of Pennsylvania Deutsch, the increased contact that Amish now have with mainstream ‘English’ requires a familiarity with English language that previously was not necessary. Many older Amish people are less comfortable speaking English, and some will say that that they have not regularly used English since they were in eighth grade at school. Use of Pennsylvania Deutsch is part of the Amish doctrine of separation from the world. Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps (2004:10) say that the Amish dialect is the language of work, family friendship, play and intimacy. This has had to change with the advent of Amish businesses – neither their suppliers and customers may be Pennsylvanian Deutsch speakers, so within one generation, many Amish have become more comfortable using English than their first language. Others may use the Deutsch at home with the family and English at work. Some families choose to use English to increase the vocabulary of the children and young people. For some, using their native language at home and English at work, they may have a wider vocabulary of English words than they have traditional Deutsch. Work allied to the tourist industry requires comfort and familiarity with English. If the Amish business is one that depends on, or serves, the growing tourist industry, then use of English is a necessity for communication to take place, although research has found that hearing the Amish use their own language, is itself an attraction to the tourists (Trollinger 2012). Hostetler, writing in 1964, had the following message;

> When the Amish person loses his Pennsylvania Dutch dialect and takes on the English language he loses the symbols and social reality which they represent. Not only the Amish but many linguistic groups know how difficult it is to change their language without losing their way of life or their religion (Hostetler 1964:19).

So, although liquidity in language can hint at a change in Amish values, it is not without the risk of losing, not only the language but all that the symbols (dress, horse and buggy and language) represent in defining boundaries of Amish life. When the people slip into speaking English, they may be pouring away more than just the language.

b) Liquidity in Transport

For Amish business owners, riding to work in a buggy or walking might be an option, but meeting with customers or suppliers may be greatly speeded up if they use a car to get to these places. Although the Amish do not drive the car, it may suit their purposes to hire a car and driver and travel by car for business purposes. If the business is a Grocery store, or bulk Deli, travelling in a van to the Cash'n'Carry is a necessity if they are to purchase all they need for the store. The business has necessitated a move away from horse and buggy transport for the sake of efficiency and competitiveness. Since the move away from agriculture, in addition to local businesses, another major source of work for Amish men has been the mobile construction crew, made up of Amish construction workers who will travel around, together fitting kitchens, putting up barns, warehouses and industrial buildings out of the area (Lowery and Noble 2000:28, Landing 2007:57) Testa 1992:58). Landing calculates that 74% of working males in one settlement travel to work by van. They travel to work daily in a van with a driver provided by their employer and return home in the evening. A smaller number may travel weekly, leaving on a Monday and returning home Thursday or Friday. When men work away from home for part of the week, they will usually stay either in inexpensive hotels or in the homes of other Amish, Beachy Amish or Amish Mennonites known to them (Personal communication, Prof. Joseph Donnermeyer 8th Jan.2018). Hurst and McConnell claim that this pattern of working away has had a significant impact on the Amish emphasis on home and family (2010:127) and is a major change to the situation when men worked at home on the farm. It will be covered in more detail in the next chapter. Such a regular use of a driver with a van, erodes the reliance on the horse and buggy and may, for some people, make the use of a car more attractive in weekend life. The continued use of horse and buggy appear to mean that the Amish are stable whereas the willingness to use a car or van when necessary for their business belies this. It is another unintended consequence of moving away from the farm. Bauman says that to be modern has no end in sight, it means instead that 'people modernize compulsively, perpetually with no final state in sight and none desired'(2012:viii). In relation to Amish transport, the flexibility of the Amish to use cars and vans can be described as liquid, insofar as there was no way, fifty years ago to predict that they would do this, and we cannot say what they will be doing in the next fifty years and whether they will move towards the (driverless?) car and away from the horse and buggy.

c) <u>Liquidity in the Selective Use of Technology</u>

The Amish are not Luddite, rejecting outright all types of technology; only the *Swartzentruber* Amish come close to that position. Rather, the communities selectively sort out what might help or harm them. It is complicated for outsiders to understand, not least because lines are drawn in different places by different Amish groups. Some technologies are absolutely prohibited, such as television and entertainment technologies, car ownership and drawing electricity from the grid, but in many Old and New Order groups, computers will be allowed for business use but not in the home (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 3013:312). Whilst there is a prohibition on electricity from the grid, notwithstanding, many Amish inventors adapt what is allowed to enable labour-saving devices in the home, the barn and the business (Scott and Pelman 1990:134ff). These comply with the *Ordnung* by using home-made electricity, pneumatic or hydraulic power from a diesel engine, solar electricity or battery operated equipment as well as compressed-air. There is a flexibility:

> There is a need to choose only those that will be of genuine benefit, and to reject those that break down the values we uphold. This would apply to modern appliances

> and household gadgets, many of which have the potential to change our family and community oriented way of life in ways we may not realise until the damage has been done (1001 Questions and Answers on the Christian Life 1992:141).

Lester Beachy writes:

> "We Amish do make changes…the challenge is not to let the technology control us. Not being hooked up to the power grid is a help in this. When we do make a major change in church *Ordnung* we will vote over it. For the change to be made, we need 100% unanimity. We believe there is a lot of strength in a unified decision" (Beachy 2014 K).

In this sense, the approach to technology is not fixed but is liquid, enabling the Amish to respond to the advent of new technologies, but Beachy makes it clear that the unity that comes from being in complete agreement with one another is a source of strength for Amish people. Bauman contends that the challenge of liquidity is being able to live with *'unsicherheit'* (which is translated uncertainty or insecurity) but for the Amish, they would not expect to get security from things in this world, so prefer to make decisions about technology one at a time.

d) Liquidity in Leisure

We can see other changes taking place. Amish men have often hunted as a sport for years, and, also, as a source of food, enabling wives to use duck, venison and fish as 'free food' for the family. Leisure activities for men are changing in that leisure time has become more available due to a change in work practices and the possibility to spend time during the evenings and weekends on their hobbies, not a possibility when they were farming. I recently received a photograph of an Amish man with his horse and buggy with a trailer at a lakeside, in the trailer was a rather smart boat, and two Amish men were unloading various fishing rods. The photograph came to me as an email attachment, from another Amish man who had been with them; they thought I would appreciate the changes that the picture showed. An Amishman sent the email.

Some young women described to me with great excitement how they now go out in groups, for a shopping trip during the week, or to have coffee together in their local equivalent of Starbucks – such an outing would be unheard of when their mothers were young women. Bauman (2012:73ff) uses shopping as a metaphor for the way that people have the urge to satisfy their needs. What he describes as 'present-day consumerism' – shopping not just for the articles but just to satisfy themselves and enjoy some time out together. Bauman notes that the person cannot ever be satisfied and thus the need to shop is ongoing. Within the Amish, such activity as shopping is only recently accepted, so is not yet normalised, however, what Bauman describes may become the norm in future as boundaries of activity become more flexible as Amish daily life begins to look not unlike that of the English.

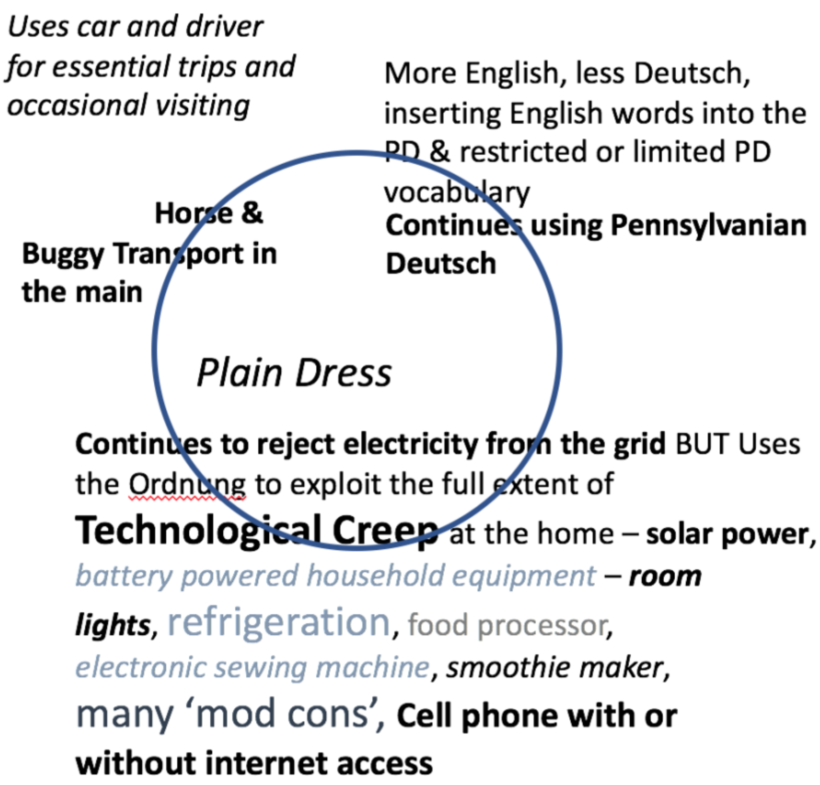


Figure 2: The way the four key characteristics are becoming less central, more flexible.

The diagram shows the way in which the four characteristics have become more flexible. Plain dress remains almost central, but there have been some minor changes, not in the pattern or style, but in fabrics and colours. In the top left, we see that cars and drivers have become usual for Old/New Order for essential trips out of the area and for visiting relatives in other settlements. Horse and buggy transport remains the usual means of transport for most Amish people. In the top right box, we see that Pennsylvania Deutsch is the language that Amish people communicate with each other, but since there is an increasing use of English, many young people are equally comfortable in English. Anecdotally, young people show a preference for using English over Pennsylvania Deutsch and my observation would be that many young people say that they have a greater vocabulary of English than they do 'the Deutsch'. Almost all of my interviewees flagged this up as a significant change in their lifetime. The last box, dealing with technological change shows that whilst the Amish still reject electricity from the grid they are using electricity in various forms to do specific tasks e.g. the telephone may still be in the barn but a cell phone is permissible for those with a business or if there is a medical need to have one. In theory, the Amish prefer not to have smart phones although for the young people in their *Rumspringa* period, a smart phone is more common and may be used by business owners.

3.9. Summarising the Changes

In summary, of the four characteristics, only plain dressing has remained largely unchanged in pattern, although there has been a change in the type of fabric and colour. This will be discussed in more detail later in (6.3.1a). A varying degree of liquidity can be seen in the other three – the horse and buggy is still very visible, Pennsylvania Deutsch can still be heard from adults and the inside of an Amish home appears very similar to the house of an English person with the exception, perhaps of no visible telephone. With respect to use of Pennsylvania Deutsch, Suarez (2002) found that the use of a parent's language diminished with later generations in other immigrant groups and we can see a similar pattern amongst the Amish. Change is ongoing, and is likely to continue changing as the growing population of Amish people adapt to the world which is itself, changing around them. It is as if the boundaries in language, occupations, dress and lifestyle are becoming fuzzy or less rigid. Twenty years ago, a journal article highlighted the impact of the rapid growth in Amish micro-enterprises in providing a viable alternative to agriculture. Noting that this was a great change, given that previously, taking a non-farming job had been cause for excommunication in the Amish church, the authors concluded that the success of these micro-enterprises have allowed the growth of the Amish communities and in turn, the expansion of the communities has encouraged the success of entrepreneurship, where more men in particular, find opportunities to be successful in a business that previously were not available to them, thus increasing the number of successful Amish businesses (Smith et al 1997).

3.10. Secondary Characteristics of Amish Life

Earlier I mentioned, that in addition to the four characteristics listed above, there are additional factors which are less central but which nevertheless form a key part of the Amish value system. They are biblical teaching, maintenance of male leadership and a patriarchal family system. These are discussed in turn.

Although the Amish can read the Bible and most will have a bible at home, it has largely been interpreted for them and undertaking Bible Study at home is not encouraged other than teaching their own children. The most recent revision of *1001 Questions* was undertaken in 1992 and is the version used today. Divided into five sections, 'The Path to God', 'Fellowship of Believers', 'A life of Discipleship', 'A People Apart' and 'In the Light of Eternity' - each section asks and answers questions with bible references included in the answers. In addition to Bible references, there are also references to the 1632 Dordrecht Confession of Faith. This is a statement of faith divided into eighteen sections, called Articles and sometimes known as the Eighteen Articles. It also references the Dordrecht Confession. The purpose of the book is to provide an understanding of the Amish world view. Amish people will often refer to this when asked questions about how they live and what they believe. It is readily available in local stores run by the Amish even if it is not a book store but a General Store with just a shelf of books.

Maintenance of male leadership roles is a continuation of how things have always been within the Amish community. They use Scripture to explain this:

> Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church and He is saviour of

> the body. Therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every way (Eph 5 v 22 – 24).

Although that looks anti-feminist to 21st century eyes, the Amish are not trying to be modern. They are aiming to be true to what they believe. In addition, they understand that the husband 'covering' the wife, brings her the freedom that will enable her to function best. Women who talked about this, agreed it was not their role to lead the family. In the New Order, especially, they teach that women are to be 'Keepers at home' and should not be seeking employment out of the home or seeking fulfilment in a career. In that sense, the New Order are more conservative than the Old Order. One explanation for this, is that they were founded on a belief that the Amish should have more Bible Study and seek to teach from the Bible to explain their beliefs. In my fieldwork, I met more Old Order women, who had businesses either full time or smaller sideline businesses, than I met working women in the New Order. What has changed, in this instance is that the Old Order women have begun to work outside the home where previously neither Old or New Order did.

Ministers and Bishops are chosen by lot in accordance with practice described in the bible, Acts Chapter 2 when Matthias was chosen by lot, to replace Judas. Choosing ministers by lot has become the way that the Amish choose their leaders who are always male (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:91). All men who join the church are expected to be willing to serve as leaders if they are chosen. The patriarchal family system is one for which the Amish contend strongly, believing that the husband should be the head of the home. They teach that although he has that position, he is 'under Christ' and must therefore follow the teaching of Christ and the New Testament. Being a minister does not give a man free reign to be a dictator or do exactly as he pleases (1001 Questions 1992:96). Part of his responsibility is teaching, instruction and discipline in the home. In addition, the husband must work diligently to provide for the family, and teach the children how to work so that they, in turn will be able, in the future to provide for their own families.

I have identified three main factors that have impacted change in the lives of Amish women. These changes are first, a move out of farming, second the impact of tourism, third, a less rigid approach to the authority of the Bishops. An additional insight is that the growth in the population may have masked the changes taking place. According to the Young Center, the Amish are doubling their numbers every 18 years, there are an estimated 330,000 Amish people. With such a large population of Amish although they are concentrated in limited geographical areas, they are highly visible. So, it may be that such a large number in a relatively dense population area gives the impression of maintaining their way of life because there are so many of them. Secondly, change may not be so noticeable when it is gradual and taking place with small numbers in different communities. Thirdly, there is a projection onto the Amish by the English, regarding their traditional characteristics that is not easily dislodged. I recall my own shock when an elderly Amish woman I was interviewing described how much she enjoyed taking cruises. People adapt and make changes at a different pace, so I am wondering if the growth in the visible number of Amish, alongside small changes taking place at a different pace creates the illusion that less is changing.

3.11. The Stability of Amish Family Life

Amish family life is central to the Amish church-community. As mentioned earlier, the German word *Gemeinde* or *Gmay* is used to mean both church and community, there is no distinction in Amish understanding. A person's role is defined by his/her place in the family and the church-community and his identity is formed by all that these community relationships entail.

This clearly illustrates what Ediger noted in 1986 that the Amish still maintain a reliance on Scripture to explain how and why they live the way they do. Ediger (1986) and Beachy (2014) both contend that Amish values have not changed. Ediger maintained that their values contribute to their stability (8) and as above, in 3.2 I note that Kollmorgan (1942) believes that maintaining their values promotes stability.

3.12. The Impact on Stability of the Amish move from Agriculture to Business

Historically, Amish men worked the land, since they first arrived in America in the late eighteenth century. However, since the 1970's there has been a shift away from agriculture so that Amish men (and to some extent, women) now run a wide variety of successful businesses. Typically, though, these businesses mirror the historical organization of Amish society, i.e. business remains informal, small in scale and compact (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013). The type of businesses that are now the mainstay of Amish society include woodworking of all types – carpentry and joinery shops, sawmills, furniture-manufacturing and sales, contractors and builders, retail shops, harness shops and leather work, lawn furniture manufacturing and sales, agricultural equipment shops, greenhouse and nursery sales, bakeries, roadside produce stands, welding shops, gazebo construction and sales, metal fabrication shops, carriage and wheelwright shops, silo building, toy manufacturing and sales (Kraybill and Nolt 2004; Wesner 2010) . Note that where the word 'shop' is used, that is usually a diminution of 'workshop' rather than simply signalling a retail outlet. The impact of moving out of agriculture into workshop businesses has brought changes to other areas of life besides the shift from farming. It has had a wider impact than simply a change of career.

3.13. Cultural Change or Cultural Drift?

It is worth considering that whilst the men took up other occupations when they ceased farming as their main income, that would not necessarily mean that women would start working outside the home. However, what might enable the change is cultural drift. In anthropology, the idea of cultural drift is that 'it is conceptualized as a process of culture change' (Koerper and Stickel 1980:464). Hole and Heizer (1973:464) describe it like this:

> The population that moves into a new environment with a new set of techniques develops further along lines, laid out by their initial invention. The invention is the 'kick' in the system, which is amplified by continual use and elaboration. Metaphorically and physically, the population drifts further away from the parent group.

At the beginning of Chapter 1, I proposed that two factors had caused the change in women's lives. I named them as the growth in the tourist industry, alongside the move out of farming. When two groups make contact, both sides are affected. It causes acculturation or diffusion. When tourism began to take hold in Lancaster County and Holmes County, it was inevitable that there would be increased contact between the local Amish and the visitors. The film 'Witness' (1986) portrayed the Amish community in a way that few had seen previously and no doubt influenced visitors to go and look at Lancaster County. The local Tourist authorities also use 'Amish' to draw people to the area through specific tourist attractions that claim to present Amish life. One day, after I had been working in the kitchen with a group of Amish women, making tomato sauce in giant vats, I went on an errand for them in the car, and happened to see a tourist sign, with a picture of the ubiquitous horse and buggy and some pretzels, that read 'Time Stands Still in Amish Country'. It made me smile. Standing for last 7 hours at a kitchen table, time had indeed passed slowly, but I imagine the tourist office had something else in mind. Their advertising sells a picture that is strong in the minds of visitors but may bear little resemblance to the reality of lives of Amish people. Trollinger (2013) finds that visitors are attracted to the three towns she studied because they want an experience of the Amish that gives them feelings of nostalgia and memories of times past when life was simpler. The impact of increased visitor numbers to Amish country may have been a cause of diffusion on both sides. The visitors believe that their visit slows them down, causes them to yearn for a simpler life (Meyers2003:118). Just by visiting, the visitors take home 'Amishness'.

3.13.1. When the *Ordnung* is Changed

Changes happen slowly. Usually it happens in two ways, either when the *Ordnung* is changed, or when an innovation slips in quietly and becomes accepted.

So, first, change happens when the *Ordnung* is changed. The *Ordnung* is reviewed before Communion which is only taken every six months. The church needs to agree about any changes before Communion can take place. If the congregation are not all agreed, Communion will not be shared. This is in line with the Apostle Paul's instruction, that there should be no disagreements in the Body when they share communion (I Cor11 v 18). If the whole church cannot agree, they will take a decision to postpone Communion until there is agreement. In some communities, if only two or three people are not in agreement, they will be asked if they can live with the change, for the sake of the rest of the community. If they can, then Communion can be taken, but if not, then the *status quo* will remain and the change is rejected. Gertrude Enders Huntington pointed out that this desire for a Scriptural justification is sometimes circumvented by ignoring an innovation until it is no longer remembered as something new (Huntingdon 1957:202). The reluctance to make changes may be due in part, to the fact that historically, Anabaptists looked to the past and the past was used as the standard. It is not unusual for an Amishman to say, ‘The norm is the past’ and, when asked for an explanation he is usually meaning that times were better in the past.

3.13.2. When Change arrives Gradually

Second, a change happens when an innovation slips in quietly and unannounced. A good example of this would be the use of Smartphones. Historically, the Old Order Amish did not have landline telephones in the house, rather they were outside in the barn or an outbuilding. Sometimes a community phone in a nearby lane is installed for all local Amish to use. Families use voice mail to indicate that a voice message can be left for them. In 2010, Hurst and McConnell could take a photograph of a young Amish woman, wearing trainers, using a cellphone for the cover of their book. In that book, discussing the differences between Old and New Order Amish in their use of the telephone, the authors write that:

> One New Order leader observed that most New Order members do not have cell phones although some of them have them for business only, whereas “75% of those people [Old Order] have cellphones”. Asked why cellphones had proliferated, an Old Order man notes that “everyone was using them” before church leaders realized what was happening. Many districts had forbidden cellphones in the home, but controlling portable, handheld electronic devices has become a real challenge for many church leaders (Hurst and McConnell 2010:107).

This was the view of some of the women I interviewed.

Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner explained how the cellphone has taken such a hold;

> To the literalists, cellphones did not violate the *Ordnung* because they were wireless and not physically installed in houses. They were handy for contractors on job sites to co-ordinate subcontractors. Easy to conceal they were also difficult to suppress. Moreover, young people who acquired them during *Rumspringa* found them hard to

> discard after baptism. As cellphones became widespread in some communities, leaders despaired of being able to ban them. Yet they worried that cellphones with cameras and Internet access would open the door to moral depravity and they threatened to recall them (2013:324).

However, as several of my interviewees pointed out, asking users to give up their cellphones would not be easy. People have been using them now for several years, and not just for phone calls. I commented to a young woman in her late twenties, on the attractive bedding in a child's bedroom and was told 'Oh yes, I got it off Amazon. I do a lot of internet shopping. It's so easy and I don't have to take 5 children with me' (140917RB). Her statement surprised me because it indicates not only that she uses a Smartphone but that she must have either a credit card or a Paypal account, which she uses to purchase goods online. I didn't have the impression that for this young woman, changing her shopping habits would be something she would want to give up if she couldn't use a smartphone. I guess she was an early adopter and did not want to give it up after her *Rumspringa* finished. The phone technically belongs to her husband's business but it is the number she gave me to call her, so it would appear to be the number she uses regularly. She lives in a settlement where cellphones are allowed for business but not for private use.

One of my interviewees told me:

> Well, I think people aren't watched as much as they were when I was growing up, not in this area anyway, I don't think. Jah, it's kind of a shame but it seems to be that to make any changes, somebody has to do it, and even if they tell him that they don't really like what he's doing, unless he persists to the point that more people do it, then it's accepted……I mean other people will do it and then it's accepted and for some

> people, it doesn't bother them as much when not everyone approves of them, so they're kind of the ones that are the leaders for change (150914NS).

The admission that people are not watched as much as they were is possibly a key to what is happening here. I asked other women if they thought the Bishops were as strict as they were previously, and more than half of the women I asked, said they were not. 'I actually think that they used to be more that way' said one women (140922LM). Another one explained to me that as the Amish population has grown, the ministers have become younger and thus the Bishops have become younger, and since most are no longer farming, the ministers and Bishops have realized that times have changed and they are more open to discussion and accommodation (140915NS).

3.14. The Influence of 'Creep'

Kraybill describes the influence of technological creep as another method of change; It happens because the Bishops fail to make a timely decision so that by the time they think something is an issue to be considered, it is too late because the innovation has changed at the same time as usage was becoming commonplace. This happened for example, with the cellphone becoming a Smartphone that could do so much more than the original cellphone. Another example would be with some kitchen implements which were allowed, so the next generation of gadgets moved on and were never considered individually. So, food mixers in the kitchen led to the use of blenders, and the blenders in turn, led to food processors, smoothie makers and yoghurt makers. These kitchen appliances would still not be found in the 'lower' plainer Amish groups, but in the more prosperous Old Order Amish and New Order homes, they are the surprising norm.

3.15. Variation between Settlements

It is worth noting that use of the cellphone varies from one settlement to another. Some allow open access to cellphones whilst others excommunicate members who are unwilling to live without a cellphone. Some settlements have tried to distinguish between cellphones and smartphones, rejecting the smartphone because it provides access to the internet. but this is complicated and it has not been easy to formulate rules so that this can be enforced (Jantzi 2017:75). Jantzi's research also confirms that some youth in the three largest settlements (Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Holmes County, Ohio and Elkhart and La Grange Counties in Indiana) are using not only cellphones and smartphones but are active on Facebook. This research suggests a higher number than previously estimated in Stevick (2014), Jantzi estimates 3000 youth in these three settlements active on the Facebook platform. Unsurprisingly, since smaller more rural communities tend to be less progressive than, for example, Lancaster County or Holmes County, no Amish youth in those rural communities were found by Jantzi's research to be confirmed users of Facebook (2017:83). So, since my research was carried out in Lancaster County and Holmes County, my findings cannot be applied across all Amish communities.

In discussion with people in the Perry County settlement, one woman (110614LF) made the point to me that, although in the *Ordnung*, the use of shunning is a means to filter change, silence by the leadership also allows a gradual change to come in.

Another researcher too encountered this during her fieldwork describing the use of silence not only to communicate disapproval as it has traditionally been used, (Hostetler 1993:388) but to communicate a more *laissez-faire* attitude towards incoming change. The use of diesel power on Amish farms was an example of this, when the Bishops remained silent about it. 'Implicitly the *Ordnung* sanctions against the use of mechanization on farms and yet the use of diesel powered machinery has never been formally sanctioned or opposed by any Old Order Bishop' (Stambach 1988:45). It is as though the Bishops simply look the other way. Several factors affect the tolerance of the Amish community towards innovation. First, the individual's conscience acts as a first-level limiter on what might be accepted. The community view is usually that bending the rules or owning something that borders on the unacceptable is risky since it disrupts the unity of the church that was agreed at the previous Communion. Sometimes, it may be that the risk of being talked about is sufficient for someone to 'put away' the offending item before they are formally asked to do so. In other cases, if someone is not 'spoken to' about the potentially offending article, others may start to use it, and it becomes accepted by default. I was told that this happens more readily with equipment for use in farming or business than it does for items for personal use (Field Notes 110614LF). Second, it is worth noting that innovation that comes about through Amish inventiveness is likely to be tolerated more readily than if the community is being asked to agree to an 'outside invention' because there is always a suspicion that inventions from the worldly community may lead to other worldly attitudes or practices invading the community. Third, inventions that come from other Amish can more easily be controlled or moderated than those adopted from outside which are simply purchased, It can be generally seen that the Amish are least opposed to innovations that relieve economic pressure on a family. Although far fewer Amish are farming now in Lancaster County, it remains true that those who are farming will use mules in the field but have all manner of up-to-date machinery in the barn that they have purchased or adapted to fit the *Ordnung*. In Ohio fewer pieces of farm machinery are seen, and farmers have instead diversified into turkey or chicken farming, alpacas or raising deer or goats. At least one farm in Pennsylvania raises camels which in addition to providing lactose-free milk in the markets has itself, become a popular tourist attraction as a camel farm.

3.16. Dealing with Deviance within the Community

Most Amish people voluntarily abide by the church rules without any enforcement action being necessary (Tan1998:72) but rarely it happens that there is a need to apply the sanctions. The Amish regard shunning as the ultimate sanction to be applied to someone who persistently fails to live in accordance with the *Ordnung*. Someone who is shunned is said to be under the *Bann*. However, before the 'Bann' is applied, there are a range of ways in which adults may be disciplined by the church for owning something which has not been approved. I had several conversations with community members in Ohio, about how this might work in practice.

The following information was extracted from conversations with two members in Holmes County. One of them had experienced the *Bann* first-hand, whilst the other holds a position of authority in the church and had on occasions been responsible for setting up a church discipline for a wayward member (LS100930). Initially someone may be simply spoken to by another member of the community who has noted that they have a new piece of equipment which has not been approved by the *Ordnung*. If they continue to use it, even after disapproval has been voiced, the person may take a deacon from the church with them to try and persuade them again to put it away. If that fails, then they may be asked to confess it privately and put it away. If the person comes willingly to the decision to do that, then a private confession is all that is needed. The wider church may never hear about it.

Being subject to the *Bann* is a very serious matter since it means they will, in addition to not being able to take communion, be unable to eat with their family, do business with other

Amish, they will be subject to a level of social avoidance and have limited contact with the community. The aim of the *Bann* is always is to restore them to the community.

Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner report that ‘stubbornness or rebellious attitudes are more often a cause for discipline than transgression of a rule’ (94). They go on to say that where ‘members are headstrong and will not to submit to the church, temporary excommunication may lead to full excommunication’ (95). Sexual relations between a husband and wife are forbidden if one of them is under the *Bann*. It sometimes happens that members asked to be placed in the *Bann*, because they have a conviction about something they have done previously and have residual guilt about the matter. Restoration of the offenders back into the church community is always the aim of discipline. The way restoration is offered undergirds the Amish virtue of *gelassenheit* in that the person is accepted back with a spirit of humility and the community accept his contrition and pledge themselves to support him.

As mentioned above, the Amish always look for a scripture to justify their actions. The Scriptural justification for such severe actions are Matthew 18, where Jesus teaches that only those who humble themselves like children can enter the kingdom of God. Jesus taught that believers are to forgive seventy times seven times, to make it clear that forgiveness is to be both offered and received. Beachy (2013:X) explains the importance of excommunication in keeping the church pure and cites I Cor. 5 as the scriptural justification for holding this view.

3.17. Summary

In this chapter, I related how stability is important to the Amish, and why that is so. Then I looked at the reasons stability is so important to them and the factors that support stability. Five factors were identified and expanded upon. A short discussion on Amish family life led into a major part of the chapter that looked at the four characteristics that make someone Amish. Having identified the four characteristics, I examined where change in this field was taking place. The four characteristics are plain dressing, horse and buggy transport, speaking Pennsylvania Deutsch, and rejecting electricity from the grid. I showed how only Plain Dressing remains relatively unchanged and represented this in a diagrammatic form. I then identified four factors which impact upon and change these four characteristics. I then considered how it is that change happens in many areas of Amish life and yet they remain stable and unmoved by the change happening around them. I then discussed how change happens and the differing reactions to it. I paid some attention to what happens when there is a disagreement about change and how it is handled within the church. In doing that, I looked at the discipline a church can invoke to maintain unity and reject division in the body. Linked to this is the importance of forgiveness and maintaining peace within the body of believers. In the next Chapter, I examine what Hostetler called the marginal Amish person and offer some life-stories of women who have managed to combine the expected role for women with highly individual roles and look at the way this has happened without detriment to the unity of the body.

4. CHANGES IN WOMEN'S LIVES

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I look at the life of Amish women in Lancaster and its daughter settlements and in Ohio and consider the parts of life where the boundaries are now drawn in a different place to where they were previously. I have chosen three examples to do this: first, women in family life, second, the way in which women are role models for younger women; third, the changes that have taken place in everyday life. I then look at the public/private conundrum – how the Amish women attempt to live in the world but remain not of it, as their lives become ever closer to the mainstream culture. I use Pal Repstad's study of churches in Sorlandet *'When Religions of Difference Grow Softer'* as a lens to consider conservative religiosity in changing Amish churches. Repstad's study leads me to conclude that there is both similarity and dissimilarity between changes in Amish life those in the conservative churches of Sorlandet.

