

ABSTRACT

AN EXAMINATION OF CHILD ABUSE IN FIVE BEACHY AMISH CONGREGATIONS: AN APPLICATION OF KORBIN'S CROSS-CULTURAL MODEL OF CHILD ABUSE

By

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The following study is an examination of Korbin's (1991) cross-cultural model of child abuse within five Beachy Amish congregations. Three cultural factors that contribute to child abuse were examined: 1) the presence of "vulnerable children" 2) embeddedness of child rearing in Social Networks and 3) stability over time. Telephone interviews were conducted to determine the presence of these structures and the nature of Beachy Amish life. Results indicated that the congregations contained no categories of vulnerable children, high levels of embeddedness of child rearing, and stability over time. Therefore the incidence of abuse within the congregation would be the result of individual deviance, not the result of cultural factors. Discussion examines the limitations of the sample, the study and implications for future research.

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IN FIVE BEACHY AMISH CONGREGATIONS:
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MODEL OF CHILD ABUSE

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this project to the eight Beachy Amish gentlemen who took part in this study. Their kindness and generosity provided inspiration for this project and my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	v
Acknowledgement	vi
Chapter I INTRODUCTION	1
Philosophical Statement	7
Chapter II LITERATURE REVIEW	9
History of Child Abuse: Discovery of the Problem	10
The Psychopathological Model	13
The Environmental Model	19
The Ecological Model	23
The Cross-Cultural Model	26
Cross-Cultural Literature	32
Beachy Amish	37
Research Questions	43
Chapter III METHOD	49
Problems of Obtaining Interviews	49
Interview Protocol	50
Interview Content	51
Definitions	55
Coding Criteria	56
Selection of Subjects	58

Chapter IV	FINDINGS	60
General Findings		62
Individual Case Findings		76
Chapter V	DISCUSSION	91
Strengths and Limitations		91
Suggestions for Future Research		100
BIBLIOGRAPHY		102
APPENDICES		108
Appendix A		109
Appendix B		113

List of Tables

Table I. RESULTS OF DATA COLLECTION FORMAT	8
Table II. RESULTS OF DATA COLLECTION	114

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the structures that exist within five Beachy Amish congregations that influence the incidence of child abuse. The theoretical foundations of this case study follow the work of Korbin (1991) who suggested that the prevalence of child abuse within a culture is a direct result of the structures that exist within that culture regulating child rearing behaviors. This study consists of a series of telephone interviews that examine the structures in five different Beachy Amish communities. The interviews will then be examined within the theoretical context provided primarily by Korbin (1991) to determine the sufficiency of these structures and to examine the incidence of child abuse within these communities.

The study begins in an attempt to review the relevant literature on the development of definitions of child abuse. Included in the literature review is an examination of the cross-cultural literature and its relevance in creating a valid definition of child abuse. The literature review then examines Beachy Amish culture.

The literature review traces the development of the definitions of child abuse. Since the "discovery" of child abuse in the late 1800's to the present, the problem of defining child abuse has

interfered with advances in research, intervention, and prevention. The literature reflects changes within the definition of child abuse as the causes and consequences of abuse become better understood. The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act defined child abuse as: The physical or mental injury, sexual abuse or exploitation, negligent treatment or maltreatment of a child under the age of 18... (Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 1989).

The literature review examines the evolution of child abuse definitions within four theoretical models: the psychopathological model, the environmental model, the ecological model, and the cross-cultural model. The models are presented in chronological order and examined in terms of their contribution to child abuse definition.

In 1962, Kempe et al. published the paper, "The Battered Child." This paper formalized the psychopathological model of child abuse. This model conceptualizes abuse to children as a psychological phenomenon that is the product of psychopathology in an "abuser." Widely acclaimed (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972; Ammerman & Hersen, 1990), this model dominated both research and definition for the next ten years. Spinetta and Rigler (1972) reviewed the psychopathological model and examined its three areas. The first is the parental history, or the formative events in the life of an

abusive parent. The next area is attitude toward children, or how the parent deals with children according to cultural norms. The final area consists of personality variables including maturity and impulse control. Merrill (1962) found four clusters of personality variables that were used to form a "typology" to examine abusers. The four clusters of personality variables included pervasive hostility and aggressiveness, lack of empathy of the child, feelings of passivity and dependence, and inability to support one's family financially (Merrill, 1962).

In espousing an environmental model as an alternative, Gelles (1973) examined three major deficiencies of the psychopathological model. The first deficiency is the research from the psychopathological model which consisted of anecdotal studies drawn from a restrictive sample. The second criticism was the fact that those classified in the model frequently were not psychopathic, according to professionals. Finally, the sample of abusers was drawn from the those who exhibited the most severe abuse and/or state intervention. This article opened the field to an examination of other causes for the etiology of child abuse.

The next paradigm shift was produced by Belsky (1980) with the introduction of the ecological model. The ecological model synthesizes previously disparate theories, by operating on four

levels of integration. The first is the ontogenic level, which examines the history of the abuser. The second level is the microsystem, which examines the interactive process of the family and includes both antisocial and child-provoking behaviors. The third level is the exosystem, which consists of the family in its interactions with the institutions and pressures of the society in which it operates. Examples include unemployment and familial isolation. The final and most inclusive level is the culture in which all other levels operate, the macrosystem. It is at this level that the attitudes toward abuse are formulated.

Giovannoni and Beccera (1979) examined the role of the macrosystem in the process of defining child abuse within a society. In their book, Defining Child Abuse, the authors formulated a study in which subjects rated a series of situations to determine the presence/absence of abuse and the perceived seriousness of each. In this way the authors achieved two aims: 1) the examination of the process of defining child abuse through examining societal mores and 2) the attempt to reach a comprehensive definition of child abuse within their culture.

Korbin (1980) examined how the cultural system influences the other levels of society in terms of child abuse. Korbin presented three levels of child maltreatment definitions. The first level

described practices that are viewed as abusive by outsiders, but not by members of the culture in question. The next level included those practices that are not culturally sanctioned. These "deviant" behaviors are considered abuse within the culture in question. The final level consisted of those factors out of the control of the parent such as poor health care or famine. Within these levels, it is possible to delineate a definition of child abuse that includes an awareness of cultural bias.

To examine the theoretical model of Korbin, the Beachy Amish will be examined. The Beachy Amish are a moderate group whose beliefs share components of both Old Order Amish and more liberal Mennonite groups. The Beachy Amish permit the use of some "worldly" devices such as telephones and automobiles, allowing greater possibilities for contact with researchers. The Beachy Amish are organized into congregations that are led by ministers, deacons and bishops. These church leaders are willing to talk to those outside of the congregation, while other members are not likely to do so.

The method used within this study was the telephone interview. Eight Beachy Amish ministers and deacons participated. These men answered questions concerning life within their congregation, the structure of their community, their beliefs concerning child care and

child rearing, and discipline. The interview was structured around the work of Korbin (1991) in which she delineated the cultural components that contribute to the incidence of child abuse. These are 1) lack of "vulnerable children", that is children who are at risk due to unfavorable characteristics, 2) cohesive institutions that provide child care information, standards, and enforcement and 3) stability over time of these structures. Each category also represents one of the three research questions. These research questions are combined to answer the primary question: "Are the structures in the Beachy Amish congregations in this study sufficient to control the incidence of child abuse?"

The analysis of the information obtained in the interviews was examined in two stages. The first stage examined the overall conclusions drawn from the interview data. This analysis compared the individual congregations in an attempt to determine the presence or absence of Korbin's (1991) three components that control child abuse within Beachy Amish culture. The second stage examined the responses given by each subject within each research question. Each response was then coded according to the level of agreement between the definitions of stability, vulnerable children, and embeddedness of child care and the information obtained during telephone interviews. The information was then compiled (see Table

I, p.8) to illustrate trends within and across each community.

The discussion section examined the limitations of the study. Specifically, this section focuses on the limitations of the sample and the interview format. The sample is small, thus reducing its generalizability. The sample is also composed of church elders who are unlikely to reveal controversial information about their communities. The interview format is limited in this case by the closed nature of the subjects and by the controversial nature of the subject matter. Finally, the discussion suggests future research directions.

PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT

In examining the phenomenon of child abuse, a cross-cultural perspective seems to provide several benefits over studies performed within one's culture of origin. First, the cross-cultural perspective provides an opportunity to look for universal factors contributing to the etiology of child abuse. Second, the cross-cultural study allows researchers to modify beliefs, instruments and concepts that may be biased by the researcher's frame of reference (the culture of origin). Finally, a study that includes a broader cultural framework is a more generalizable study. A more generalizable study should give its conclusions greater validity, and a greater likelihood of utilization in prevention and treatment.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will trace the history of child abuse from early recognition of child abuse as a problem to current perspectives. The review begins with early recognition of the problem in radiological journals. The discovery of child abuse was completed by the publication of Kempe's (1962) paper "The battered child syndrome." This paper saw the introduction of the psychopathological model which focused on the psychological factors that cause abuse. The environmental model is both a critique of the narrow view of the psychopathological model and an attempt to include other factors in the etiology of child abuse. Belsky (1980) introduces the ecological model in which a series of interrelated levels influence the incidence of child abuse. A review of cross-cultural literature examines the biases of previous research and searches for universal factors that influence child abuse. Beachy Amish culture is examined through the existing literature and through the interview information provided by the subjects in the study. Finally, the literature provides several research questions that are delineated for examination by research.

History of Child Abuse: Discovery of the Problem

The review begins in 1946 with the publication of Caffey's article, "Multiple Fractures in the Long Bones of Infants Suffering From Chronic Subdural Hematoma." In this article, Caffey, a Pediatric Radiologist, discusses several cases involving these injuries in which there are incomplete or suspicious histories. These children are examined thoroughly for other causes such as malnutrition or disease, however all of the children are considered "healthy" with the exception of the injuries. Caffey concluded that, "The traumatic theory of causation has been accepted almost to the exclusion of all other causes despite the fact that a history of injury is lacking in almost one-half of the cases." (Caffey, 1946, p. 172). He also raised the question of parental maltreatment. He went so far as to suggest that, "In one of these cases the infant was clearly unwanted by both parents and this raised the question of intentional ill-treatment of the infant." (Caffey, 1946, p. 172). This article began a series of articles in the literature concerning the validity of charges by health care professionals of parental neglect and/or abuse.

In 1957, Silverman published, "The Roentgen Manifestations of Unrecognized Skeletal Trauma in Infants." Silverman discussed several cases in his care and reviewed the cases observed by Caffey.

He disagreed with Caffey on the cause and the circumstances around the injuries. Silverman concluded that the injuries were due to some unknown factor, "which predisposes some children more than others to a disease of abnormal bone healing." (Silverman, 1953, p. 422)

Silverman continued to rebuke Caffey by stating that the cause of the common injuries are due to parental concern rather than neglect. He stated that due to the case histories of parents, "the injury incurred is of no consequence compared to the possible sequelae to the injury from which the child may have been saved." (Silverman, 1953, p. 426) Finally he stated that the parents of injured children should not be interviewed, "in order not to precipitate a crisis in a difficult family situation." (Silverman, 1953, p. 426)

Wooley and Evans (1955) were the first to suggest that these sequelae were the result of parental abuse. In their 1955 paper, "Significance of Skeletal Lesions in Infants Resembling Those of Traumatic Origin," Wooley & Evans examined injuries to twelve infants that were inconsistent with the explanations of their origin. Wooley & Evans (1955) examined the case histories of each and examined the children in a thorough fashion to eliminate all other possible causes for their injuries. The results divided the children into three groups according to the etiology of their injuries: 1)

Injury by accident, 2) Injury due to unprotected environment, and 3) Injury due to aggressive, psychotic parent. (Wooley & Evans, 1955) In this article, the doctors not only accepted child abuse as a cause for childrens' injuries, but also lay the foundation for the first paradigm of child abuse definition and research: the psychopathological model. Wooley & Evans state that some of the children who were injured were in danger because, "they came invariably from unstable households with a high incidence of neurotic or frankly psychotic behavior on the part of at least one adult." (Wooley & Evans, 1955, p. 543)

Around this time, Caffey, in a speech to the Congress of the British institute of Radiology, reexamined his original conclusions and agreed with Wooley and Evans that the circumstances causing the trauma to the children of his original study was the result of parental abuse (Caffey, 1957). Caffey examined the role of the radiologist in early intervention and treatment of "injuries of abuse." (Caffey, 1957, p. 230). Caffey went so far as to suggest that, "The diagnosis of traumatic injury to infants and children is of more than academic interest, especially when the injuries are repeated and when the traumatic origin is denied by parents and other caretakers. The early diagnosis of injury may be the only means by which the abused youngsters can be removed from their traumatic

environment and their wrongdoers punished." (Caffey, 1957, p. 238).