4.2. Amish Family life

Families in rural communities, whether Amish or not, tend to be larger because children are considered potential workers when the families rely on agriculture for its living (Rosenzweig 1977:1067, Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:156). Although there has been a slight reduction in family size since the move away from agriculture in the last thirty years, Amish families are still significantly larger than non-Amish families in America, averaging seven children per family. A reason for this is because they do not routinely practice artificial birth control and the 'Gelassenheit mindset causes them to accept whatever comes, including children' (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:157).

During my research, I was surprised by the diversity I found in the lives of the women I interviewed. The Amish women I had met since 2003, when I started visiting Lancaster County had almost all been wives and mothers and they expressed great satisfaction in that. Mostly they did not work outside the home. However, during my research, I met women who were farmers, business owners/managers, cooks, writers, artists, quilters, teachers, tour operators, midwives, waitresses and restaurant cooks and this variety made me want to explore their lived experience of having careers alongside their highly-gendered role in the community. All the women dressed Amish and all were active in their communities and yet some seemed much more steeped in the Amish culture than others. Finally, since so much seems to have changed in the recent past, I want to dissect what it is that might guarantee 'Amishness' is passed on in the next generation.

4.2.1. Pennsylvania

Thus with large families, women put a lot of time and effort into raising their children, believing that that is their main responsibility as parents to raise their children to adopt the Amish way of life and its values. Parents are expected to nurture their children and be examples to them, teaching them the ways of the Lord. The goal of the parents is to raise the children to be good Amish men and women. In such a high-context society, part of the role of the parents is to transmit to the children the norms of the society and how they should live in it as productive members; this is done more by what they do than what they say (Beer 2003). 'High context' refers to societies or groups where people have close connections over a long period of time. Many aspects of cultural behaviour are not made explicit because most members know what to do and what to think from years of interaction with each other (Beer 1997).

Huntington (1998) argued that that the children function as a socialising agent for their parents, in that as the parents strive to become good examples to their children they become better Amish adults themselves (Mindel, Habenstein & Wright Eds; 1998:307). The role of the parent is to teach the children, appropriate behaviour for their age and role. The role of the children in family life is mostly determined more by age than by gender. The older children care for and help the younger ones' whilst the younger ones obey the older ones reasonable demands. Older siblings are practised at cajoling the younger ones to do as they are told. Marlow Ediger argued that one way to maintain the desired tradition was to limit exposure of children to mainstream media.

> The use of radios and television, have greatly modified beliefs and values in society. A rather common set of beliefs and values comes from viewing television programs. The soap operas, situation comedies and talk shows, amongst others, present content completely foreign to Amish thinking and value systems (Ediger 1986:8).

Cooksey and Donnermeyer (2012) agree with him. They argue that one way for the family to reinforce Amish values is to limit the exposure of the children to the outside world, refuse to have electricity from the grid which would allow television and computers to contaminate their children and erode the values they have so carefully sought to instil into them.

Amish families do not seek to entertain their children. Women working at home involve the children with whatever they are doing, so that it is possible to see small children 'working' alongside their mothers from a very young age, maybe three years old (Hostetler 1993:157ff). It is a key role for women to be carrying and raising the future generation. Women of child-bearing age rarely work outside the home, although sometimes they will have a home-based business that contributes to the family income (Hostetler 1993:15).

> An Amish wife participates actively in any decision to move to a different locality. She also makes an active contribution to the household. She may help with the farm or shop work, grow and preserve fruits and vegetables for her family, make the clothing and care for the house, lawn and garden, in addition to giving birth to numerous children and caring for their well-being. Thus, the wife plays a paramount role in the economic survival of the family and the Amish community (Kraybill and Huntington 2012:452).

It is a change in Amish families that women will now more often have a part-time business to supplement the family income. Preference is given to the kind of work that they can do from home. Mothers want to be at home with their children, building a bond with them. On my fieldwork visits, I saw small girls imitating their mothers sweeping up the floor, as well as 'helping' with the baking, or shelling peas and by the time they are seven or eight, they would be doing these tasks as part of their own chores. One of the first Amish children I ever met was a seven-year old boy who told me that it was his responsibility to collect the hens' eggs every morning before he went to school, which sounded attractively pastoral, until he told me that there were 200 hens in 'his' henhouse, then it sounded more like hard work for a young boy in the early morning before school. Amish children learn their work ethic early from their parents and are encouraged in many ways to develop and maintain it. Teaching children to work is an intentional activity of their parents. Speaking of two of her grandchildren, aged 12 and 10, Lydia told me they were 'starting work' the next day. It was school holidays.

> It was going to be their first day today, but Nathaniel was sick, so they will go tomorrow. They do not live on a farm but they have arranged for their children to work on a produce farm starting tomorrow. They will work from 6am until 11am,

> picking strawberries and stringing beans. You know on a produce farm, there's always going to be something for them to do, so they've gone there to learn (140611 LF).

And her daughter went on to explain:

> You try, like, we made work for our children. We have a small horse farm and they have a small workshop upstairs…there's probably some (families) that don't, but ours are taught (to work) but it varies from family to family. It's much harder for us to teach our children to work than it was for our parents to teach us to work when we were growing up, because we were on a farm, we didn't have a choice, there was work to be done all around us. I mean, there were cows to be milked, there was hay to bale, we didn't have time, where, here if our children don't want to get up in a morning they don't have to. We had to get up to milk cows. We had to, we didn't really know any different. If our children don't want to feed the horse at 6, they can wait until 8. That's the difference. I think it's harder for us. We work harder at teaching them, we must because there isn't the same farm structure to fit into (140611 LE).

Historically, Amish people always saw the farm as the best place to teach their children to work, regarding it as 'ideal work' (1001 Questions:139). It states, '…There are always tasks for the children and they grow up knowing how to work and to accept responsibility'. Children grow up feeling wanted and needed in their families (Siebart 2005:83). Working as part of the family helps the children to feel they are a part of it, and that indirectly they are contributing to the family.

Traditionally, Amish women make food for the family either by growing it or buying raw ingredients from someone else in the community. The larger proportion of a woman's time in the summer months is spent canning, bottling or preserving large quantities of fruit and vegetables for the winter months when they cannot have fresh food from the garden (Hostetler 1993:153). Daughters or nieces work alongside helping and learning the process. In addition to preserving garden produce, women will can food for the family such as spaghetti sauce, hamburger or beef patties. Traditionally, the Amish wife tends to prefer canning and bottling to freezing (Amish America Feb 6th 2012 in Amish Food). Pennsylvanian Amish also can vast quantities of apple sauce which is traditionally served with virtually every meal.

Butchering their own meat is less common today, but when it is done, it is an opportunity for a ‘frolic’ - a get-together to work with friends and relatives, socialising whilst working, to can their own pork for the coming year (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:239). Even though the majority are now no longer farming in Lancaster County, families will still eat together three times every day, even if the midday meal is a lighter repast than it was when it needed to sustain farm workers. Eating together is one way that the Amish maintain their family bonds. For some women that means cooking breakfast at different times to ensure that the workers go off to work, with a meal that will sustain them until the midday break. One women I interviewed told me that she makes a full cooked breakfast three times every weekday morning, between 5.30am and 8.00am to serve her 7 boys who all work away from the home (140617WH).

Richard Wright (1977:57) speaks of how the women’s economic role within the family not only supplements the family income but that it helps to explain the women’s role within the family. Hostetler writes that the Amish housewife’s skills have a ‘direct bearing on her family’s standard of living’ (Hostetler 1970:19). Several women told me that times were such in 2016, that it was no longer possible to farm in the way they did previously, and make enough money to live. The implication of this being that there had come a necessity for women to earn money to help support the family. So, whilst it is true that Amish women do not have ‘careers’ alongside their role raising a family, one notable change is the combining of work outside the home with raising a family. Women sometimes referred to it, as ‘helping’ with the finances.

4.2.2. Ohio

My sample of interviewees reflected the diversity of the Amish community in Ohio. I interviewed women from both Old Order and New Order, more than twenty in total, but only twenty from Ohio have been included in this thesis. I already knew that the Amish community was diverse from my reading before going to Ohio, but the role of Gertrude my gatekeeper was crucial in this, helping me to meet women I would not otherwise have had the opportunity to interview.

Hurst and McConnell ((2010:35) explain the diversity in Ohio in contrast with Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania, there is a state-wide *Ordnung* agreed by the Bishops Conference, although it may be interpreted less rigidly by some congregations. In Ohio there is no attempt for it to be state-wide, insofar as each Bishop responsible for two congregations can agree with each of them what it should contain. This creates diversity. There is a difference in culture not just between the Amish and the English, but between different groups of Amish. Using push or powered mowers as an example, Amish neighbours living next door, could have a different *Ordnung*, if they are in a different church district, one family would mow their lawn, with a powered mower whilst their neighbour must use a push mower to keep their garden tidy. The same differentiation could be made with dress, kitchen equipment, and social life and so on.

As in Pennsylvania, women in Ohio are responsible for all the same household matters, raising children, preparing foodstuffs, looking after the yard. However, if they are not farming and the husband works for an English employer, the woman will have little involvement with his work-life, not dissimilar to an American wife whose husband works for, but does not own a share in the company that employs him. Where the husband has his own business, alongside or instead of farming, the couple will be joint owners and the wife and the children, will help in the business, in much the same way they all worked together on the farm and used it as a means of training the children to work.

Not all Amish are the same. In the way that the Protestant church in Britain has different denominations, so there are different 'streams' of Amish. Some of them are in fellowship with one another, share preachers and have some similarities, whilst others, although acknowledging one another, would not have that same commonality (Hurst and McConnell 2010:18). There is no cookie-cutter Amish woman. Johnson-Weiner reminds us that 'we should not expect homogeneity among Amish women when recent scholarship has shown how diverse the Amish world is' (2015:3). Although similarities may exist between women in the same 'stream' of Amish in the same settlement, it is unlikely that other Amish women in the same state would live identical lives, because of the differences in *Ordnung*. In addition, women in the same 'stream' but not in the same settlement can be seen to be different too.

A small study in 2009 looked at how Amish women view their role in the Amish community. All the respondents mentioned that the Amish women's role was within the household to some extent (Feeley 2009:11). Only one single woman mentioned having a paid job as an Amish woman's duty. Half noted housework or homemaking as her primary role. 37.5% felt that caring for the family was the primary role of an Amish woman. Some women in Feeley's study, mentioned having more than one role, for example, they reported homemaking and caring for the children as the primary role. Kraybill has described the ideal Amish woman as one who manages her family well and who concentrates her energies on family life and (Kraybill 1989:73). Eriksen and Klein have suggested that producing children is thought of as the most important contribution that a woman can make in an Amish community (Eriksen and Klein1981:283). This confirms the centrality of home and family of the woman's role in Amish.

Some of the women I interviewed spoke of doing their work at home with other younger women (140619LM, 140617KS) sharing ideas of how to get work done and doing it collaboratively rather than alone. In this way, they were modelling the traditional role of an Amish women keeping house and raising a family. Although the younger women would usually have seen that in their own homes, seeing the same work being done in other homes within the community gives them an opportunity to talk with older women and provides them with greater experience. It is also another opportunity to combine work with socialising.

As mentioned above, eating at home with the family is important for maintaining closeness and being involved with one another. But now that they are not spending so much time working alongside each other, mealtimes have become important for catching up with news of one another and being able to talk about plans for the coming days. So, when they can no longer eat together, they feel they are becoming out of touch (1006140RS,120924VM & 140611LF). Women made this point, in relation to husbands who were day labourers, and not at home at lunchtime.

So that they have foodstuffs for the winter, crops must be grown and almost all Amish women do still have a vegetable garden. In some cases, the garden is not as extensive as it previously would have been (120920WM, 140620MB, 140606SR). Since work is highly gendered in the Amish community, yard work - tending the garden, planting, weeding and mowing the lawn is women's work. In a family where there are no girls, the wife will do it, and may get help from nieces, or a neighbour's daughters or an unmarried sister. The husband will usually do the initial digging in the Spring (Hostetler 1993:153). In my research, it became apparent in the interviews, that some women who work outside the home now trade off the time they might have spent working in their garden, by paying someone else to come in and tend their vegetable garden for them (140606SR). This confirms the findings in two previous studies where participants said they used part of their earnings purchase labour to do the work that they least enjoy (Graybill 2009:144 Stolzfus Taylor 1995:51ff).

Church services for the Amish take place on alternate Sundays and rotate around the homes of the families in the church (Kraybill 2018:22, Hostetler 1993:210). To prepare for hosting church the house, the garden and the barn or basement where the meeting is held must all be cleaned and tidied so that there is nothing that might act as a distraction to the worshippers. Anna, described 'getting ready to have church here' as 'everywhere must be scrubbed clean and tidied to within an inch of its life'. It can take a team of 4 or 5 women several days during the preceding week to prepare the house and garden for the advent of 120 – 140 people who make up the church. It is, in effect, an 'open house' so that all the church can see that the house is kept clean and tidy. Again, by sharing the work they are continuing a traditional method of working and modelling for younger girls and women how to work. Also, food must be prepared for the meal that follows church. By tradition, there is a set menu, which reduces the opportunity for competition among women who might especially enjoy cooking. Cleaning and preparation is usually done on Saturday. In Lancaster County, the typical lunch in after church includes home-made bread, with cheese, bologna, home-made pickled dill cucumbers, or chow-chow, beets or similar pickles, fruit jam followed by various pies such as pumpkin, custard, fruit or shoofly pies. There is usually a choice of pies and people expect to have more than one helping. One big change in this respect has been that some women will buy in some of the food for the meal that follows the church service where thirty years ago, the expectation was that the host would have made all the food (140915NS).

> When church is at my house, and I need 30 pies, I buy them from Bluegate (bake stand). There is no shame in not doing your own baking, maybe 20 years ago but not today. It might have been unheard of in the past. Twenty years ago, very few people bought their desserts (Graybill 2009:144).

Most families will expect to host church twice in a twelve-month period.

Historically, when they were farming, parents shared the care and training of the children, but this has been impacted by the move away from farming and fathers taking up other work. The father may work away, either travelling daily or longer. For the women left behind, this means that they have more responsibility for raising and training the children, where previously this would have been shared and they had the farm work to use as a tool to do it. Secondly, the impact of not working together as husband and wife means that women can make more choices about what and how to do her work. The combined impact of more equipment in the home has lessened the burden of domestic chores to the extent that not all time is taken up with housework. But the work ethic is so strong among Amish women that they are still motivated to work, and so they have begun to have their own businesses, large or small, or they become volunteers for good causes in the community (140917LB 140922LM). However, whilst embracing this lifestyle change, care of the family remains central to their role and they have incorporated the additional opportunities for business or volunteering into their role as wives and mothers. The very act of ‘finding things to do’ to occupy their time shows other young Amish women how to live in a community which values work and domestic activity. This is covered in more detail in 4.4.2.

4.2.3. Section Summary

The most striking thing about these women was that they were not striking at all. Looking much like every other Amish woman, they wore the typical colours commonly seen in Pennsylvania, navy blue, plum, maroon, with the crisp white heart-shaped head-coverings and aprons, black stockings and for the most part, flat black shoes. In Ohio, dress colours are lighter, pale blues, mauve, light brown, lemon, pale green, pink as well as darker colours on older women, although the dress pattern is the same. The New Order women have a long 'apron' from their shoulders, almost the length of their dress for modesty. It covers the shape of their upper body and hangs loosely. The women in my sample come from a wide range of backgrounds, some more traditional than others. They range from very traditional, never having worked outside the home to some who have created recognisable 'careers' for themselves, although they might not define them as such, they range through a whole gamut of employment possibilities. Additionally, the women range from "Plain" in terms of living, to a minority whose homes would not look out of place in an interior decorating magazine. Most, though, had homes that were tidy and presentable but did not appear at either end of a spectrum.

The traditional/non-traditional split did not accord with Old or New Order, but crossed both groups. Only in talking to them, could I discover that they had very individual lives and unique stories to tell, just like all non-Amish people. I would not assume that mainstream American women are all the same, yet because of the similarity of appearance of Amish women, it's easy to imagine that these women might all be alike or at least, similar. They look similar but they are individuals, some quiet and thoughtful, some opinionated, some aware of the English world, some not, some introverts, some not as in the mainstream.

So, to summarise, in terms of family life in Pennsylvania and Ohio, the family remains central to Amish life. The most telling impact has been that husbands and fathers are no longer working at home when they move out of agriculture. Kephart and Zellner, (1994:14) could write that the role of the family is a prime determinant in the totality of Amish culture:

> An Amishman's life, almost literally revolves around his home, his home is his family. He seldom leaves it and when he does he doesn't stay away very long. He has traditionally been born at home, he works at home, and the chances are that he will die at home…the term 'home' has a special connotation for the Amish are entirely a rural people and their dwelling might more accurately be described as a farmstead. Farm and home are synonymous.

And, whilst that might still be true for some, working from home and staying home, is no longer the case for the majority who have moved out of farming.

The discussion I want to move on to in later in this chapter, concerns the 'Amishness' of these women, where one woman makes all the clothes for her family, butchers her own meat and cans or preserves all her own food for the family. This woman lives in a home that has only blinds at the windows contrasted with another Amish woman who makes some of her own clothes but also buys a significant proportion of them with money she receives for working outside the home, shops at Walmart and who grows some, but not all, of the family's winter food, and who has a professionally landscaped flower garden. Her walls are decorated with stencils of sayings or Bible verses and has some collections of glass or china, 'objets d'art' that would not have been found in an Amish home in the past.

4.3. Case Studies of Women in Business

4.3.1. Two Amish Women with Businesses In Lancaster County

Sara is the owner of a thriving greenhouse business. She began this business to support her husband and contribute to the family finances. As the eldest girl in a family of nine, and the second eldest of nineteen children, from her mother's three marriages, she feels it has always been important that she didn't become a burden to her mother. In many Amish families, young people who are working do not keep their own money, but hand it to their parents, who keep it for them until they marry, or sometimes, until they are 21 (Hostetler 1993:112). Sara kept her own money from the time she was aged 17/18 which she attributed to the difficulties her mother faced when Sara was 18, and the mother was widowed for the second time. She told me that her mother's loss was such that for a long time, she didn't seem to know what was happening and Sara just took over running the family and looking after her siblings. The second husband had brought his family to the marriage, so that Sara was responsible for five young children who were not blood relatives at all and who had now been orphaned, in addition to her own siblings. So, when after her own marriage, there was an opportunity to run a small greenhouse business Sara felt it was going to be helpful to do that. It provided an income and would soon provide work for daughters. She encouraged them to work with her from the time they were aged six or seven. It now provides full-time work for her teenage girls, as she has grown the business and now has 3 greenhouses and is working towards having a small market garden on 2 acres of land. Sara didn't set out to be a businesswoman, but has found that she has a 'feel' for it. She can decide which risks are worth taking and doesn't mind taking them. She says her business never keeps her awake at night and she likes knowing that she is contributing to the family finances.

The fact that a woman is making a significant contributing to the family finances is a major change in the last thirty years in the Amish community. John Hostetler was very clear in his *Amish Society* that women did not earn money of their own:

> The wife generally has a purse of her own which is replenished periodically by her husband for the purchase of household supplies, groceries and clothing. When her supply of money is exhausted, she asks for more…the wife sometimes may keep the income from the eggs sold (1993:149).

Posy is a young woman with an eye for a business opportunity. She is 28 years old and has 3 children under 5 years old. She's a young farm wife who keeps chickens and sells the eggs. She recently converted a milk house into a small shop, where she displays products from her business, Princess Cookware and from eight other Multi-Level Marketing [7] (MLM) companies from her friends who are also in these businesses. The store is well-equipped with shelving and the products are carefully displayed on small wooden tables as if they were being used, e.g. a small table set out for afternoon tea, an old-fashioned medicine chest filled with vitamins and remedies, an old dressing table attractively filled with antique china bowls and baskets of herbal remedies, scented creams and hand-made soaps. Products from Tupperware, 31 Bags, Princess Cookware, Amway Cleaning Products, Vitamins and Housewares, Caliphon pans and dishes, Pampered Chef as well as Melaleuca Homeware, Vitamins and Laundry items, are crammed into this intriguing little shop. On another shelf, 'goodie' bags are beautifully decorated with candies or fresh flowers and a card informs customers that these can be made up to order to distribute as favours at Amish weddings

[7] Multi-Level Marketing companies are popular in USA and are businesses where profit can be earned from both selling a product and encouraging others to join the business as your downline. This means that the seller earns from their sales and the profits of others in their downline. Popular MLM businesses included Amway, Princess Cookware, Caliphon Pans and Tupperware.

(160616PT). These are another change in that giving goodie bags and favours to guests, is only recent behaviour at Amish weddings.

Alongside this business, Posy also breeds British bulldogs and when I called there, she had just said goodbye to the 16th puppy in a litter which sell for $1000 dollars each. Her shop runs with battery-operated lighting, a manually-operated adding machine and a cash register. From the road, the shop is indistinguishable from other farm buildings, and it would be unrecognizable as a shop servicing customers if you didn't know it was there. When we visited, seeing the car drive in, Posy left off weeding her vegetable garden and came running down the path to serve us, bringing Jesse, her three-year old riding his tricycle to reach the shop with his mother. This is a busy woman with a keen entrepreneurial spirit who wants to do more than keep money from the eggs she sells.

The idea that Amish women would one day be earning as much as, or more than their husbands was, not so very long ago, quite unlikely. Thirty years ago, Gertrude Enders Huntington suggested that Amish women whose husbands work as day labourers 'make a smaller contribution to the subsistence and to the economic survival of their family, which may affect both their self-esteem and their status in the community' and whilst that might have appeared to be the case then, it seems unlikely to be strongly argued today (Huntington 1994:119). A different view is expounded in *The Amish* where it is suggested that Amish women with more disposable income from their own small businesses may exert new forms of influence in their community (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013: 210). In 1994, the Amish communities were only just accepting that Amish could survive by working outside of farming, and Huntington's assertion, may have been shown, thirty years on, to have been unfounded. There seemed to be no ill effect on the self-esteem of the women I met who had their own business.

4.3.2. Amish Businesswomen in Ohio

One of the most noticeable things for me in Ohio was how different the Amish business women here are to their counterparts in Lancaster County. The women there may be working, but they seem to be doing it, 'hidden from view but in plain sight' – that is to say, you can see them if you know where to look, in the example of Posy above, but it's not always obvious and they are somehow quieter about it. You can find women 'sewing strings' – that is to say, working alone at home, sewing the very fine seams on either side of the ties on a women's prayer covering that are only one-quarter of an inch wide. The seam is about one-sixteenth of an inch and perhaps 20 inches long. You can also find women sewing Amish dolls with their featureless faces for sale in an Amish quilt shop and of course, Amish women quilt. Many of the Amish dolls on sale in the tourist shops in the tourist 'hotspots' like Intercourse and Bird in Hand, have been made in China, and compared to the 'real thing' are quite poorly produced and more expensive. I met women who produce food items for the tourists – either supplying restaurants or selling in the markets. Women in Ohio, are continuing to open businesses that are in line with their historically gendered work, sewing, gardening, baking, cooking as well as working in markets, shops and restaurants (Huntington 1994:119). In Ohio, however, women with their own businesses seemed to be more public with their entrepreneurial efforts and more willing to publicise what they are doing. I met fewer of them who sat at home alone with their sewing machine.

I talked to one 77-year old Amish woman, Emma, who has a Shaklee business for more than forty years, Shaklee products are described on their website as Healthy Weight, Nutrition, Home and Beauty Products. Founded in 1956, it is a Multi-Level Marketing business which prides itself on being environmentally friendly. She has about 35 regular customers who are mostly Amish. They telephone her with their orders leaving a message on her answering machine, she then orders the products and leaves messages for them on their answering machines when the goods arrive, they collect from her at a time that is either mutually convenient and pay her at the same time or, if she is going to be out of the house, they simply pick up the product from her front porch and pay her the next time they are in town. In twenty years, she says that no-one has ever failed to pay her for their goods. She only retails a narrow range of the Shaklee products, but will order from any Shaklee product in the catalogue. Outside her home hangs a sign, to tell passers-by that this is the home of a Shaklee distributor. She described being in the business as being good for her, providing her with the supplementary income she wanted and bringing her into contact with more people than she might otherwise meet. I asked Emma how much she thinks she earns from these two businesses. She was a little coy about that but told me:

> I have customers who tell me, I can buy it (the Shaklee products) cheaper from you than I can from some other distributors, and what I tell them then is, you know, I am so thankful that the products helped me with my health, thankful to the Lord, that is, and thankful too to my son and his wife that they helped me and were open about it to me, and that because of them, I got to start this business. Just as long as I have a little bit extra besides the UPS cost or whoever does the shipping, then I'm satisfied and if I can help someone with their health, that means so much more to me, so that's why I don't charge the full price they suggest (Field Notes 120924ES).

So here is a quietly-spoken elderly Amish woman in her seventies, twice-widowed, who would not be a typical salesperson, having an independent distributorship for heath products for more than forty years. It's a product she genuinely believes to improve her life and that of her customers. This belief in the product and the opportunity to develop relationships with people is one of the key factors identified by Constantin (2009:163) as being significant in the success of MLM as a relational business.

Many MLM businesses appeal to a husband and wife team, although it may initially be the wife who starts up the business. Because these businesses are based at home, there is the appeal of personal one-to-one contact and as well as ‘no hard selling’, MLM seems to appeal to women more than men (Coughlan & Grayson 1998:414), at least initially. But some businesses do become big. I talked to two women in the same health supplement business whose businesses are not small. Introduced into it by her neighbour - an English woman, Crystal, who knew that Miriam had had some long-standing health issues, coupled with some family problems compounded by a recent loss of another family business through bankruptcy, and felt Miriam could probably do with a pick-me-up. Miriam describes it like this, ‘At this point I was ready to try anything, she introduced me to a green drink, some enzymes in capsules and a drink with fibre and herbs’. Miriam described herself as being ‘energised’ after just 3 days of using the product. Jacob and Miriam decided they would buy three months’ supply from Crystal. She explained to them how they could buy the product at wholesale prices and they signed up to do that, although at that point, they were not wanting to build a business. After a year, Miriam’s long-standing joint pain had all but disappeared, she had lost some weight and her headaches and weariness had completely gone and she felt ‘full of energy’ which they attributed to the product. With that testimony, Jacob suggested to Miriam that she could be a good advertisement for the product and they talked to Crystal, about joining the business full time, and building a downline. It would be Miriam’s business but they would both work in it.

> Just as Crystal had done for me, I counselled with many people, walking them through the steps to better health. The results were contagious as people began feeling better, having more energy. People sent their friends and family members to me and

> now it seemed I was running a health business besides doing all my own housework. – cleaning, washing clothes and canning. I never intended to have a health business, it just happened when I couldn't quit telling people about how much better I was feeling' (120918MM).

The business grew easily. This accords with the research by Cruz and Olaya, (2008:6) who found that those independent distributors who were retailing products AND talking about both the product and the business were far more likely to grow a stronger business than those who only retailed products or tried to share the business. Miriam has won several sales contests and travelled to business conventions free of charge. She told me she had been to Hawaii, Arizona, Texas, Virginia, Utah and twice to Florida as a reward for hitting top sales targets within the business.

This is an Old Order Amish woman with a downline of almost one thousand other women in the business. One of her downline, another Amish woman, had her own downline of more than eight hundred when I spoke to her in 2012.

This meets criteria mentioned in Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt (2013:210) where the authors speak of whatever work replaces farming as work providing the opportunity for the Amish family to work together. Amish businesses have typically been small, local, simple and homogenous aimed at serving the community, where MLM businesses appear to contradict this. There is nothing small about having a downline of eight hundred or more, when sales of everyone in that downline contributes to your income. As to whether the business serves the local community, it may or may not be local. The business would quickly reach saturation point if it were just local, but the nature of a health product naturally inclines toward repeat business, helping to maintain customers and grow sales, and thus profits. In addition to selling the products and encouraging others to join the business, business owners are trained speak knowledgeably about the product and answer questions from sceptics, if they begin to build their own downline (Clothier 1991: 28). Personal development is a key feature of MLM businesses, as I have already mentioned, so that the independent distributors speak publicly at meetings and use Powerpoint presentations to present their businesses. These are not usually the skills of an Amish woman working at home and raising a family, so it provides them with an opportunity for personal self-development. *Ladies Journal* a magazine published by an Old Order woman, carries many advertisements for products which are sold through MLM businesses.

4.4. Amish in Multi-Level Marketing Businesses

MLM meetings can be small or large. Meetings I have attended in the UK have been large with several thousand people. They can be high-octane gatherings, with loud music "The Only Way Is Up" is a song which is frequently used to enthuse the crowds. There are motivational speakers and lots of clapping and cheering. I attended a gathering at Miriam's daughter's home with about 180 women. All except a handful of 'English' arrived by buggy. The meeting was held in the shop where church would normally be held. The room was filled with long tables and benches, and we sat around, first eating the 'Healthy picnic' that was provided by the host. There was a wide range of participation among them, the common feature being that they were product users and were all Amish. This way of doing business seems to sit in contrast to the Pennsylvanian MLM businesses: they have taken advantage of Posy's willingness to showcase their products, but I can only think of one time, when I saw a sign outside a home advertising Tupperware. And, even when I asked the women I interviewed there about it, there seemed to be little awareness of MLM businesses and not much enthusiasm for them. One of the women I interviewed told me:

> We do have Amish women who do this type of business, it's frowned upon to be with it, with what we call a pyramid scheme, it's a way of making money, but they (the Bishops) don't like it. You must be competitive, you've got to be, these businesses are competitive and promotional and what you're really doing is not approved of………the woman goes and spends that kind of money, the same way, on handbags or something like that, these, what do they call them? 31 Bags, it's a new kind of handbag and it's very expensive, it's based on supposedly, on Proverbs 31, I said to my husband, Well, a woman living like a Proverbs 31 wife wouldn't have spent $50 on a handbag, when you can get one for $10. So, I don't personally approve of these things and I'm not alone. I don't buy them (140910RS).

Amish success in such businesses seems paradoxical. On the one hand, the businesses provide all that an Amish woman might look for in a business, work can be done from home, they can be self-employed, it fits around the family, can involve their family and it's a product that they can believe in and best of all, it can be as small or as large as they want it to be. There are little or no start-up costs (Coughlin and Grayson 1998:421). There is no pressure to work, other than that which the distributor exerts upon themselves. A frequently heard description of MLM businesses is that you are in business for yourself but not by yourself. An upline has a responsibility to provide new distributor training and model success for them. Usually this involves coaching and teaching, working alongside them. This seems likely to appeal to Amish women who have a desire for a business but, having no background or business training, do not want to be alone and without support.

Constantin argues that the relational aspect of MLM businesses are usually as important as the belief in the product itself. So that seems likely to resonate with the Amish community too. However, the paradoxes remain, the glitzy training meetings with their evangelical fervour, loud music and high-value prizes offering colourful and cash rewards for top sales people are diametrically opposed to Amish values. The meeting I attended bore the hallmarks of evangelical fervour with participants being called upon to ‘tell their testimony’ of what the products had done for them and they were loudly clapped when they completed their story. ‘Newbies’ were congratulated and cheered when it was announced that this was the first time they had spoken in public at a business meeting. Crystal was the one at the front doing the talking, with Miriam and her daughter acting as helpers, handing out prizes that were won for the activities, akin to parlour games, that we were asked to carry out. There were ‘gift bags’ of trial sachets of various products for first-time visitors to the meeting as well as vouchers with generous discounts if we made a first purchase. Raffles and draws were a feature of the meeting, with each person’s programme being assigned a number which was then picked out of a (not Amish) hat to win the next sample of product. The winner was clapped and cheered as they walked up to collect their prize. Although the Amish do not have a specific rule that prohibits gambling, they are discouraged from taking part in ‘worldly' pastimes and gambling would surely be included in that (1001 Questions:115).