Over the next five years many articles were published in journals of separate fields discussing children and the traumas inflicted upon them by their parents.

The Psychopathological Model

In 1962, Kempe, et al. published an article entitled, "The Battered Child Syndrome," in which he outlined the concept of child abuse that would dominate the 1960's. His formulation of child abuse was in the form of a medical or diagnostic approach. Within this approach, an abuser can be "diagnosed" and "treated" for the disorder. This approach discounts the effects of abuse and the factors surrounding the abusive incident, only the pathology of the abuser is of interest. It is this point, the psychopathology, at which intervention and treatment focus. The psychopathological model explains abuse as "Psychiatric forces [that] are of prime importance in the pathogenesis of the disorder." (Kempe, et al., 1962, p. 105). This model would dominate the research paradigm for the next ten years. It would gain popularity through the media and dominate the public's conception of child abuse, opening the field to greater scrutiny and interest from the lay public.

Kempe (1962) presented his paper at a conference of intervention professionals that included doctors, lawyers, and social workers. At this convention, a statute requiring child abuse reporting was drafted to release professionals of the burden of individual responsibilities, and also providing earlier intervention. Within five years, every state had a statute of child abuse reporting of professionals. (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972).

The paradigm popularized by Kempe, the psychopathology model, dominated not only the research during most of the 1960's, but also the public opinion about abuse and abusers. (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972). The study of child abuse gained legitimacy in academic circles, particularly in the field of psychology. (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972). Since the model explains child abuse as the product of a person with psychopathic tendencies, those studying abnormal psychology were the first to contribute to the field. Two of the leaders in researching the psychopathological model were Kaufman and Steele.

Kaufman hypothesized that the process of abuse begins with an "abuser" who is the product of childhood disturbance. The abuser then distorts reality when in the act of abusing a child. Further, the child is reduced to a "symbolic referent." (Kaufman, 1967.) This action reduces the child from a living being to an object, thus

severing the bonds and responsibilities of a nurturing parent and allowing an abusive attack. Although Kaufman's (1967) model is very specific in detail, it is not based on empirical evidence.

Steele's work in the field of abuse and the profiles of abusers constituted one of the most influential bodies of work in the psychopathological model. (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972). Two of his articles were the chapters contributed to The Battered Child, 1968 and Parenthood: Its Psychology and Psychopathology, 1971. His chapter in the book Parenthood: Its Psychology and Psychopathology, explained abuse in terms of the abuser, with little emphasis on the circumstances of abuse. The abuser sees the child as existing primarily to "satisfy parental needs." (Steele, 1971, p. 450) The child is seen as fulfilling the unsatisfied needs from the parent's own childhood and life. And when these unrealistic needs are not met by the child, then the child is beaten as "discipline" for not doing what was expected. The abuse is seen as coercion for the child to respond in the future to the demands of the parent.

The parent who abuses is also seen as experiencing abuse in his or her own childhood. This is an important factor in the development of abuse for several reasons according to the model. First, the child of abuse upon becoming a parent uses his or her experience in childhood as a model for parenting. Secondly, the child of abuse

develops a diminished sense of autonomy and feels, "deeply crushed by disapproval." (Steele, 1971, p. 461).

In 1972, Spinetta and Rigler published a review of the literature concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the psychopathological model. In this article, the authors explained the essence of the model, "There is a defect in character structure which in the presence of added stress, gives way to uncontrolled physical expression." (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972, p. 296). In this explanation, the authors not only explained the phenomenon as primarily an individual, psychological problem, but anticipate the criticisms of those from sociological orientations. This is crystallized in the following statement, "if it is true that the majority of parents in the socially and economically deprived segments of the population do not batter their children, then one must look for the causes of child abuse beyond socioeconomic stresses." (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972, p. 297). The article examines three areas in which the model explains the phenomenon of child abuse. The total conceptualization of these areas consist of a synthesis of materials within the paradigm.

The first area is parental history. This area consists of the formative events in the life of the abusive parent that have produced the "deficits in character structure" that lead to abuse. This

reflects the psychodynamic orientation of the model, limiting the generalizability of its conclusions. The authors report that, "Abusing parents were themselves abused or neglected, physically or emotionally, as children." (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972, p. 298). Further, when children of abuse or neglect become parents, they often, "recreate" the parenting styles in which they were raised.

The second area of focus is the attitude of abusive parents toward their children. The authors stated that, "abusing parents lack appropriate knowledge of child rearing, and that their attitudes, expectations, and child rearing techniques set them apart from non abusive parents. The abusing parents implement culturally accepted norms for raising children with an exaggerated intensity and at an inappropriately early age." (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972, p. 299). Although most of the evidence to support this is anecdotal, the authors cited a study by Gregg & Elmer (1969), in which two groups, abusive mothers and non-abusive mothers, were compared on knowledge of child care and performance of child care tasks. The non-abusive mothers scored significantly higher in terms of both knowledge and performance of child care supporting the authors' hypothesis.

The final area was source and content of the personality and motivation variables. The general description of the personality of

an abusive parent is one that, "allows aggressive impulses to be expressed too freely." (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972, p. 301). However, there was general disagreement on how these characteristics are developed. Theories range from inability to face daily stress, to a personality that is egocentric and immature. In finding many similar characteristics between abusers, the common elements were combined to form "typologies." The most extensive typology was compiled by Merrill in 1962.

Merrill found four clusters of personality characteristics in abusers. The first was, "pervasive aggressiveness and hostility." (Merrill, 1962, p. 27). This general characteristic ascribed to abusers was explained as, "[stemming] from conflicts within the parents and was often rooted in their early childhood experiences." (Merrill, 1962, p. 28). Childhood experiences that create the framework for dysfunctional behavior when confronted. The second group of characteristics were defensiveness, rigidity, and lacking warmth. These characteristics are displayed not only to parenting, but in the parent's overall behavior. This group of characteristics tends to substantiate harsh or excessive punishment and inappropriate reactions. The third group consists of strong feelings of passivity and dependence. These traits are demonstrated in the need to look to others for decisions. Within this cluster of traits are

the foundations for the cycle of abuse. Specifically, those who were abused as children will use their experiences as guides for their behavior. The final group includes inability to support one's family. Merrill discusses this cluster in terms of the inability to hold jobs, provide nurturance , and take responsibility for the family. Taken together, these traits are intended to give a composite of the abuser.

As demonstrated by the literature, the study of child abuse was initially a study of the "abuser." The "abuser" is someone that has likely been abused as a child, and who has a distorted conception of the parent/child relationship. Through these early traumas, the "abuser" will develop personality and behavioral schemas that will be "pathological." Therefore the cause of abuse is the person who abuses. The psychopathological model did not focus on the aspects of environment outside of childhood trauma, or any other possible etiology for abuse.

The Environmental Model

In 1973, Gelles published the paper, "Child Abuse as Psychopathology: A Sociological Critique and Reformulation." This paper was a criticism of the psychopathology model that examined its inadequacies through the introduction of social and cultural factors that influence child abuse outside of psychopathology. Gelles

examined the "deficiencies" of the psychopathological model in three ways: 1) Explained that using one variable is too narrow to account for abusive activities. 2) Demonstrated the inadequacies of the model by explaining that not all abusers are "psychopaths." And 3) called into question the research that supports the psychopathological model on the grounds that the research is biased in terms of the subjects it had used and the questions of overall representativeness.

The first area examines the single variable for child abuse. According to Gelles (1972), initial research on the psychopathological model was anecdotal, consisting of case studies of those who were identified as abusers. The samples were assumed to be representative of the population of abusers, however this assumption was seldom questioned and subsequent research based on this assumption began to show the weakness of this hypothesis. For example, Steele and Pollock (1968) began their research with one subject whom they described as a "gold mine of psychopathology" (Steele & Pollock, 1968, p. 59). When the researchers began random sampling they found that their subjects, "would not seem much different than a group of people...one would meet on a downtown street." (Steele & Pollock, 1968, p. 59). Kempe, et. al. (1962) stated that abusers may not simply be those with psychopathic disorders.

The second criticism, the lack of psychopathy of abusers, was primarily demonstrated by the lack of consensus among professionals of the characteristics of psychopathy. As stated in Gelles (1972, p. 614), "...of nineteen traits listed by the authors, there was agreement by only two authors on four traits. Each remaining trait was mentioned by only a single author". Another part of this criticism was the lack of empirical evidence to support this model. Gelles asserted that the bulk of the anecdotal evidence was ex post facto, or after the fact. That is, researchers based their hypotheses on observations such as "abusers lack emotional control" or "react with poorly controlled aggression." These observations create labels that are placed on people, then people are tested for the labels they have been given. Gelles referred to this as "circular logic." (1972, p. 614).

A final criticism was the sampling procedures and their subsequent representativeness. Most of the early research was done from hospital records or police/psychological files. Thus, the subjects were drawn from those who were severe abusers and who had been the recipients of state intervention. In an era when abuse was not widely acknowledged, state intervention was rare, the sample itself would be small. This sample would be skewed towards the severe end of abuse and would also reflect a more serious range

of factors contributing to the abuse (Gelles, 1973).

The article published by Gelles changed the way in which child abuse was defined. The article changed the definition of abuse from an effect of a disturbed individual to include forces in society that motivate people who are not necessarily psychotic. Gelles opened the definition to a many-faceted problem. Abuse was also considered to be the result of sociocultural factors. Gelles placed the cause of child abuse as primarily environmental, ignoring other factors that may contribute to the overall pattern of abuse. He accomplished this by demonstrating the lack of sufficient causality within the psychopathological model. Since the psychopathological model does not explain the phenomenon of child abuse completely, other causes must exist.

Following the Gelles article, the study of child abuse widened perspective to include the factors of society. During the 1970's, the literature concerning child abuse focused on the disparities between the psychopathological model and the social perspectives. Legislation was passed on a national level to protect children, and to study child abuse.

The Ecological Model

In 1980, Belsky published the paper, "Child Maltreatment and Ecological Integration." This paper was a synthesis of the previously disparate perspectives that were competing at the time. The ecological theory of child abuse dealt with many perspectives as parts of a larger model that functions within the parameters of four inter-connecting levels, each influenced by and influencing the others. The four levels are personality development, family, society and finally the culture in which these operate.

The first level is the ontogenic level. This level is concerned with the personal development of the abuser. Several factors are associated with the development of the abuser, the most common is the presence of abuse in the childhood of the abuser. Other factors associated are lack of nurturance by one's mother, being rewarded for antisocial behavior, and emotional deprivation. This level reflects the work of the psychopathological model by integrating it into a larger context.

The second level of influence is the microsystem, or the family. This includes not only child abuse but also, spouse abuse and factors that children contributed to their own abuse. The factors that influence this level include premature birth, colic, lack of social responsiveness and physical and mental handicaps. Beyond these

situational factors, Belsky describes some of the interactional factors that may elicit abuse. These factors may include antisocial behaviors, physical aggressiveness and defiance. In fact in one observational study, abusive families displayed 60% more negative behavior (defined as threats and complaints) toward each other and (40%) less positive interactions (defined as affectionate and supportive behaviors) (Burgess & Conger, 1978).

The third level of the model is the exosystem, or the society in which the family operates. This level examines the influence of factors outside of the family on the relations within the family. The forces of society are conceptualized as positive and negative pressures on the individuals within the family. The two major examples given by the author are familial isolation and unemployment. When a family is socially isolated, the family is more prone to abuse for two major reasons. First, the family is unable to have the child rearing practices of society reinforced. In addition the family is not "monitored" by others in the community. This is an example of how society positively "pressures" behavior. The second example, unemployment, is an example of how society creates "negative" stress on the family. The pressures brought on the family, and the individual by losing a job not only create personal stresses such as low self esteem and hostility, but other,

more tangible, problems such as lack of money.

Finally, the culture in which all of these levels operated is the fourth and most inclusive level. The culture in which the individual, family and societal structures operate are all determined by the beliefs of the culture. At this level are the philosophical underpinnings of all levels operating within it. An example of such a belief is the society's attitude toward physical punishment. For example, in our society there is tolerance for physical or corporal punishment. The use of force is condoned in certain actions, for instance the use of force by police or by parents in the act of discipline is acceptable. In many societies violent acts would not be tolerated throughout the culture, therefore corporal punishment would be considered abusive.

The ecological model is at its most inclusive level when examining the role of culture. Culture influences all of the beliefs and behaviors within the other three levels. Therefore it is at this level that the beliefs within a culture that will influence child abuse will be formulated. By formulating the phenomenon of child abuse as a multi-faceted problem, Belsky (1980) legitimized the study of culture as a factor in child abuse.

Giovannoni & Beccera examined the process of defining child abuse in a similar fashion in their 1979 book, Defining Child Abuse.

The book examined the difficulties of defining child abuse by interviewing intervention professionals and lay people. Giovannoni & Beccera examined the macrosystem (cultural context) through the subjects' attitudes toward child abuse. Thereby eliciting a framework from which the rest of the system derives its definition, and subsequently the perceptions of how to conceptualize the problem.

Defining Child Abuse (1979) examines the responses of intervention professionals in terms of how they would rate specific behaviors derived from child abuse cases in terms of their "severity." The researchers found general agreement on severity, with sexual abuse and severe physical abuse being rated most serious. The examination of these behaviors demonstrated the difficulties of reaching consensus in a definition of child abuse. The researchers created an instrument that explores the relationship between social and cultural context and the definition of child abuse.

The Cross-Cultural Model

If the cultural system and the societal institutions are partially responsible for abuse, then it is important to understand how culture affects the attitudes that will influence child abuse. Korbin

formulated a methodology to study cross-cultural child abuse. This methodology consisted of three levels of "culturally appropriate definitions of child maltreatment." (Korbin, 1991, p. 68) These include 1) cultural differences in child rearing practices and beliefs, 2) idiosyncratic departure from one's cultural continuum of acceptable behavior, and 3) societal harm to children. (Korbin, 1991, p. 68).

The first level includes "practices that are viewed as acceptable in the culture in which they occur, but as abusive or neglectful by outsiders." (Korbin, 1991). Within this level are practices of parenting, discipline, and rituals that serve the purpose of producing adults that reflect culture of origin. More importantly, this level examines the relationship between societal rules that govern parenting and the community/society view on acceptable behaviors. Related to this is an article by Starr (1988) in which he examined four components in child maltreatment: 1) the intentionality of the act, 2) the impact of the act on the child, 3) value judgments about the act, and 4) the cultural and societal standard upon which the act is evaluated. The cultural level is the examination of the fourth and subsequently the third components of Starr's (1980) model. Starr's article clearly delineates the cultural norms and how they are evaluated, allowing the first level of Korbin's model to be examined

with greater theoretical precision.

The second level of Korbin's (1991) model examines behaviors that are not accepted within the culture in question. This level presupposes two things: 1) the culture under study must be understood to ascertain "normal" behavior, and 2) the mechanisms of determining "deviance" within the culture under study must also be understood. Finally, these "deviant" behaviors must be examined within the context of the culture in which they occur. The work of Edgerton (1976) illuminates the problems of examining deviance within another culture. Edgerton (1976) explains that deviant behavior is defined as being outside of the community norms. When this concept is applied to the subject of child maltreatment, it defines the second level of Korbin's model as this: child rearing or disciplinary behavior seen as outside of the accepted norms of the community may be seen as abuse within that community.

The final level consists of those factors that are beyond the control of the parent. These include poverty, inadequate housing, and poor health care. It is within these three criteria that Korbin (1991) attempts to create a universal definition for child care.

After examining the methods of studying cross-cultural child abuse, Korbin (1991), in a review of the cross-cultural literature, found three variables that will influence child maltreatment. These

categories have been linked to conditions under which child abuse is prevalent. These include categories of vulnerable children, embeddedness of child rearing networks which includes redistribution and consensus/enforcement, and rapid social change.

Korbin (1991, p. 71-72) cited the eight categories of vulnerable children:

- 1) health status- children with inferior health status are more likely to receive inferior care or more punishment than healthy infants. This is due to the belief held by some cultures that stronger children should survive.

- 2) deformed or handicapped children- are often considered a burden by parents, however some cultures, like the Amish, perceive them not only as special, but "gifts from God." (Personal Communication, Subject A).

- 3) Excess/unwanted children- children that stress family resources are more likely to be abused. The economic system in which the child lives may help determine this. For example, in America each child presents an economic responsibility for parents, however, the Old Order Amish cannot operate a large farm without the help of many children, thereby making those children an economic asset.

4) children born under difficult circumstances- may be seen as a bad omen or resented by the mother.

5) developmental stage- In our culture, toddlers receive more abuse than older children, particularly during toilet training. This depends on the culture's beliefs concerning how responsible a child should be for their actions and the knowledge of the parent concerning these age-appropriate beliefs.

6) Gender- cultural value of gender will influence the amount and quality of care children will receive

7) Behaviors and personality characteristics- children with unwanted behaviors or characteristics are more likely to be abused

8) Diminished social supports- children born out of wedlock or step-children may be more likely to be abused.

~~Embeddedness~~ Embeddedness of child rearing in social networks consists of three areas. First, the parent is assisted with child care. Assistance in the form of someone to take care of the child and relieve the parent of sole responsibility for the child, thus decreasing the stress on the parent. In addition to assistance, an integrated network provides an opportunity to share information within the community.

The second area is redistribution. Children may be temporarily or permanently transferred to another household. Some cultures

redistribute children for educational purposes or rites of passage. These factors include other caretakers than the parent or parents.

The final area of the social network is consensus and enforcement. This includes sharing responsibility, thus allowing a community standard to be understood by all involved. For example, in some Amish communities, many families live in multi-generational households. This allows the child rearing patterns to be guided by previous generations, while being reinforced at the same time. Further, those involved in the community will enforce these standards and question deviant practices such as severe beatings.

The final variable is a situation of rapid social change. During these times, the standards of the community are in flux and therefore hard to define and enforce. Communities may also undergo changes that will loosen the bonds of responsibility, thus reducing the cohesion of the community itself, resulting in isolated individuals.

After the introduction of the theoretical perspectives involved in the study of child maltreatment cross-culturally, several researchers (Wagatsuma, 1981; Samuda 1988; Hong & Hong 1991) have begun to test these theories in the form of ethnographies or case studies. More recent studies are quantitative in nature utilizing instruments used previously in intra-cultural studies.

Cross-Cultural Literature

Korbin (1981b) examined the influence of modern Chinese culture on child rearing and child abuse. This study consisted of interviews with Chinese health officials, ethnographies and interviews with Chinese citizens. The paper specifically examined changes that occurred in child care after communism. The findings suggested that the doctrines of communism dramatically reduced the occurrence of abuse by rejecting the doctrines of filial piety, or the practice of "honoring parents." (Korbin, 1981b) For example, under filial piety a child born out of wedlock or a step-child was treated very differently than a child born to a married couple. Under communism, all children, even those of other marriages or out of wedlock, are expected to be cared for under the "marriage law" clearly stated as such "Neither husband nor wife may maltreat or discriminate against children born of a previous marriage by either party and in that party's custody." (Korbin, 1981b, p. 169) Another example is the fact that the government adopts all orphaned children frequently neglected by others under filial piety. Korbin concludes that the incidence of abuse has diminished substantially under communism, due to the rejection of the doctrines of filial piety.

Wagatsuma (1981) examined the prevalence of abuse in Japan. The study examined the fact that the prevalence of child abuse in Japan

is far lower than in the United States. However, according to Wagatsuma this statistic may be misleading. Wagatsuma (1981) examined the prevalence of three types of abuse that are almost non-existent in the U.S. but are not uncommon in Japan. These were child abandonment, infanticide and parent-child suicide. In Japan, structures such as community strength, redistribution networks, and wanted children control most of the physical abuse. Although physical abuse is much less frequent in Japan, other forms are fairly common. The first was child abandonment. Child abandonment occurs when a child is not wanted or not able to be provided for economically. In Japanese society child abandonment is more prevalent than physically abuse. The second form of abuse is infanticide. Again, like abandonment, infanticide is the result of an unwillingness to provide for the child that is not wanted. According to Wagatsuma (1981) children born with handicaps are most likely to be killed by their parents. The final category is joint suicide. This category is seen as a result of an inability to provide for the family, or the result of some disgrace. The cases in Japan tend to demonstrate the cultural characteristics that shape abuse through culture.

Samuda (1988) examined the relationship between child discipline and abuse in Hong Kong. In the study, 100 college students

were given a questionnaire designed to ascertain the respondents' experience of discipline and child care in and out of their homes. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first asked subjects to report the types of punishment observed and the second part asked subjects to give an approval rating for the punishment observed. Results showed that 95% of the subjects reported physical punishment, with spanking being most common. However, 46% of the subjects reported being beaten in their homes or other severe forms of discipline. The subjects approval ratings decreased as the severity of the punishment increased. For example, ignoring the child was observed by 73% of the subjects, and approved by 38%. However, 57% observed beatings and only 2% of the subjects approved. Samuda (1988, p. 283) explains the results in this manner, "Discipline is central to a filial society, to insure that children will obey and care for their parents." And further states that, "children are seen with injuries where culturally acceptable discipline has been excessive." (Samuda, 1988, p. 287).

Buriel, et al. (1991) compared two groups of Mexican-American mothers: native-born and foreign-born in terms of their attitudes toward child maltreatment. In this study, 63 mothers of Mexican decent (36 born in Mexico and 27 born in the U.S.) were interviewed and given five hypothetical situations describing misconduct. For

each situation, the mothers were asked to rate four methods of discipline (spanking, scolding, prohibition from watching TV, and verbal reasoning) on a five point scale in terms of the likelihood of usage. The second part of the study consisted of three vignettes describing child maltreatment that were rated on the same five point scale in three categories: whether the incident should be reported, whether the parent in question was good/bad, and how serious the situation was to the child's welfare. The results of the interviews showed that foreign-born mothers were more likely than native-born mothers to use physical discipline. All other disciplinary practices were not significantly different. Only one vignette in the child maltreatment series was significantly different. The vignette was one which described physical harm to the child, viewed as more serious by foreign-born mothers. No others were significantly different. Overall, the study found foreign-born mothers reported greater likelihood of using spanking and verbal reasoning. Native-born mothers used scolding more often than spanking. Finally, both groups rely more heavily on deprivation of privileges, which.. "does not appear to be the result of acculturation." (Buriel, et al., 1991, p. 91).

Hong & Hong (1991) examined the differences between Chinese-Americans, Hispanic-Americans and Whites in terms of their

attitudes about child abuse and their opinions on intervention by child abuse professionals. The study asked 50 subjects from each ethnic group to answer two questionnaires. The first consisted of twelve vignettes describing possible child abuse that the subjects rated on a seven-point scale, with one indicating no abuse/neglect and seven indicating severe abuse/neglect. The results found the Chinese-Americans to have the lowest overall scores in terms of severity, followed closely by whites. The Hispanic-Americans gave the highest ratings in terms of severity. The second questionnaire examined the choice of intervention by child care professionals. The Chinese-Americans chose intervention less frequently than the other groups. Hispanic-American subjects were the most willing to choose agency intervention in abusive situations. In the discussion of the study, Hong & Hong (1991, p. 470) state that "the Chinese appear to be more reluctant to impose intervention on a family." Hong and Hong (1991) seem to agree with Samuda in their observation that Chinese culture is responsible for the condoned use of physical force and the belief that the family should not be intruded upon by outside forces.