It was all so unlike traditional Amish life. Winning raffles and taking part in tombolas do not sit well with simplicity and a fundamental tenet that God is in control. The emphasis on competition and winning, noisy shows of enthusiasm, clapping and recognition – none of that seemed congruent with the spirit of either *Gelassenheit* or *Uffgeva*. Interestingly, my field notes record that my English driver and myself appeared to be more uncomfortable with it than the Amish women participants.

Nomura (2017) gives a fuller account of a researcher attending an MLM event in an Amish community and described the direct selling ‘parties’ as a form of ‘mutual aid a nuanced form of gift giving with its own complex, idiosyncratic set of rites and gestures’. To Nomura, these home sales parties are ‘a means of reinforcing the close-knit relationships of the Amish’ (2). At the event Nomura describes, the first activities of the evening was a series of parlour games, ‘to create a relaxed atmosphere’. The participants were asked to find certain items in the product catalogue and the first to find the item, received a prize, in effect a hand-made coupon, drawn from a small box ‘Wow! You get 20% off any cleaning items’. The game served to familiarize the participants with the Princes House products. On and on it went, more games, more prizes, more clapping. Nomura notes that ‘By the end of the game, party participants had studied the catalogue diligently and become familiar with many of the Princess House products’ (6). The woman whose business it was, then moved into the sales pitch, demonstrating products and pointing out how many credits the hostess would receive if people bought this item or that one. This acts as an encouragement to others to volunteer to host events. Sales on the evening Nomura visited, totalled $1300 (8). In this case, though, the salesperson and compere for the evening was another Old Order Amish woman. I could not help wondering if Posy was that salesperson.

4.5. Section Summary

Multi-Level Marketing businesses can be fruitful forms of work for Amish women, either because they want to build a business with a downline or because they just want to retail products. Either way, it seems to be something that Amish women can do, whilst working from home. Businesses can be built as small or large as the women want and the only pressure is that which they exert on themselves. Introductions into such businesses can be made via other distributors or they can follow up enquiries in Ladies Journal or other magazines where they are advertised.

4.6. What Has Changed?

a) <u>Domestic Equipment</u>

Washing machines were more frequently mentioned, followed by spin dryers, the new automatic washing machines, irons and refrigerators. Machines that could be mechanised by compressed air, gas, battery or solar. Food mixers, blenders and processors and they said, more recently bread makers and yoghurt makers. Amish kitchens for these women did not look very different from mainstream Americans. It would however, distinguish them greatly from more conservative groups of Amish whose *Ordnung* does not allow such machinery (Johnson-Weiner:2013:6).

b) <u>Increased contact with the English</u>

Readily acknowledged was an increase in contact with English, through volunteering or working in a customer-oriented business. Doing more things 'away' has increased the opportunity for greater contact (160612LB). This increased contact with English was also evidenced by the ease with which the women spoke English where their mother's generation did not and lack confidence to speak to English they hadn't met before (140619SM). Several mentioned having English friends, including close friends who came to stay with them in their homes. Many mentioned having English drivers, whom they would book to take them on journeys too far for them to use a horse and buggy. Sometimes, they told me, they take extended journeys with a driver for a holiday, and that this can lead to the driver and spouse travelling together with them on further trips (140618ST, 140610AM, 140929NM). This clearly contradicts Hostetler's experience. He wrote that as he was growing up, the Amish did not have close friendships with the English. (Hostetler 1963:48).

Two families told me that they had close friendships with English and enjoyed staying with them and returning the hospitality when friends from North Carolina came to Pennsylvania (140611LF).

Another woman, Edna, told me “You did not talk about it so we didn’t know who knew English and who did not. It’s a recent change that people have become much more open with their lives” (110617ET).

c) Pastimes and Hobbies

These seem largely to have remained the same - they include jigsaw puzzles, Scrabble and Monopoly. Women are still quilting. Keeping a diary, reading remain popular. Visiting family or neighbours is also routinely enjoyed. Visits sometimes turn into singings, which seems to be almost universally enjoyed. It’s noticeable that although church singing is unaccompanied and in unison, at home, singing is often improvised with part-singing or harmonisation. ‘Scrapbooking, stamping and card-making has become popular for some women’ (140929EK). Shops selling supplies for these hobbies have opened in Amish communities.

d) Travelling and Vacations

Taking vacations is not entirely new but has become more common. Travelling by bus or with a car and driver not only to visit family in other settlements but just for vacations and pleasure. One elderly Old Order woman showed me an album of photographs of God’s creation, that she had taken visiting the Canadian Rockies, Niagara Falls and the Californian coast. Several women told me they had taken cruises but ‘just to see God’s creation'. Taking photographs is clear departure from the past.

e) Increased Consumerism

Women talked to me about buying more in the shops, and taking a driver and car for a regular supermarket shop, or a trip to Costco, Target or Walmart. Purchasing items that they previously would have made, like soap, washing-up liquid, cleaning materials, underwear, men's shirts and many other things.

f) <u>More Disposable Income and the Erosion of Plainness</u>

Like Pennsyvania, employment in Ohio is diverse and no longer limited to farming. The trend away from farming in Ohio is consistent with findings in other Amish communities, (Hurst & McConnell 2010:180, Kraybill and Nolt 2004:38; Meyers and Nolt 2005:106). Kraybill and Nolt quote an Old Order Amishman:, 'Most heads of families …….work in lumber mills, building crews, furniture factories, saw mills, and ……I'll bet there is a dozen or so that we'd call millionaires' (2004:176). This has led to a number of other changes. Such things as landscaped yards and professionally tended gardens (1006140RS). Homes, as well as yards are more decorated than they were previously. Hostetler, wrote that Amish homes are plain and 'they carefully avoid any ostentatious display of wealth' (74). Some of the homes I visited were not plain and a few would not look out of place in interior decorating magazines or featured on websites. I asked some of the women I met, how this change has come about that and was told, that people were wealthier nowadays, had more disposable income and like everyone else, wanted more things and nicer things, once they could afford them. In one home, I commented on a beautiful occasional table and was told that they had seen it on a visit to the Holy Land and had it shipped back.

In some homes I visited I saw collections of china or glassware (See 4.8), which surprised me. I had thought it was forbidden. Another home, I counted 23 Lladro porcelain figurines.

A current trend (2016) is verses from the Bible stencilled onto the wall. One Old Order young woman I met has a mail order business selling the stencils via a mail order catalogue. Her brother will stencil them onto a wall for an additional fee.

Hurst and McConnell point out that 'New Order homes with their stone facades, paved driveways and carefully manicured lawns may be virtually indistinguishable from non-Amish dwellings' (2010:104). They also found: 'One Old Order home we visited had a wine cellar regulated by solar power and a sauna in the basement' (2010:106). These homes are no longer the white painted, plain homes that Hostetler described where it was stated among other things that homes should have 'no decorations of any kind in buildings inside or out………no mirrors, no fancy glassware, no statues or wall pictures for decorations' (Hostetler 1963:60). If Amish can now have landscaped yards, interior decorations like stencilling and a solar-powered wine cellar then definitely, there has been an erosion of 'Plainness'.

g) <u>New Hobbies</u>

In 1993, Hostetler wrote that 'for some, hunting and fishing are a favourite sport among the men' (1993:165). No longer just a source of food, but now a source of recreation, Hurst and McConnell identify that Amishmen spend significant money on their hobbies 'and keep up to date with the latest tactics and equipment' (Hurst and McConnell 2010:133).

h) <u>Reading</u>

News Magazines are popular as well as classic books. In addition, a few Amish women admit to reading the popular Amish novels by Beverley Lewis, Cindy Woodsmall and Wanda Brunstetter (Weaver-Zercher 2013:182f).

i) <u>Celebrating birthdays and anniversaries, Christmas</u>

Virtually all mentioned having more money available than when they were growing up and how this meant they now celebrate birthdays, Christmas by going out as a family for a meal together. Purchasing birthday cards, making or buying gifts for birthdays and celebrating Christmas with cards and gifts all now seem to be a part of the lives of the women I interviewed. One woman told me she had begun when her children were small to have a Christmas tree and they made decorations for it.

My gatekeeper told me, when she was growing up, it would be unimaginable for an Amish family to eat together in a restaurant. When I asked Sharon, if any of the changes that she had talked about were not so good, there was a pause, and whilst she was thinking about it, a disembodied man's voice came loudly from an adjacent room 'Going out to eat so often' (140929SM).

j) Volunteering and 'Finding Things to Do'

Almost all the women I interviewed told me that they did some form of voluntary work. It's a wide range of work too. Serving in Thrift shops for causes they care about (140620MB). Others knit, sew or quilt for the Mennonite Central Committee (160612LB). "We went there five times to be house-parents for the men volunteering to rebuild houses for those poor people in Hurricane Katrina. We just cook meals and clean up after them" (160612LB). In both Ohio and Pennsylvania, there is a small residential facility for Amish people with mental health problems (140617WH), and some Amish volunteer there as 'house-parents' (140610RS) or they support the catering workers by taking in special home-cooked meals (140620LY,) or work in the grounds supporting the gardening staff (120926JS).

It is as if their strong work ethic forces them to be busy, and if they are not, they find things to do.

k) Internet Involvement

I had read in Stevick (2014) that he estimates 3000 Amish young people are using their smartphones to have a presence on Facebook and Instagram, but I had not met many. Three months ago, I was surprised to be asked by a young Amish woman to be a 'Facebook friend'. Within days of my accepting her request, I was contacted on Facebook by more than a dozen others, asking to 'friend' me. They are all Amish young people I had met, but I was unaware they had a Facebook presence. I mentioned in 3.12.2 the young Amish woman who had bought her children's bedding from Amazon, and now I know that she is not the only one using her smartphone for internet shopping. Additionally, an independent researcher, told me:

> The Amish women I meet struggle NOT to change and are reluctant to venture into new territory unless there is a sense that many others have gone before them. I have met women who shop at one big box store (Costco) routinely but would not go to another department store, with more options. A few women I know are comfortable in stores serving the English but most prefer to shop at Amish owned stores, unless they are looking for something special for a wedding, a certain book for a child, a bedspread. A couple of Amish women, have requested that I assist them in an internet search, helping them find items beyond their community, like ink for a copier, or tape for a label maker (Email communication J. Stavisky 7th December 2017).

So what may be happening is that mediated internet shopping is taking place, whilst some younger women are doing it for themselves. I understand what Stavisky means when she says the Amish women prefer to shop in Amish stores but I have taken women to Costco, Walmart, Target and Bed, Bath and Beyond stores when I have been visiting. It was probably the fact that a car was available that enabled that, but I did not have a sense that they were uncomfortable shopping in those stores. Also, her comment about 'others going before' (and not being in trouble with the church) resonates with the comment made by Miriam in 7.5H.

4.7. The Public/Private Conundrum

Sometimes I was aware that I saw only what these women wanted me to see whilst at other times, I saw things not usually seen by visitors. I use three examples. There is a collection of Lladro china on display in a family room, seen by all who visit the house but a larger collection, stored in the second guest bedroom was seen by only a very few people. I asked Katie why it wasn't kept downstairs. She told 'Well they might think I had too much – and it's very expensive, you know'. Most of the pieces had been bought by children and grandchildren as gifts. So, it was an interesting insight into how she felt the community might judge her collection of gifted figurines that she felt she needed to put most of them out of sight.

Similarly, Lena bought an Amish-adapted automatic washing machine and kept it in her laundry room, behind bi-fold doors.

Viewed from outside, the windows appear to have plain blinds (in accordance with the *Ordnung*) but once inside the room, you see there are some lovely blue velvet curtains with matching swags and valances in contrasting shades of blue fitting inside the blinds, making them invisible from outside the house. Irrespective of whether the church might find that problematic, I was interested that they cannot be seen from the outside.

Goffman (1959) discussed the importance of self-presentation for defining the individual's place in the social order, for setting the tone and direction of an interaction and for facilitating the performance of role-governed behaviour. His work provided a detailed description and analysis of process and meaning in everyday interactions. He used a 'dramaturgical approach' in his study and used the phrases, 'front stage' and 'back stage' to denote the different arenas where a person's behaviour is managed. Front space being where behaviours are more regulated and back spaces where they are more relaxed (Shields 1991:35). Although when Goffman was writing about self-presentation he was primarily describing individuals managing the impression they gave to others by their dress, speech and actions I want to consider what is happening when the *Ordnung* calls for one type of practice which is then accommodated by slightly different behaviour which deviates from the *Ordnung*. Although some writers have used the terms 'self-presentation' and 'impression management' interchangeably, others have distinguished them. Schlenker for example, defined impression management as the 'attempt to control images that are projected in real or imagined social interactions' and reserved the term 'self-presentation' for instances in which the projected images are self-relevant (1980:6). At one home where I stayed several times, there are two doors in regular use. The front door on the porch which is used by callers to the house or by family visitors from another settlement whereas the side door is more usually employed by those who arrive by horse and buggy, or friends who know the layout of the house. The laundry room is visible from the side door. In the example of the washing machine, the impression Lena most likely wants to maintain is that she obeys the *Ordnun*g in all situations (which she probably does; only she would know that) but since the automatic washing machine is only discouraged and not actually forbidden, she does not want to cause others to have a difficulty with it, and so puts it out of sight. The front stage behaviour in this example is two-fold. Visitors entering the sitting room from the porch will not see anything of the laundry room and cannot see the bi-fold doors, whilst church visitors using the side door will see a laundry room with curtains hanging at the level of the work surface. Behind the curtains there could be an automatic washing machine or not. By not making the automatic washing machine publicly visible, she maintains an image of herself as abiding by the *Ordnung*, living in a publicly acceptable Plain way. If the machine were explicitly forbidden by the *Ordnung*, from the impression I have of the rest of the way the family live, I have doubts about whether it would even be in the house.

In respect of the collection of the Lladro figurines, in the living room, it was a moderate display that did not especially draw the visitor's attention. It was only after I had visited the house several times over a period of years, that I realized that there was a larger collection than could be displayed in this small corner cabinet. The initial impression I had was that it was a small-to-moderate collection, gradually being increased by gifts from children and grandchildren. In fact, when I stayed overnight in a different guest bedroom, (my 'usual' room was being repainted after a leaky roof) that I realized that in fact, this was a collection of more than 80 pieces. Not moderate at all. But also, not visible to most visitors to the home. It could be thought that Katie, Lena and Becki were acting hypocritically in this way, to have the figurines and not display them. However, the way that Amish women guard their consciences is an important part of the way they live (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:100). Their earnest desire in the community is always to keep unity with the people and not to cause offence "We are part of a group and as such we must be willing sometimes to make personal sacrifices in order to serve the overall benefit of the group" (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:100). Storing Lladro figurines or expensive glassware where it cannot be seen is not, I believe, a deception; the women are not pretending not to have these decorative items. Similarly, with the curtains and the washing machine. Both women know that they have them. I think of these actions more as an accommodation to the way that they live in their community, tending towards operating under grace rather than law, extending the same grace and freedom to others, as they would wish to have extended to themselves. I believe that if any of these women were challenged by their ministers to put away the washing machine, the figurines or the curtains, they would do it, for the sake of their community, seeing the importance of keeping good relationships with everyone but in the meantime, they act with wisdom not to provoke others who might not find it so easy to extend grace to their neighbours or other members of their congregation.

4.8. Conservative Religiosity: A Comparative Perspective

I want to look at the conclusions drawn by Pal Repstad in the study of the Norwegian region of Sorlandet (Repstad 2016) over a period of fifty years, and consider how similar or not, is this community, in comparison to what has happened over that same period with the Amish. The Sorlandet study was carried out by a team of about 20 researchers, mostly from Agder University College in Kristiansand in Norway. They looked also at local congregations of Lutheran and Pentecostal denominations, as well as evangelical organisations. Those interviewed included clergy, lay people and people with no connections to organized religion. Repstad's team of researchers used a variety of methodologies, including questionnaires, interviews across the church population, a study of young people who attended summer camps (Trysnes 2009) interviews with women (Furseth 2005) and in-depth qualitative interviews with all-age church-goers (Henriksen 2005), as well as a longitudinal review of the content of parish magazines (Repstad 2016). There was also a study of websites of Christian organisations and congregations (Lovland 2005). They looked at actual changes that occurred in rituals, beliefs and practice but also in changes in understanding religious differences and in conservative organisations (Repstad 2008:19).

At the beginning they hypothesised a change where the region's Christianity was moving in a liberal direction and secondly that the region is gradually becoming less orientated towards dogma and shifted toward experience, community and emotions. (Repstad 2009:127).

In the study, the word ‘liberal’ was used to describe the way that the people, although still believing in the divinity of Jesus Christ incorporated a somewhat strict lifestyle, whilst at the same time, their view of humanity was more optimistic and accepting of different lifestyles. Concomitantly, another study looked at the process of change, when the conditions of change are themselves changing (Henriksen 2005:373).

The reason for using this study as a comparison, is because the groups being studied are ‘religions of difference’ that is, attendees were a minority church that was not part of the state church. The small groups studied in Norway were ‘mainly conservative Christians’. In addition, the groups tended to live a somewhat ‘separated’ life spurning cinemas, cafes, bars and social life with people who did not attend church, rather like the Amish. Compared with the population, they make up only a small number, they are also conservative in their theology and they live separated from their neighbours in a variety of ways. Amish separation may be somewhat stricter than that practised in Sorlandet. The Amish separate themselves by practising endogamy, by speaking Pennsylvania Deutsch, by rejecting motorised transport, their mode of dress and by their church structure which meets in homes rather than church buildings, every two weeks rather than weekly, which is a more usual Christian practice. Amish do not frequent bars, cinemas or have deep friendships with non-Amish. The Amish have lived this way since they arrived in America, however in recent times may have been more affected by changing culture in the dominant society than in the past. The period covered by the Norwegian study is about fifty years and at the start of that period, the church was said to be in a revivalist period (Repstad 2008:126). Over this time, researchers recognized that the church was no longer in the same revivalist period and this is one of the findings of the study. The Norwegian church separates itself differently than do the Amish. The church at that time, encouraged families to raise children believing in a strict and somewhat distant God of judgement who required certain standards of behaviour which mostly showed itself in prohibition – no alcohol, no dancing, no cinema, no sports. There is a sense of the austere in the description of lives in the early days of the study.

The separation in Sorlandet was different but noticeable. Fifty years ago, the groups in Sorlandet were found to be 'suspicious of sporting activities because they took place on Sunday. Thus, the Christians did not take part. Another reason was the reported use of alcohol and frequency of swearing and 'bad language' among attendees at these sporting events (Repstad 2016:165). This marked the churchgoers out as different from the mainstream population. For the Amish, Sunday remains a sacrosanct day, and this is a similarity.

Amish church services are followed by a lunch hosted by the family in whose house church is taking place. Sporting activities are thus precluded on Sundays. Amish young people get together on Sunday evenings for singing. One man reported in the study that he was 'warned by older Christians against visiting a café to have a Coke, even if they did not serve alcohol because the mere presence of bottles could lead people to have visions of beer' (Repstad 2008:19). Whilst Amish did not go routinely to cafes and restaurants, for some, this is now changing. I witnessed young and older couples having coffee and dessert together in the evenings, almost like a 'date night'. They would still not be found in places serving alcohol.

One of the findings of the Sorlandet study is that there is now more openness, reflexivity and tolerance in the Christians now and the main reason for this is that many of the isolation strategies have been abandoned (Repstad 2008:19).

Using both empirical and qualitative material, Repstad found that the views of study participants had moved from a view of 'God as judge' to 'God as close friend' (Repstad 2016:162). For members of the Old Order Amish, there is a belief that they 'hope' for salvation from a God of judgement, rather than are assured of their salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. People will be judged by God in respect of how they have lived their lives and kept their word. For the New Order Amish, however, who have more teaching and discussion about how they understand Bible teaching about salvation; they take a different view about the grace of God and what that means for Christian believers (Hurst and McConnell 2010:50). There is a clearer understanding that simply being Amish and keeping the *Ordnung* are not enough to earn eternal life. That said, some Old Order Amish might have that understanding too, but are reticent to speak about their relationship with God, finding that it prideful to assume a close relationship with God. The New Order, though, are much more evangelical and eager to communicate the possibility that one can know salvation and have a close relationship with God. In these beliefs, the Old and New Order differ between themselves and between those in the Sorlandet study.

In the Sorlandet study, it was found that the believers had altered in their style of worship over time with a decrease in singing the traditional hymns, instead adopting songs that spoke of God's closeness to people. The researchers found a change towards songs with simple repetitive themes and catchy tunes almost like melodic religious pop songs. This had helped the people to move from seeing God as an austere far-off judging God to one who was closer and desirous of relationship with them. The focus was reported to be less on dogma and now more on positive experiences (Repstad 2016:163). For the Amish, hymns play a key part in their Sunday church meetings as well as in singings that youth attend as a social event. However, there is a key difference in that all Amish singing is unaccompanied by musical instruments and the hymns are ones which originate with the *Ausbund*, a hymnal compiled from the martyrs some of whom are their ancestors. The looking backwards towards their heritage reminds the Amish that their own family members died for their faith. Some of the hymns which are sung every Sunday are the same in all Amish communities, which, it was explained to me, gives them a sense of belonging to each other and to history (120919MM). At the less formal singings, the young people will sing songs of praise, which are shared with believers in other evangelical churches, some of which are more catchy and have faster tunes than those in the *Ausbund*, but they are still sung unaccompanied, although when not in church services, some groups do engage in part-singing. This would be a key difference between the Amish and the Norwegian believers.

The study in Sorlandet found that the Christian discourse had become less polarized than previously 'There is more talk now about practising Christians and active Christians, less about saved people' (2016:162). The study found that God is understood as less almighty and that now seen as closer and more caring (Repstad 2009:128). Where the Amish are concerned, the difference that has taken place is between the two groups of Amish over time. The Old Order rarely speak about whether they have salvation, where the New Order are confident to speak of knowing and being assured of their salvation. They have produced a generation of young New Order Amish who are evangelistic and want to share their faith, incorporating practical 'Mission Trips' into their lives even travelling overseas to do it. According to Hurst and McConnell, in the fifty years since they started, the New Order have become more willing to compromise with technology but at the same time they are more conservative in their theology (2010:35).

Repstad does not provide a definition of what is meant by 'A softer God' but the implication is that in Sorlandet, God is now viewed as having become more approachable, less judgemental and has fewer prohibitions. He is seen to be more of a friend. I would not want to describe this change within the Amish as having become 'softer' as Repstad claims for the Sorlandet study, since that sounds as if they might have become less ardent in their beliefs, whereas, the opposite has happened, in that the new Order Amish have greater understanding of their and are encouraged to talk about the sermons and thus they typically have become willing to talk about their faith than are the Old Order for whom claiming an assurance of salvation is uncommon, and is a viewpoint that was previously a reason for excommunication (Hostetler 1963:294).

New Order Amish, are more vocal about their faith than are the Old Order but neither group is any less fervent and both groups maintain their desire to live with a degree of separation from the mainstream. Speaking of 'softer' in the way that Repstad does, suggests that the believers have lessened their commitment to faith. I do not believe that to be the case for the Amish; rather I find that they have maintained their faith in Jesus Christ and continue to be committed to their heritage and to their faith. What I see has changed for the Amish I have met and studied, has two aspects to it. The Old Order continue to be reticent not wishing to be boastful or proud of their faith, preferring to remain humble and grateful to God whilst the New Order, equally committed to humility and heritage, have a confidence in Jesus as their Saviour and an understanding that His grace has prevailed in their lives so they share the Gospel so that others may enjoy salvation and find God's favour. In this way, there is both similarity and dissimilarity with the Repstad's study.

4.9. Transmitting Amishness

Within the Amish communities, socialization is very strong, especially when children attend an Amish school. Surrounding the child with Amish family, friends, church, school and community limits their exposure to 'the outside world'. But as work has moved off the farm, there is interaction with the English. Businesses may attract English customers, use English suppliers, be inspected by state authorities inevitably means a greater contact with the world than when they were farming. If the business supports the tourist industry, only a minimum of daily contacts may be with other Amish.

In this situation, the role of Amish schooling and maintenance of close family ties play a crucial role in socializing the child and to an extent, inoculating them against the English world.

Educating a child within an Amish environment has several consequences. The Amish education system focuses upon learning facts and being able to reproduce them. There is little place for critical thought or philosophical enquiry, thus children are not encouraged to think about 'What if?' Amish young people do not have the opportunity to achieve a GED[8], much less a College education:

> Within the larger symbolic framework that structure everyday Old Order life, Old Order schools function to define and perpetuate a system of social relationships and community norms that helps to maintain Old Order religious beliefs, values and patterns of language use (Johnson-Weiner 2006:1).

Everything in the Amish school from teacher selection, pedagogy, timetable, books and resources, the classroom structure and even the design of the school itself, reinforces Amish values and culture. It is a means to an end that children are educated in a way that meets the needs of the community and no more. They learn to read, to write and to calculate. As well as that they learn to be honest in their dealings. The rooms are plain, basic and functional serving their purpose and reminding the children that they do not live as the English do, and only need the essentials. Schooling reinforces the values of the community. Old Order

[8] GED is General Education Diploma is an internationally recognized test that illustrates that a student has passed the equivalent of a High School Diploma, completing statutory education. It is the post-18 entry point into College.

schools seek to educate children so that they can be functioning members of the Amish church, it has an inbuilt socialising effect towards the Amish community.

In addition, a family may also seek to socialize their children by ensuring that they work with people who have a similarly strong work ethic and who are likely to uphold and pass on Amish values to their children. Thus, in the example of Lydia's grandchildren, (4.2.1) the parents had arranged for them to work outside the immediate family on a fruit farm, so that they would be exposed to what is expected of them in the workplace. The children were aged 10 and 12 and had most likely been 'working' within their families since before they started school. Giving them an opportunity to work outside the family reinforces and normalises their work ethic and is valued outside the family. At the end of formal education, when scholars begin life as workers, they are most likely to work with someone in the community. Sara told me:

> Reuben, (Their sixteen year old son) he's a hired hand on a farm and we feel very blessed to send our boy to an Amish farm. He only gets $20 a day, he's there from 8 in the morning until dark but we feel the experience he's getting there with the people he's with and the way he's expected to work is worth the smaller amount of money (SK140918).

What this shows is the high value that families place on their children being trained 'to be Amish'. No longer farming, they must find other ways to expose their children to Amish values outside the immediate family. They are investing in the future of their children to enable them to maintain their traditions. As an increasing number of young Amish break the mould and work in non-traditional work, it becomes more important for the family to ensure they are they have passed on Amish values and ethics to their children. They way Sara says 'we feel blessed' shows how important it is to them.

Thus I have found education, work and specific training to work, to be three ways that Amishness is reinforced and ultimately passed on.

When I interviewed these women, it seemed to me that there was something almost intangible about how Amish some women were, compared to others who wore the same clothes but whose homes looked more modern or had more 'gadgets' or who had accommodated more to the English world. It was difficult to define, but as I examined the white walls, green blinds, varnished wood or linoleum floor coverings, there was no one thing that provided that 'Ah-ha' moment that I could say 'These women are more Amish than others because…'. I tried. I tried to rank the women for Plainness of living, but it was subjective and unsatisfactory. Other women had very modern homes but, yet they lived in a way which seemed 'plainer'. Some had very modern homes, but still managed to live in a 'plain' way. I concluded that it was not simply about what they had or did not have. It must be more to do with the nature of the individual.

From the way some women spoke of being Amish, there was a sense of ownership of their heritage, a quietly transmitted sense that they knew who they were. Others did not communicate that same sense of certainty, but seemed to be 'finding their way' in a world that had changed since they were children. In that sense, they seemed more like many English of my own age, who are not completely at ease with the way that so much of the 21st century world requires a competency with technology that they do not possess.

This led me to ponder how the Amish view change itself, the question of how the idea of change is viewed by people in the Amish community did not arise in every interview.

However, some women commented on it spontaneously and it was clear that women who did comment saw change as inevitable.

> There have been a lot of changes since I was a young girl. First of all, the world is moving ahead at a drastic pace. We either have to move ahead or we're sliding backwards. You cannot stand still (MB140620).
>
> I think there are always changes. I feel our Bishops, they try and face reality and accept the fact that the world is changing and we can't just say "No" to everything or if we do, we're going to lose our people. You must adapt to the point where you're going to be able to preserve what you have and yet adapt to the point where you can survive (WH-B140617).
>
> Well, for myself, I have mixed feelings about all these changes. Some things are necessary for a family to make a living and pay for the farm. But I feel that the children will lose out if they give up doing things a certain way, for example, like being sent over to help a neighbour, it gives them all kinds of different experiences when they're younger, they get used to talking to people who are older than they are. That's a skill. We will lose that, if we don't have that opportunity to work as a community (EK140930).

4.10. Summary

The Amish acknowledge that change within their community is important and to an extent, inevitable, both to maintain their living and to enable them to compete in the market place. However, at the same time as they embrace change they hold on to traditional values that have become a distinctive. So, whilst moving out of agriculture they have found a way to work together as family to enable them to maintain the practice of teaching children to work. Within their family, the maintenance of family relationships continues to be central and they have embraced changing patterns of leisure and hobbies which fit in with their new working lives. The women continue to have responsibility for house and garden, church preparations and lunches on Church Sundays but find time to develop new activities. Virtually all areas of a woman's life has changed to a greater or lesser extent. There is an increased possibility for working outside the home both in terms of scope and time, the possibility to be successful businesswomen at some point in their married lives, the likelihood of having smaller families than their mother had, the possibility of smaller gardens and the possibility to buy items of clothing rather than make them. The availability of an English driver with a car for women who want or need to make a journey without a horse and buggy on roads that are ever busier enables women to have experience of markets, shops and outings outside their own community with other women; the desire to spend time with peers has not changed, just the way in which they do it. Within the church women continue in the role they have always had, but with a greater exposure to 'the world', it seems likely that the role of an older Amish woman in being a community role model for younger Amish women will expand, rather than diminish.

In summary, then, to be Amish is not only different in Pennsylvania and Ohio but there is variation between the different groups and, also, between different churches in both states. The Amish people see children as a blessing from the Lord, working at home and living as near as possible a traditional Amish life based around the home and the family, choosing to live a separated life so that the faith they own and want to pass on to their children is not tainted by 'the world'. The commonalities include having a Christian faith, dressing Amish, acknowledging a heritage from the Anabaptist martyrs, and living to some degree a 'Plain' life. An article in Family Life magazine describes as 'Amish' all those whose churches forbid the ownership of automobiles and use the name 'Amish' (Luthy 2003).

Incorporating change into Amish life continues to mean limiting contact with the English, shunning anything that exalts individuals, and emphasising community. Training up children to work, to fear God and to pass on the Amish faith is more important to parents than academic success or career recognition. Within those parameters there is considerable variation. The degree of 'Plainness' is very wide and what some would think of as Plain, others would regard as 'fancy'. One Old Order Amish woman I interviewed told me that her neighbour, a *Swartzentruber* Amish woman told her that she can hardly see any difference between the Old Order neighbour (my interviewee) and the English (1.3). I contend that most English, would find the life of an Old Order woman to be extremely Plain, and would find the very idea of living without electricity from the grid, a motor car and various electronic devices virtually unimaginable. So that rather seems to demonstrate keenly how far removed from the English are the *Swartzentruber* Amish, rather than how modern the Old Order Amish have become.