Beachy Amish

Information for the following section is taken largely from The Mennonite Encyclopedia edited by Dyck and Martin (1990) unless otherwise noted.

The Beachy Amish, or Amish-Mennonites, are a relatively new development in the Amish and Mennonite communities. The Beachy Amish came about in the late 1920's in Salisbury, PA. from the Casselman River congregation. During this time the congregation was discussing the merits of new conveniences like telephones and automobiles, when the issue of "streng-meidung" or strict banning arose. In this case, the membership of the congregation disagreed on whether people who joined different congregations should be shunned. The minister of this congregation, Moses M. Beachy, took a moderate position on the Meidung issue, resulting in the splitting of the congregation. His position favored the use of the Meidung only in religious life, not in social contact. Those who disagreed with Moses Beachy returned to the Old Order Amish, those who chose to stay in his congregation became known as the Beachy Amish. Soon after this split, the congregation approved the use of telephones and automobiles along with other worldly devices. (Yoder, 1987).

During the 1950's and 1960's, membership in the Beachy Amish began to increase rapidly with congregations in Ohio, Illinois,

Michigan, Iowa and Indiana among other states. Most of the members came from Old Order Amish congregations, however some came from Mennonite or similar backgrounds. Today, there are approximately 6,530 members in 53 congregations. (Dyck & Martin, 1990).

During this time, the Beachy Amish took an interest in missionary work culminating in the founding of the Amish Mennonite Aid (AMA). In 1955, at a meeting at the Weavertown Amish Mennonite church, the AMA was organized to provide relief work by Beachy Amish under the supervision of Beachy Amish. The organization has developed programs in Belize, El Salvador and Paraguay. (Dyck & Martin, 1990).

The Beachy Amish are a moderate group on the continuum of Amish-Mennonite faith. Although they are characterized as more "worldly" than more conservative Amish factions, they are not extensively involved in the world outside of their community. The Beachy Amish are a high context community, which as described by Hostetler (1980, p. 18) is a culture:

in which people are deeply involved with one another. Awareness of situations, experience, activity, and one's social standing is keenly developed. Information is widely shared. Simple messages with deep meaning flow freely. There are many levels of communication-overt and covert, implicit and explicit signs and symbols, and body gestures, and things one may and may not talk about. Members are sensitive to a screening process that distinguishes outsiders from insiders.

Since the Beachy Amish are essentially a derivation of both the Mennonite and Amish faiths, their influences are easily traced. (Dyck & Martin, 1990).

Old Order Amish influences include small congregations, organization and selection of ministers, and the Ordnung (discipline). Old Order Amish influence is prevalent in the composition of the church leadership and behavior. Beachy and Old Order Amish believe that no great hierarchy should exist within the church leadership, therefore church officials are chosen from the membership and given no official power within the community. This is known as an egalitarian church, and sometimes referred to as a "sect" instead of a religion. (Hostetler, 1980, p. 6). The use of the Meidung, or banning, dates back to Jacob Ammon. However, the Beachy Amish are not as severe in their use of this practice as the Old Order Amish. The Old Order Amish use the Meidung as a punishment for any transgression to their community or way of life in all areas including community life, church, school, and even sharing of labor. The Beachy Amish do not condemn as harshly or for the same reasons. Moral transgressions are similar, however use of worldly items and leaving the community are not as strictly punished in Beachy Amish congregations as in Old Order Amish congregations.

Mennonite influences include Sunday and midweek church services, bible schools and bible conferences. An important Mennonite influence is the belief in missionary work. This is a sharp contrast with the Old Order Amish belief in separation from the world. The Beachy Amish have established colonies in El Salvador, Ecuador, and Belize. Another important influence is the existence of churches that provide midweek services and Sunday schools. The Beachy Amish Sunday school is an open forum in which problems of the community can be discussed openly with the help of the church leaders. (Personal Communication, Subject A).

The Beachy Amish organize into congregations. The congregation is a church body of anywhere from 15-40 families. Each congregation is led typically by a bishop, one or two ministers and one deacon. These positions are held exclusively by men. Each position is chosen by "lot." This is a process that is guided by the community and by God. The process consists of two steps: 1) The vote of the church body, in which women and men have an equal voice in the selection of candidates, and 2) the choosing of the "lot". The first step consists of the vote of the church on prospective deacons or ministers. Those men in question are screened for any possible reason that would disqualify them from ministering to the community. Those that have a high moral standing in the community

are then voted upon by the church. A group of three typically emerges from the church to participate in the choosing of the lot. A lot is any marker placed in the book or hymnal. The three that remain are shown three hymnals, one containing a lot. While the hymnals are mixed, the men in contention engage in prayer for guidance. The person who chooses the hymnal with the lot is the new minister or deacon. This process is seen as divine guidance to the community, not a random occurrence. The position of bishop is chosen from one of the ministers or deacons, those who have experience in serving the community. The spiritual leaders of the community are not paid for their services, and are in their positions for life. The ministers are responsible for guiding the congregation through life in a Christian manner. They are also responsible for the spiritual well being of their community. This entails more than church services. The minister is involved in the community and schools. His influence is felt throughout the community. (Personal Communication, Subject A).

The Beachy Amish community is a series of three interconnected institutions: the church, the family, and the school. The church is the most pervasive institution. The life of a Beachy Amish person revolves around service to God and the laws of God. Life on earth is seen as a way to serve God. The church provides the foundations for

a moral life through the teachings of the Bible and through fellowship. Further, the church also indirectly provides standards of behavior. Through frequent meetings and discussions, the members of the community share information and opinions about any topic facing the community including child rearing and discipline.

(Personal Communication, Subject A).

The second institution is the family. The family is led by the father, who follows the example of the Bible. He is to provide for the family financially and lead the example for conduct, which includes the distribution of punishment if necessary. The mother is seen as the provider of care and nurturance within the family, as motherhood is seen as a prestigious job that is equal to the financial job of the husband. The father and mother are to be equally nurturing towards each other. Together, parents are charged with the responsibility of raising children to be Christian adults who will work hard within the community and within the world to make it a better place by their presence. (Personal Communication, Subject C).

The final institution is the school. Beachy Amish children do not attend secular schools. They attend schools run either by their community or jointly with other Amish or conservative Mennonites. The school serves the purpose of teaching children enough to "survive within the world." (Personal Communication, Subject A)

The Beachy Amish school is a place to teach children how to read, write and learn arithmetic. It is also a place to learn more about the Bible and the community. Since the community finances the school and influences the curriculum, the school reinforces the values held by the community in a continuous fashion.

Research Questions

The literature suggests that across cultures, structures that reinforce the ability to provide for children within a community may control the incidence of child abuse. This presupposes three things: 1) Culture is a factor in the etiology and incidence of child abuse 2) determining abuse is dependent on the cultural context in which the action takes place and 3) the study of abuse is inseparable from the study of child rearing within a culture, meaning to study abuse is to understand deviance from established child rearing norms.

The cultural structures that influence the etiology and incidence of child abuse are delineated by Korbin (1981) as the cultural value of children, beliefs about specific categories of children, beliefs about age capacities and embeddedness of child rearing in kin and community networks. Starr (1988) examined four elements in the definition of child abuse: 1) the intentionality of the act, 2) the impact on the child, 3) the value judgment placed upon the act, and

4) the cultural and societal standards upon which the act is evaluated. In examining these elements, it becomes apparent that elements three and four are being examined in the context of this study. The value judgment and the cultural standard upon which it is based are relative positions understood only from a perspective within the culture in question. For this reason, an understanding of the standards of child rearing, expectations of parents by the community and the presence of community enforcement are crucial components to the understanding of the structures in a culture that influence child abuse.

The work of Edgerton (1975) expands the concept of context by introducing the study of cross-cultural deviance. Cross-cultural deviance depends on the understanding of the rules and structures of a culture that regulate behavior. The understanding of these rules and structures must be established before one can deviate from them, or study deviance. Therefore, after the culture is understood within its own rules, then one must understand which acts are deviant, why they are deviant, and how the community regulates/controls deviance.

The study of child abuse therefore relies on an understanding of not only the culture in question but of the standards that regulate and control deviant behavior. The literature to this point suggests a

position of relativism in which one culture's values cannot be judged by another's. However, the first two points of the model proposed by Starr (1988), tend to create a more objective perspective. The intentionality of the act and its effect on the child in question are more readily identified across cultural barriers. For example, murder of children is seen as severely abusive in most cultures. However, even these elements need to be examined within the framework of culture. Two examples elucidate this point. In the United States, circumcision is seen as a common procedure for infant boys, however many cultures would consider this abusive. Another example is an initiation ritual. In many cultures young men and women endure painful rituals to advance from childhood into adulthood. Many Americans would find these activities abusive and unnecessary, while those undergoing these rituals see them as beneficial and necessary to enter adult life.

The Beachy Amish community should have sufficient structures within the community to control the incidence of child abuse. The structures should be available to the community, and readily apparent to the community. These should include the structures outlined by Korbin (1981). Therefore the main research question is this: Are the structures in the Beachy Amish congregations within this study sufficient to control the incidence of child abuse?

This question will be examined through three research questions. The first examines the congregation itself for stability over time. A stable congregation will contribute to an environment in which guidelines and standards of child care will continue to exist over time (Korbin 1991). Korbin also states that situations of rapid "socioeconomic and sociocultural change have been linked with an increase in child maltreatment" (Korbin, 1991, p. 74) This question asks: Is this congregation stable over time?

The second research question examines the categories of vulnerable children provided by Korbin (1991). Korbin states that:

The cross-cultural literature suggests that child maltreatment is less likely in cultures in which children are highly valued for their economic utility, for perpetuating family lines and as sources of emotional pleasure and satisfaction...some children are less valued than others. This disvalue or undervalue may be expressed in a range of behaviors...deliberate infanticide, physical abuse and neglect, sexual or economic exploitation...or selective neglect. (Korbin, 1991, p. 70-71.)

Therefore children identified as vulnerable may be more likely to experience abuse. The second question asks: Are there any vulnerable children within the community in question?

The final research question examines the information provided by the community about child rearing practices and standards, and the availability of redistribution of child care responsibilities. Korbin

(1991) states that "when child rearing is a shared concern within a supportive network, the consequences for children having an inadequate or aggressive parent are diminished" (Korbin, 1991, p. 72). The third question asks: How available is child care information and redistribution?

These three questions will combine to answer the primary research question: Are the structures in the Beachy Amish community sufficient to reduce the possibility of child abuse?

After examining the work of Korbin (1991), particularly the conditions under which child maltreatment is likely to occur, and the information from the literature review, the following outcomes are predicted for the research questions:

- 1) Beachy Amish communities have strong social networks that contain strongly interwoven institutions. The church, school, and the family are parts of a community that is tied together by strong beliefs in the doctrines of the Bible, including a belief in non-violence. The culture as a whole does not experience rapid social change and shows stability over time. The Beachy Amish congregations are expected to demonstrate stability.

- 2) Children are highly valued within Beachy Amish society for three reasons: a) Children carry on the traditions of faith, b) Children are blessings from God, with the corresponding duties of

parents to provide for them, and c) Children are to become living examples of the Christian way of life. Children are wanted and parents in the community are bound by duty to provide for them, therefore the categories of vulnerable children should not be present.

3) Beachy Amish society contains a cohesive structure of institutions that reinforce the beliefs about child rearing within the community. The standards of child care are expected to be well understood within the community due to the consistency of all institutions (church, school, etc.). Standards are also expected to be enforced by the community in the form of multi-generational families, ministers and church leaders meeting with families, and constant social contact. Finally, mechanisms of redistribution are expected to be present in the form of friends and relatives. Caregivers are not expected to be isolated within the community. Therefore, the incidence of child abuse within the community is expected to be low.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

To examine the research questions postulated in Chapter II, a series of telephone interviews with the community and religious leaders of various Beachy Amish communities were conducted during Winter and Spring 1993. Interviews were conducted by telephone with subjects selected from the Mennonite Yearbook and Directory (1986-87) from the listings of Beachy Amish church leaders.

Problems of Obtaining Interviews

The nature of Beachy Amish life restricts the ability to interview many subjects. The closed nature of the community restricts the amount and quality of contact. Those members of the Beachy Amish community who are not defined as community leaders (for example ministers or deacons) are very reluctant to answer questions to outsiders. Even those who are willing to speak to outsiders are careful about the type of information that is offered. As presented in Chapter II, the Beachy Amish community is a tight-knit, high context community that is generally distrustful of outsiders.

These problems in establishing contacts were overcome by the researcher visiting one of the congregations in the study. This initial contact resulted in a willingness on the part of three church

officials in this congregation to participate in this study. After the initial contact, the information given by these subjects, which included suggestions for others who would be willing to participate, aided the researcher in obtaining more subjects.

Interview Protocol

The telephone interviews were unstructured and unstandardized. This format was preferred because of the nature of the information and to seem informal. The questions were open-ended to allow the subjects to provide as much information as they would feel comfortable revealing. The questions were based primarily upon the work of Korbin (1991) and Starr (1988). The items were written as general questions, to allow free interpretation by the subjects. Multiple questions were used to funnel discussions from generalities to specifics to obtain precise information. The telephone interviews varied from 15 to 45 minutes in duration, depending on the cooperation of the subject. Telephone interview questions are listed in Appendix A.

Interview Content

The interview consisted of three sections: I) general information about the community in which the subject resides, such as size, history, and location. II) specific information about child rearing and styles of discipline in their community with emphasis on the categories of vulnerable children as defined by Korbin (1981) and III) information about the structure and function of community in terms of child rearing. The third part of the interview includes the other major points of Korbin's (1981) factors that influence a society's propensity toward child abuse.

The first section of the interview concerned the general demographics and history of the community. Question one examined the population of the community, occupations of its members and general information concerning the lifestyle of the congregation. Question two asked what it means to be Beachy Amish. Included were questions that inquired about life goals and values held by the members of the congregation. Question three examined the roles of church leaders. Subjects were asked about church leaders in terms of their duties, duration of service, and community obligations. Also, subjects were asked about the religious background of the congregation on such items as the Meidung, use of worldly items, and contact with outsiders. The fourth question included other

information concerning the congregation. Specific areas included the role of the church, family and school in the community and how these institutions are interrelated. The final question attempted to determine the stability of these institutions. This question asked about the history of the community and how rapidly the community has changed. Information obtained from this question will be used to code research question one.

The second section examined the goals of child rearing in the community with a focus on punishment and an examination of the categories of "vulnerable children" from Korbin (1981). Questions five through eight will be used to code research question two. This section includes five main questions: What are the goals of child rearing?, What is the value of children?, Are there categories of vulnerable children?, What are the beliefs about developmental stage? and What types of discipline are commonly used?

Question five examined the goals of child rearing. This question examined the values that were held by the congregation and what kinds of adults the community was trying to produce. This question examined the patterns of child rearing and how the community learned these values.

Question six attempted to ascertain the value placed on children in the community. This question attempted to uncover the cultural

value that children bring to the community and the source of children's value.

Question seven is concerned primarily with the categories of "vulnerable children" as defined by Korbin (1981). This question focused on the presence of "special" children. "Special" children are defined as any child needing extra care or effort to raise. Included was the perception of gender difference, and if gender or any of the categories produce a difference in the value of a child. This question also examined value of children with disabilities, children who are adopted, or born under unusual circumstances.

Question eight examined the perceptions of developmental stages. This question asked at what age children are considered "trainable" and when they are held responsible for their actions. Finally this question attempted to ascertain expectations during developmental stages.

Question nine deals with punishment. Specifically, the common types of punishment, how they are used and in what context. Question nine examined why punishments are necessary and under what circumstances. This question attempted to understand the philosophy of discipline, that is, why it is necessary and why it will be effective. It also attempted to uncover what kinds of discipline should be used under what circumstances, for example why corporal

punishment would be used instead of some other form of discipline.

The final section of the interview examined the structures that regulate child rearing in the Beachy Amish community. This section is derived from the structures that Korbin (1981) examined as factors that regulate child abuse within cultures. Questions ten through twelve will be used to code research question three.

Question ten examined the ways that child care information is shared and transferred to the community. This question examined what structures in the community provided information or access to information. Specifically this section focused on the church, family and school and how these institutions contribute to the dissemination of child rearing information.

Question eleven examined the standards of child care and how these standards are enforced within the community. This section examined how those within the community understand the rules and standards in the community and the results of disregarding these standards.

Question twelve examined the resources available to a parent in terms of sharing the responsibility of child rearing within the community. Included within this section were questions that examined responsibilities of the family, relatives, and the community in general.

Definitions

For the purposes of this study, each research question will be operationally defined in order to code each item more effectively. The first research question concerns the stability of each congregation over time. A stable congregation will be defined as any congregation that has been in existence for over twenty years and demonstrates cohesive institutions. Cohesive institutions are defined as institutions, such as the family, the school, and the church, that are interconnected by religion. The element of religion will influence every level of decision in Beachy Amish life and regulated conduct within each of these institutions (Personal Communication, Subject A; Hostetler, 1980).

The second research question concerns the categories of vulnerable children. A vulnerable child is defined as any child at risk for abuse or neglect due to any of the following categories (Korbin, 1991): health status, deformed or handicapped, unwanted, children born under difficult circumstances, developmental stage, gender, behaviors or personality characteristics or diminished social supports. Another component of the definition of vulnerable children is the cultural value of children. The greater the value a child provides for a parent (economic, emotional, carrying on traditions), the less likely a parent is to abuse a child (Korbin, 1991). The

categories of vulnerable children are extensively defined in Chapter II.

The third research question concerns embeddedness of child rearing in social networks. This is defined as a social network that provides assistance with child care tasks and information, and the possibility of temporary or permanent redistribution. The presence of these structures within a community may lessen the possibility of abuse (Korbin, 1991).

Coding Criteria

The information gathered through the telephone interviews will be examined in two stages. The first stage examines general information about the congregations and examines overall trends in the data. The second stage examines the information in terms of the three research questions. The three research question are as follows (Questions in parentheses indicate items from interview questions, Appendix A): Is this congregation stable over time? (Question four) Are there vulnerable children within this congregation? (Questions five through eight) and Does this congregation reinforce child rearing information and standards and provide for redistribution (Questions ten through twelve)?

Each of these questions will be coded using the information provided by the telephone interviews. Three codings are possible: "V"=the information given by the subject will verify this research question, "NV"= the information given by the subject will not verify this research question, "NI"= not enough information was given to code this research question.

Research question one will be coded by answers that demonstrate cohesion of institutions and stability over time. The first item is the date of the congregation's founding. This date will determine if the congregation is over twenty years old. The second item will be the answers to question four from the telephone interview. Specific examples of stability and cohesion would allow the question to be verified. For example, the use of religion as a guiding force in the family and schools will increase cohesion and stabilize the congregation. Evidence that the congregation is not stable would lead to a coding of "not verified." No answer or a very brief answer, for instance one or two sentences, will result in a coding of "not enough information to code."

Research question two will be coded according to the presence or absence of categories of vulnerable children. Each category will be examined by the researcher according to Korbin's (1991) model in questions five through eight in the telephone interview. The absence

of all of these categories will result in the verification of research question two. The presence of two or more of these categories will result in a coding of not verified. In the event that the subject will not provide enough information or or one category is present, the question will be coded "not enough information to code."

The final research question concerned interview questions ten through twelve. Information from subjects that describes the presence of child care assistance, access to child care information and availability of redistribution will verify question three. If questions ten and eleven are not demonstrated, research question three will not be verified. Insufficient information will result in a code of "not enough information to code."

SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

The subjects in this study were members of five Beachy Amish congregations located in the Midwest. The subjects were chosen within three criteria. The first is membership in a Beachy Amish congregation. This was established by either the listing in the Mennonite Yearbook and Directory (1986-87) or through questioning by the researcher. The second was marital status. This was considered necessary because the information in the community is commonly shared through parenting networks. The final criterion

was the agreement to participate in the study, obtained by verbal consent. Due to the small overall population of Beachy Amish, and the closed nature of their community, the sample size was relatively small, $N=8$.

Subject selection began by the researcher visiting one congregation. When contacts were established within this congregation, these contacts suggested other Beachy Amish church officials who might be willing to participate.

Ten Beachy Amish church officials were contacted for participation in this study. Two church officials did not participate due to other obligations.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The information gathered in the interviews was examined within the context of the primary hypothesis which states that the incidence of child abuse within the Beachy Amish congregations studied should be low. The findings are divided into two sections. The first section, general findings, compiled the responses obtained through the questions listed in Appendix A. The second section, individual case findings, examined the three research questions through the responses of each subject.

In the first section, each case was examined through the three primary research questions reported in Chapter II. Subject's responses were then coded in one of three categories: the subject's response verifies the research question, the subject's response does not verify the question, or not enough information to code. The codes assigned to the subject's responses to each research question was compiled into Table II (Appendix B) to examine the overall trends within and between congregations.

The second section examined the general findings obtained through the telephone interviews. This section compiled the subject's responses to the questions listed in Appendix A. The general findings attempt to examine overall trends within the five

congregations studied and examine the theoretical foundations.

Table II (see Appendix B) is the collection of responses to the three research questions. Table II illustrates the congregation to which each subject belongs and the coded responses to each research question. The research questions are stated as follows: 1) Is the congregation in question stable over time and does it contain sufficient structures to reduce the risks of child abuse? 2) Does the congregation in question believe that children are wanted? as this will reduce the risks of child abuse due to the lack of "vulnerable children" 3) Does the congregation in question reinforce child rearing information and standards and provide for redistribution of children within the congregation? These three questions will be evaluated by the information provided by eight subjects from five Beachy Amish congregations. The questions will be given one of three codes: V= verified by the subject, NV= not verified by the subject, and NI= not enough information to code.

General Findings

The data obtained from the interviews will be used to examine the research questions concerning structures that exist within the Beachy Amish communities that may control the incidence of child abuse. The information from the interviews with the Beachy Amish will be examined from the perspective of within and outside of their culture. These perspectives will be contrasted for the understanding of child abuse definitions that exist across cultures and possibly a universal component. Theoretically, the data will be examined within the work of Korbin (1981, 1991) and Starr (1988).

Three structures that will tend to control the incidence of child abuse are stable social networks, a lack of children who are vulnerable to abuse and embeddedness of child rearing in social networks (Korbin, 1991). The congregations in this study that demonstrate all of these characteristics will, according to Korbin (1991), control factors that lead to child abuse.

The family, the church and the school are interconnected by religion. Religious beliefs form the basis for all action including the economic and educational decisions. A congregation that demonstrates these structures could be described as cohesive. Therefore a cohesive congregation is the primary factor that leads to many secondary factors that may control the incidence of abuse.

The family is the primary structure of child rearing. The family is close-knit, and the messages are consistent across generations. The addition of multi-generational influence helps the family extend a consistent influence in children. The family provides a consistent influence that reinforces the child rearing goals of the community. The church and school are the other structures within the community. These structures convey the same messages as the family, due to the high amount of cohesion throughout the community and the high level of involvement between families in the community.

Questions one through four of the interview requested information concerning the congregations represented. The congregations ranged in size from 20 to 35 families. The figures are given in family members because of the importance of the family unit and the fact that actual church membership consists of baptized adults.

Each church was led by at least one minister, and one deacon. Most of the congregations interviewed had two ministers, one deacon, and one bishop. One of the congregations did not have their own bishop and were sharing a bishop with another congregation. Most congregations resided in towns with populations under 10,000 located in rural areas of the Midwest. The members of the

congregations tended to be employed in self-owned businesses or in agriculture. However, one community was made almost entirely of blue collar workers employed outside of the community.

Families tended to live in close proximity, with many homes having multi-generational occupants. The ministers and deacons tended to be very involved in the community, primarily in the church, but also in the schools and in fellowship with other families. The congregations that lived in smaller communities, with more self-employed people, tended to live in closer physical proximity. This was reflected in more multi-generational families, greater family and community cohesion, and larger families. Those congregations living in more populated areas, employed in larger companies, tended to have smaller families enjoying less contact with family and congregation.