In Chapter 3, I portrayed the four characteristics of Amishness and how they have changed; the very fact that people would place themselves in different locations on the spectrum defines the existence of a spectrum which is itself changing.

In the next chapter, I consider how change is negotiated, how it is possible for some people to adopt marginal occupations without negative effect and what happens when people exhibit behaviours which do marginalize them.

5. ADAPTATION TO MARGINALITY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is a discussion of the negotiations that take place with the power and authority of the Amish church leaders. It starts with an explanation of how Amish churches operate and how the rules are made and maintained. I look at how people have 'worked around' the rules to satisfy the church leaders whilst not drawing attention to what they are doing. I then look at how John Hostetler described those who don't conform to the usual pattern of Amish life in terms of 'marginality'. Following that I examine the life stories of seven of the women I interviewed and ask whether they could be described in Hostetler's terms, as 'marginal' even though they have found a way to 'be themselves' when what they are doing in their daily lives is untypical of Amish women historically, and still considered unusual today. Lastly, I consider the work-arounds that can arise because of the *Bann*.

5.2. How do Amish Churches Operate?

Amish churches are informally organized into three levels, (Kraybill, Nolt and Weaver-Zercher 2010:197), settlements, church districts and affiliations. A settlement is the geographical area where people live and they vary considerably in size. When the Amish move to start a new settlement, it may be only one small congregation, whereas, large established settlements may have many church districts. As many as 100 districts or as few as one, may make up a settlement. A typical church will have 25 – 35 families, usually 120 - 150 adults and children; the church is the basic social unit of the settlement. All members who live within the geographic boundaries of a district must participate in its social and religious life. When the district grows too big to be accommodated in one home for the fortnightly Sunday meeting, the congregation divides into two smaller districts (Kraybill

1994:3). An affiliation is a group of districts that share beliefs and are in fellowship with each other. The fact that there are only 120 people in the district promote close-knit and intimate fellowships where people know each other very well (Kraybill and Nolt 1994:8). The fact that they are educated together, work together, live closely and are an endogamous group all contribute to overlapping social networks, binding their ties even closer creating a thick ethnic cohesion. Boundaries are maintained by dress, by language and by horse and buggy transport as mentioned in 3.7. Any attempt to deviate from any of these characteristics is quickly noticed by other members. Meeting fortnightly in members' homes is an informal way to ensure that everyone is keeping to the *Ordnung*. The church has a strong influence on its members. No part of life is exempted from the *Ordnung*. How women live, the occupations men take up, how children are raised and how they should live are all covered by the *Ordnung*. The following subsections explain the Amish theology of womanhood, the impact of moving away from farming, Plainness and the impact of increased consumerism and lastly, child-rearing practices.

A) <u>Amish Theology of Womanhood</u>

Amish theology sees that before God, a woman has the same value as a man, simply that they have differing roles. The Bible teaches that the head of the woman is the man, and the head of the man is Christ (I Cor11:3). In Gen 3:16, the instruction is that the woman is to be subject to her husband. In the New testament, the instruction is that 'Wives should submit themselves to their own husbands, as it is fitting in the Lord'. Within the church, women can nominate ministers, vote and say what they think. They cannot become ministers and cannot teach in the congregation. They wear a head covering as a sign of submission to God and to her husband, if she is married. However, it should be clear that submission to a husband is not a sign of weakness and does not imply servility. Women are to be 'keepers at home' but that is no longer a full-time role, either because they need to help with family finances or because their family has grown up and left home. More women work outside the home or have a business. The Amish believe that a home-based business is best for men and women, but they accept that it is not a possible for everyone and have adapted their ways as men have moved out of farming.

B) Moving off the Farm

Kraybill and Nolt identify that in the late 1960's there were just a handful of workshops and initially those occupations were related to farming; blacksmiths and harness makers had been in existence for a long time serving the community as well as carpentry workshops, later came other businesses that served the community. Over the next thirty years many more enterprises followed. Buggy workshops, repairs and engineering or manufacturing came next. There was an enormous growth between 1963 and 1993, when it is reckoned that half of the men of working age in some church districts were not farming (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:30). Some of the women I interviewed told there are districts now where there are no farmers, and it has been like that for a generation. Amish businesses now include contractors and builders, retail shops, garden furniture manufacturing and sales, sales of agricultural equipment, cabinet making, bakeries, storage barn and gazebo construction both wooden and metal, animal sales, Farmers' market stands, machine shops, toy manufacture and sales, welding shops. These are just in the Lancaster settlement but a similar, possibly broader range is found in Ohio. These workshops have provided jobs for not only the men, but for women as well in sales, cake stands, farmers markets, retail sales and furniture finishing. Women also will do the associated office work for family businesses. Most Amish owned businesses are no longer linked to agriculture (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:39).

In Amish parlance, moving into non-farm work, especially where men took up factory work, or working for an English employer, was known as 'the lunch pail threat', describing how workers take their lunch to work with them. Because this is so alien to how Amish people thought work should be, there needed to be a change to accommodate this. Kraybill and Nolt explain 'The church did not engage in a formal decision-making process. Rather the choices were sorted, informally, somewhat by default' (2004:29). To accommodate changing times, the rules have had to change. Where, once to work in a factory was to risk excommunication for Pennsylvania Amish (Foster 1984:6) now, work outside of farming is not only tolerated but has become the norm in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Adapting to the new occupations has meant that other changes have followed.

That move away from agriculture led to other changes, initially brought about by external factors, like the high cost of land (Hurst And McConnell 2010:127), patterns of manufacturing, increased contact with Americans and other tourists, regularly travelling further to Farmer's Market stands some in big cities. I've already mentioned the increase of construction work crews and how that has impacted family life 'This situation in which Amish husbands work away from home, leaving their wives home alone, to carry out the tasks of parenting and housework, can generate stress' (127).

C) Plainness

There is little written about Amish consumer practices but literature over the years has described Amish life (Hostetler 1963; Kraybill 2001; Nolt 2016) and it does not present a picture of avid consumerism. Amish are known for their simple lifestyle, frugal spending habits and only selective use of modern technology. Two scholars (Nomura 2015, 2017 and Stavisky 2013) have presented papers on Amish consumerism, in which they note that spending by Amish families is increasing; Old Order families are purchasing items which they previously did not, either because they made them, grew them or did without altogether (Hurst and McConnell 2010:189). 'Things that used to be a luxury for the older folks who had saved are now a necessity for the young folks starting out' (Nolt and Myers 2010:90). Historically, Amish people have been described as valuing a frugal lifestyle and a people who are concerned more about 'usefulness than show, practicality than display, saving than spending' (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:106). There seems to be some evidence now that this is altering, at least among the Old Order and New Order women I studied (140910RS, 140606SR, 0918MM, 140917LB, 180614MY).

> We have adapted more to city life. Around here, there's a lot less gardening and canning being done today than there was years ago. People simply go to the store and purchase food that they used to take time to can, one Amish woman told Nolt and Myers (2010:90).
>
> My sisters always tease me that I'm so busy canning, I can't do anything else, but I still do some other things, but I enjoy the canning. My three sisters, they just don't can, they don't. They don't can corn, they don't grow or can tomatoes, they don't do no strawberries. I don't know what they eat. I don't because they don't can at all. So now they mostly have lawn and a few flowers (140902MY).

And, the same could happen with canning and preserving. Several women told me they can go to the Produce Auction and buy canned goods more cheaply than they can make them (140620MB, 140618AM, 130618ST) whilst others expressed a view that buying food in bulk from the Mount Eaton Produce Auction was cheaper than growing it and that was their reason for not growing as much (120902MH, 120902WH,140923MM).

This again suggests that there is evidence of increased consumerism, buying more food and growing less. Purchasing food that would, in the recent past, have been grown and then processed at home. Taken together the evidence seems to suggest that Amish people are buying more than they did whether it is foodstuffs, produce, clothing or items for the home. Already there is evidence that some women are not sewing their dresses, so in time, will the same happen with all their clothing so that it will all have to be tailored individually or bought from the shop when women no longer have the skills, time and interest to make their own.

D) Child-rearing and training

Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner (2103:196) discuss the role of parents in child-raising and discipline. Several ex-Amish authors talk about the way that they were raised and how they were taught to work by their parents. They emphasise also that they were taught right from wrong and that the church played a key role in their young lives. In all the accounts a discussion about being spanked for wrongdoing is a regular topic in their description (Furlong 2011; Wagler 2011; Hostetler 1963:200; Stevick 2014;122). Nolt and Meyers (2007:88) comment on the way in which fathers working out of farming has affected the way that children are raised and Hostetler and Huntington (1991:24) write that 'The presence of the father in and around the home is considered necessary for the proper upbringing of the preschool child'. Whereas children raised on a farm were occupied in the out-of-school-hours with farm chores as a method of teaching them to work as well as sharing responsibility for work with the family, where there is no farm, there is no work unless parents consciously create it (Hurst and McConnell2010:188) and Nolt and Myers cite one parent as saying: 'It's not good', one parent confessed, older boys who are home from school and would be doing chores are out on the road on their bikes. We contend more with material things' (Nolt and Meyers 2007:90).

Again, here is some overlapping evidence, that women have had to take on new responsibility for raising and disciplining children, when fathers are working away from home. Taking the family out of the farm has had greater unintended repercussions.

5.3. Hostetler and Marginality

At the time that Hostetler was writing (1963), there was far greater homogeneity among the Amish community than there is now. Only the Old Order Amish existed at that time. *Swartzentruber* Amish had broken away in 1918 and Andy Weaver groups began in 1952. Hostetler was writing at a time when three groups made up the Amish population. *Swartzentruber* Amish would still be considered the plainest of all groups and the least changed. Today there are thought to be more than 60 different Amish groups.
Thus, when Hostetler was writing in 1963 his statements about marginality had much more certainty about them. Hostetler used an earlier definition of a marginal person as one 'whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different, but antagonistic societies' (Stonequist 1937 quoted in 1963:212) and he goes on to say that 'The marginal amishman is an inevitable product of the process of acculturation in which different societies come into proximity to carry on a common life' (212). He writes that not only actions will be considered deviant in Amish society, but attitudes which would lead to deviation would be noticed by members of the family, neighbours or ministers (213). At that time people could be excluded, temporarily or permanently for what seem now like very minor infringements, young men with their hair cut too short, clothes that did not strictly conform to the *Ordnung*, decorations on the horse's harness, all these lead to being made to make a confession in the church. Whilst this is no longer the case in the areas I visited, in a conversation with Gertrude Enders Huntington in the summer of 2016, she told me that she is in touch with some groups where there has been very little change, where there is almost no diversity and where

shunning continues to be used with regularity and that the threat of the '*Bann'* and the practice of strict shunning is what maintains the discipline of the group.

Amish argue that the purpose of the *Bann* is to bring the sinner to repentance. Attitudes to relatives who have been put 'under the *Bann*' appears to vary. Some will not welcome the person in their home, whilst others maintain contact with family who have been put under the *Bann*. Attitudes towards people who are marginal are also likely to vary.

The cause of their being considered marginal may be a factor well as their attitude to the church and its *Ordnung*. In addition, in the mid-sixties, the Amish population was considerably smaller than it is now. Because of this homogeneity, differences were much more noticeable. Not only was everyone earning their livelihood from farming, but to do anything else was considered a deviation. Hostetler quotes from an *Ordnung*, that was still in place at that time he was writing, that:

> Farming and related occupations to be encouraged. Working in cities or factories not permissible. Boys and girls working away from home for worldly people forbidden, except in emergencies…tractors to be used only for such things that can hardly be done with horses. Only stationary engines or tractors with steel tires allowed. No air-filled rubber tires (1963:60).

So, at that time, for an Amishman in Pennsylvania to take up a job in a factory or use air-filled rubber tyres would be a cause for him to be put under the *Bann*. However, by the mid twentieth century, these strictures were no longer viable. Increasingly there was a need to compete with large scale agricultural enterprises and unable to do that, Amish began moving out of farming into other non-farm work. Others had moved away from Lancaster to newer settlements in Indiana, Kentucky and Wisconsin.

It was a combination of economic pressures - escalating prices for hybrid seed and fertiliser necessary to compete with non-Amish farmers, rising cost of veterinary bills, and equipment combined with the demographic pressure provoked the Amish to move away from farming the land and into non-farm work (Kraybill, Johson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:281). Many families had already decided that farming was no longer viable and decided to operate a workshop or a retail store that would serve the community. 'By 1990's in all but the more conservative communities, farming was in a slump, if not a crisis' (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:281).

Moving out of farming into other occupations has meant that people are now much more exposed to people 'in the world' and contend with the exposure and temptations that brings. John Hostetler wrote in 1963 that 'persons who attempt to simultaneously accept selected values from two diverse cultures become marginal persons'. He went on to describe this as the fate of someone who was trying to live, not just with a foot in the Amish camp and a foot in the world, but where the world and the Amish were antagonistic to one another. He identified that the more contradictions there are within a small society, the more favourable are the conditions for the rise of the marginal person (Hostetler 1963:213). Once men were working off the farm, they were inevitably exposed to 'worldly' values and practices through increased contact with the English, and there was an increased risk that they would become marginal and ultimately, that the Amish would become acculturated to the world.

Becoming considered marginal could expose someone to the possibility of being put 'under the *Bann*' but this was barely mentioned in all the conversations I had with men and women during fieldwork and at other times in the fifteen years I have been visiting Amish communities. It has only once been mentioned to me by a woman describing what she does, so that her son, who is under the *Bann*, comes home. If, as Huntington says strict shunning remains operational in other Amish settlements, it suggests that in Lancaster County and Ohio settlements where it was barely mentioned, there is no longer such a heavy emphasis on its use to maintain discipline. So, it may be that because of the movement away from farming and towards enterprise, combined with the increased contact with the English through tourism and the use of drivers, the Amish people in those groups have become more liberal than others who live away from the tourist gaze and who do not interact as much with non-Amish. In their conversations with me, several women mentioned that things were no longer 'worked on' in the way they had previously been (140918SK, 140910RS, 140917LB) whilst others made mention that 'the Bishops hardly know what to do about this' suggesting less rigid attitudes or willingness to look the other way (140915NS, 140611LF).

In the following accounts, these six women are all involved in work that would be considered 'unusual' and at the end of their stories, I have identified strategies that each employ to ensure that they remain in good standing with the church and are not considered marginal.

5.3.1. Rebecca

Rebecca was my first interviewee in Lancaster County. When Anna told me about Rebecca, as we were driving to her home, I recognized that I had previously read about her in 'Amish Women' by Louise Stoltzfus (1994). After I had explained what I was hoping to do in this piece of research, Rebecca began by outlining the role of women in the Amish community:

> A women's job was always considered to be as the homemaker. An Amish woman is first and foremost a homemaker and I don't think that has changed. Making a home, keeping it clean, having a garden, doing your lawn, keeping your flowerbeds but there's very few Amish that would say that can't afford not to have the wife work. They want to be at home with the children, but they also want to do something to work (140910RS).

Rebecca is her husband's second wife, and has no children of her own, but told me that she cares for his children as if they were her own. They are all adults so not at home. Then she moved on to talking about her work. She told me that she worked for twenty-four years at the Clinic for Special Children, first as the Office Manager, working with Dr. Holmes Morton, who founded it and that initially just the two of them worked there. The Clinic nowadays provides diagnostic and comprehensive medical care for Amish children with inherited genetic diseases. But at the time Rebecca began working there, there was no recognition among the Amish community that they needed such a place and so part of her role was to explain to the community what they were aiming to do and how it would benefit them and their children. Latterly, she was Community Liaison Officer. Her role then was mainly to promote the work of the clinic to families who had children with undiagnosed disorders that could possibly be genetic.

> I was the Community Liaison Officer and that was what they relied on to get the word out; if there was a new disorder that they wanted to test for or to know what's going on in the Amish community, as far as illnesses or people who had children who weren't like the others, then I would meet them and talk to them, and if I would think it was something that could possibly be treated I might encourage them to see Dr. Morton. I did a lot of that. A lot. That was a big part of my job. It was on my job description to meet that person and to really hear them. Now he's so well-known that need isn't there anymore. He's so well-known now, but when he first started people didn't know who he was and they didn't know what he wants and didn't understand why they should see him (140910RS).

That Clinic has become important to the Amish people and that is in no small part, because of the way Rebecca reached out into the community to promote the work.

When a child was identified as needing to be treated, part of Rebecca's role was to coordinate the treatment and to be the link with the parents. This enabled them to trust the Doctor, because they were in effect, dealing with 'one of their own'. Although she does not have medical training, she was sometimes referred to as a Medical Assistant.

Comment on Rebecca's Marginality as a Community Worker

It seems clear to me from the way that Rebecca described her work at the Clinic that she was devoted to it and played no small part in bringing it to the attention of the Amish community. It is now part of mainstream Amish life, supported by people from all parts of the community with fundraisers and attendance at open days by those who have benefitted from its work and those who want to stand with them. People have realized, because of her work, what a valuable contribution the Clinic makes to the perpetuation of a healthy and growing Amish community and are appraised of the benefits of having their newborns tested for genetic diseases that they could have inherited. Rebecca has a personal interest in the work, in that she has family who have been affected by inherited diseases.

Several things make Rebecca's job unusual. Firstly, she was working in a job role which had not been done by anyone before, working with a Harvard-trained doctor who moved into the area, so that he could work with the Amish community. Rebecca was, in effect, his route into the community. Secondly, she was working alone with him as it was a small set-up, he and his wife had moved to Strasburg, Pa, to open a clinic on land given to them by an Amish farmer. The job role entailed going out and talking to the community. She also worked with GP's to encourage them to make referrals to the Clinic and to find out why they have not performed the blood test, if she discovers it was not done (Stoltzfus 1994:85). It was a very public job. Then as the job role grew, she had to mediate and persuade families to be willing to have blood tests for the good of their children. Since the Amish accept whatever the Lord sends to them, including disabled children, this might have been perceived as going against what had been sent to them. But Rebecca found a way through that, to encourage them to take advantage of what the world's, medical advancement could offer them.

It seems to me that one of the factors that may have protected Rebecca from any accusation of marginality as a 'career woman' is that she seems to be highly respected within the community both for the work at the Clinic and because she had previously been a teacher. Since her work was for the future benefit of the community, it is clear she has a commitment to perpetuating the Amish rather than doing anything that would cause an erosion of community life and values. I recognize too that she was very comfortable expressing an opinion about the Amish, where other women who are unused to jobs in the public eye, might be reticent to offer a viewpoint or lack the confidence to say what she thought. But it is harder to say whether she developed this confidence by having a very visible and pioneering job, or whether she was asked to do the job because she had a personality that could cope with it. Prior to working at the Clinic, she had been a teacher for fifteen years and was considered one of the best teachers among Lancaster County Amish (Stoltzfus 1994:78), so if being a teacher was one of the desirable skills for the work at the Clinic, there should have been many more women to choose from. Stoltzfus also makes the point that there was one occasion when Rebecca spoke for the community at a public meeting, which was subsequently pictured in the local paper. She is clearly not afraid to speak her mind in the interests of her community. Her confidence too, to speak opinions that she attributed to the Bishops, was clearly unusual. 'The Bishops don't think much of that' she told me when talking about MLM businesses. She seems to not mind making a strong statement. Perhaps she has Bishops in her family and has heard it talked about, and if she does, could that also be a reason why she was able to carry out her work? The Bishops seeing the powerful effect on the community looked the other way, perhaps and decided that the marginality of the work was a risk worth taking and one she could be trusted to handle.

When Anna told me about Rebecca, I remembered I had seen her described as ‘A decisive career person and a devoted Amish woman’ (Stoltzfus 1994:78). Rebecca had strong opinions about the issues we discussed; she does not fit any kind of stereotype of a quiet, demure or reserved Amish woman. She has a clear strong speaking voice with a wide vocabulary and does not hold back from expressing her viewpoint. She has been able to use these skills in the Clinic for Special Children carving out a role in a new enterprise, that used her skills as a passionate advocate for the survival of a healthy Amish community. The way she described her work and the skills she needed in order to do it well, both to me and to Louise Stoltzfus, appeared similar to the way a woman might describe their high-level executive post in a multi-national company. I had read, previously, in Amish Women about her commitment to the community and how she had no qualms about speaking up when others might not, so her way of expressing herself was not a surprise to me. So, when I read that Stoltzfus had asked Rebecca if she thought of herself as a career woman, and without a moment’s hesitation, Rebecca had answered ‘Yes’, I was not surprised (80).

5.3.2. Susie

Susie is married and is the mother of six young adult children, three boys and three girls; at the time I met her, the youngest was fifteen. Susie is well-known as a water colour artist, a singular occupation for an Amish woman, even if they are sufficiently talented to paint or draw – it does not usually become a career choice. I asked Susie how she got into painting. She told me that as a child she would get calluses on her fingers from holding crayons and paints because she just loved to draw and colour. After her marriage, she had two C-section surgeries and since they were Amish farmers, they did not have insurance and the surgeries had to be paid for, and so she realized that perhaps painting would be a way for her to make money. She told me;

> Then I started painting instead of doing some other things that Amish women usually do, like planting a big garden. When the children were small and I realized I could make twenty dollars an hour painting or more, I was like, I don't really have to have a garden, I can buy my vegetables but then afterwards I thought, well we do want onions and radishes and peas, so I planted a small garden even if I could have bought them.

I asked Susie, if when she started to earn money from painting, whether it was something that seen as outrageous or was it easily accepted

> 'It WAS unusual, it was highly unusual although it didn't raise as much opposition as it might have and one of the reasons for that is because I think at the time, women were making and selling quilts and that was quite popular. The way to make money was to make quilts, and I started in by painting quilts. I painted quilts on a washing like, and I painted a quilt in somebody's back yard. So, you know, I was painting quilts and they were sewing quilts and I was making money out of it and it was sort of…it wasn't…I didn't paint people, I painted the quilts and it was sort of accepted. After a while, there was an article about me in the newspaper (*Philadelphia Inquirer* 7/2/93) because people were interested in this because it was so unusual and so, you know, they put an article about me in the paper and …er…I was seen about that. The minister told me, quite kindly, that I should…and you know, they just told me I should keep it low, so that's what I've tried to do. But he did not ask me to stop painting' (140606SR).

This admission that Susie’s painting was financially more profitable than keeping to the Amish tradition and that it was her choice to limit her garden, food production and canning, contrasts with the traditional role for an Amish woman. First because historically woman have not engaged in paid employment and certainly not one which would significantly increase their net worth to this extent. In 1991 Susie’s paintings sold in New York for more than $3000 each and thirty years on, her originals continue to sell well. Secondly, because the choice of painting pictures to earn money is unique in the Amish community and then thirdly, because it is individualist and ultimately because it led to her being noticed as an individual to the extent that newspapers wanted to publicise her work, articles were subsequently written and published. Her painting became an established business when she met Shirley. Shirley would drive Susie around, taking pictures of suitable subjects for Susie to paint. Mostly Susie paints Amish homes, quilts on washing lines or on a bed, scenes with horse and buggy, all things that are indicative of Amish life. Then, later, Shirley became Susie’s agent and her marketing manager, setting up exhibitions in galleries, turning the paintings into prints for sale in tourist venues. Shirley eventually opened Double Heart Gallery in Intercourse, to showcase Susie’s work as well as that of other local artists. This would have been also a little unusual at the time as she was sharing gallery space with non-Amish artists.

Comment on Susie’s Marginality as an Artist

It was a shrewd move to start by painting quilts. Around that time (1986) tourists were beginning to visit Lancaster County in substantial numbers and Amish quilts were becoming popular as a collectible item. Susie volunteered that initially she had made a mistake in speaking to a newspaper reporter who then wrote an article on her. This was contrary to Amish values since it drew attention to her as an individual. Her response was not to do that again and to keep a low profile at exhibitions by not attending them. Since the Amish are encouraged to be debt-free, that probably helped Susie to avoid a clash with the church over her choices.

So, using her talent to paint quilts may have been very helpful to Susie in having her work, if not completely accepted by the community, then at least, ignored to the extent that she could get on with it. She also helped herself, by not drawing attention to her very individual work. ‘Susie honors the church’s wishes by not appearing at public exhibitions of her artwork and by not drawing human faces. When children or even dolls appear in her work, they are faceless’ (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner & Nolt 2013:113). ‘God gave me this talent, so I use it. But I don't want a lot of honor. I don't want people thinking I'm really somebody’ she said in a phone interview (Lancaster inquirer February 7th 1993). This was not the newspaper article that got her into trouble, it was a later one, where she goes out of her way to state what she wants and does not meet the interviewer, it was given over the telephone. This is a strategy that works, she is not seeking fame and fortune, is clear about it with someone who might have wanted to help her publicise her work and does it in a way that accommodates the demands of the church leaders.

Art shows that call attention to an Amish artist are not encouraged because the Amish view is people should not do anything that draws attention to self. To do so, risks the person being exposed to the sin of pride. Understanding the risk of calling attention to herself, Susie made some concessions and does not paint anything that would be problematic to the church or attend the galleries when the exhibition is open. It may be that people in the church are not even aware of what she does, since afterwards, Anna asked me, ‘Does Susie still paint?’. They are in the same church district, so I was surprised that she did not know.

5.3.3. Mary

In the interview with Mary, I asked her how she had got into being a Tour Guide which did not seem to me to be a typical Amish job for a woman. She explained that she had worked in a restaurant in downtown Sugarcreek and enjoyed the work but after the restaurant was sold, the new owners needed it to make more money, so she had the idea of having dinners for the people on the bus tours that came through town. It was a big success and they hosted people from all over the country. She marketed the dinners to bus companies who visited 'Amish Country' from all over the US. Then in 2003 the business was sold again 'and the guy who bought it was a complete jerk. So, I left and started up my own business although it was scary at my age as I was in my fifties, but I've never regretted it'.

She now markets her tours to 1300 bus companies all over the US and has taken groups, to the Canadian Rockies, Niagara Falls, the North-eastern United States and Canada. Every year she takes one or two tours out west to California and Arizona as well as Florida, where they stop at Pinecraft[9] and then travel on to Key West. Only three-quarters of Mary's clients are Amish, but she makes sure the rest know her limitations on the tours, such as not including theatres or shows on the trips or staying in places where they will be served alcohol.

Comment on Mary's Marginality as a Tour Operator

The recognition that Amish women are no longer raising such large vegetable gardens was picked up by other interviewees, but few were as opinionated and willing to be as outspoken as Mary, but her honesty and willingness to say it as she saw it was refreshing as well as informative.

Two ways in which Mary's work could lead her to be considered marginal. Firstly, she is single, and therefore is financially responsible for herself now that her sister died, previously

[9] Pinecraft is a small area within the Florida town of Sarasota which has become home to a small number of Amish, but whose numbers increase hugely in the winter months as many Amish travel there to escape the harsh winter in their home settlement. Some Amish own second homes there

they lived together and shared the bills. Secondly, she is running a business alone, which causes her to go away a lot, staying in hotels and mixing with 'the world'. She is taking her tours, around the USA. It is unusual for an Amish woman to have built up a business like this, and that alone might have caused her to become marginalized through mixing so much with the English, and being exposed to a world very different to her own. She is providing a service for Amish but reckons that 25% of her customers are not Amish. According to Cong (1998:133) it is difficult for single women to fit into this 'overwhelmingly male dominated, family-centred society where they are often seen as failures and losers by younger people'. I do not know how she is viewed by younger people, but in my view, Mary, most certainly is neither of these. Instead, she is a strong, successful businesswoman who has enough money that she can give it away to help people less fortunate than herself. She told me, 'I am expected to work, to make my own living, I don't have a family to look after. They expect me to work' (Field Notes 140620MB). I did not have a sense of Mary being marginal in any way at all. She was one of the most forceful Amish I met in all three fieldworks, and in the fifteen years I've been visiting. She had a loud voice which she said was an asset in her work, she was very strong in her beliefs, vocal in her views and not likely to be easily cowed by anyone. But her demeanour is not loud and she was quietly confident that being Amish was the right way to be, was clear that men had had no option but to leave farming and spoke with great fondness for the Amish way of life. She was also unafraid to explain her faith. Mixing with the English does not appear to have eroded any of her commitment to Amish life or opened her up to marginalization.

5.3.4. Miriam

The woman I am calling Miriam joined the Amish more than fifty years ago, having married her husband before he joined the church. Miriam has a natural food/health products business that she runs with her husband and in addition to that, she also wrote a book that she sells, telling her life story and the way in which she came into the Amish and began to run her business. When she goes to book fairs to sell her book, her husband goes along to help her. Her business has more than 1000 other women in her 'downline', selling these health and natural products (4.3.2).

I asked Miriam about her business and what she thought about women having a business in the Amish.

> It's because they don't have enough money and the women start making some extra money. Sometimes, I think it's kind of tough on them, because it should be the man making the money………so they have to do something. But having a business that's how they're making their extra money, then they can make more payments and do all that stuff…So, they're doing a lot of them, and some of them are doing quite well with their own businesses and the men are supporting them (120918MM).

This insight gave me several ideas for comparing previous researchers' statements with what I am hearing from these women. 'The husband with the help of his wife takes the lead in providing for the spiritual and material welfare of the home' (Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013:200). So, whilst the husband is expected to be the main breadwinner, there are now occasions, when not only is he NOT the sole breadwinner, but may work alongside his wife helping in her business, although I believe this is still unusual and not the norm, clearly it does happen. Miriam's comment though, does indicate that it is not so unusual now for women to work to earn money to supplement the family income. Johnson-Weiner also makes the point (Johnson-Weiner 2017:1) that whilst 'men are expected to support their families, and women were traditionally constrained by their religiously formed understanding of gender roles to be helpmeets to their husbands and "keepers at home"', a growing number of women are now engaging in other work to assist with the family finances. Some of this assisting, as we have seen earlier, entails having their own business.

Comment on Miriam's Marginality as a Woman in a Multi-Level Marketing Business

I changed Miriam's name at her request but it seems a little pointless, as she is very well-known both inside the AIM business and outside of it, within the Amish. Of all the women I interviewed she seemed to me to be nearest to being described as marginal, in that from her description of all that she has done and the household appliances she has introduced and the 'risks' she takes, e.g. having a house that is anything but Plain, taking an aeroplane trip to Hawaii, she seems to 'sail close to the wind'. The business, itself does not seem to be a cause for marginality; MLM businesses are popular with Amish women (4.3.2, 4.4) but other activities that she has done e.g. writing her autobiography telling her life story of how she came to join the Amish does not seem to accord well with Gelassenheit. It may be that because she is one of the few English who have joined the Amish and stayed, that she is allowed some leeway in the way she lives her Amish life. Although she has worked hard to learn Deutsch, and can understand it, she told me that she does not have much confidence to speak it. In this respect, she could be considered marginal because that must isolate her from playing a full part in Amish life.

It was an apt and amusing moment for me that whilst I was with her, on the hour one of her clocks began to play a popular tune, made famous by Frank Sinatra, 'I did it My Way'. I asked her if she knew the title of the song, but she did not. I did not tell her but said that I believed it was once a 'pop' song. I could not help feeling that although she was in the Amish, there was a sense in which the Amish was not yet in her.

5.3.5. Rebekah and Mary

Rebekah and Mary are sisters, in Amish parlance, 'Old girls' who taught in Amish schools for many years but neither of whom ever married. They live outside Lancaster County and share a house together. As young women, they both felt the need to complete the GED (General Education Diploma) by correspondence and distance learning, which, if they had not been Amish would have enabled them to enter College to study for a degree.

Apart from getting their views on what had changed, one of the reasons I wanted to interview these sisters is that I was told by Lydia that they were exceptional teachers. But it transpired that not only were these sisters thought to be exceptional by the local Amish, but they were so exceptional that they had been hired by Old Colony Mennonites in Mexico to act as consultants and mentors to their own teachers there. So, the sisters divide their time between Mexico and Perry County doing this work, with Mary presently spending the bulk of her time in Mexico, whilst Rebekah visits each year to support the work in eight schools. They have been doing this for almost twenty years. The aim is to help the Old Colony Mennonites to upgrade their schools, work in their classrooms, model good teaching practice, work with the school boards and train the teachers so that the children get a good education.

Mary told me:

> This was a first for Amish teachers in the States to leave here and go to another country to do this work. It's an entirely new thing for Amish to be involved with. It's very exciting…We can become a very closed community if we don't reach out and learn about other cultures and I think that is good for a person to appreciate other cultures and learn their way of doing things, even though it's different from our way, just to appreciate what that they do and why they do it and I think that has changed our way of thinking and our attitude towards other cultures (140611MZ).

Comment on Marginality of Rebekah and Mary

Obtaining a GED qualification is uncommon within the Amish and must have been even rarer when they did it more than fifty years ago. However, their love of learning and teaching is indisputable; they have given their lives to teaching in Amish schools and then vocational schools, so it is perhaps not so extraordinary that they were offered the opportunity to use that knowledge and pass it on to Old Colony Mennonites in their schools in Mexico. They are now spending the bulk of their time away from their own Church District working in Mexico. The opportunity to act as Teacher Consultants was available to Rebekah and Mary because they had a lot of experience of teaching, were mature and had no family. Most young Amish women who teach, stop teaching when they marry, after a few years' experience, but these sisters had almost a working lifetimes' experience in the classroom and because they were free to go to Mexico. Mary said the Church District was supportive of their doing this work and she had never heard any criticism of it, although she did admit, that if someone was not supportive, she wouldn't know about it, and that they would probably come from a more traditional group. Her own District had no problem with it. They live simply, retaining many of the practices that have been eroded in recent times by others and that perhaps enabled them to remain mainstream Amish rather than be considered marginal.

5.4. An Increase in Marginality?

As I explained in 5.3, the impact of becoming marginal was a very serious occurrence and not one which excited the community. In some church districts now, the number of farmers is very small and some Districts have none, so, if the previous standards were applied, virtually everyone would be under the *Bann*. With the move away from farming, other changes were inevitable.

I can think of three possibilities. First, perhaps the definition of marginality now has changed to take account of the fact that farmers are now the minority. Or, second, perhaps there is a greater toleration for marginality and because more people are doing jobs that previously were considered marginal, it is no longer such a big issue. Marginality is now no longer 'the worst thing'. Or, thirdly, in Chapter 4, I described how characteristics once considered central are now moving away from the centre and towards the edge. Perhaps there is a similar process happening with marginality.

My view is that the second one is closer to what is happening: to be seen doing something different, breaking new ground is no longer as extreme as it once was. There seems to be more accommodation to change. There is a greater variety in employment for both men and women, and what seems to be happening is that they are still in the early stages of considering the impact on the next generation and who will remain Amish. As there has been so much change in the mainstream, due to globalisation and technological developments, could it be that the Church has decided for leniency wherever possible in order that people are not unfairly marginalized by taking up work which is non-traditional? There has already been a generation who did not farm, and it appears they are remaining Amish and joining church and settling down. Making it easier for them to remain in the Amish church by toleration of unusual work activity would seem to be one way of doing this.

5.5. Work-Arounds

How do the 'work-arounds' avoid being hypocritical? Ruth described how she gets around the strict rules pertaining to shunning, I was reminded again of the Scripture that speaks of obeying the letter of the law but not the spirit of it (II Cor 3 v 6). It seems to me that this is what is happening here. She still takes cares that no-one else in the church finds out that her son has visited but that is relatively easy to do, since shunned people are rarely spoken of, so no-one is likely to ask about him. I wrote about what happens when someone is shunned, that they must avoid contact with their family, are not allowed to eat with them and should avoid doing business with them. I was told by a woman I interviewed in Pennsylvania, that there are ways around 'taking it so seriously' though she told me that some families 'do it exactly as the church says' whilst others feel that a family relationship should be more important, and that a son or daughter should be allowed into the home, even when they are shunned by the church community. She felt that it would not help to win them back by 'treating them like complete outcasts'. Her own son is in that situation, so she described the pain of the shunning, and told me how, several years down the line, they now see him regularly. To get around the prohibition of eating with him, she sets up two tables, and puts one cloth over them. She and her husband sit at one table and her son, sits next to them but on a different table, so they are not 'eating at the same table'. She does not serve the food to him, but allows each person to help themselves to whatever they want to eat. Similarly, if she wants to give him something, she puts it down close to him, and he picks it up. She has not eaten at the same table with him, has not served food to him and has not given him anything, but all those things have happened in a way that they both understand what has happened and why it happened that way. When he visits his aunt, her sister, she told me, they have dinner on trays on their laps and none of them sit at the table. She did not tell me whether the minister or Bishop is aware of her son visiting and sometimes eating during the visit.

One of the many realisations I have had during this period of research is how much more flexibility has come to the Amish I have met in the last decades. When I began reading about the Amish forty-five years ago, the impression I had was that the Bishops ruled with an iron fist, and there was no leeway with the *Ordnung* at all. Latterly though, it seems this is no longer how it is. I asked these women if they thought life was more regulated in the past and they all agreed it was. Two of them talked at length about the way that the Ministry (Bishops and Ministers) needed to 'work on these things more' to gain complete understanding and agreement with the church over certain issues. That was an acknowledgement, as Rebecca said ‘We’re not all on the same page’ when speaking about something where there was disagreement. Another spoke of the church ‘needing to work more’ on an issue so that they could come to one mind. From the way these women spoke, I did not get the sense that the Bishop’s word was law in a way it might once have been.

5.6. Summary

In this chapter, I considered what Hostetler’s idea of marginality and reflected on seven women who can be considered ‘marginal’ as well as how marginality is managed and negotiated within the group.

In the next Chapter, I look at how the Amish have been able to retain the essentials and be flexible about the non-essentials. I’ve called it their ‘Unyielding Flexibility’.

6. UNYIELDING FLEXIBLITY

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I write about what I have called Unyielding Flexibility – the way in which Amish life appears to continue as it always was, and yet incorporates many changes into daily life. I look at the way the Amish women have acculturated to these changes so that they appear to find no conflict with them.

I reiterate how there is no 'cookie-cutter' Amish woman and how they only appear similar but are individuals like everyone else. Then, I discuss the range of freedoms now available to women. As examples to illustrate the range of freedom that women enjoy, I use dress, Amish lifestyle and attitudes to vacations and travelling.

Considering the role of employment, I introduce two concepts that I place on a spectrum describing work life. At one end of the spectrum is, 'Significant Living without Work' where the Amish woman does not work outside the home for financial gain, looking at how commonly Amish women find fulfilment in keeping a home and raising a family, considering what factors allow them to do this, and how that is possible in the 21st century. This is not to say that these women at home are not working. They simply have chosen not to work for money outside the home.

Significant living without work was originally a concept developed by Mary Warnock in her review of Special Education (Massie 1982). It suggested a model to provide an opportunity for school leavers with special educational needs, to be offered choices of education, enrichment experiences and activity to provide them with a structured week, whilst developing their skills and interests and providing fulfilment. It was especially used for children with life-limiting diseases or whose disabilities were so severe that they would not be likely to have gainful paid employment. Whilst I am not wanting to suggest that Amish women are in any way dis-abled, it seems to me that the concept lends itself to women who find fulfilment in being 'Keepers at home' and who don't feel the need for career development or paid work. At the opposite end of the work spectrum, there are women who have what, in career management, might be termed 'Portfolio' careers. These women are fully Amish, in every aspect of their lives but they have incorporated into their working week activities, paid and unpaid, that enable them to find job satisfaction through taking on a variety of money-making tasks or jobs, contributing, sometimes significantly, to the financial well-being of the family. Women at both ends of the spectrum are Amish, whilst living life in completely different ways.

6.2. What is it to be Amish?

The four characteristics that fit a person described as Amish, are firstly that they are plain dressing (Nolt 2016:31), secondly that they speak Pennsylvania Deutsch (or Swiss Amish), thirdly that they travel by horse and buggy (Nolt 2016:2, Kraybill 2018:11, Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps 2004:13) and lastly that they only selectively use technology and reject electricity from the grid (3.7, Kreps, Donnermeyer and Kreps 2004:2, Nolt 2016:2ff). These are their hallmarks of separation from the world (1001 Questions 120). The fact that they still do these things three hundred years after their arrival in America, can be said to demonstrate that they are to that extent, unchanged and thus unyielding. Living separated from the world is of paramount importance to them both historically and in the present time. In *1001 Questions and Answers on the Christian Life*, the writer describes that 'the people of God should live entirely separate from the world' (1992;121). This is based on a Scriptural injunction (2Cor 6 v 17) to 'Come out from them and be separate, says the Lord' and (Rom 12 v 2) 'Do not conform to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind'. Historically this has been a key to Amish survival and has enabled them to live as they wish for so long, without being engulfed into American society. In these two Scripture verses we find Amish people being obedient to the Biblical injunction to live differently, separately, and to think differently.

Eriksen and Klein (1981:285) noted that:

> The pattern of land settlement with avoidance of village living makes for a high degree of isolation. Isolation is valued since contact with the outside world is viewed as corrupting, especially to children. This isolation is further enhanced by the rejection of automobiles.

Hawley notes that 'Despite predictions, the Amish have not assimilated into the dominant American culture nor has their population become smaller over the years' (Hawley 2008:91). Other groups who went to America around the same time and who have accommodated to the world and its demands have, over time, found themselves becoming less distinctive e.g. Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren in Christ, and the Moravians (Kraybill 2010). The Amish have resolutely refused to accommodate in many areas and consequently they have retained their distinctiveness. This chapter identifies and discusses where and how far accommodation has taken place.

6.3. Unyielding Flexibility

I have created the term 'Unyielding Flexibility' to describe how the Amish may appear to the onlooker to be completely unchanged to in their dress and lifestyle, although on examination it is possible to find changes in some aspects of these four characteristics. Using the word 'unyielding' is significant and is my choice of word because of the significance of 'yieldedness' in Amish life. Yielding is a key concept of Amish life, understood in the term '*Gelassenhei*t' where the individual is required to yield to God, to 'give up' their own desire in preference to what God requires. I chose the word 'unyielding' to denote that whist their life appears unchanged, superficially, some change is taking place. I add the descriptive characteristic 'flexibility' to show that there is some movement in Amish life that allows change to take place. The use of the term 'Unyielding' is a deliberate play on the word, in that I want to make it clear that whilst the Amish are unyielding in the things of God and things they consider central to their Christian position, they are willing to be flexible, to yield and change on areas which are less significant add-ons, not Biblically-based, but which have simply become a part of their tradition. This demonstrates how the Amish distinguish between what should not change because it is Biblically based and what can be allowed to change because it is of less importance to them.

When I asked interviewees if there was anything that they would not want to change or lose in their culture, they most often mentioned the importance of maintaining separation from the world, speaking Pennsylvania Deutsch, retaining Plain dress, and travelling by horse and buggy. These four characteristics are usually those that the Amish believe set them apart from non-Amish and cause them to be described as Amish people (Ref 3.7 Fig1). When I asked the research participants what things had not changed, without hesitation, they told me their faith was the same as it always had been, and their church services. Commonly, they cited singing the second hymn, the '*Loblied*' sung in all Amish churches on Sundays, 'When we sing that one, I like to think how many people have sung it since it was written and on a Sunday, when we're singing it, so are so many more of the people, all over America, every place. Always the same' (120914MM). The fact that the church services have never changed has recently been confirmed by Shaw-Gabay in her interviews in Lancaster County (Shaw-Gabay 2018). Church and church services are unchanging.

Next I look at three areas to describe the concept of unyielding flexibility.

6.3.1. Amish Dress

My first example is Amish Dress. The appearance of Amish dress is distinctive and serves as a boundary marker (Hostetler 1964:16). It identifies those who are Amish and distinguishes them from those who are not. It is typically described as 'Plain dress' and yet there are variations of Plain dress, all of them identifying the group to which the wearer belongs, and distinguishes each of the groups from each other (Hostetler 1963:137; 1964:17). These groups could be other Amish or they could be other Plain dressing groups (Scott 1997:4). Scholars have identified several less well-known groups who may be confused with the Amish because of their women's dress code or bearded menfolk (Scott1997:52, Kraybill 2010:51, Nolt 2008:378). Groups such as Old River Brethren, Mennonites or German Brethren.

Within the Amish, they will be able to distinguish one group from another (Scott 1997:24)., by, for example, the type of head covering a woman wears, the depth of the brim on a man's hat or the type of coat an Amish man is wearing. However, to the outsider they may all appear to look the same and to be unchanged from times past. But this is not so. Lancaster Amish women are identifiable by their heart-shaped head-covering, whilst the different groups in Ohio would be identified by the depth of the head-covering or the size of the pleats on the back of the *kapp* (Hostetler 1964:16).

a) <u>Dress Change in an Amish Woman's Life</u>

Although an Amish woman's dress (3.8A) appears to be the same today as it did forty or fifty years ago, it is now made from light drip-dry material, instead of the heavier wool previously used (120925GS, 120926KM, 120925MH). Young women told me that the length and the colours of the dress is influenced by fashion (120925MH). If the Amish were totally unyielding, women would still be wearing heavy fabrics and brushing rather than washing them. They would not have been flexible to adapt to drip-dry fabrics now available.

Hostetler, quoting from a tract about the *Ordnung* written in 1950 from an Amish Church in Pike County, Ohio, wrote, 'No ornamental bright, showy form-fitting, immodest or silk-like clothing of any kind. Colours such as bright red, orange, yellow and pink not allowed…dress shoes, if any, are to be plain and black only….' (Hostetler 1963:59). Again, we see the flexibility; some of the drip-dry materials are thin and silk-like but they are now using them, adapting to the times and not holding to the *Ordnung* of 1950. Colours, as well as materials too, are changing. Bright red, yellow and pink are now worn by children in Ohio.

Several things are striking about this passage. Firstly, that an *Ordnung* is written down in a tract, is evidence for change concerning how the *Ordnung* is understood, since the *Ordnung* was always, and still is largely, an oral instruction (Hostetler1963:58, Kraybill, Johnson Weiner & Nolt 2013:69) and it is unusual to find an *Ordnung* written down except sometimes they are recorded where researchers have asked informants for portions of it and have written it down as it was reported to them (Huntington 1955: Appendix 3; Tan 1998:355). The Amish do not write it down for themselves. However, although there are groups where a Minister keeps a record of agreed changes this is not commonplace. The second comment about the passage is that travelling through an Amish settlement on any washday, seeing washing lines of clothes drying in the sunshine, the washing line now is likely to include red, orange, yellow, lemon, pink, mauve, pale blue and teal coloured dresses in direct contravention to what was allowed in 1950. So, another clear change that has taken place.

In 2015, teenage girls wear lighter, solid colours and my informants tell me there is a fashion, even among the Amish, where colours and differences of style become popular or slip out of fashion'…….Years ago, there was only browns in Ohio, then we got the got the coloureds, and now, this year (2012) the fashion is raspberry'(MH 250912).

And, later, the same informant goes on to tell me, that ‘it used to be that strings were one-eighth of an inch, and then they got to be half an inch because the fashions change’. There is still a restriction on patterned fabric, but even this is sometimes accommodated by having a very slight differentiation of colour or texture within the fabric to give the appearance of solid colour from a distance, where close-up it appears striped or checked. Not all Amish women approve of this change (Ref 5.3.3).

> The dresses they wear, the colours they put on their little children, brilliant colours. I don’t want to say much, because I’m not any better than they are, but I cannot see it’s right, I mean, what are we striving for? We all want to enter heaven someday, why do we want to dress our children in a way that they’re going to be proud of themselves? Or proud of their bodies? (SK180914).

Jana Hawley tells of a young Amish woman from a mid-West Amish community, who returned from a family vacation in Pinecraft, Florida, having bought some fabric there with this tone-on-tone pattern, made up the dress according to the local Amish pattern and worn it one day to town. Several people commented to her that she must have just got back from Florida, their tone made it clear that this observation was also a negative judgment. She reported that she had decided not to wear the dress to town again thus avoiding the intervention of the church. Instead, she decided to keep it as a travelling dress for the next time she went out of town (Hamilton and Hawley 1999:42). In this instance, the woman’s decision was to keep the dress for a place where there would be more liberty, not to discard it; that would be out of keeping with Amish thriftiness. There is a more liberal attitude towards the *Ordnung* in Pinecraft.

Thirdly, the tract refers to ‘Dress shoes, if any…’ and this alludes to the practice of many Amish children, and teenagers and a few married women, of going barefoot. Apart from

Sundays, many will by choice, be shoeless; it's normal to see a young mother and her children all barefoot walking along the road.

Although many women continue to wear black shoes, often black lace-ups in a sensible but unfashionable style, wearing black Crocs in and around the house has become popular and not just with the younger women. However, my sense is that, however comfortable, they would be unlikely to flaunt the rules by wearing their Crocs, even black ones, for Sunday church.

b) Conclusions about Amish Dress

Although the style hasn't changed, modern fabrics are now more usual. This has implications for wash day in that the women no longer brush and wipe heavy woollen fabric to clean them, but can make their dresses from drip-dry material, thus lightening their laundry load, since those dresses need not be ironed. Secondly there has been some changes to the colours allowed and a wider range of colours is permissible in many places. The dress code for shoes is less strict than previously and women can wear more practical footwear for everyday activities around the house or in the garden. Young people wear trainers, even designer branded ones for everyday wear. Men's dress is even less changed. Their shirts may or may not have pockets – fewer women are now sewing men's shirts and when they buy them at the store and not all women remove the pockets which was an earlier practice.

6.3.2. Amish Lifestyle

By using the words 'Amish lifestyle', I mean, the importance the Amish place on family, thriftiness, work and self-sufficiency (Hostetler, 1993:234ff, Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:231ff). For the best part of three hundred years the Amish were reliant on farming and were famed for working the land. Since the early 1970's, however, a change has been taking place which has diminished their involvement with farming, so that now only a minority of Amish families are farming. Some churches in Lancaster and Holmes County report that they no longer have any families in their District who are farming and this decline is documented in the latest Church Directories. This change has been described by Kraybill and Nolt (2004) and Wesner (2010). Similar occupational changes have been reported among the Amish in Ohio (Hurst and McConnell 2010:175) and Indiana (Meyers and Nolt 2005:106ff). The authors all make the point that Amish men do a wide range of work, but it is likely to be of a practical nature, done from home wherever possible, and may or may not serve the needs of the Amish community. Once again, this could be considered another example of unyielding flexibility, because flexibility is demonstrated by the church agreeing that the men should move away from farming but find alternative work which allows them to maintain their (unyielding) commitment to working from home so that they still model the Amish work ethic for their children.

In some places though, carpentry crews are now working away from home during the week and returning on Thursday or Friday. This represents a huge change for Amish families since it leaves the women at home without their husband, with sole responsibility for raising and training the children. It has provoked several articles commenting on the effect of this, on the wives, on the families and on the children (Huntington 1976:319, Huntington 1994:119, Hurst & McConnell 2010:140, Kreps, Donnermeyer, Hurst et al 1997:361, Kraybill and Nolt 2004:95).

Another facet of flexibility has been the way in which women have adapted to the move from agriculture and worked alongside their husbands to make a success of their new business ventures. Just as, historically, they worked together on the farm, Amish women are now working alongside their husbands in their new home-based businesses (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:96). Examples from my own research found a family who now run a shop which provides a bulk-buy deli for the local community, selling dry goods, fabric, stationery and household items as well as deli meats, cheeses, bakery and fresh produce. They previously farmed pigs. Another family now host tourists for meals in addition to running their dairy farm and Mary has also branched out into a catering business catering for weddings, parties and tour buses. She has a fully-equipped industrial kitchen and dining room in a separate building on the farm where she and her daughters prepare and cook food for these events. The dining room is where they host church, when it is their turn. Sometimes she caters for the whole wedding and other times, she simply cooks those foods that families want to have catered and arranges to have it delivered to them. When I visited one time, she was in the middle of roasting 800 chicken breasts for a wedding the next day. Her husband reports that the catering business earns as much as the dairy farm.

Several couples work together in multi-level marketing businesses running those alongside or as well as a farming operation. This was covered in some detail in Chapter 3.

Small business and home-based industries in place of farming keeps the work tied into family life.

> Home-based industries can more readily involve children. Thus, children remain an economic asset, encouraging large families, which in turn, produce more potential members for church membership. And, as noted before, the widespread ownership of shops scatters wealth more widely throughout the settlement (Kraybill and Nolt 2014:139)

6.3.3. Attitudes to Vacations

Turning now to other examples of changing attitudes identified by the women I interviewed, I want to start with changing attitudes to vacations. In 1963, Amish people were described as taking very little vacation and when they did, it was just an outing of a couple of days or a visit to another settlement to see family. ‘It is customary to visit relatives without invitation…visitors from distant states may circulate in one settlement among many families during the course of a week or two’ (Hostetler 1963:119). A similar statement appeared in the updated version in 1993. Several women also told me that when they were children, their ‘holiday’ was a trip by bus to the zoo, or to the seaside or a lake but they did not stay away from home overnight (230912AY, FL120614, 120919RS, 120614LB, 120924ES and 120924VM).

In 2001, Kraybill wrote:

> In the past, vacations to “Get away from home” were rare, but that increasingly, many couples take “trips” of several weeks to other settlements. Others will take shorter trips to historical sites, the zoo or a flower show (2001:89).

This was borne out by my interviews. Several women I spoke to, mentioned that they had travelled to other states, some to visit family, but others said it was not to visit family but to see ‘God’s creation’. One woman told me that when she was a child, sixty years ago, there was far less travel and that her only childhood memory of a ‘holiday’ was a one-day trip to the zoo. She explained that nowadays, there is far more awareness of ‘what is out there’ and that this creates curiosity, so that Amish people ‘want to see the same as everyone else sees’ (FL140612).

One of the couples, I stay with in Ohio, described to me how they became acquainted with a man and his wife from California, when they visited an Amish Quilt auction near Berlin, Ohio. After just ‘getting talking about the quilts we went to dinner together and I invited them to visit us here in Charm. They came the next day and were very interested to see how we live’. The couples maintained a correspondence and when his wife died, Al travelled by train from Ohio to California to visit his friends. When, four years later he remarried, they invited him to take his new wife to visit them.

Another reason that people travel is the high cost of land. If people want to continue to farm, they move to a place where farmland is cheaper. This creates 'daughter' settlements, and then people travel to visit their family.

Another woman told me that one reason for all the travel now is that since far fewer people farm, there is a 'holiday entitlement' if they work for an employer, which provides opportunity to travel. When they were farming, it was not possible to leave the animals or the milking and so they just couldn't go away. Moving out of farming has made it easier to go away from home. For some, it is retirement that brings the opportunity to travel more.

> We have been in all the States except Kansas and North Dakota. We have travelled to California, to Edmonton in Canada, through the Canadian Rockies with our driver and his wife. Another time we went to visit friends in Montreal and we stopped in many places in Canada – we were away for 7 weeks. We have also been to Mexico with his sister's medical treatments. (ET240912).

This highlights another change, this family went away with their English driver and his wife for a holiday. In times past, not only did the Amish not go away on holiday, but making close relationships with non-Amish would be highly unlikely because there was more emphasis on remaining separate from 'the world' and not mixing with non-Amish. Quoting Romans ch12 v 2, "Be not conformed to this world". This, says Hostetler applies generally to all social contacts that would involve intimate connections with persons outside the community. He reminds readers that this emphasis on taking Scripture literally is compatible with the Amish view of themselves as a chosen or peculiar people (Hostetler 1963:48 Hurst & McConnell 2010:18; Beachy 2013:U[10]).

One reason for not making closer relationships with ‘the English’ is to highlight that the Amish should live ‘separated from the world’. Historically, the view was that mixing too much with non-Amish might be a temptation if they were exposed to ‘things of the world’, which their young people might find attractive. Although separation remains a key tenet of how they live, it is now the case, that Amish do business daily with English, and so they are closer than previously. Unyielding in their separation but flexible for the sake of potential customers. This reinforces earlier findings, where researchers found that tolerating and engaging with ‘a well-organised tourist enterprise’, far from weakening the Amish sense of who they are, may actually strengthen their sense of being a unique community, ‘by keeping them alert and ever mindful of the ‘leisure lust’-in their midst. In the tourist, Amishmen have a ready model for all that being Amish negates’ (Kreps, Donnermeyer, Hurst et al 1997:364). Thus, perverse as it might seem, it may be that these closer relationships with the English, help the Amish to remain Amish and define who they want to be.

Another woman, from Ohio, who earns her living by organizing Tour Bus trips, told me that she had first got into taking tours when she went on tours and found out how much fun it was, and she thought she could make a bus trip that would cater for the needs of the Amish and other ‘Plain People’, who might not want to stay in places where there were bars or go on theatre trips. She told me,

> I’ve been many times, because I am the Tour Operator and I escort my tours, I take a bus to Florida every year in February, we’re away 24 days. As well, I take tours to the West Coast, all up Highway One, from Los Angeles to Vancouver, takes 27 days with

[10] The book by Beachy does not have page numbers. It organized alphabetically by topic. See under ‘U’ for Unity.

> the stops and all. As well, I've been to the Canadian Rockies, Niagara Falls, pretty much all over the North-Eastern US and numerous times into Canada. They're just leisure vacations. Because I'm single, they like me to work, and no-one has ever told me I shouldn't do this (MB230614).

Several times, when older Amish women were speaking about attitudes to leisure visits, holidays or outings, they spoke of Amish attitudes to the non-Amish taking holidays or trips, 'those things are for fancy folks, not for our people' or 'That's the sort of place the English spend time visiting'. (FL120614).

This illustrates the binary position of the Amish on many topics. The Amish believe, for example, that they have a much stronger work ethic than non-Amish. They talk of people being divided into two groups - 'Unser satt Lei' – which translates as 'Our sort of people' and 'Anner sat Lei' (Other sorts of people). Although the Amish divide people into one of these categories, they make no attempt to convert them into Amish life.

In addition to taking trips to visit God's creation and see relatives in other settlements, several women alluded to having taken extended trips by train to distant states before they married, (thus dating these trips to about 15 – 20 years earlier) typically in a group of girlfriends, and they may have either visited multiple states or taken more than one trip. Travel by road and train adheres to the *Ordnung* prohibition on air travel. I was a little taken aback though, in an early interview to find out that Amish people take cruises. More than half of the women I interviewed had been on a cruise and some had been on several. One woman reported to me that she and her husband had just returned from a cruise to the Caribbean. Whilst the literature does not specifically pinpoint cruising as a vacation of choice, over half my interviewees, said that either they had taken cruises or they commented on those who had.

> We went on a cruise to the Bahamas, out of Florida. Never in my life did I think I'd go on a cruise, but we loved it…there's another one coming up. It's not just for old people, our age either. Our granddaughter and her husband went on a cruise on their honeymoon, they sailed to the Bahamas too. (140611LF).

The granddaughter and her husband are both Amish. It seemed, however, that there was an unwillingness by some Amish to accept that other Amish were taking cruises. It is easy to understand why they might feel uncomfortable thinking that some of their brethren in other settlements were doing this. As one woman put it to me 'What's Plain about taking a cruise? There's nothing Plain about it' (MZ130614). 'I know Amish people who go on Christian cruises, there's one that goes out of Florida, the Amish that go there may go on it' (MB14020).

This woman's thinking seemed to be that if it were a Christian cruise, then it was closer to being acceptable than if it wasn't. I met Amish women who had been on Singing Cruises. These are run by Christian organizations, and much of the time at sea is spent singing hymns, as a group and learning part-singing, with or without musical instruments and taking sightseeing trips when the ship docks.

> Oh yeah, going on cruises, yeah, they do that. Somebody I know was up in Alaska, and they told me that when they were there, a cruise ship came in, and about a hundred Amish people came off that ship. So, they had even got a special cruise ship where they had the Amish from Ohio and Indiana, I don't think there's any from Pennsylvania although Pennsylvania Amish have been on cruises…(SR060614)

There might be fewer Amish in Lancaster who take cruises just because the Pennsylvania *Ordnung* is different (stricter?) than those in Ohio and Indiana, and they seem generally to be more conservative in Pennsylvania.

Not all Amish people approve the Amish going on cruises either.

> The Amish taking cruises, well, don't ask my mother about that. She says, when the Amish start going on cruises, then I'm done. We may all just as well, give up and join the English…I know they go on them but it's a shame that they do, and it's a shame that we're even allowed…it's not good for us, not good for our culture, because if the older people do that, what are the younger people going to do? (LB170914)

Two sisters in their seventies, although they travelled, did not approve of Amish people going on cruises, recognizing that it might have a detrimental effect on their Plain living;

> Well, travel also came to my mind as one of the things that has changed. When I grew up almost all my relatives were in Lancaster County, now they're in Indiana, Kentucky, New York, Ohio and so on. But then there's also travel for pleasure. I think that has changed a lot, people take bus tours, they travel out West, and some of the Amish have even been to Europe places like that, and that is something that has changed a lot in the Amish community. I know that some go on cruises, and to some that might seem pretty ritzy. There's nothing Plain about going on a cruise. Nothing at all and I think if it goes on, it will have a detrimental effect on us. I think prosperity has something to do with it (MZ130614).

The impact of prosperity as the Amish have moved out of farming was cited for the changes that have been noted (MZ130614). However, with the advent of self-employment in a manufacturing business, or being employed, then travel becomes more possible. When men are employed in a business owned by other non-Amish, not only does it become possible to take annual leave from that job, but in some places it has come to be seen as an 'entitlement' as part of the job, to have annual leave and to take it and this was several times given to me as the rationale for travelling and taking vacations.

6.4. A Community of Individuals

In the previous chapter, I looked at the accounts of Amish women who had unusual occupations. Rather than viewing them as an anomaly, I want to argue that their choices could be seen a form of individualism. The fact that these women have been able at all to do what they do, reinforces the idea that the Amish comprise a community of individuals and are not all the same. It argues for increasing individualism and agency, showing respect for the *Ordnung* whilst being demonstrably committed to Amish beliefs and principles.

6.5. Pushing the Boundaries or Having More Freedom?

One thing that was unclear to me in these interviews was how far the women were aware of the impact of their actions in pushing back the boundaries and causing change. It was explained to me by a young woman who has now left the Amish, that since the education they receive does not teach them to think critically, there is little understanding of the impact of what they do in bringing about change. So, for example, I questioned whether there is a realization that one couple going on a cruise, might pave way for others to do the same, until going on cruises becomes the norm. Because communities are relatively isolated, news doesn’t always travel quickly and it may take some time for people to realise what has happened. For example, I spoke to a Bishop’s wife in Ohio and I mentioned that not all the young girls nowadays make their own clothes. She challenged this, saying they would have to make their own, since Amish women’s clothes could not be bought in stores. However, this is no longer true. It is true that there aren’t many, but there are clothes stores that have sections for ‘Plain Dress’ but she appeared to be unaware of this, later admitting she had never been inside a women’s dress store.

Another older couple I spoke to, suggested that they couldn't see where change had taken place because it happens gradually and eventually you forget that there anything was ever different (1.9).

Asking women about whether they felt they had more freedom now than previously, most said they did not. However, they usually went on to say that they were now able to do things that their own mothers never would have been able to do, which really sounds like there has been a major change, that is hard for them to recognise.