Questions five through nine of the interview concerned child rearing. Specifically, these questions examined: 5) the goals of child rearing 6) the cultural value of children 7) special or "vulnerable" children 8) developmental stages and 9) types of discipline.

Question five examined the goals of child rearing. This asks what kinds of values the congregation would like its adult members to possess. Subjects gave very similar answers to this question. The responses focused around two major characteristics: hard workers

and good Christians. Children are raised to work hard because this provides "service to the Lord" and economic self-sufficiency. Though hard work is important, becoming a good Christian is the most important goal. Following the teachings of the Bible and leading a moral life are the most important characteristics in Beachy Amish life.

Children born in Beachy Amish congregations are considered "gifts from God" therefore their welfare is entrusted to the parents by God. Being a parent is seen as the greatest responsibility of their lives. This question is one portion of the categories of "vulnerable children" according to Korbin (1991).

Beachy Amish congregations revolve around family. Children are not only welcome, but considered a necessity to achieve full adult status. Although children are not always an economic asset, as in the Old Order Amish, subjects unanimously expressed a sense of duty in sharing any available resources to provide for children.

Specific categories of vulnerable children were examined within question seven. First examined were children born with disabilities. All of the subjects considered children with disabilities to be "special children" that required "special care." These children are not only well accepted when born, but are often adopted by members of the congregation from outside of the community. There are

special schools set up by the Beachy Amish for these children. These schools are open to the public, however they are taught in the same fashion as other schools run by the Beachy Amish.

This question also examined the possibility of gender differences influencing difference in care. Boys and girls are reported as being equally valued within the family, church and congregation. Boys and girls are raised to view their roles as men and women to be different. Boys and girls are taught different skills, however both are given the same basic education and care. Therefore, gender differences are not reported to have an effect on care. The conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of information concerning "vulnerable children" is that children in the Beachy Amish congregations in this study do not fit any of the categories delineated by Korbin (1991). Therefore, the children of these Beachy Amish congregations should not be at risk for abuse according to the categories of "vulnerable children."

The beliefs about stages of development influence abuse in two ways: first, certain behaviors prominent in developmental stages may be seen to "provoke abuse", and second, in some cultures children are not seen as responsible for their actions until a later age, this will lessen abuse by allowing the child some leeway in behavior before the need to discipline arises. In the Beachy Amish

communities, there was general agreement that a child around the age of two is ready to begin training and able to obey rules. However, there was a unanimous agreement that a parent should begin training a child at birth. The child is generally allowed to remain "blameless" in terms of conduct until age 2 or 3, according to those interviewed. Also, due to the nature of children, they are not severely reprimanded until a later age, possibly 8 to 10.

Types of punishment reported in Beachy Amish congregations were relatively similar. The most common types were loss of privileges and increases in chores. These were chosen for less serious transgressions or first attempts at punishment. Corporal punishment was acknowledged to be used by all of the participants in this study, however different reasons were given for its use. Some explained that its use was "always a last resort, to be used after other methods have failed." Others report that corporal punishment should be used in certain circumstances. For example, one subject claimed that "human nature must be fought by strong discipline, and spanking is a good way to fight human nature."

Questions ten through twelve attempted to understand the structures within the community that would reduce the incidence of child abuse. These are defined by Korbin (1981) as how information is shared, how standards are enforced, and sharing child care

responsibilities including redistribution.

How is the information about child rearing shared? There were slightly different answers in each community. The most common answer was through the family. Since Beachy Amish families live generally in close proximity, and the child rearing patterns are stable over time, the information is consistent throughout the community. These well established patterns are also the same patterns in which each member of the community was raised. Church and school are frequently the sites of parent meetings. The presence of many multi-generational families increases the number of caretakers available, and adds a conservative influence on the family in the form of supervision of child rearing practices and influencing behavior.

The subjects generally agreed that church provides several options for the dissemination of child care information. First, the frequent meetings of the community provide reinforcement for the standards held by the community. Second, church services may be directed specifically at child care issues. Finally, Sunday School is an open forum for questions and concerns that may be used to extract information from others in the community.

The schools are run with the financial and emotional help of the community. Therefore parents will again have the opportunity to

share information in this context. The school reflect the values of the community due to the fact that the teachers are selected from the community, and the parents have an active involvement in the day-to-day operation of the schools. Another aspect of the schools is the fact that they involve a religious curriculum. This echoes the teachings of church and home.

The next area consists of standards of child care and their scrutiny and enforcement. As previously discussed, standards are formed by cohesive institutions, such as the family and church, providing consistent child care information over time. These standards are both perpetuated and enforced by the following. Older family members who aid in child care lead by example and also discuss breaches in the standards of the congregation with the offender. In severe or public breaches, the family will be visited by a church leader to discuss the situation. Finally there is the Meidung. This is used only in severe cases in the Beachy Amish congregations, much less often than among the Old Order Amish. One subject explained this mechanism in the example that follows. "A young couple severely reprimanded their child in public, in a way that was frowned upon by the congregation. No one talked to them for a couple of days." This demonstrates the enforcement of standards and shows a clear consensus in both standards and punishment.

The next area is the access to alternative caretakers. The Beachy Amish communities that were represented contained many opportunities for parents to take advantage of alternate caretakers. The most obvious resource is the family. The family is available for primarily two reasons: 1) the belief in mutual aid beginning with one's family, and 2) the duty of the scriptures that extends the responsibilities of raising Christian children beyond the biological parents to include all relatives. Community members are also helpful with child care. All subjects reported neighbors and friends taking care of children in the community. In times of need some families take care of children for weeks or months in cases of death or other hardship. Access to alternate caregivers and presence of community help reduce the incidence of child abuse (Korbin, 1991), and the Beachy Amish community contains excellent resources for alternative child care.

The interviews with the Beachy Amish establish high expectations for parental conduct. Since the parents have been entrusted by God for the welfare of their children, the standards are demanding, yet well understood throughout the community. A parent is expected to guide their children along "the path of God." This means two things: 1) To fight the nature of human beings and 2) To teach children the ways to live Christian lives.

The Beachy Amish believe that human beings are born in sin. Therefore a child must be trained from an early age to control their impulses, and live according to the Bible. Since human nature is powerful, strong means are occasionally needed to fight these behaviors. This is the area of strong discipline. Only one of the subjects would even discuss this area. The subject described the style of discipline as "unpopular with the English," however would not give a description of the method. Other subjects described the results but not the type or types of discipline used to "fight human nature." Subjects described children in the congregation as well behaved and Christian as a result of being exposed to this "biblically sanctioned discipline." Others claimed that English children misbehave because their parents would not discipline them as a Beachy Amish parent would. One minister went so far as to refuse to talk about the entire subject due to "the state of Indiana watching the community because of this." Therefore within the congregation, some form of corporal punishment is not only approved of, but commonly used. The types of discipline alluded to by the subjects may also include other types of discipline that many outside the community would consider abuse, however these "styles of discipline" are seen as sanctioned by the Bible. Therefore these styles of discipline will continue. The point examines the

differences between the first two levels in Korbin's model of the study of cross-cultural child abuse. From the perspective of within the Beachy Amish culture, the practice of corporal punishment is seen as acceptable. However, outside of the community corporal punishment is frowned upon.

The second expectation for Beachy Amish parents is the duty to teach their children how to be good Christians. This is closely tied to the previous area. In teaching children to be good Christians, parents instruct their children to understand the ways of the community. The primary method is by example, as each person is to be a model for the community. However, discipline is also used, and in much the same ways as with fighting nature. When a child is "spanked" it is reportedly seen as a last resort. Loss of privileges, and increasing chores were seen by the subjects as preferable to spanking, however "spanking" is not frowned upon by the community. "Spanking" is seen as an act of love for the child, and explained to the child as such. The act is an attempt to control the child's behavior and to serve as a powerful reminder. Subject A related a story of a letter sent by his daughter in which she thanks him for disciplining her during her teen years. She was misbehaving and would not listen to her parents. Her father spanked her while explaining how this was for her own good. After finishing, she

turned to him and began to cry and hug her father, thanking him for his love and concern. As this anecdote relates, the Beachy Amish community sees corporal punishment very differently from "English" communities. It also demonstrates how "spanking" is seen as consistent with all perspectives within the community, including the child's perspective.

The information provided by the subjects in terms of discipline provides a unique opportunity to examine the difficulties in establishing a universal definition of child abuse. In the United States, the use of corporal punishment is generally seen as archaic, and in some areas, abusive. However Beachy Amish congregations provide interesting examples of how each community provides its own standards. Starr (1988) explains that child abuse consists of four components: 1) the intent of the act, 2) its effect on the child, 3) the value judgment of the act, and 4) the cultural standard that produces the value judgment. From this perspective the use of corporal punishment in the Beachy Amish community would not be seen as abusive. The intent of the act is to fight the impulses from a nature "born in sin." The child understands the punishment as an attempt to correct the behavior, and that it is done out of love. The acceptance of corporal punishment in the Beachy Amish community must have limits, that is, there must be a limit to the amount of

force that can be used against a child. However, no subject would discuss this point. The community considers this type of punishment to be within the rights of the parent, and sometimes necessary. Within these parameters, corporal punishment cannot be judged as "abuse" from within the Beachy Amish community.

Korbin (1980) would describe this as a problem due to the three levels of culturally appropriate definitions. These are cultural differences in child rearing practices, idiosyncratic departure from one's cultural rearing practices, and societal harm to children. The question of corporal punishment exposes the first level of definition. Between the Beachy Amish community and that of the dominant society, the use of corporal punishment will create friction. This is demonstrated by the reluctance to discuss this with the researcher, and the state investigation in one community.

The second level of Korbin's (1980) model includes the work of Edgerton (1976). This level examines deviance within a culture and may be the most promising method of obtaining an accurate definition of child abuse. As noted earlier, Subject A explained how a young couple was shunned for several days for an inappropriate situation of discipline. Although the incident was not thoroughly explained (for instance the act of the parents was not revealed), the repercussions were outlined. This reveals a community standard and

the enforcement of this standard. Even though the interviews did not elucidate the acts that are considered deviant by the community, there are clear cut standards that are understood within the community. The interviews may have revealed these standards indirectly by the answers that were given by the subjects. The subjects openly discussed the ways in which children are punished, however shied away from any discussions of controversy. Edgerton (1976) claims that to study deviance within a culture is to understand that culture. The study of deviance within the Beachy Amish may reveal any child abuse within that culture. It can be asserted that there is some deviance from the established norms of child rearing and discipline, and some of this deviance may result in what would be considered abuse within the Beachy Amish culture. Korbin's final level, societal harm, will not affect children's status in the Beachy Amish congregations in this study.

From the evidence gathered, structures within the congregation, enforcement, and standards of conduct should help to control the incidence of child abuse. There should be few cases of child abuse within the Beachy Amish community. The few cases that occur should be due to individual deviance, not cultural influence.

Individual Case Findings

This section will examine the responses of each subject within the context of the three research questions formulated in Chapter II. The three research questions are: 1) Does this congregation demonstrate stability over time? 2) Are the categories of vulnerable children absent from this congregation? 3) Does this congregation reinforce child rearing information and standards while providing for redistribution? The quotes used in the following section were obtained by personal communication.

Research Question 1: This question examines the stability of the congregation over time. As noted in Chapter III stability was defined as any congregation that has been in existence for over twenty years and demonstrates cohesive institutions. Specifically, this study examines the family, school and church. Specific dates will not be given for the founding of each congregation in an attempt to insure the anonymity of each participant.

Subject A is a Beachy Amish minister in the Midwest. He is in his late fifties and works for an organization in his community. He describes his congregation as "... a rural community made up primarily of farmers and small businesses. Where everyone knows everyone else in the church." His congregation is over twenty years old, verifying the first part of research question one. He describes

the makeup of his congregation "...The church, school and family are not seen as different things, but as a part of the whole. We all work together to raise children. It is everyone's job in the community." This specific example of cohesion of institutions through religion will allow research question one to be verified for subject A.