But this current 'freedom' is two-edged, in that in former times, it was more common for their mothers to have a hired girl, where nowadays, this does not happen. Firstly, because girls are rarely available for hire now because of increased opportunities for them to 'work out' in shops, hotels, restaurants, cheese factories etc. Secondly, women who have given birth are encouraged to get back into normal life much quicker than they were. Thirdly, since 'Working out' is generally more lucrative than being a hired girl, and Amish people want to take advantage of that, not least because in many settlements it is still the case that the young people don't keep their own money until they are aged 21, wages being saved for them by their parents. Young people recognize the need to save money ready for when they get married. So working out in a regular job, enables them to earn more and save more.

6.6. The Traditional Role of Amish Women

The Old Order Amish have been described by Marc Olshan and Kimberly Schmidt as 'unabashedly patriarchal' (Kraybill and Olshan 1994:215) and it is. In most Old Order Amish communities, the metaphor of divine hierarchy places a man as the head of his household, just as Christ is head of the church. This is what women have been taught since childhood and have seen in the community around them. They understand the divine order to be that a male is dominant over a female, older dominant over a younger, parent dominant over a child, baptized member dominant over the yet-to-be-baptised person (Johnson-Weiner 2001:235). Amish children understand this principle from the socialization all around them. Whilst the male and female working domains are separate, they are interconnected and complementary. Women influence men and share responsibility with them. Farms and businesses are jointly owned by husbands and wives. Each man and woman is considered responsible for their own faith and fate and the well-being of the church according to Article 1V of the Schleitheim Confession (Appendix 1).

However, that does not present the full picture. Amish women are not the underdogs of their society.

> Their quiet self-confidence, strength and clarity of purpose and unassuming self-respect are all attributes actively sought by feminists. These attributes are nourished by the high regard with which women are held in Amish society (Olshan and Schmidt 1994:215).

Women who have a sense of self, are enabled to 'go against the grain' and take up work that has not been done before (like artist, author, publisher, businesswoman) and to do it confidently, wisely and successfully because they have a strong sense that they are a valued part of a community.

6.7. The Traditional Work of Amish Women

Traditionally, Amish women are married and are 'keepers at home'. They have the responsibility for house and garden, for growing and providing food for the family, bearing children, raising a family with their husband to provide the next generation of Amish. Historically, the life of Amish women 'is in the home and not in the factory or workplace as a paid professional'. (Hostetler 1993:15, Howard 2000:5). Women almost never worked for a wage outside the home when they had pre-school age children or children of primary school age. Hostetler described how the status of women is positively related to the extent to which they produce economic goods and services essential to the family (Hostetler 1993:150 - 154). Goods produced on Amish farms such as fruits and vegetables, meat and dairy products help to support the family (Erikson and Klein 1981:285). Women are productive because they work on the farm or in the garden, as well as producing children who will be the future labourers in Amish farms, gardens and businesses. The Amish recognize the important contribution women make in their society. Women who live on farms are a declining number, but according to Hostetler, their economic contribution gives them greater status than women who live in other settings in the Amish community (Hostetler 1993:150) and this also accords with Bossan's findings about women in other agrarian communities (Bossen 1975:592).

6.8. The Role of Single Amish Women

Single women on the other hand, have played a traditional role which cannot be played by the married women (Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013:256). They are the teachers in Amish schools beginning in their late teens, who may continue to teach into their thirties or even later. There is no 'career structure' in Amish schools which are funded by the local church community to cater for children from age 6 to ninth grade, around the age of 14 or 15. In times past, single women taught school and were active members of the church community finding satisfaction in their acceptance as single women doing 'Baby job cases' and carving out a role in the community. They may also have 'worked out' as cleaners in non-Amish homes or taken on "Baby-job cases' where a single woman would move in with an Amish family when a new baby was expected and would run the house and garden after the baby was born and for several weeks afterwards. In times past, this was a very typical experience for young women. Some of the women I interviewed had done this for several years earlier in their lives.

Dachang Cong (1996) carried out a study on the place of single women in Indiana. He paints a rather dispiriting picture of the women he interviewed. He offers two detailed case studies of women who were unhappy and dissatisfied with their lot, so unhappy in fact, that one of them eventually decided to leave the Amish and join a less conservative group. He writes that the single life means involuntary celibacy and stoicism and describes them as 'nuns without a convent' (153). He describes a community where social events like weddings, birthday parties, frolics and family reunions only serve to emphasise the single state of the women which 'can be unpleasant occasions for them' (133). He writes of single women needing to dress more conservatively and speak cautiously, where the presence of married women with children makes the singles feel lonely and uncomfortable and where even everyday conversations about marriage, family and children are alienating to the single woman. He describes that the humiliation of the single woman feeds their resentment towards young people and where they must 'wage a lifelong struggle' with difficult questions regarding their single state. He writes of the adjustment to a permanent single life being difficult and says that it requires courage and forbearance to settle into being single. Altogether he paints a rather grim picture, not one I recognize from my contacts with single women – either from the ones I interviewed or from ones I have met during my fifteen years visiting the Amish. He does very briefly recognize that there is an alternative view which he says is that single Amish women play an intellectual role because as a group, they are the best educated in Amish society. They have more time to think, read and write. He opines that 'quite a few are poets, writers and artists' and that 'some women are well-known for their artistic talents especially in quilting and doll-making' (138). He acknowledges that teaching is regarded as a perfect occupation for a single Amish women since it requires time and devotion which these women have in abundance. He argues that since Amish teachers usually live in a small cottage near the schoolhouse and the parents of the pupils take turns in providing her with milk, fresh eggs, canned food and fresh vegetables she does not need to spend much money on grocery shopping, and since her expenses are low, she is considered to earn a good salary, even though it is likely to be lower than male teachers. Teaching he argues provides a niche spot for her within Amish society and separates her from the rest of the Amish community. The relationships with the children reduce her loneliness and she can enjoy fellowship and support from colleagues, who are also mostly, other single women and this provides a good coping strategy for a woman who will also be expected to care for aging, possibly ailing, parents and she can expect to be their 'leftover blessing'.

He concludes that since Amish society values male dominance, marriage, family and children this leaves the single women with a status that is both marginal and ambiguous. All in all, the picture painted is an unattractive one and yet he concludes that they can fulfill some important roles in their community as the person who can be a financier for family and friends, they may be teachers, health care providers or business managers. Some marry widowers and they are indeed a blessing to their community despite their low social status.

6.9. Non-Traditional Work for Amish Women

In both Pennsylvania and Ohio, the thriving tourist industry, has provided opportunities for Amish women to move out of the occupations that were traditionally proscribed for them. One of my interviewees remembered her Aunt, being reprimanded for working in a customer-facing role in a farm shop, in the early 1960's and being told she should leave or ask to do other work where she would be less visible to the public (Fieldwork notes NS150914). In the next forty years, this would change considerably, so that women 'working out' is the norm, and the church has accepted that this. For the employers, Amish women have come to be seen as a positive asset. Research on Amish tourism suggest that tourists visit Amish areas, so that they can 'interact with Amish persons' (Trollinger 2012:29) or take home with them something of the ambience of Amish life (Meyers 2003:126). The tourist visitors would not so easily be able to do this, if the Amish women were not identifiable by their dress.

Women have been identified as undertaking the following types of work – paperwork, clerical and payroll work for husbands or family business, production work in woodworking businesses, small-scale cottage industries producing jams, jellies, pickles and chutneys, chocolates and confectionary, bakery items and pies. In addition, women work as hostesses in the many tourist restaurants, waitresses, chambermaids in hotels and motels. They can own or work in quilt stores, selling fabric and finished quilts, sewing supplies or in retail shops selling craft items, health foods or bulk/dry goods. Women have plant nurseries, greenhouses, gardening, flower and seed stores as well as fruit and vegetable stands at the roadside. One woman I met took over her husband's small engineering workshop when he died and continues to do it, six years later having expanded the business and expanded the customer base. In 2004, Kraybill and Nolt noted that Amish women were moving into uncharted territory as they moved into new areas trailblazing new paths between traditional gender roles and business ownership (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:210). This continues to be true as women also move into multi-level marketing businesses using catalogues and party-plan techniques to grow their sales.

6.10. Significant Living without Work

The phrase 'Significant Living without Work' is used in the field of Career Management to denote the requirement of young people who have life-limiting diseases and for whom post-school choices will be severely limited. It was introduced to me when I was a Special Needs Careers Adviser working with teenagers who would be unlikely to work full time in any occupation due to their disabilities. Many of the children had multiple handicaps. Some had life-limiting diseases. Such young people would be offered a weekly structure that might include part time work experience or possibly paid work in a part-time capacity in an entry-level job, attending college to enhance their skills or to provide them with social contact with peers, some voluntary work or a structured environment to pursue a hobby or interest. Each programme was different for each young person and enabled them to make the transition from school to the next stage of life, before they become too ill to go out on their own or out at all. Most of them required lifetime care and would be unable to live independently. Because of this, we described the activities they could take part in, as offering them 'significant living without work'.

By no means am I comparing Amish women to these significantly disabled young people. I am merely adopting the phrase, 'Significant Living without Work' for those Amish women who spend the majority of their working week, working at home and not for money, but who nevertheless have significance in the community because they are doing what Amish women have always done. Their focus is on raising their children, tending the home and garden and supporting their husbands. They are the present-day 'keepers at home' as John Hostetler describes them.

> The Amish woman's sphere and work are at home, not in the factory or in a paid profession. Cooking, sewing, gardening, cleaning, whitewashing fences, tending to chickens and helping with the milking keep her occupied. Caring or the children, is <u>of course</u>, her principal work…Within her role as homemaker, she has a greater possibility of achieving status recognition than the suburban housewife; her skill or lack of it, has a direct bearing on her family's standard of living. She sews all their clothes, plants, preserves and prepares the food her family eats and adds beauty to life

> with quilts, rugs and flowers…Canning her own food, making her chow-chow (This is Amish pickled vegetables), and spreading the dinner table with home-prepared food are achievements that are recognized and rewarded by her society (Hostetler 1993:15)

For many Amish women this description of their life remains unchanged. In 1963 when Hostetler first wrote his description of the life of an Amish woman, it was not so dissimilar to the lives of many other American women. Fifty years on, it is now rare to find an American woman living in this way, but it is still not uncommon to find the more conservative *Swartzentruber* women living like this. One reason for this is that unlike some other Amish, the *Swartzentruber* Amish make do with less. Their lifestyle is plainer so they do not need to supplement the family income. Their homes have plain white walls and floors and plain wooden furniture – there is no upholstered furniture, cushions or throws. They make many household goods that Old Order Amish previously made but now purchase at the store or buy from local suppliers. Items such as soap, shampoo, and detergent. Instead of floor polish, they use linseed oil on their unpolished floors. Since the women are engaged in making rather than purchasing these household items, they do not need to supplement the family income to purchase them. They do not buy luxury items of any sort. They do not use battery or solar-powered equipment. Everything in the kitchen is done by hand. And, in fact, the description Hostetler provides of Old Order Amish women finding satisfaction in brightly coloured flower gardens or embroidery or coloured dishes in her corner cupboard would not apply to the *Swartzentruber* since they would not own these things, considering them to be too fancy. They do, however make quilts and increasingly they make them for people outside the Amish community to purchase, even purchasing quilt tops from Lancaster Amish; the *Swartzentruber* economy is not so well developed as the Old Order in Lancaster County where they specifically cater for the tourist market: (Johnson-Weiner 2010,72:150).

6.11. The Concept of a 'Portfolio Career'

The term 'Portfolio Career' was created by Charles Handy in 1981 when he was trying to describe the future of work, in the light of new technology and how he envisaged that technology would change working life. It is a term which is used for people who earn their living by doing related activities for different client groups. They do not have one single employer. It is typically used by professionals and since the mid-eighties, increasing numbers of professionals have developed their work with what has come to be known as 'portfolio careers'. (Cohen and Mallon 1989; 334, Gold and Fraser 2002:581, Handy 1994 76ff; Mallon 1999:362). It involves performing a variety of assignments for different clients, rather than working exclusively for a single employer. In Bauman's terms, they are Liquid Labour. This could be applied to some of the Amish women I met who 'work' but who do a variety of activities in a week, some of which may be paid and some not. For example, Emily sews strings at home on her solar-powered state of the art electronic Bernina sewing machine. She sews for 3 different retail outlets in 3 different church districts, and makes strings that meet the requirements of each *Ordnung* and fashion for their customers. She may make 600 – 800 per month and is paid by the dozen. She sews 3 mornings each week, making dresses for local Amish women, and sewing strings, two other mornings are spent cleaning, one of which is paid work. On Tuesdays from 1 – 5 she volunteers at the local Mennonite Thrift Store and on three other afternoons she babysits her grandchildren for which she is paid, sometimes using that time to sew whilst minding the children. The remaining afternoon she spends with her ninety-seven year-old mother. This is her working week.

Sadie, on the other hand, has a week which looks very different. She gardens at home, four days each week looking after her vegetable garden, three greenhouses and tending her flower garden from March until November. From this she produces canned goods for her family and sells the surplus at a stand at the side of the garden, serving customers if she's there or using an honesty box if she is too busy. On Fridays, she volunteers at a Thrift shop in the morning and at a community facility for disabled children in the afternoon. In terms of significance, her work is given high status in the community because she's providing for her family. Her husband is a minister so getting paid work outside the community would not be something that would be considered appropriate. He works as an Accountant and has a CPA qualification (Certified Public Accountant). This is unusual in the Amish community but having done several more traditional Amish jobs including farming, he settled on an inside 'office' job and provides an accountancy service to many Amish farmers and business people in the locality. For several months prior to the 'tax season' in January until April each year, he holds seminars to teach new businesses how to keep their books, understand their tax allowances and get their accounts ready for auditing.

The evidence for women having 'a portfolio career' is not overwhelming, only because few Amish women would view themselves as having a 'career' of any sort. However, the way in which their working week is structured to include being in a variety of places, fulfilling different roles and tasks does sound like the portfolio of activity that Charles Handy envisaged, when he imagined what work would be like at the end of the twentieth century (Handy 1994). Although not 'professional' in the usual sense of the 'professional career' (that is, careers for which a university degree is required for an entry-level position), these women are competent for the jobs that they do and meet the requirements for the description of portfolio work insofar as they are using differing skills in a variety of situations to earn their own money, so I am applying it to them and saying that there is a sense in which this is what they have even though they may not know it.

6.12. Summary

In this Chapter, I have introduced the concept of 'Unyielding Flexibility' describing how the Amish are both unyielding and flexible, where change is concerned. I used examples of Dress, Lifestyle, Travel and Vacations. I also alluded to the growth in occupations available to women, because of the changes that are taking place so that since not all women make their own clothes nowadays, it is possible for a woman who enjoys sewing to make a business sewing for other Amish women who prefer not to make their own clothes. Similarly, women who enjoy cooking might make a business at home cooking for weddings, where that work would previously have been done by the bride's family and friends the day before the wedding. I also considered the role of women who have chosen not to work outside the home, but who find significance continuing to do what Amish women have always done. In the last section I looked at how women who do work outside the home, divide up their time so that some of that time may be shared between paid and unpaid work in their home and community.

In the next Chapter, I summarise the previous six chapters, identify my main findings about changes in the lives of Amish women, then I go on to state how these findings fit in with previous scholarship. I discuss the implications of my findings for future work. Lastly, I have a short discussion about the impact of my choice of settlements to evaluate whether the Lancaster settlement is typical or not, or whether there are factors that make Ohio a special case when it comes to changes taking place in the lives of women.

7. FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1. Introduction

In this Chapter I review the arguments I have made about changes in the Amish community and consider the counter-evidence. I argue that the shift away from agriculture produced unintended consequences. I also look briefly at what happens if people want to avoid the changes taking place. I consider implications for previous research and topics for future research and provide a short summary of the chapter.

7.2. Background to the study

When I began this project in 2011, my intention was only to find out what had changed in the lives of women since the men moved out of farming. I concentrated my fieldwork initially in Holmes and Tuscarawas Counties in Ohio because I had contacts there. In Pennsylvania, I began in Lancaster County. I did not know what I would find. I knew that fewer Amish were farming than 30 years ago, but I did not know the breadth of occupations they had moved into or how that had affected the lives of the women. I did not even know if this shift had affected the women's lives although I thought it was likely but I was curious why nothing had been documented at all, when so much had been written about men leaving farming and becoming entrepreneurs.

But then I realised, there is little written at all about the lives of women in John Hostetler's *Amish Society* in comparison with the whole book. In addition, it seems as if most of the authors who research the Amish community, are male, so perhaps this is part of the answer. Graybill (2012) noted that it was easier for her to interview men and women, than it was for male researchers to interview Amish women. So, a woman might then be better placed to interview other women to obtain answers to the questions I had about the women's lives, I believe that, as a woman, I might be able to fill this niche.

Along the way, I've been side-tracked, sometimes unintentionally and sometimes on purpose, to find out various things I did not know, for example, the Amish view of silence (3.15) or that Multi-Level Marketing was a popular choice for Amish women (4.3.2, 4.4) who want to have their own business and reading Bauman's theory of Liquid Modernity (Bauman 2012) led me to consider how liquid Amish life has become (3.3, 3.8.1). I am curious about what happens when factors that have been central in Amish life become less central and move towards the edge. Related to this, I wanted to write about what I have called 'Unyielding Flexibility' which sounds like an oxymoron, but is intended to convey the considered changes that the Amish permit as they decide what to allow and what not to allow. Unyielding in the things of God, but flexible where the issue is simply tradition. This is a similar point to Kraybill's 'Cultural Bargaining' (1989:23ff) which the Amish undertake each time they consider whether to adopt or allow something. Cultural bargaining means that any changes are respectfully considered, so that they have a sense of not what the change means immediately, but what it might lead to and how the community might be affected in the future, whereas unyielding flexibility speaks of the outcome of cultural bargaining.

7.3. How the World outside the Amish has Changed in 50 years

Over the last 50 years, daily life has changed, almost unimaginably. Wider society has become accustomed to easy access to 24-hour news on TV, and radio, on desktops and online via all manner of 'devices'. Fifty years ago, people were dependent on newspapers, TV and radio to tell us what had happened, now we can know almost 'in real time', as it happens. Newspapers are no longer the main way that people access news from around the world. News channels, both TV and radio operate 24-hours a day. In addition to that, both change and consumerism have speeded up. In 2010, when Apple made their first iPad, it took 30 days for them to sell a million of them. Just two years later, 3 million iPad2 were sold in 3 days according to USA Today (March 19th 2012 quoted in Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:409). Email, SMS, Text messages, Messenger, What's App, Viber, Facetime and Skype have become the new ways of communicating (Turkle 2012 TEDtalk). Workplace meetings happen, just not in a meeting room where participants are together but 'virtually' by Skype, Zoom or some other piece of electronic wizardry. People from all around the country, or the world, can 'meet' share and have discussions, whilst being hundreds or even thousands of miles apart (Shachaf 2008: 132). Technology has changed from typewriters, to computers, to 'Smart' devices, many of which do not even require anyone to type, but merely to speak it and it is automatically transcribed (Abagond.wordpress.com). The Internet of Things has given us Smart assistants like Alexa and Google that can answer all kinds of questions in the home as well as play an almost limitless range of music (Morgan 2014). People now do so many things electronically and remotely that used to be done in person – banking, paying bills, ordering goods and services, buying railway and air travel tickets, food shopping, replacing taxis with Uber, replacing hotels with Airbnb, permanent jobs with 'contracts' and 'zero-hours' jobs (Morgan 2014). Holograms can now replace speakers at multi-site conferences. All these are examples of how 'liquid' life has become in Bauman's terms. There is a sense in which the changes that surround the English are so fast, that it creates the illusion that the Amish are 'even further behind'. Certainly, the gulf between how the Amish live and how the English live, is bigger than ever before. However, it is worth remembering that in 1847, the Amish at that time, were said to be 'distancing themselves from modernity. Contemporary ways of life are distasteful to them,' the author noted (Goossen2018: JHIblog 20th August 2018). 'These Amish refused to wear buttons, preferring hooks and eyes. For worship, they met in simple buildings, knelt to pray, and read only a small number of spiritual texts. Not just their churches, but also their homes and everything with which they surrounded themselves appeared, in the writer's estimation, "quite antiquated."' (JHI Blog). One hundred and fifty years ago, they were described as 'temporally out of joint, time capsules of a past era'. So, there is a sense in which the Amish have been consistent, in distancing themselves from contemporary life, because they have always believed they should live a separated life, so to that extent, they are not 'further behind' anyone.

In this context, I draw the following conclusions from my research.

- Firstly, women have more agency to make choices and decisions (6.4, 6.9).
- Secondly, there is a slow but steady erosion of plainness among the Amish. It affects many areas of life – shopping habits, homes and houses, gardens, travel and dress in the two settlements I studied (5.2C).
- Thirdly, there has been a diffidence on the part of the Bishops to be clear about where lines should be drawn. Lack of clarity in leadership is understandable, because too strict and people will leave, too lax and people lose their distinctiveness. But such hesitancy has allowed for far less homogeneity than there once was, which will not be easily retrieved (1.5.1, 1.10, 3.12).
- Fourthly, Amish life is moving closer to mainstream life with its commercially competitive businesses, emphasis on profitability, and adoption of developing technology.

7.4. New Employment opportunities

Three structural factors appear to have undergirded the changes. Firstly, the move out of agriculture (5.2B), second, the growth of the Amish population (1.3) and third the growth of tourism (1.11ff). These have happened most notably since the 1970s. They happened concurrently, and between them made possible some of the changes that I have written about. The reason for the move out of farming is complex but was brought about by the increase in land prices, an increasing demand for land by businesses wanting to expand in Lancaster County and the strategies adopted by the organisations responsible for them. Simultaneously, big increases in tourist numbers created a demand for facilities that tourists wanted whilst visiting – demand for and growth in hotels, restaurants, shopping, leisure facilities (Kraybill and Nolt 2004:23ff, Walbert 2002:101ff). This in turn led to a reduction in the amount of land available for farming since the land being developed was previously farmland. Journalist Ed Klimuska, writing in the local newspaper explained that 'The county's unique balance broke down in the past decade. Business and industry soared. Tourism fattened. But farming declined' (Quoted in Testa 1992:58). A decrease in land available for farmland exacerbated price increases for land that remained available for farming. Alongside that, the Amish had traditionally passed on the farm to their children, but there was insufficient land to enable this to continue as the Amish had larger families than traditional American families (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:156). A major shift away from farming began to happen with far-reaching, not altogether negative, unintended consequences. Kraybill and Nolt (2004) describe how, in the early seventies, the decision was reached to move out of farming but to remain in Lancaster. To facilitate this, the church agreed to allow Amish men to open small businesses that could be worked off the land they previously farmed, but which would allow them to continue to live on the farm (2004:36). The farms could then be subdivided to make space for more than one business and families could remain together. People moved away if they wanted to continue farming. The disintegration of farming as the only choice of work had begun (Dana 2007:150). By the turn of the last century it was well advanced. The settlement directory of 2010 shows that in Lancaster only 36% of the Amish were gaining their primary income from farming. Eight years later it is quite possibly an even smaller percentage. Just because they are farming does not mean that they have continued in dairy farming. In the twenty-first century, it became necessary for the Amish farmers to diversify so that now they are farming deer, dogs and puppies, chickens and turkeys, and, in at least two cases, camels (3.15). But even so, a much smaller number of people are farming. In Holmes County, Ohio, it is just 17% (Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013;282).

In 2001, an Amish minister noted:

> The common comradeship of working together with neighbouring farms is getting scarce, and the farming skills that have been passed from generation to generation are now breaking up and disappearing. How sad! Plain people are having problems remaining a simple 'people of the land' (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:275).

He lamented the weekend mentality of Saturdays off for fun and the fact that more Amish people were now interested in leisure, play, travelling and shopping. 'All of these, are earmarks of the industrial lifestyle and sad to say, it looks like that is where we are headed' (Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013:275).

Virtually all the women I interviewed spoke readily about these four activities (leisure (4.6), play, travelling, (6.5, 4.6d) and shopping (4.6d,e,f) and either they were partaking of them or were rueful about those who did. It was a pragmatic solution to move away from farming, but one which, looking back, entailed unforeseen changes not only in lifestyle but also in attitude, as the Amish have given up not only shared lifestyle but developed more individualist practices (5.3.2, 5.4, 6.9, 7.5I).

A second change of attitude has been noted in my interviewees, that of 'entitlement'. Time off work as part of their entitlement (6.3.3) and being paid for that time as if they were working, was a new experience for Amish people, at the time but one which seems to have been accepted and even expected, now. People began to use the time for vacations, trips and such like. The idea of 'Amish tourism' denoted, not only Americans and others visiting Lancaster county, but also expresses the idea the Amish were themselves tourists, as they began to take vacations away (4.6b, 4.6d,6.3.3). Previously vacations as such did not exist because of the need to be caring for farm animals. Evenings were taken up with necessary farm jobs but now, evenings were considered 'free time' and the same with Saturdays. Women expressed the idea to me, that with husbands working away all day, they had a need for him to spend time with the family. Evening activities with the family were one way to spend time together but these tend now to be leisure activities, rather than working together, which is a relatively new concept and one which is not universally welcomed. As one woman put it, 'The farm tied us to being home, because of the milking that had to be done twice every day, where working off the farm gives more freedom to do other things' (140611LF). Two other women told me:

> As I was growing up we had to work in the evenings, we had chores to do and then we had to go out into the hayfield and now the people who are not farmers, they don't really have a lot of work to do. So, for example, my niece whose husband has a day job, her kids go with their Dad and play volleyball at night a couple of times a week, they go here and they go there but if you're a farmer, number one, you don't have time and number two, you can't afford it (140620 MB).
>
> You know, there are families now that the men work out of home and then at night, they return home and don't have any work to do. It is affecting how they live, they go away a whole lot more than we ever did (MZ140611).

The minister's remarks, mentioned above, presaged the changes of the coming years as more people left farming or remained living on the farm, but took off-farm jobs or became part of the new entrepreneurial class. It was reiterated to me time and time again, that travelling was not a possibility when they were farmers because you had to be at home to milk the cows twice each day. Farming limited, not only the possibility to take vacations but the ability to 'go away' meaning to go out from the farm even for a whole day. As one Amish man reported to Michael Testa, (1992:35) 'Being a dairy farmer keeps you close to home. No matter what you do during the day, you have to be home by five for milking and up by five the next morning to do it all again'. Two things then seem to a have been lost by moving out of farming, being close to home and the disruption to the rhythm of life that being close to home created. Perhaps the upshot of that now is that there is less structure to Amish life, less structure for individuals and less communal structure now that there are not large numbers of people all doing the same thing at the same time of year as when they were farming. Lives appear to have become more individualistic now (4.6a, 4.6c, 4.6j,4.6k).

New job opportunities have been created by the development of tourism, by new Amish businesses or by self-employment (4.6f). One of the ways that work has changed for the women has been the impact of structural changes in employment, where jobs have simply disappeared, to be replaced by newly created ones. Several of the women told of how they had been employed as young girls doing 'baby job cases' (6.10). This is the phrase used by Amish women to describe the role of a young Amish girl, perhaps fourteen or fifteen years old, who would move in with a family where the mother was soon to give birth to another child. The young girl would become 'the hired girl' and worked in the house, running the home and taking charge of whatever jobs needed doing in the house and yard whilst the new mother recovered from giving birth, regained her strength and nursed the baby in the first weeks of life (6.5, 6.7, 6.8). Women described taking on ‘baby job cases’ and moving from one family to another for three or four years before they got married. At that time, they frequently stayed with a family until the new baby was 2 months old sometimes returning to the family the next time a baby was due. The opportunity to do that type of work has virtually disappeared for Old and New Order Amish girls. One reason for this is of the change in after-care for new mothers, who are now encouraged to get up and get back to normal life quickly after a birth, where previously they were encouraged to rest for longer after the birth of a baby. Another reason is that there are longer gaps between babies and family size is smaller. Instead the girls who would have taken on ‘baby job cases’ are more likely to be employed in finishing or polishing work in a furniture workshop, chambermaiding in a hotel or guest house, working as a hostess, waitressing in a tourist restaurant or working in the local cheese factory if they are not working in a retail or family business. Following the Supreme Court case in 1972 which permitted the Amish to have their own schoolrooms, some girls worked as teachers in those schools, but there are now many different jobs for young women to do, where previously the choice for girls was extremely limited. So, where the 'baby job cases' have now ceased, there are now other new ‘career options’ for the young women to consider, that previously did not exist.

In addition to these choices, the growth of Amish-owned businesses has increased the range and availability of work for young women to work in them (6.7). Working in greenhouses and gardening for those who enjoy being outside (4.3.1, 6.9. 6.11), working in offices in administration for manufacturing businesses or accounts, that support the new businesses (5.2B), working in retail selling to Amish and non-Amish (6.9) or meeting the needs of the tourists with in-home catering services that may additionally serve as caterers for Amish weddings and celebrations (5.3.3, 6.4). The increase in Amish-run bulk discount shops also provides jobs, as these shops are in virtually every community selling to both Amish and their English neighbours (4.3.1, 6.9). Young women remain the predominant choice for school teachers in Amish schools (1.5, 6.8).

7.5. Changes at Home

Since the role of women is predominantly at home, any changes in the home will have greatest impact for the women and their work. Unsurprisingly, women were quick to mention them.

A) Technology and Labour-saving Equipment

These were some of the first things that women identified to me. They told me that they have more technology and more labour-saving devices than their mothers (3.7.4). This was clear in many of the homes I visited. Washing machines were the most obvious change in that the literature and the stories the women told of washing days being two full days each week, as washing was done by hand (120924GS, 140610SM, 120921ET), or with a dolly and tub 140916FL), then with an Amish-adapted Maytag machine (140910RS) which had rollers to squeeze out the water turned by hand, until an enterprising Amishman motorized the rollers which made them both faster and more challenging to operate as trapped fingers could not easily be retrieved once caught between the rollers. Rather than dry their wet washing outside some women prefer to use a spin-dryer which has been adapted to run with compressed air first and then put it outside to dry completely (140617WH). Amish-adapted automatic machines (4.6a) have now become available in the Lancaster settlement, so women can put in a load of washing and leave the machine to do the washing whilst they get on with something else (140611LE). Previously, they had to be with the machine, loading and unloading clothes into the washing tub, as the machine moved through the process (140620MB, 140611MZ, 140915NS). Washing is still typically dried outside in the fresh air, or in the basement if there is inclement weather. Wooden clothes racks are used to assist the process (120925MH). Ironing too has changed. Women told me about irons that needed to be heated in the fire (140612LB), to ones that were gas-operated and almost universally hated for the headaches that resulted from the fumes and the need to repeatedly reheat them (MH120924). Two irons made the process a little quicker but it was still a slow job (120924GS). Now, irons can be operated by battery (if the *Ordnung* allows), by 12V electricity or by solar energy which the iron can store (120922SY, 120925MH). Drip-dry materials have negated the need for much ironing as has the practice of buying underwear rather than making it (140922LM). Most store-bought underwear does not need to be ironed. These two pieces of equipment alone, the washing machine and the iron, have significantly changed the amount of time that women spend on laundry. In addition, smaller families have meant that there are not so many clothes to wash. Many women mentioned how the weekly wash took two days of every week when they were growing-up, where now it is an altogether smaller proportion of the week (4.6a, 140923KM, 120912RS).