Subject B is a deacon in a Beachy Amish congregation in the Midwest. He is 47 years old and is a farmer. He resides in the same congregation as Subject A, therefore the congregation has been in existence for over twenty years. Subject B described the institutions in his congregations "...the church and family work closely together to raise children. And since the school is financially and spiritually guided by the community, it helps parents raise their children. It is not like an English school, children are taught to be good Christians." Subject B goes on to describe his role in the community "...We are concerned with our families first, but we are concerned with the whole community." Subject B describes a congregation that has been in existence for over twenty years and contains interwoven institutions that provide consistent messages. This information will verify research question one for Subject B.

Subject C is a Beachy Amish deacon in the Midwest. He is 62 years old and retired. He lives in the same congregation as Subjects A and B. His congregation has been in existence for over twenty

years. Subject C explained that "...the community is based on the Bible. We teach our children to live as good Christians. The church school and family are based on the scriptures." The fact that the congregation is based on the Bible increases the consistency of child rearing information because the Beachy Amish interpretation of the Bible influences every aspect of their lives (Hostetler, 1980, p. 80). Subject C explains the slow change of his congregation "...the fact that we live according to the Bible means we don't need to change." The evidence of interconnected institutions and the Bible as the basis for the the operation of these institutions will allow research question one to be verified for Subject C.

Subject D is a minister in a Beachy Amish congregation in the Midwest. He is a 50 year old farmer living in a rural community. He describes his congregation as "...just common folk, living in a small farming community." The congregation in question has been in existence for over twenty years. Subject D describes the make-up of his congregation as "...a very close community. We all know each other and look after each other. People see each other in church and around town and always ask about kids and school. People always know what is going on with everyone else's kids." He describes a congregation that is strongly tied socially. As with the other congregations, he explains "...the Bible teaches us how to live

together." Since religion forms the basis of the interconnected institutions and the congregation has been in existence for over twenty years, research question one will be verified for Subject D.

Subject E is a Beachy Amish deacon in the Midwest. He is 42 years old and works in what he describes as "a factory." He has four children including one adopted son. He describes his congregation as "...a working community. People think that we are farmers, but out of 75 members only one is a farmer." His congregation is over twenty years old. He explained his congregation as "...our congregation does not live close together. We are scattered around town since we have to work factory jobs. Most of our relatives live in different parts of the country. We don't have grandparents living with children...most of our families live like everyone else." Although the congregation has been in existence for over twenty years, the other responses given by Subject E do not demonstrate cohesion. Due to the conflicting nature of the information, research question one will be coded "Not Enough Information" for Subject E.

Subject F is a Beachy Amish minister in a small town in the Midwest. He is 64 years old and retired. His congregation is "...one of the oldest congregations. But so many have moved out that we're about the same size as when we started." His congregation is over twenty years old. Subject F describes the structure of his

congregation as "...very stable. The people who live here all go to church together and know each other. We know whose kid does what and when. The church is where we take all of our guidance. We meet in church and talk about everything that happened that week."

Subject F explained the nature of other institutions "Since the schools are run in part by the church, people see each other there also...The family is very important. The family is involved with the school and church all the time." Subject F describes a congregation that is highly interconnected and that has been in existence for over twenty years. Research question one will be verified for Subject F.

Subject G is a Beachy Amish deacon in the Midwest who lives in the same congregation as Subject F. He is 61 years old and a retired farmer. He lives in a small town with his wife near his four children and their families. Subject G explained the structure of his congregation as "...a close congregation. We have known each other most all of our lives, so we look after each other. When you live near the same people for this long you just look after them." He described the community as being close-knit, especially in terms of the beliefs held by the community. He attributed this to the stability of the congregation over time and the consistency of the institutions in the congregation, "the family is the center of life. You take care of your family. You go to church together and live a Christian life. You

help your kids in school and look after them." The specific examples of how religion connects the institutions within the congregation and its long-term existence will allow research question one to be verified for Subject G.

Subject H is a 63 year old minister in a Beachy Amish congregation in the Midwest. He is currently retired and living with his wife. The congregation resides in a small town in a rural area. The congregation has been in existence for over twenty years. Subject H describes his congregation as "...a group of Christian people who serve the Lord as best we can. We have about thirty families in our congregation and everyone knows everyone." Although Subject H did not provide many specific examples of the institutions in his congregation, he did describe their philosophy "...We serve the Lord by living Christian lives." The information given by Subject H is not specific in detail but does describe the community as cohesive due to the pervasive influence of religion. On this basis, and the existence of the congregation for over twenty years, research question one will be cautiously verified for Subject H.

Research Question 2: Are the categories of vulnerable children absent from this congregation? This question attempts to find the presence or absence of "vulnerable children" as delineated by Korbin (1991). Children who are categorized as vulnerable are more likely

to experience abuse or neglect, therefore the absence of the categories of vulnerable children will help control child abuse within a culture (Korbin, 1991).

Subject A explained his beliefs about children as "...a duty to God to provide for our children in any way possible. We even adopt children from outside of the community if we can." When asked about the specific categories of vulnerable children, Subject A gave no indications of the presence of any categories of vulnerable children. Due to the absence of vulnerable children, the second research question will be verified for Subject A.

Subject B explained the value of children to parents in his congregation "...children complete the homes. All children are loved and treated equally. Girls and boys have different roles in life but they get the same education and the same treatment. They are expected to behave differently. We learned this from the Bible. Men are providers for the family and women take care of the home." This demonstrates a difference in role perception but not of basic care. No other categories of vulnerable children were uncovered in questions five through eight. Due to the absence of all categories of vulnerable children, question two will be verified for Subject B.

Subject C gave no indications of possible categories of vulnerable children. He explained that children are "gifts from God" and that

parents "...are given great responsibility to raise children to become good Christians. This is not to be taken lightly." None of the specific categories of vulnerable children were found during the telephone interview, however the differences in role expectation according to gender were reiterated. Although difference in role was indicated, no difference in care was reported. Therefore research question two will be verified for Subject C.

Subject D indicated that "...all children are wanted. They are blessings from God to the parents and the congregation. Since [the purpose of] our congregation is to serve God children are special because they are both a blessing and a responsibility. We treat all children the same. We give them the same schooling and the same love." None of the specific categories of vulnerable children could be applied to this congregation. Due to this information, research question two will be verified for Subject D.

Subject E discussed each of the categories of vulnerable children, eliminating all from consideration except one: gender. Subject E was very specific with regard to the role of women in Beachy Amish life "...[boys and girls] get the same education, but a woman's role is different. If you follow the scriptures, then you understand this. A woman should not usurp a man's authority. Not in the home, not in the church and not with the children. A man is the head of the church

and the home. This is what we believe." Subject E was very specific about the role of women but was not as specific in the area of care. Due to the lack of specific information concerning the care of girls, research question two will be coded "not enough information" for Subject E.

Subject F gave no indications of vulnerable children. In fact, he reiterated the position of several other Beachy Amish church officials that "...all children are wanted. And we adopt other children. Even [English] children or children from other countries." He explained the care of children as a "...great responsibility." Subject F gave some specific information about developmental stage "...around the age of two children are trained. Before this time children don't understand things." This demonstrates a willingness to allow children certain behaviors, for example oppositional behaviors, without severe repercussions. From the information gathered, none of the categories of vulnerable children are applicable to the congregation of Subject F, therefore research question two will be verified for Subject F.

Subject G gave similar answers to Subject F concerning the categories of vulnerable children. He explained the "...children are all wanted. There are no children who are surprises or children who are abandoned. After a couple gets married they expect to have children,

usually many. Children make a family and a home." Subject G gave no indications of specific categories of vulnerable children. He reiterated the position concerning gender differences in role, however explained that "...boys and girls are raised to understand these differences [in role]." He added that "...we treat all children the same." Since none of the categories of vulnerable children were found in this congregation, research question two will be verified for Subject G.

Subject H would not disclose sufficient information to make a decision about the categories of vulnerable children. Subject H claimed that "...Children are all wanted. We like to adopt from outside of the community." Regarding the specific categories of vulnerable children, Subject H did not answer any of the other questions that would have provided information for coding. Due to the lack of specific information concerning the categories of vulnerable children, a conclusion could not be drawn. Research question two will be coded "not enough information" for Subject H.

Research Question 3: Does this congregation reinforce child rearing information and standards while providing for redistribution? This question examines the positive pressure that the congregation places upon its members (Belsky, 1980). This pressure takes the form of standards of child care and the

distribution of child care information. Included in this definition is the availability of alternative caretakers for temporary and permanent redistribution of children.

Subject A provided the following information "We look after our grandchildren all the time. I love it. I love spending time with them. We also look after our neighbor's kids every so often..." This demonstrates both child care assistance and redistribution. On the subject of child care information "...in Sunday school, people ask questions about discipline or whatever, and even ask people to look after their kids in an emergency." This quote demonstrates access to child care information. Subject A also provided an anecdote concerning standards within the congregation "...One young couple spanked their son in public. Nobody talked to them for a couple of days. They just lost their tempers." Although this demonstrates a breach in the standard of conduct in the congregation, this should not be interpreted as an example of Meidung. Through the information given by Subject A, research question three will be verified.

Subject B discussed the access to child care information "...ministers and deacons, we are responsible for the whole community, we will deliver sermons [about child care] or discuss things in church. Other people in the congregation will answer questions, and of course there are parents and grandparents." On

the subject of child care assistance and redistribution "...people are always willing to watch other children if need be. Usually people ask family first." The information given by Subject B demonstrates all of the components necessary to verify research question three.

Subject C discussed this section at great lengths. Subject C on child care information access "Sunday school is an open discussion. Any topic can be brought up. We discuss children at almost every one. There are also sermons about children and of course, socializing after church and during the week." He adds a discussion of multi-generational influence "...alot of older folks live with their children and grandchildren, or very close to them. So families see alot of each other." This "multi-generational" influence includes alternate caretakers and redistribution. On the subject of community standards and enforcement "...children are the responsibility of their parents, but if there is a big problem a minister or deacon will visit the family." Due to the specific examples of each of these functions, research question three will be verified for Subject C.

Subject D explained the high level of congregational involvement in raising children. The involvement level grows as one is more closely related "...we have a responsibility not only to children, but to those related to us." Subject D discusses child care assistance "Sure people are willing to help out with children. We have [several]

grandchildren that we look after all of the time. People usually look after relatives, but friends will look after children also." This demonstrates not only alternate caretakers, but redistribution. On the topic of access to child care information, Subject D echoed the statements of earlier subjects. He explained how relatives were important resources, and added that church services and Sunday schools were important forums of not only information, but of reinforcing standards. Due to the specific information concerning the embeddedness of child care information in social networks, research question two will be verified for Subject D.

Subject E describes a congregation unlike those previously mentioned. He describes his congregation as "...falling apart." Subject E describes the availability of alternate caretakers for children "...there aren't a whole lot of people to watch after kids. Some people will ask in church but it is not common. None of my relatives live in this area, so it is sometimes hard to find someone to look after the kids." Subject E described little access to child care information "...people don't socialize as much as they used to. We don't live very close together, and we all have jobs and responsibilities." From this information given by Subject E, there is evidence that social networks do not provide child care assistance or information. Due to this information, research question three can

not be verified for Subject E.

Subject F described a congregation composed of many multi-generational families living in close proximity. He described the role of extended family in child care "...Grandparents, Uncles, everybody cares for the welfare of a child. This is what the Bible tells us." He explains that since family is responsible for children they provide assistance in the form of redistribution and child care information. An example of the dissemination of information "...if you don't know how to handle a [child care] situation, someone older than you has been through it. Ask them." These quotes demonstrate child care assistance, access to child care information and availability of redistribution. On the basis of this information, research question three can be verified for Subject F.

Subject G explained the availability of child care information "...my children call me to talk about their children. We talk about what we used to do and how that still works. Sometimes they even tell us that things they didn't like, like spankings, they use now. They understand why now." This quote examines two components of information distribution: 1) the access to child care information and standards and 2) the conservative influence of older members of the community that provide stability to practices. Subject G described the redistribution networks available to the members of his

congregation "...generally people look after their grandchildren or relatives. Here there are so many large families that we don't need others to look after children." Subject G has demonstrated sufficient evidence to verify research question three.

Subject H was reluctant to disclose information about child care information, standards and redistribution. He described access to child care assistance "...we are willing to help each other, especially relatives." He would not provide information beyond this statement. Due to lack of evidence concerning the child care information and redistribution, research question three will be coded "not enough information."