B) <u>A Temporal Change</u>

A second change that was identified by the women was how they now spend their time. Women told me that they now 'go away' a lot more than previously (140922LM). 'Going away' is the way that Amish express going out of the house; it does not mean staying away overnight as it might in conventional English. Young women told me that they like to meet with other young mothers and have a coffee (140922SM;140910RS). I saw a group doing just that, arriving in a shared buggy and then meeting up in Wallhouse Coffee shop in Sugarcreek. They told of shopping trips with a driver and car, groups of women getting together to go to a store or several for example, Costco, Target or Walmart, or some of the younger ones mentioned a day out at the shopping Mall with lunch in a restaurant or coffee shop (4.6b,e,f,

i) but not everyone approves 'There are too many people hiring vans and going out all day for shopping, just for fun' one woman told me (140920MY; 140929NM). These outings are by no means weekly, but they are scheduled in regularly by some women, which represents a change in the way they live, from the way their mothers lived. An independent researcher[11] who has worked on the increase of consumerism among the Amish told me that the women she knows, 'struggle NOT to change' suggesting that the world outside the Amish is exerting a pressure on them to adapt and change (4.6k). Other women mentioned how they enjoy having a pizza delivered to the house for a treat or a reward if they've all been working together on a project or going out together as a family for a meal (140929SM). Several younger women alluded to celebrating birthdays, which is another change (140611RZ) and these mirror the change that has taken place in the larger American society where people routinely have 'take out' food delivered to their homes, rather than cook a meal at home or for a celebration (Hurst & McConnell 2010:135, 4.6i). These are changes in consumerist behaviour that would previously not have been a part of Amish life, but from the women's comments, I understood that not all approve of spending more time away from home, just for shopping.

In addition, l already mentioned that women say they 'go away' more (4.6b, i, j). In Amish parlance that phrase means that they are out of the house more than they used to be. But it's also true they are also travelling more on vacations and on trips (4.6b, d). One reason given for this is that the Lancaster settlement has expanded greatly outside of Lancaster so now it is now not uncommon to have relatives in other places and overnight visits are necessary if they are to stay in touch (140916FL). Visiting has always been a part of Amish life, using the 'off-Sunday' to visit relatives and friends locally was normal (140620MB). Now, I was told, that

[11] Email correspondence with Judy Stavisky 9th December 2017

the off-Sunday is used sometimes to visit other church districts, to see friends, which is another change in behaviour. When church districts split in two because they became too big for one district, it makes sense that people would want to maintain contact with their friends who they no longer see on an everyday basis. In a sense, going to another settlement for an overnight stay or taking two or three days to visit family and catch up on news is just an expansion of that.

Changes are not consistent between New and Old Order. One example is taking a flight in an aeroplane. That is acceptable to New Order Amish now but not to Old Order. Although it used not to be like that. One New Order interviewee told me that although they fly now, twenty years ago when she and her husband had taken their children on a flight to Montana, they 'got into trouble with the church' over it (SM140929). Nowadays, Old Order will only fly in an emergency but others still would not. One couple I know were in Florida for the winter when their daughter (a mother with six children) was taken seriously ill in Ohio. The parents flew home to Ohio to be at the hospital with their daughter and afterwards described it as a 'very interesting big adventure' to have been in an aeroplane. But they would not and could not fly just for vacation.

Churches in the New Order are much more missionary-minded and will travel overseas to build schools, orphanages and to have Bible camps. Young people in the New Order will sometimes take several months to take part in projects overseas, in much the same way that English young people might take a gap year and go travelling (4.6j). I heard of different New Order Amish youth working on projects in Indonesia, the Philippines, Brazil and Columbia during the times I was there. In other instances, the New Order will reject some things whilst the Old Order find them acceptable. See the example in (D) below.

Linked to the increase in travelling is the daily use of a driver rather than using the horse and buggy (3.7.3, 3.11). Some women commented on how the increase in tourism and commerce (trucks and tourists who are unaccustomed to sharing the road with a buggy lane) had made the roads much busier and how they felt that had impacted their safety when taking the buggy and gave that as a reason for sometimes preferring to take a car and driver (140923LW; 140611LE;140611MZ). This is another big shift in the lives of Amish women. Several women reported that they no longer routinely drive a horse and buggy, citing the busyness of the roads leading them to feel unsafe. An increase in tourist traffic as well as the increase in heavy good vehicles servicing local businesses is one reason for increased traffic on the roads. As an alternative to the horse and buggy, the women said they use a tricycle and box for two or three small children for local trips (140923LW). Since the roads have become busier, some women are less confident to drive the buggy and with the number of accidents that happen, that is understandable (Anderson 2014). They told me that they sometimes arrange for their spouses or a brother to go with them, if they need to take a buggy so that the men can drive the buggy or they take a driver and use a motor vehicle (120925MH). Another woman highlighted the choice they now have in some places over the type of vehicle they want to travel in 'Now there is not just a choice of driver but a choice of car or van, if you want to travel for a long distance, you want to be comfortable. One of our drivers provides screens to entertain the children on the journey with games and such like' (120921ET).

The practice of families taking trips and vacations is a relatively new phenomenon. I heard many times that when people were farming, going on vacation was not a possibility because the animals would still need to be fed and cared for twice a day. However, if now, the main breadwinner is working in day labour with a 'holiday entitlement' then that leads to the possibility of men taking holidays from work and being free to travel (4.6d, 6.3.3). The seventy-year old who first used the words 'holiday entitlement' to me said that he disliked the idea that he had to 'use it or lose it' when speaking of his 3 weeks' annual paid holiday from the lumber yard, so he always wanted to do something with it, rather than feel he had wasted the time when he could have otherwise been working. He chose to take his wife travelling. Since he had given up his farm and moved to the lumber yard, he and his wife had spent his annual holiday travelling and had visited all the US states except Hawaii (120921ET). Another woman said her husband 'just loves to travel and they take off whenever they can'. He is self-employed, so now they 'go several times a year to visit somewhere new' (140915NS). Another Old Order woman whose brother is no longer Amish, told me how she and her husband like to go and stay with her brother in Montana, or at his holiday home in Colorado, and had twice flown in the brother's private aeroplane, and how excited she was to do that (AY120923). Amish tourism nowadays means not only tourists visiting Amish country, but the Amish people being tourists all over America, and sometimes, further afield (5.3.3, 6.3.3).

C) Increase in Consumerism

The impact of consumerism is another key finding of my study. Either the decision to purchase items they would previously have made or buying things that they would have done without (5.2, 5.2C, 6.3.2). Included in that are leisure outings to have coffee or lunch with friends in a coffee shop or to make a day of it, and go shopping for the whole day or do some local sightseeing(7.5B). Purchasing things they would previously have made could include Amish clothing that would have been sewn previously or it may be cleaning materials that would have been made at home or possibly purchased from other Amish in the community (6.12). Many women mentioned the use by young mothers of Pampers, rather than cotton diapers for their babies (140606SR;120918MM; 140923;120925MH). The consensus was always that these were so convenient, rather than women having to wash and dry cotton nappies – even though they might have better washing machines now than their mothers had. Several women commented that they did not know how their own mothers had managed when they had only cotton diapers and larger families than they themselves had. But in that case, they possibly had hired girls to help with the work, so that may have made a difference. One woman told me how she felt that her life was harder (4.2.1) than her mothers, because she did not have the opportunity to have a hired girl to help with her six children, as they were no longer available because the young women chose other occupations (140611LE). Examples of items they now purchased rather then made, included dish soap, (Washing-up liquid), hand soap, shampoo, household cleaners (140922SM)). Other Amish women told me that they purchase items that they previously did not use at all, such things as face or hand-cream, shower gel or body spray (140611LF). One woman explained that sometimes they are introduced to these items as birthday presents, enjoy using them and just continue to purchase them. Birthday gifts are a change in themselves because several women told me they never celebrated birthdays (4.6i) previously but that it had become common nowadays (140611LE; 140618ST;140923KM). I heard of three women who were making money for their own business by selling Mary Kay or Avon cosmetics (140910RS; 140611LE). The Ohio Directory confirms that one woman has a Mary Kay business because she lists herself there as a Mary Kay Consultant. However, there is a question to be asked, if a woman describes herself as a Mary Kay consultant or an Avon consultant, how do they sell or recommend the products to customers, and not use the products they are selling. Visits to the bathroom in various Amish homes also made me aware that some young Amish men are not so very different to English of the same age in their use of shower gel, deodorant and hair products.

A woman near Sugarcreek told me that, 'When a couple get married, they think they have to start off exactly where Mom and Dad are now. They expect to have everything, not to scrimp or save for anything' (140929ET). This seems to chime with the idea of entitlement, rather than working for everything mentioned earlier.

I only met one young woman who said she made purchases with her smartphone from Amazon (3.13.2), but it is possible and may even be likely, that others do that too, if the prevalence of the smartphone that Stevick found continues to grow.

D) Mixing with the English

Although Hostetler does not explicitly mention Amish having friendships with the English, I find there is another change in some groups. There is much more mixing and friendships being formed with English people. For example, in September 2014, I was in Sugarcreek when it was the 'Ohio Swiss Festival'. This is an annual two-day event, which began in 1953 when business leaders in the town had the idea to host a cheese festival and give the town a Swiss theme. It was started with the idea of promoting local cheese making and tourism. Now there are stalls where you can purchase Swiss cheese, Swiss chocolate, cuckoo clocks, competitions for stone throwing, Costumed Swiss Groups blowing their alpenhorns and yodelling competitions and much more. The organisers linked it to Switzerland because there were known to be local people in the area whose ancestors had been Swiss. It was thought that it would attract them. There are also 'Swiss Amish' in the area, but it was not aimed at them because, as Trollinger reports (2012:135) the Amish in Sugarcreek hold to Amish ethnicity more than they do Swiss ethnicity. Local people with Swiss ethnicity dress up in Swiss costume for the festival. It attracts thousands of out of town visitors and is a major event in Sugarcreek.

A few days after the festival, I called in to see a woman I had interviewed the previous week, and she asked me if I had been at the Swiss Festival. I said I had not. She then volunteered the information that her Old Order neighbours had been at it. She lowered her voice as she told me, 'I thought Oh No! Because for us, as New Order, we would never think about going to the Swiss Festival. We just don't go to stuff like that. But now some Old Order go and it seems the church doesn't make a fuss' (SM140929). In Trollinger's book (2012:136), there is a picture of an Amish family as spectators at the Swiss festival so it seems that an Amish family attending the festival was not an isolated incident. I asked a few other women I met for the remainder of my stay, if they went to the Swiss Festival, and perhaps six Old Order Amish families told me they like to go to it, so it seems as if there is no prohibition against it now. I mentioned it to Gertrude and she told me, they would never have even thought about going, although it is free to attend, but they would just not have wanted to be at something so worldly just because it was pure entertainment. One woman told me that they never stay for the dancing so although they like to attend, even so, they are selective about what they watch, whilst the New Order would not attend.

In addition, women told me how they made friendships with their drivers and sometimes took extended trips with them. They have visited all the states except Kansas and North Dakota (120921ET). Another woman told me how she and her husband made friends with a family from North Carolina at Horse Meets, and how they had been to stay with them for a holiday and the family had been back and stayed with them in Ohio. Another woman told me how her English friend has a beach house and they go there 'to stay for a week or two' (140606SR). One family I stay with became so close to a woman from New York that they went to an auction and bid on a house for her, when she retired, so that she could move to Ohio and become a driver for the Amish (140619SM).

Allied to this is a growth in hobbies, hobbies that possibly have always been present like fishing and hunting, but have now moved up a gear, with the increase in disposable income that allows the men to buy more up to date equipment and take weekends away on trips with their friends which would not have been possible when they were farming. A love of fishing may also lend itself to owning or sharing ownership of a boat. This is a feature of a well-developed hobby that relies on a greater level of disposable income.

E) Second-home Ownership

The growth in the number of second-home owners among the Amish is also a growing trend. It has long been a feature of Amish life in some communities that they have 'snow birds' who relocate to Pinecraft in Florida for the colder months, typically renting an apartment there but increasingly Amish are owning second homes there. Others have second homes in areas where hunting is a big sport, in places like Montana and Colorado.

F) Meticulous Care of Home and Yard

Rebecca talked about how immaculately the Amish in Lancaster settlements keep their yards: 'When you were driving through Lancaster County, did you notice how the gardens and yards are in tip-top shape? I've seen this for a long time, I think they're trying all the time to outdo each other, but having the prettiest farms, prettiest gardens and flower beds. Like they were keeping up with the Jones'. I think they stress themselves out with it trying to outdo their neighbours. It's a change and not a good one' (140910RS).

This acknowledgement from a mature Amish woman that there can be an element of competition among their community is noteworthy because it comes 'from one of their own' and is not an outsider's observation. Other women spoke of how they buy more fruit and vegetables than they used to do and they grow less, which I have mentioned earlier.

I have experienced that women I've taken shopping, will say 'I'm buying this because I saw it at a neighbour's house' thus confirming that a neighbour's purchases are influential in their own choices. Decorative garden landscaping seems more common than when I first went to Lancaster County fifteen years ago. Whist I was there in 2014 one family that I know had a party in the garden to mark the end of their landscaping work and had a pile of business cards from the Amish landscaper who had completed the work, so that he might get more work when people saw how good it was. He had created a small lake with an island, a bridge across it. It was sited in a large garden where he had put down a new lawn and created four or five flowerbeds. There was no visible vegetable garden.

G) <u>Smaller Families</u>

In one interview, a woman moved on to talk about something that she said 'Might not be in good taste to talk about'.

> On the whole, we don't have as many big families as we did. That has changed, because there is ways to use, to limit your family. I don't know if they go on the pill or not, I think it would be frowned upon if it were known, but that's something that is left to the couple. Nobody interferes. But I do notice that there are less really huge families than there were in my mother's day, so that they also don't have as many children, although some still do. There is more choice available to a woman and also that physicians are really quick to recommend not having more children if there are certain health issues that need to be addressed. My mother had nine children and she had very bad varicose veins and other things, and after the ninth, the doctor tied her tubes. He said, 'No more, no more'. He basically made that decision. I don't know how much that happens, but I'm sure it does happen (140910RS).

This was not the only occasion when I heard from an interviewee that there had been times when a physician had decided to sterilise an Amish woman presumably because he thought the couple would not be comfortable choosing to limit their family for themselves and as a physician he could see a sound reason to do it. Although, I am speaking of 'he' as a physician, this is because I did not hear anyone speaking of a female doctor. Several women spoke of there being smaller families nowadays and speculated on why that might be. The idea that a doctor not only recommended it but then acted on his own recommendation was mentioned to me several times. None of the women I spoke to admitted to it being their own situation they were describing. Instead, they said 'I know of one case where….' Or 'Someone that I know told me….' 'My aunt told me that her neighbour said…' (140917LB, 140916FL KM140626). So, whilst I did not encounter anyone who told me it had been their own experience, to find four people who acknowledged it happens, seems to suggest that it is more widespread than just a single case. This could have been because they did not want to be so closely linked with talking about such an intimate issue, with someone outside the community, although I did not have any sense that they were uncomfortable talking to me about it. One mother mentioned her sister who 'takes a pill from the doctor for her monthlies and must stop it if she wants to have her next baby'. Neither of us mentioned birth control. The topic was not introduced by me so women did not have to answer my questions. It genuinely seemed that the women were wanting to talk about the changes which had taken place and like so many others, family size was one change that they identified.

H) An Erosion of Plainness

This takes different forms. From finding Amish homes with patterns, sayings and Scripture verses stencilled on the walls to homes that would not look out of place in interior decorating magazines. I have already mentioned the craze for stencilling walls with Scripture verses or popular sayings, among young marrieds (4.6f).

One woman told me:

> So, I like my house to look nice. There have always been nice cabinets, tables and cupboards because the men can make them. But there never was an island in the kitchen, like I have now, and then that came in and then, nobody would have had big, big carpets in their room. They had a small carpet under the chairs, and maybe one at the door, I didn't bring a bigger one in here until I seen someone else doing it and then I painted around it on the wooden floor. Now several other women have done that… and you mentioned the houses. Yes, this is a fine house, isn't it? I'd seen the cathedral ceiling in another house so when this was built, we had one too. And the mezzanine floor and all. It was built by an Englishman. Nobody used to have the cathedral ceilings, but I saw it and I said, Oh I love that. I'd love one like that. So we did it. We sold the old house and built this one. I love wood, and how it looks. You can polish it so nice (120908 MM).

Another woman also in Ohio, showed me around their new home, also built after they sold the farm. It too, had a cathedral ceiling, a part of the living room made with a double-height roof, and two beautifully carved semi-circular staircases joining up in the centre to make a minstrel's gallery.

> I like to keep my house looking nice. We do a lot of entertaining now with the business. When we farmed, we didn't. But now we do. So, I've always got work to do in the house for that (140929ET).

Both houses were elegant but not plain (1.3)) The first one, was relatively small but it was made comfortable by carpet, matching cushions and throws. There was a quilt hanging on the wall. The second was not at all what I might have expected to find. It had highly polished wooden floors with a smooth double wooden staircase, standing out against the plain white walls. It could have been photographed for a magazine. The same room had a fine carved table which they 'had had shipped back from Israel'. On the walls along the staircase hung two large water colour paintings, done by a family member.

These excerpts from the interviews convey a change in lifestyle from the time they were farming. In the first one, there is an acknowledgement that seeing what someone else owned had provoked her to want one also. So, we can see the influence of 'keeping up with the Jones' in this example. This had already been mentioned by one of the women I interviewed, in respect of keeping the gardens nice (6.13) and it appears there is a similar sense of competitiveness inside the home as well. The idea that Miriam did not put a larger carpet into the room, until she had seen it done by someone else first, confirms that either she does not see herself as an innovator or that she did not want to get into trouble with the church. It sounds as if the fear of getting into trouble with the church for having a bigger carpet, was sufficient to put her off having one, until she saw someone else had been allowed to have one, and had not been 'spoken to', about it (4.7). It seems to demonstrate a willingness to push the boundaries a little further when she sees others also doing pushing the boundaries. She later told me, 'See, all these things are changing and I am a part of that', so there was a recognition of change taking place by people being willing to 'crowd the fence', as the Amish saying has it.

As well as an erosion of plainness in the home and yard, women's clothing is also subject to change. In both this and section F, these findings seem to run counter to the Amish teaching on pride. I mentioned that the colours change according to fashion (6.3.1.2) and that some women wear colour on colour to give the appearance of a stripe or checked fabric. Not all men hold fast either to the rules regarding dress.

I) Increasing Individualism

The trend away from communality, and towards increasing individualism, allows women (and men) to do things the community would not have supported previously (6.4) – becoming an artist, a writer, a publisher, a tour guide, a digital artist with a website (7.4). About half of the women I spoke to about their work told me that their mothers would not have been able to do what they are doing. This seems to indicate another clear change. I met one woman who works at a Birthing Centre and she told me of two other Amish girls who are training as Nurse's Aides (120923AY), one is a minister's daughter and another two who are training as Licensed Practical Nurses, both related to Bishops. In the cases I have read about, the girls have had permission from the Bishop to do this work. Being related to a Bishop or a Minister may be advantageous in this respect. It also indicates that women have more agency and can more readily make their own decisions. It seems as if the range of work available for women is growing and there are fewer limitations than previously. Just in the last week, I saw a photograph of two sisters in Sugarcreek, whom I know well, who have both become Emergency Medical Technicians. Their father agreed that the girls could do this, because the local EMT services were calling for more Amish to become actively involved and not least, because the girls previously worked in the family business and so he had lost two workers. As far as I'm aware they did not have to seek permission from anyone else to move into this work.

J) Changing Attitudes to Authority

Since the previous paragraph alludes to the Bishops, it seems an appropriate place to mention the comments made by the women about the Bishops and to highlight why the comments might be significant. Asking the women about the various decisions that have been made, it was clear that some women were willing to express varying degrees of frustration with their Bishops. Speaking of the use of cell-phones two women told me the bishops frown upon them but that they did not do anything about their use, when they could have done and then when they tried to rein them back in, it was too late (1.9). Another woman described how she and her husband had bought iPhones for their children so that they could learn 'what was out there' and make wise decisions about how much to get involved with the world, and then she acknowledged that the Bishop 'would hardly agree with her about that' (140917LB).

Later, another woman explained to me, 'If the Bishops are old, more experienced but old school, they don't know what is happening now because of all the changes that have happened and they can't keep up' (140915NS). Her brother is a minister so she may have some inside knowledge about this because, as she said, the younger ministers get frustrated, because 'the Bishops just don't get it. They were farmers. The ministers now are more likely to be in business and it's like they speak a different language' ((140915NS).

I heard comments like this from eight Old Order women, but none from New Order, so I am thinking that may be significant. Speculating about the reason it affects the Old Order more, might be because of the way the *Ordnung* in Pennsylvania is created, where in Ohio there seems to be more flexibility and diversity. In 3.9, I mentioned a differing approach to the authority of the Bishops, and this may have given rise to a view that they can voice discontentment about it. Also, the Bishops may choose to remain silent about an issue in to allow change to happen without verbally sanctioning it (3.14).

7.6. Discussion of Findings

Karen Johnson-Weiner argues that ‘Amishness’ for the mainstream population provides a means of coping with uncertainty at a time when modern society is experiencing rapid social change. She goes on to say that;

> Amishness is more than a marketing concept, although it is that, but that it acts to define both for Amish and English cultures, the one in opposition to the other. It presents a standard against which English consumers measure authenticity, not only the goods and services they buy, but of their own 20th century lives and the 19th century existence they ascribe to the Amish community. At the same time, Amishness presents the Amish with difficult choices because English notions of success in business are not the same as Amish ones. As they profit from the marketing of Amishness, Amish entrepreneurs may be forced to re-consider and evaluate their own community values and practices, reinforcing and reshaping individual lives and community ties and thereby reinventing Amishness itself (1999:3).

I think this re-evaluation of Amishness and what it means to be Amish, is one of the things that is happening among the Amish themselves. Given the changes that I have identified, I would argue that ‘Amishness’ itself is moving along a spectrum, so that what children are being brought into differs depending on the stream of Amish they belong to – Old Order, New Order, *Swartzentruber* or other. Additionally, it differs from what their parents were taught at the same age. The definition accommodates to a more modern era. Even with those distinctions, there will be difference not just between each of these streams, but within them. The women I interviewed espoused many different ideas about where the boundaries lay for them, from the one who bought iPhones for each of her children when they were old enough to use them, to other mothers who believe a cell phone is unnecessary and should only be allowed if you had a business when it should turned off after working hours, from women who use cars and drivers with regularity to others who do not, from women who work at home to those who have vibrant growing businesses that support their family and provide work for family members. One thing I concluded from interviewing these women is that there are different ways to be Amish, and, aside from their Christian faith and shared Anabaptist history, it may be that only the dress, the buggy, the language and the rejection of electricity from the grid unites them. And, whilst it seems that the Amish themselves have little difficulty in accepting these wide differences, the challenge for the English is to accept them in the same way that they accept each other. Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt make the point that there may be Amish who 'dress the part but who are not fully committed' (2013:75). I did not sense that any women I interviewed were in that category, but I could envisage how it would be possible. One of the women I interviewed mentioned that from the way the mother's dress the children who come to her shop, 'you would think they never heard there were any rules about how they were supposed to dress'. This suggests a less than total commitment to the *Ordnung*.

Because my research was carried out in Holmes and Lancaster Counties which are both areas where there have been the greatest and most publicised changes, as men moved away from farming, I wonder if it is possible that what I have seen is skewed by this. If I had looked at Amish communities where there is not a well-developed tourist industry or where significant numbers still maintain agriculture as their primary income, quite possibly I might not have seen these changes and I would have had different findings. There are fewer contemporary accounts, but what little I have read about those settlements where farm work remains traditional and women do not work out of the home, in places like Wisconsin, Maine, Iowa and Kentucky, the life of the Amish woman there today seems to have changed less than in

Lancaster and Holmes Counties. It sounds more like the lives of Amish women I read about forty years ago. The Amish women in those places possibly would not recognise the women I am describing. The same might also be true of *Swartzentruber* women in Lancaster County and those in Ohio, who live close to how their mothers lived and who expect their daughters to live in the same way (Johnson-Weiner 2016:3). It begs the question whether Lancaster and Ohio could be a precursor of things to come for these other settlements if they move away from farming and open up to tourism and entrepreneurship in the same way.

I consider that the access afforded to me was exceptional (2.2.4) and led me to some amazing women. I am puzzled by how it could be that I 'found' Amish women who are known for their work, when that is contrary to Amish values, and something of a rarity. Two of the women who were introduced to me by Anna are well-known for their work, one as an artist (5.3.2) and the second because she had worked at the Clinic for Special Children (5.3.1). As it happened, both women appear in Louise Stoltzfus' book *Amish Women* (1986) but I doubt Anna would have known that. I did not ask Anna to find me women who were accustomed to being in the public eye. I approached two other women because I had heard about them, one a writer whose books I had read, and the other a businesswoman (5.3.4). Apart from that, all the other women, I would describe as being women who lead private lives and who were recommended to me via another woman. Since I used snowball sampling, the question that arises is whether women who do unusual work would know others who also do unusual or less common work, so was my selection of women in some way a result of snowball sampling? I don't know the answer to that question. I suppose it is likely that if they were all working in the same field, they would know one another, but they were not doing similar work. I did not find this mentioned as a weakness of snowball sampling. I met a wide range of women doing quite different things, so this alone cannot be the explanation. I interviewed one mother who suggested I should also interview her daughter, and one daughter who suggested I should talk to her mother, but otherwise my interviewees were individual contacts. In that sense, my interviewees were randomly selected by snowball sampling.

What is original in my work is the way that women have spoken of the changes that have taken place in their lifetime and the way in which they have been affected by them. This includes the breadth of changes – material changes in the home such as the refrigerator, freezer, various laundry aids and the increasing use of the telephone. And, in addition, temporal changes in lifestyle such as the practice of taking vacations, increased leisure activities and increasing contact with the English and less strict separation from the world suggest a mutability that will not be easily undone. The significance of identifying these changes is that it will provide a marker to identify further change as time goes on. This would be important because women commented to me that change had happened so gradually, they could not always remember in retrospect, when or how changes had taken place.

To put these changes into context with Bauman's *Theory of Liquid Modernity* (2012), I would contend that the changes that I have identified indicate a movement away from the centre (3.8, Figure 1). These four characteristics – Plain Dressing, Use of Pennsylvania Deutsch, Horse and Buggy transport and the Selective Use of Technology, remain examples of solid modernity but three of them are, at the same time, not so central as previously because of changes that are occurring. Each of them may not have moved at the same rate but they have moved. If we consider, as an example, the sheer amount of technology that has been accepted by the Amish, whilst it is true that there is always a careful consideration of what can be allowed, however, each time another gadget or machine is accepted, life becomes less plain. It becomes more convenient, faster or easier. The boundary of what makes Amish life so different, has moved yet again, to accommodate one more change. The increase in consumerism (4.6e,f) summarised in (7.5J) is reflected in Bauman's understanding of the growth of individuality, which, I have argued, is also a feature of Amish life in 21st century. There has come a liquidity, even if it is just around the edges, that appears to be a precursor of change.

7.7. Implications for Previous Scholarship

This is the first time there has been a detailed study of changes in the lives of old Order and New Order Amish women. Two previous studies, Graybill (2009) and Stoltzfus Taylor (1975), looked at the emergence of women entrepreneurs, where my study looks at more than the working life of women. My work incorporates changes in domestic life in the home that the women identified, it includes changes in the lived experience of Amish women for example, taking vacations or not, using a car driver in place of the horse and buggy, and the use of the native language of the women themselves, growing the bulk of their food or not and other domestic arrangements. It also identifies an increasing individualism that impacts the choices women are making, the growth of consumerism and the impact of those decisions. It includes case studies of the ways that four women operate their businesses and demonstrates a variety of ways, women find to combine work with raising a family.

My study highlights a niche that has not previously been covered. Although not a large-scale study, it contributes significant detail about the lives of some Amish women of all ages in Lancaster and daughter settlements in Juanita, Chester and Perry Counties and the Holmes County and Tuscarawas County in Ohio.

Existing scholarship does not provide any detailed accounts about how Amish women live their lives, so this research makes an original contribution to the field. My work highlights the lived experiences of women, married and single, some young, mostly aged 35 – 55 and a small number who were aged 70 plus in both Old Order in Pennsylvania and Old and New Order in Ohio. Two women had experience outside of these states in other Amish groups.

7.8. Implications for Future Research

If Simon Bronner (1999;ix) is correct in his assessment that much more is known about Amish men than about Amish women, then there is still work to be done in the field of Amish women, if it is to catch up with the numbers of books that focus on Amish men and their work in the Amish community.

Given that I have mentioned the issue of decreasing family size (7.5G) one topic for future research would be the decreasing family size (Hurst & McConnell 2010:99). There is work to be done to understand why it is that family size is shrinking (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:156). Historically, Amish families were large because there was a need to provide workers for the farms and farming was the tool by which Amish children were taught to work. Now that imperative has been lost, it may be there is a consensus to limit the family size. Are Amish women using artificial birth control and if they are, is it their choice or is it bring promoted by doctors and medical personnel who feel that they should bring their family size into line with the rest of North America? Anecdotally, tales abound regarding doctors taking the decision for women that they should not have any more pregnancies because of the health impacts of pregnancy (7.5G). It would be helpful to have some quantitative data about this (Amish Population 2017). A second strand of this research could be to uncover if attitudes to birth control are changing, how they might be being guided by church teaching etc. Conversations about artificial birth control are sensitive topics but may be able to be done by another woman or with someone with the language skills to speak in the Amish women's first language. Evidence suggests smaller families in 'higher' groups, so finding out if the New Order are practicing birth control and if so, what has changed their views and attitudes.

A second topic that could be followed up from this work would be to find out the extent of MLM businesses in the Amish community and the ways that they are enabling women or not. Many MLM companies encourage married couples to work together, so it might be worth exploring how many couples work in these businesses, even though it may be the women's business. Research could look at the number of Amish women engaged in a MLM business, the nature, type and size of the business including turnover and downline personnel.

A third topic for research might be a definitive study of the number of Amish women who own their own business. Kraybill estimates 15% in Lancaster County in 2013 (Kraybill, Johnson-Weiner and Nolt 2013:305), Graybill thought it was nearer 30%. (2009:240). I tend to agree with Graybill that it is larger and I think it may even be higher if we consider all the women doing something to earn extra money. I met very few women who were not doing anything to earn additional income.

A fourth research implication would be to study the growth of second homes either in Pinecraft, Florida or in the mountains. It has already been noted that visitors there come primarily from the new entrepreneurial class among the Amish, (Kraybill, Nolt and Johnson-Weiner 2013:243) and further research would build upon this to examine second-home ownership both in Florida and elsewhere.

Lastly, over-arching many of the issues mentioned in this study would be an exploration of how far a class-system is developing within the Amish. It could look at business-owners as the upper class, self-employed entrepreneurs as a middle group and those who work in the businesses as a lower-class. The reason this would be academically fascinating is that whereas the Amish were always seen as a 'flat' society when they were farming, the advent of these new ways of working has brought money into the Amish, in an unprecedented way (Moledina, McConnell, Sugars and Connor 2014). It would be useful to understand how far this has changed the perceived ‘flat’ class system.

7.9. Summary

Change is occurring among the Amish but it is not consistent among any one group, or geographically. What seems to be happening is a range of very small changes which combine to make significant changes when compared to what has historically been written about the Amish. The change happens in the lives of individuals and it happens among a wider group, sometimes by age. It seems to be truer than ever before, that one cannot say ‘The Amish do this’ or ‘The Amish don’t do that’ because it may well be that some Amish do or do not do whatever is being spoken of. There is no longer a group consistency to demonstrate this. Unyielding flexibility is demonstrated by the Amish each time they make a decision concerning a change.

One of the most marked unintended consequences, when the Amish moved out of farming, was that the community rhythm where everyone was doing the same thing at the same time, sowing, ploughing, reaping and working together has been fractured by the advent of very many successful businesses that no longer support the same rhythm of community life and activity. Everyone is now doing what they can to support their own business.

Change is occurring for individuals who push the boundaries and undertake work that was previously unknown. It is occurring regularly in the home using equipment adapted to meet the *Ordnung*. Thirty years ago, women most likely would not have considered having automatic washing machines, yoghurt makers or food processors as standard equipment in their homes, but they are now available if women want them and the *Ordnung* allows.

The impact of a ‘lighter touch’ by the Bishops has also played a part in making life less rigorous. For example, leadership will sometimes just look away. This mirrors Huntington’s finding (Huntington 1957:202) that when new equipment was considered dubious, the authorities would simply ignore it, until it was no longer new, and just accept that its usage. Change is being accommodated by a variety of means and practices which range from formal acceptance to informally disregarding it as with the cell phone. In an interview, John Stoltzfus, an Amishman from Lebanon County, PA, who works as a digital artist, said this, ‘Everyone knows it’s just a matter of time and for me, it has become more of a vital tool for our future. It is here to stay and most (not all), of the Plain Communities will be using computers in the near future. Our Bishop came to me to produce our Church District map to distribute. Also, there are more and more of our people that own computers, of course secretly, and use the computer in our local library’ (Amish America 3rd September 2012). Not only does this bishop know, but he uses John’s skills to serve the Church District. One of my interviewees had a computer of which she said, ‘I guess, they don’t know about it’.

The small percentage of people who remain in farming would have been unthinkable fifty years ago. A whole generation has grown up off the farm, with seemingly no ill effects, but it has brought change. The switch towards an ‘entitlement’ thinking has also changed the attitude of people who are working in day labour or self-employment from the time when they were all farmers. This has also led to people spending more time in leisure pursuits and vacations, travelling locally and further away. It has also led to people being more conscious of their homes and a desire to make them look nicer, where previously they may not have wanted to stand out. There seems to be less uniformity now.

I end with a quote from the husband of one of my interviewees.

'*All this doing hobbies, wanting more, buying new and spending money, time away from the home is bad for us. We're getting to be just the same as the world, competing with one another over who has the best of something. It's a bad thing. A really bad thing. Where will it end?'*

Appendices

Appendix 1: From an Amish Ordnung

These rules were applicable to church districts in summer 2008 Lancaster settlement. Since Bishops work out the application of their Ordnung with their ministers and congregations, small but noticeable differences may be found across a settlement.

These are not given in any particular order but are written as they were told to me, from several different conversations with different people. The list is incomplete because an *Ordnung* is known rather than written, so is dependent on what I was told.

<u>DRESS</u>

Amish form of clothing to be followed as a rule, no ornamental, bright, showy, form-fitted, immodest or silk-like clothing of any kind are allowed. Red, orange, yellow, gold or silver, or patterned clothing not allowed.

Expensive Sunday clothes are discouraged. Dresses are not to be shorter than half-way between the knees and the floor, or over eight inches from the floor, Longer skirts are preferable. Clothing should be modest, serviceable and simple. Outside pockets are allowed on work pants (men) or coat or large overcoat. No zipper clothing or sweaters. Use only plain suspenders without buckles – men of all ages must wear suspenders. Hat is to be black with no less than 3-inch brim and not extremely high in the crown. No stylish impressions in any hat.

Dress shoes, if any are to be plain and black, no high heels or pump slippers. Dress socks are to be black. Shoes should be black and have no high heels.

Prayer coverings for women to be made to fit the head, and be simple. Should cover as much of the hair as possible, must cover the ears. Hair should not be combed over the ears. Prayer kapps to be worn whenever possible. No silk strings. Women to wear shawls, bonnets and capes in public. Aprons to be worn at all times. Women should not curl or wave their hair. No jewellery or cosmetics. No wristwatches. No lace on skirts. Only black stockings.

A full beard should be worn by married men, not trimmed or shaved too low. No shingled hair. Hair length at least half-way below the ears.

Young children to dress like their parents, no pink or fancy baby clothes. Children to have home-made dolls only – no faces, no manufactured dolls. Bought toys to be limited, should be made at home if possible.

<u>HOMES</u>

Buildings should be plain and serviceable. Painted white. No decorations of any kind, inside or out. Floors should be wooden or linoleum, oilcloth, shelf and wallpaper must be plain and subdued. Luxury items and overstuffed furniture forbidden. No large mirrors, fancy glassware or statues, or wall pictures as decorations. No photographs.

Curtains should be dark green blinds or black cloth, rollers can be used. Only small plain carpets on the floor, no high line electrical appliances. Cookers, stoves and ovens should be black if bought new. Laundry to be washed at home, no use of Laundromat. No telephones in homes. Wedding should be simple and without decorations. Names not attached to gifts.

<u>EMPLOYMENT</u>

Farming and related occupations to be encouraged. Engines only to be used for such work a cannot be done by horses, only stationary engines or tractors are allowed. No ornaments on horses, harnesses, manes or buggies. No unnecessary lights on buggies, except for safety. No ownership of cars, driving of cars or possession of a driving licence.

Manufacturing businesses allowed after discussion. Items produced should not be luxury items. Self-employment is preferable to working for worldly people. Electrical generators only used for welding. If business property is rented facilities can be utilised. but preferable to own the property. No partnership in harmful associations. Life insurance policies forbidden. Insurance for business only as necessary to fulfil the law. No government benefit payments to be taken.

LANGUAGE

Use PD where possible, not so much English talk but it may be used when speaking with English. English to be discouraged among young people and at youth gatherings. Speak PD to children, wherever possible.

AMUSEMENTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

Radios, movies and funfairs forbidden. Reading singing, Bible games, relief work, giving to church or charities encouraged. No ball games on Sundays. No buying or selling anything on a Sunday. Stay at home or visit on Sundays. Worship of some kind on Sunday. Keep to the principles of the Sabbath. Musical instruments not permitted. No dirty, silly or lewd teasing of children.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE

Church confession to be made if practical where transgression is committed. If not a written request of forgiveness should be made to the church. All manifest sins are to be opening confessed before the church prior to Communion. Avoidance of fellowship with any church that allows or upholds ‘unfruitful works of darkness’ such as worldliness, fashionable attire, habitual drinking, smoking, gossip or anything contrary to sound doctrine.

Appendix 2: The Schleitheim Confession

The Confession consisted of seven articles, written during a time of severe persecution.

<u>BAPTISM</u>

Baptism is administered to theose who have consciously repented and amended their lives and believe that Christ has died for their sins and who request it for themselves. Infants, therefore were not to be baptised.

<u>THE BANN (EXCOMMUNICATION)</u>

A Christian should live with discipline and walk in the way of righteousness. Those who slip and fall into sin should be admonished twice in secret, but the third offence should be openly disciplined and banned as a final recourse. This should always occur prior to the breaking of bread.

<u>BREAKING OF BREAD (COMMUNIION)</u>

Only those who have been baptised can take part in communion. Participation in Communion is a remembrance of Christ's body and blood; the real body and blood of Christ is not present in the sacrament.

<u>SEPARATION FROM EVIL</u>

The community of Christians shall have no association with those who remain in disobedience and a spirit of rebellion against God. There can be no fellowship with the wicked in the world; there can be no participation in works, church services, meeting and civil affairs of those who live in contradiction to the commands of God (Catholics and Protestants). All evil must be resisted including their weapons of force such as the sword and armour.

<u>PASTORS IN THE CHURCH</u>

Pastors should be men of good repute. Some of the responsibilities they must faithfully carry out are teaching, disciplining, the Bann, leading in prayer and the sacraments. They are to be supported by the church, but must also be disciplined if they sin.

THE SWORD (CHRISTIAN PASIFISM) – NON-RESISTANCE

Violence must not used in any circumstance. The way of nonviolence is patterned after the example of Christ who never exhibited violence in the face of persecution of as a punishment for sin. A Christian should not pass judgment in worldly disputes. It is not appropriate for a Christian to serve as a magistrate; a magistrate acts according to eh rules of the world, not according to the rules of heaven; their weapons are worldly, but the weapons of a Christian are spiritual.

THE OATH

No oaths should be taken because Jesus prohibited the taking of oaths and swearing. Testifying is not the same thing as swearing. When a person bears testimony, they are testifying about the present, whether it be good or evil.

Appendix 3: A Sensory Ethnography of an Amish Home

This is conflated from several excerpts in my Research Journal.

As I approach this home, I see how neat it all looks, like so many other Amish homes in Lancaster County. The blades of grass stand to attention, at 90° to the ground, not a single weed in sight. Later, I will appreciate how much work goes into making it look like this. In most Amish' families the yard is the work of the females in the family. In this home, though, there are no girls so the yard work and the not inconsiderable vegetable garden is beautifully kept by Rosmanda. The home is redbrick, a Dawdihaus, and two storeys with a large basement, where they hold church, when it is their turn. There are four large spaces downstairs and 3 double bedrooms and a bathroom upstairs. The sloping grey tiled roof provides a picture-book image of a house that a small child might draw. As I step out of the car, I smell the roses and hear the pinky-white Baby's Breath rustling in the breeze along the flower border. In the distance, beyond the farm buildings, I see a team of mules pulling a plough. It's quiet, apart from the large trucks bouncing along the road on the back road on their way to town. The noise of the trucks is much more noticeable now than it was fifteen years ago, when trucks rarely used this road. The regular sound of horses' hooves can be heard making their way down the lane, on the way home or taking their passengers to the shops on the main road. My stomach lurches when I think of them sharing that lane with the trucks.

Entering the shade of the house, I step down through the basement door which is open. I first notice that many of the shelves are empty. The basement is white-painted brick and cool. The shelves, usually full of preserves and canned food, green beans, red beets, white beans, orange-coloured peaches and apricots, dark red cherries and pale stewed apple; fruits for pie filling all make for a colourful contrast with the white brickwork. Today, the shelves are not so full. The flooring is dark grey linoleum for easy cleaning. When it's just been washed I can smell lemons because that is the scent of the home-made cleaner Rosmanda uses. Now, there is no lemon scent, just the scent I associate with Rosmanda's house, it is a combination that suggests clean but does not have that too-powerful smell of synthetic cleaning products. I peek into the adjacent room, to see if anyone is there and immediately I see bunches of herbs drying for winter use. They still smell as if they were fresh, there is rosemary, thyme and sage. Lavender has been there but I cannot see it now. Rosmanda likes to make soap for gifts for people and she, and her cousin Elsie, enjoy getting together for a day to do that.

I hear women's voices and guess they are upstairs in the kitchen-diner. I climb the stairs, noticing that the lino has been replaced by shiny varnished wood. Ros was planning to do that when I was here last, but had not got around to it before I left. It must have been a job for the winter.

The wooden steps are noisier than when they were covered in lino; it won't be possible to creep in unnoticed now. I push open the door at the top of the stairs, the door along with the top steps both still creak. That job did not get done it the winter and I enter the room from below, as the women around the quilting frame look up. Five of them break into smiles and two get up and run across the greet me giving me hugs and one of them welcomes me with a kiss on the cheek. When she does that, I smell Dove shower cream on her face. I recognise it, because it is also what I use. I wonder if she can smell it on me?

With laughter and much chatter and they invite me to sit down, and ply me with questions. I look around to see what has changed. The many clocks, ticking, singing, cuckooing and noting the passing time are still there. There is a new light in the corner that I'd always thought was dark, but no obvious indication of what power it uses. Rosmanda comes back with home-made ice-cold apple juice made from the trees in their orchard, mostly sharp but with just enough sweetness, it smells delicious and tastes cold and refreshing. It's not exactly hot outside, but it has been warmer earlier on today than it is now and my journey in the sunshine made me thirsty, so this is a welcome drink.

I am introduced to the one woman in the group that I do not know, although it turns out I know her sister and two of her cousins. For a few minutes' we play the 'Who do you know?' game and then they ask me about my plans for this visit.

They settle back to the quilt frame. I examine the pattern to see how much has been done already. They started it last week only. It's an old pattern, not often made now, called Flying Geese but in the old style of four vertical bars down the quilt. The colours are earthy, lightened by one orangey-red diamond down the length of the left-hand bar, and a random number of triangles in two other bars. Grey, black, brown and tan make up the rest of the pattern, with just about seven pale violet coloured triangles. The fabric is not new and has the smell of old and worn dresses that have been cut up for quilting. Inset into the sides of the quilt are be a two broader strips of a light sage colour fabric that will be heavily quilted. It seems shinier than the other fabric. I wonder where it came from, obviously, because of this, it was not Amish dress fabric. I love the pattern of the quilt I am looking at and wish it could be mine.

Although I have not unloaded my car yet, I sit down at the quilting frame on a chair they have set out for me. I'm given a needle and thread but I don't think I will sew today. My head is still somewhere over the Atlantic, a feeling that none of them have ever experienced and know nothing about. They settle back to sewing and chatting. Soon after, the sound of a clock chimes the Westminster chimes, soon after that another one sings 'I did it my way' whilst the cuckoo clock pops out and back chirruping its song. I always forget that the main purpose of clocks in this house, is not that they keep accurate time. More than anything, they keep

Rosmanda company. Once an hour her musical clock plays How Great Thy Art and when I'm in the house with her, she has more than once stopped and acknowledged God when she heard it.

I look around this house. I love it here. I've spent a lot of happy hours in this home. In the living room, where the quilt frame is now opened out, none of the furniture matches, and at the same time, everything looks exactly as though it should be here. There's a worn green chair with wooden arms. The fabric is rough and textured, a newer settee in shades of brown which is soft and allows you to sink into it when you sit down. If I sit back on that settee, I cannot reach the floor, I sink into the squidgy cushions. It too is old, and I know it previously belonged to Eli's sister, there are a pair of pale grey velvet chairs, recovered about six years ago, they were both bought at a Benefit auction and renovated. In the middle of the shiny hardwood floor is a large multi-coloured rag rug, made by Rosmanda when her leg was broken and she was forced to sit down, resting her leg for weeks on end. The rug is bigger than she originally intended because she had misheard how many weeks the doctor required her to rest whilst her leg was in plaster. The additional three weeks gave her time to create a rug that ended up being more than twenty square feet of brown, rust, navy blue, greys and dark green. Colours that I know she feels do not show the dirt. Through the open window, we hear birds singing and when the wind blows, there is a faint smell of the garden, that fresh flowery scent where the different flowers mingle and I notice I can hear wind chimes around on the back porch.

The women eventually pack up their quilting for today, and begin to leave. One by one, they leave through the kitchen door, two are walking home and two take a passenger in their buggy. We hear those horses clip-clopping away down the lane. When they have left, I unload my things from the car in two trips, and go into the bedroom that I always use. It has a door to the back porch and wind chimes sound louder in here. During one visit in the autumn when there was considerable wind, I tied them up with a rubber band to silence them. I look around the room to check for changes. Nothing has altered. The same smooth white painted walls, shiny polished woodwork, floor, skirting boards and doors. The blue, green and white Nine Patch quilt on the Queen size bed and the pillow cases with the lacy ends that scratch my face when they are freshly washed. In this bedroom, I have access to my own bathroom. It has white and black tiling on the splashback, white sink, shower and bath and a serviceable black and white lino on the floor. Ros has put a small posy of flowers in there next to the sink. By coincidence the hand-made lavender soap that I brought with me, bought for me as a Christmas present both gives off a scent and matches the colours of the posy. Against the pile of fluffy white towels, I like what I see, it feels plain and comfortable without being too fancy or luxurious.

I use the bathroom to freshen up and unpack some clothes and other items then return to the kitchen diner, where Ros is preparing supper for Eli. She tells me that neighbour Ben will be sharing supper with us. Widowed since my last visit, he is eating with them in the evenings unless he has made other plans. I begin to set the yellow formica table for the meal. Ros loves to cook food and it appears effortless for her. There are three home-baked loaves, made this morning, on the cooling rack alongside the sink. I wrap them in foil, label them for her and take them to the deep-freeze in the basement. I dislike the slightly musty gas smell of the deep-freeze and am momentarily grateful once again for electricity. Out of fear, I check the dial on the gas bottle to see how much is still in there before it must be changed. Although I know that Ros will know exactly and have it marked on the calendar, I cannot help looking, in case it should run out of gas whilst I am here and ruin all the food.

Back upstairs, I can smell chicken cooking. Ros is not there. Through the window pane in the early evening sunshine, I see her walking back from the vegetable garden with a basket which I know will contain the colourful fresh vegetables for tonight and perhaps also for tomorrow. When she arrives, I see green-topped fronds of foliage on the orange carrots and bright green and dark red splotched lettuces, giant-sized purple red Amish paste tomatoes, bright yellow zucchini and lovely big leaves of dark green summer spinach. My mouth begins to water at the thought of it all on the table. I set about helping to prepare the vegetables. The steamy smells of the cooking food fill the kitchen and Eli arrives with Ben, both making comments about how good it smells even from the outside of the house. With the arrival of the men, an earthy slightly farmyard smell arrives in the kitchen. Neither of them are farming now, but they seem to carry the residue of a combined eighty years of dairy and pig farming with them daily. It has become a part of who they are.

Sitting at the table, a few minutes later, the clocks go through their chiming routine again. We wait for them to finish and Eli invites us to a silent grace before we eat. The food on our plates looks succulent and inviting. The chicken glistens and the salted skin looks crispy and delicious, the fresh vegetables are cooked to perfection and for this part of Pennsylvania, there is the almost obligatory bowl of apple sauce. The colourful meal on the cream plates appears worthy of a food stylist. I wonder whether Rosmanda would know someone earned money putting food onto plates, just so that it could be photographed for the cover of an English glossy magazine and then thrown away. The meal is as tasty as it appears. During the meal, I catch up on family news, express my condolences for Ben's loss, comment on the progress of the quilt and answer questions about Paul and when he will be arriving. The sound of knives and forks on earthenware plates sounds unusually loud and out of place. Eli asks me if I notice they have replaced their old beige melamine dishes with these new cream-coloured earthenware plates? That is the explanation for the sound of the cutlery on the plates although I had not been able to remember why today it seemed so loud. Cutlery on melamine is a small sound where this is raucous and more noticeable. I comment on the new plates, bought in a sale on a trip to Lancaster and agree that they are more modern. For dessert, Rosmanda has a cherry pie and vanilla ice cream from her brother's farm. He began the ice cream business about ten years ago. It is acknowledged as one of the best that can be bought around here and it is quite exceptional. I particularly like that you can see the flecks of vanilla pod in it. The cherries came from last year's harvest and have been in a Mason jar in the cellar since they were picked last summer. The meal is unhurried and we enjoy the time together. They seem to be as pleased to see me, as I am to be here once again. The men will be walking up the road to a singing practice but it only starts at 8pm, so no need to rush. They will sing for an hour and then Rosmanda and I will walk up to join them and several other wives and sisters gathered for snacks and ice cream afterwards. I hope it will not be longer or else I will be yawning and wanting my bed. Jet lag is so unpleasant. In my mind, it is already 11 o'clock at night, and there is still about four hours to go before they will think of bedtime so by the time I get to bed, my body will think it is 3am. That's a horrible thought. But I know I will enjoy hearing the men practise hymn singing, so I hope to hold out until then.

Rosmanda and I clear up the meal. As we wash the dishes, Eli and Ben put away the clean and dried dishes into the tidy, paper-lined cupboards that line the wall and the floor. Hand-made cabinets and furniture were a source of pleasure and not a little pride to Eli when he was younger. But these are practically past their best but still usable. The linoleum floor is easily swept after the meal, crumbs are thrown out for the birds, drying cloths pegged out to dry, out of sight on the string line inside the back door just before the laundry room.

Everything is tidied away. The windows are opened to get rid of the smell of cooking food from the house. They will be closed before we leave to walk up the lane.

I go into the bedroom to get a few minutes on my own. I do love to be here but the sense that you are never alone in an Amish home, soon begins to remind me that I am an introvert. I like to be with people but I also need to be able to escape to regroup. Ten minutes is sufficient. Laying down on the bed, looking over the fields, I enjoy the sights and sounds of an open window. There is almost silence, apart from the odd sound from the nearby fields. Horses occasionally clip-clop along the adjacent road. It is definite that I will not hear a mechanical noise because there are no engines on tractors or farm equipment here. The few pieces of heavy equipment are pulled by the team of tall brown mules. The wind carries the occasional shout or instruction to them. I resist the strong temptation to close my eyes, rouse myself and go into the bathroom. Forgetting where I am, I stroke the wall for an electric socket to turn on the light. There isn't one. I smile to myself and press the switch on the battery-operated lamp that illuminates the sink area, splash cold water onto my face, dry it with the stiff towel and return to the kitchen. It is still daylight, but I do not want to find out when we return to darkness that the battery in the light is not working.

Rosmanda is in her favourite chair, the green one, idly turning the pages on last week's copy of the Lancaster Intelligencer. I sit on the squashy settee and sink towards the floor. I place my Ziplok bag of cross-stitch on the table beside me nd begin to sew. It's a small, simple alphabet sampler. I look around the room for any more changes. The open pine shelves look the same, perhaps they are just a little more crowded with the china knick-knacks. The book case has more novels than previously, I notice that the Beverly Lewis collection has grown. Why would an older Amish woman read novels about improbable scenarios set in a fictional Amish community? There's a new medical dictionary and some books about how to build a pond and how to grow cacti, I have not noticed them before. We sit in companionable silence. Out of the window, I see a large black and white farm cat, carrying a small rat across the path. I know there are always rats on a farm but I do not like to be reminded of it.

After the men have gone to the singing, the phone rings in the shanty across the farmyard and Rosmanda gets up and hurries to answer it. She is out there more than twenty minutes and when she returns she is pink in the face and looks excited. She has twin granddaughters and there will be a double wedding in a few months' time in the middle of wedding season and not only that, but the girls are marrying two brothers. They live about 40 miles away, so visits are not so frequent. It is exciting news. Rosmanda changes her dress for something a little warmer and we walk up the lane talking about Amish weddings and how much work will have to be done to get ready for it.

We were not disappointed by the singing and I am feeling warm, content and aware of my privilege when we return to the house. Walking up the land and smelling the fresh air, I experience a feeling of excitement and liberation – there seems to be so much space here, not just physically but living as they do within carefully set boundaries, I always have a sense that they enjoy security and freedom. I like it here. Both Eli and Rosmanda laugh at me, carrying my torch on the way back from the singing, I open the door and immediately stroke the wall, even though I know there can be no light switch there. They tease me that I have been away too long (Excerpt from Research Journal).

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule

Thank them for meeting with me.

Explain what I'm doing. I'm looking to find out what has changed in the lives of OO and NO women in the last 30 years. Explain about confidentiality – emphasise I won't be sharing their info with anyone.

Ask if I can record the interview. Explain about transcribing it and that they can have a copy, emphasise no one in US will see it.

- Tell me about your family
- Tell me about how you live
- Follow-up questions about their answers
- What sort of changes can you identify
- What was different in your mother's life?
- Follow-up questions about their answers
- How you feel about the changes?
- What kind of equipment do you have in the home that you did not grow up having?
- How has that affected how you live?
- Follow-up questions…?
- Ask about whether life is more or less strict now? In what way? Why do you think this is the case?
- Follow-up questions?
- I've met quite a few Amish who have identified travelling as one of the changes. How would you view that?
- How much contact do you have with the English compared to previously?

Summarise what they've said and check if they want a transcript. Remind them it will be 6 – 8 weeks before it arrives in the post.

Thank them for their time.

Appendix 5: Sample page of Interview transcript

thing is that where women used to stay at home more, there are now more opportunities to volunteer. I do quite a bit of helping church people if they get behind with their work, for example with a broken wrist (smiles knowingly), the ladies will go bringing in meals, bringing supper. When you look after each other, it makes for a close-knit church and fellowship.

OPPS TO VOLUNTEER

Husband (Freeman) We have 4 girls and 1 boy and they are wonderful to us, they mow the yard, do the garden or help clean the house. Most people did that years ago, but nowadays, it's not so common except in the church. We've been married 50 years in September.

AM Another thing that's changed, I'd say is that the cooking is different. When I was a child, we had meat, potatoes, vegetables and desserts. Now we have different kind of foods, like casseroles, food, pudding and stews. We used to do a lot more of making our own stuff, make cereals, butcher a hog or share a cow, make bread. Now not so many people do that anymore. I would say we've been affected by prosperity, people have more money and more time. When we were children we worked on a farm, we were tired at the end of the day and we went to bed. Now, with more conveniences and being fewer farmers, people have more time. The youngsters play ball in the evenings, they have socials and they get together, and all this affects not just the youth, but if affects the parents, they have a different relationship and that's a big change. It affects the parents because I was apprehensive to ask my Dad if I could play ball. I couldn't ignore the work we had to do, the work had to come first and I had to respect that. But now, it's not the close knit kind of thing it used to be. I don't think.
Another thing is that we have more conveniences. We had an old wringer washer, but now they don't. Even the refrigerator it runs on gas, natural gas and we have gas on our own land. Long ago we didn't have the refrigerator or freezer. It has affected the way we cook. If we had a half gallon of ice cream, we had to eat it, because we had no way to keep it. When I was a child, we had an Iceman visit, and he came with an ice box and that kept stuff chilled. Then we got kerosene refrigerators then natural gas. It's different now because now we have that, we freeze food where we used to can it.

COOKING IS DIFFERENT

DO LESS OF OWN PREPN.

LESS BUTCHERING

MORE CONVENIENCES

PEOPLE HAVE MORE TIME ∵ NOT FARMING.

YOUNGIE SOCIALISE MORE

MORE CONVENIENCES

FH So you can anything?

FREEZE MORE CAN LESS.

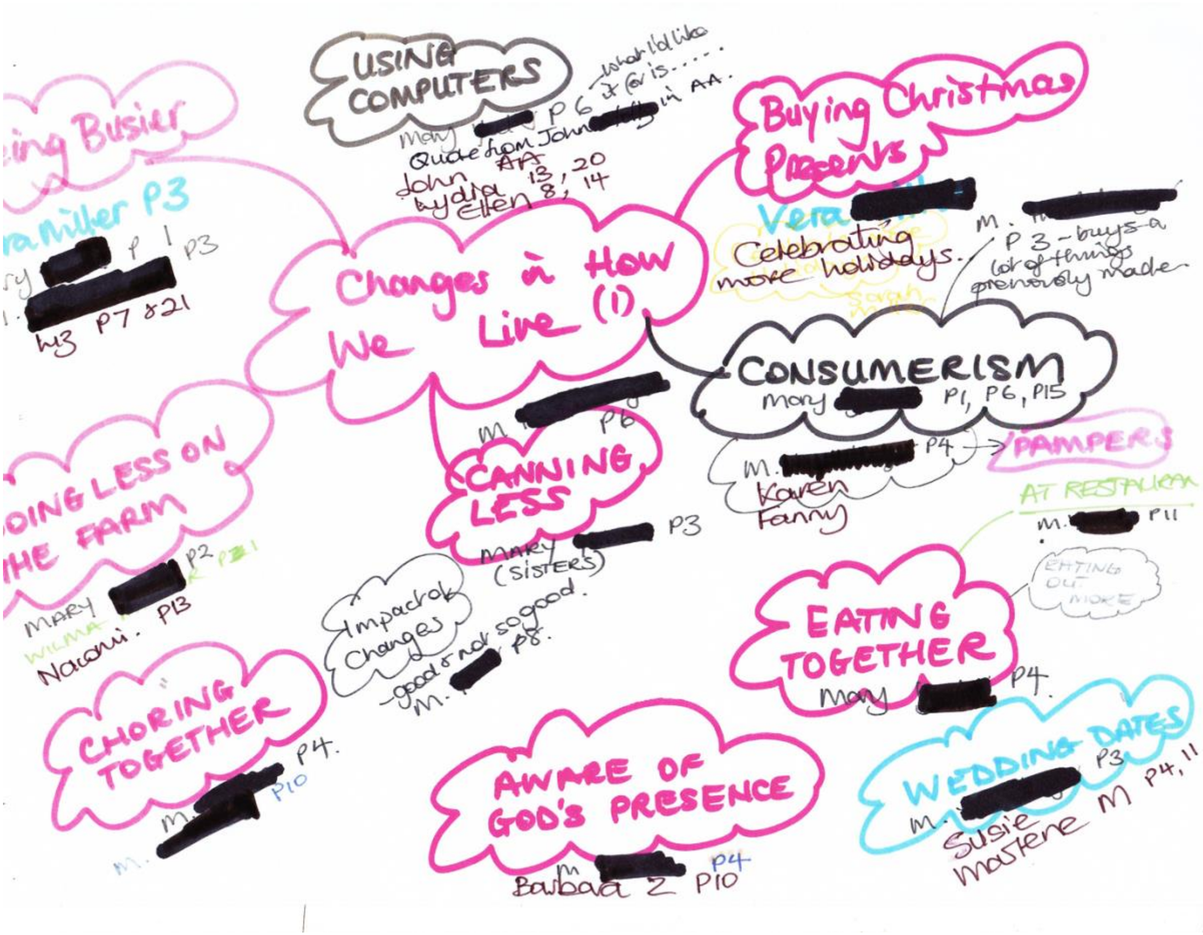
AM Yes, we still can green beans, peaches but they're not home grown, pears, apple sauce. Tomato sauce and pizza sauce and I make Chilli and Vegetable soup. Casseroles, I make all sorts and can or freeze them, potatoes, hamburger, noodles, chicken gumbo and macaroni.

FH Do you still sew as much as before?

≠ MAKE SHIRTS.

AM I make our own clothes with a treadle machine not a battery one, but I don't sew that much. I don't make Freeman's shirts but I do make his pants. The treadle keeps me fit!
You see, we farmed, we milked cows and had 100 chickens we grew corn and hay and had to feed all those chickens. I had 2 brothers and 2 sisters, we were Old Order Amish.

Appendix 6: Mind Map Summarising Interviews



Appendix 7: Glossary of Pennsylvanian Deutsch Words

Anner Satt Leit – other people - people who are not Amish.

Bann – the act of excommunication, intended to draw the shunned person, back into fellowship.

Gelassenheit – conveys the idea of yielding to God and overcoming selfish behaviours.

Gemeinde – the same word for church and community. Sometimes written Gmay.

Gross Gmay – is literally 'big church' but refers not to numbers but to the Sunday when the Amish take communion, twice a year.

Halsduch – literally means 'neck cloth' and is the triangular piece of cloth Amish women wear over their dresses, sometimes tucked into the waistband of their skirt.

Kapp – white prayer covering, worn by Amish women, although they may wear a plain black scarf for working in the garden.

Ordnung – literally means 'Order' or 'Discipline' it is the set of rules agreed in each community. A blueprint for expected and forbidden behaviour.

Rumspringa – a liminal period of life for young people after the age of 16 before they are baptised. Literally means 'Running around' time. It's a period when they have been raised Amish and immersed in the teaching but not yet joined the church, and decided for themselves that they want to follow God and be Amish for the rest of their lives.

Swartzentruber – the lowest or plainest group of Amish people. They do not have indoor plumbing, do not have upholstered seating in the home and rarely use cars, except in a serious emergency.

Uffgeva – literally means 'to give myself up'

Unser satt Leit – Our sort of people, and usually means Amish.

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