By examining each subject's response by research question, the information suggests stable congregations, few categories of vulnerable children, and strong social networks that provide both child care information and assistance. These factors should, according to Korbin (1991), control the incidence of child abuse.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The following chapter is an examination of the strengths and limitations of the study. Methods of data collection, limitations of the sample, and the conclusions drawn will be examined within the context of strengths and limitations of the study. Emphasis will also be placed on the limitations of the interview format and the specifics of the interviews conducted for this study. Finally, suggestions for future research will be presented.

Strengths and Limitations

The first area of examination is the literature supporting the hypotheses. The literature concerning cross-cultural child abuse is mainly anecdotal in nature. Most of the studies are either parts of ethnographies or collections of work concerning child rearing in other cultures. These studies establish a baseline of behavior for other cultures and may even provide some evidence of universals for parenting. Though these studies provide a baseline of information, the conclusions drawn from them are tenuous because there has been no systematic investigation. Therefore the conclusions derived from the literature must be viewed as tentative.

The process of subject selection was difficult due to two factors: 1) the nature of the Beachy Amish community and 2) the reluctance of the subjects to reveal controversial information. The Beachy Amish community is led by exclusively male church officials. Since lay people in the congregation are very reluctant to talk to outsiders, the church officials are often the only ones who will talk about substantive issues, thus limiting the size of the sample. Since the church officials are exclusively male, gender bias might be reflected in the sample. However due to the nature of Beachy Amish culture, more specifically women's roles, gender may not influence the validity of the information collected.

The next limitation of the sample is the fact that those who did participate in the study were reluctant to discuss controversial points such as discipline. The final limitation of the sample is that the sample is too small (eight subjects in five Beachy Amish congregations) to be generalizable to all Beachy Amish communities.

The interviews provided an excellent baseline. However, the limitations of the interview format and the closed nature of the Beachy Amish community tend to reduce the generalizability of the results. The interview format created a detailed body of information to the researcher. However the information was not derived systematically and may contain many bias.

The interviews conducted with the Beachy Amish expose one of the greatest problems with using the interview format: the problem of cooperation. During most of the interviews, all of the subjects were very forthcoming with information about child rearing and general aspects of their community of residence. However, when the conversation became slightly controversial, as in the discussion of types of discipline, the subject would either not comment or would simply explain their "beliefs" and how things should be within their community, not what actually occurs in terms of punishment. The interview seems to be the most effective method of data collection with the Beachy Amish because of the lifestyle of the people, generally open to conversation. Interviews also seem effective because the intrusion on their privacy seems to be at a minimum through telephone interviews.

The telephone interview format has certain limitations. The first limitation is the inability to extract information necessary for drawing generalizable conclusions. The second limitation is the tendency of the subjects to answer questions in a socially desirable fashion, or to answer in ways that they believe the researcher wants them to answer. These factors will contaminate the responses, therefore only tentative conclusions can be drawn from these responses. The final limitation of the interview format is the fact

that there is no systematic observation to substantiate the responses of the subjects. Systematic observation would allow the conclusions to be given more legitimacy or to disprove them through verbal and nonverbal cues.

Another possible limitation of the study is the coding of telephone interview information. The coding process is an attempt to more effectively categorize responses. An attempt was made to create objective categories that could be replicated, however the nature of ethnographic data is subjective. Therefore the coding of interview information and definitions may vary in future studies.

The interviews were structured primarily around the work of Korbin (1991). The first section of the interview concerned the categories of vulnerable children. These categories describe types of children or situations in which abuse occurs. The Beachy Amish do not fit any of the criterion for "vulnerable children." That is, the beliefs and structures of Beachy Amish society do not put their children at risk for abuse. Therefore, according to the information provided by the subjects, child abuse should not be influenced by these factors present in the Beachy Amish community.

Parenting standards were described to understand the goals of child rearing and the methods used to produce these goals. Another purpose for the information was to understand what practices would

be considered deviant by the Beachy Amish.

A final area of consideration was an examination of the methods of discipline commonly used. Subjects were cooperative in providing information concerning child rearing goals and methods of achieving these goals. The main goal of child rearing was to produce hard workers who were good Christians. This was achieved by the combined efforts of the family, church and school to teach children the ways of the Beachy Amish, and by the living example (or modeling) of the people in the community. Deviant behavior was clearly delineated as behavior outside of that prescribed by the Beachy Amish interpretation of the Bible. Those within the community seemed to understand the limits of acceptable behavior, although they did not discuss specific behaviors. Thus, Edgerton's (1976) conceptions of deviance across-cultures would seem to function as a tool in discovering evidence of child abuse in this case. That is, deviance as seen from within a culture will be one method of discovering abusive practices.

Finally, the types of discipline used by the Beachy Amish were discussed briefly by each subject. Most would not even provide examples. The information given would indicate that the Beachy Amish use many methods similar to those used in contemporary America, such as loss of privileges and chores around the house. The

Beachy Amish accept the use of corporal punishment. Since the discussions would go no further than corporal punishment, it is not known what other methods are used within these communities, or what limits are placed on the use of corporal punishment. Subject A told of a young couple that was shunned for the punishment they gave their child, therefore there is a standard of punishment that exists in the community. Further, there is evidence that this standard is widely understood and enforced. However, no other information was provided concerning either the standard of punishment or the value judgments used to make the standard. Further examination of this area would allow stronger conclusions to be drawn about child abuse in the Beachy Amish community.

The information provided by subjects indicate a high level of cohesion in the communities studied. Within these communities were integrated schools, families and churches. This gives a consistent environment in which information is exchanged. Child care information is passed through all institutions, but primarily through the family. The more multi generational families, and the closer physical proximity of the community, leads to more consistent child care information and a closer degree of scrutiny by other members of the community.

In one congregation, the majority of the members lived in urban areas and worked in non-Amish businesses. In this community, the minister explained that the church seemed to be "falling apart" because of the stress placed on those in the congregation. When asked to expand this point, he explained that as the members of the congregation became more isolated from each other and associated with "English" people more regularly, they participated less in the church. This example demonstrates the function of cohesive community and that rapid social change leads to the break down of previous standards (Korbin, 1991).

Most congregations assist with child care for other families. This function is provided primarily by the immediate family, however subjects reported child care was also provided by neighbors and friends. According to the observations about the structures within the Beachy Amish community through the work of Korbin (1991), sufficient structures exist within the Beachy Amish community to reduce the incidence of child abuse.

Finally, the question arises, "Is there child abuse in Beachy Amish communities?" This will be examined through three theories. Korbin (1991) examined the structures in any culture that contribute to the incidence and prevalence of child abuse. The first area of examination is the "categories of vulnerable children." As noted

earlier, the case study information provides no evidence of children at risk according to these categories. The second area is the embeddedness of child rearing in social networks. The data from the study provides evidence of strong social networks that offer assistance with child care tasks and responsibilities. These networks also provide for redistribution of children, and provided consensus and enforcement of the standards of child care. Third, the Beachy Amish community generally provides slow social change therefore providing a somewhat stable set of standards. Within these criterion, the conclusion that can be drawn is that child abuse should be rare.

A second examination is through the work of Starr (1988). Are there behaviors within the Beachy Amish community that would be considered child abuse? The only act identified and specified by the subjects that will be examined is the belief in the use of corporal punishment. The first level of Starr's (1988) model is the intentionality of the act. Corporal punishment is seen as necessary to fight the "sinful nature" of children therefore the intent is not to harm. The second level is the impact of the act on the child. According to subjects, children understand why they are "spanked" therefore the children understand the intent. The third and fourth levels are the value judgment of the act and the cultural standard

that produces this standard. Clearly, the practice of corporal punishment is seen as not only acceptable, but sanctioned by God. Therefore, the practice of corporal punishment is seen as acceptable. However, the limits of this practice are not known and a standard is known to exist, therefore this conclusion must be cautiously accepted.

The final area examines the the three levels of cross-cultural child abuse definition provided by Korbin (1991). The first level is the examination of practices seen as abusive by outsiders, but not within the community. The only obvious example is the practice of corporal punishment. Examined from within the Beachy Amish culture, the practice will be seen as non-abusive, as long as it within the limits of the community. When seen from the perspective of outsiders through the same model, the practice may be seen as abusive.

The second level is that of deviance within the culture in question. The only evidence provided by the subjects was an episode of inappropriate discipline. This anecdote demonstrates a clear standard of behavior. However, the subjects were unwilling to discuss either the standards or the limits of those standards. From this information, the five Beachy Amish communities can be seen as enforcing high standards of child care within the community.

The final level is that of "societal abuse", or conditions beyond the control of the community such as poverty and famine. The Beachy Amish communities in this study had none of these characteristics.

From the perspective of this study, the following conclusions can be drawn: 1) the incidence of child abuse appears to be very low in the Beachy Amish communities, 2) abuse within the community would be the result of individual deviance, not the result of cultural factors, 3) as Beachy Amish communities move towards urbanization, the communities will begin to lose cohesion and become more influenced by the world outside of the community. The result will be that behaviors promoting child abuse will become less regulated by the Beachy Amish community.

Suggestions for Future Research

Due to the closed nature of the Beachy Amish life, contact is difficult to establish and extracting information is sometimes impossible. Many conventional instruments such as questionnaires or tests might be ignored or misunderstood. Therefore ethnographic research seems to be the most appropriate choice.

Perhaps the most effective method of research would be long-term observation. An involved observer within the community for a long period of time might be able to establish trust with members of

the community. This would allow the researcher to gather more extensive and accurate information. In addition, this would allow the researcher to substantiate interview information with direct observation.

A researcher with long-term involvement might also be able to utilize questionnaires and other measures. By establishing trust, one might be able to extract more systematic information. There are two serious limitations to testing: 1) most Beachy Amish read at an approximate eighth grade level and might have difficulty responding to unusual instruments, and 2) sensitive material may lead those participating in the study to reconsider their cooperation and withdraw from the study.

Another suggestion is the use of an established contact within the community of interest. Some Beachy Amish have extensive contact with "English" people through work or trade, and develop trusting relationships with outsiders. Although this would seem to be an excellent resource for research, these relationships are closely guarded by both Amish and "English" communities and should be approached with great caution.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW FORMAT

Interview Instrument

I. Community Information

1. Demographics of the Community
 - a. Population?
 - b. Geographic size?
 - c. Occupations?
 - d. General lifestyle?
2. What does it mean to be Beachy Amish?
 - a. What are some life goals?
 - b. What are the values held?
3. What are the roles of church leaders?
4. Other Information About Congregation
 - a. How does the church function within the community?
 - b. Explain the family, and how it relates to the church?
 - c. Explain the nature of the schools?
 - d. How are these tied together?
 - e. Do these institutions show stability over time?

II. Child Rearing

5. What are the goals of child rearing?
 - a. What kinds of adults are being produced?
6. What is the value of children?
 - a. Why are they valued? Tradition?
7. Special Categories
 - a. Are there gender differences in child rearing? expectations?
 - b. How are disabled children provided for?
 - c. Excess children? Stepchildren? How are they treated?
8. Developmental Stage
 - a. At what age are children trainable?
 - b. Are infants responsible for their actions?
 - c. What are the expectations during developmental stages?
9. Discipline
 - a. What kinds are used?
 - b. Under what circumstances?
 - c. Any methods that are not accepted?

III. Information and Redistribution

10. How is Child Care Information Shared?
 - a. Church/Schools/Socializing?
 - b. Family- with multi-generational emphasis?

11. How are Standards Enforced?

- a. How does the presence of relatives/neighbors affect this?
- b. What is the role of church officials?

12. Sharing Child Care Responsibility

- a. What is the role of relatives?
- b. What is the role of community members?
- c. What is done in case of emergencies (death, etc.)?
- d. Are there provisions for long term redistribution?

IV. Other Comments

APPENDIX B
RESULTS OF DATA COLLECTION

Table II

RESULTS OF DATA COLLECTION

Subject	Congregation	Research Question 1	Research Question 2	Research Question 3
A	I	V	V	V
B	I	V	V	V
C	I	V	V	V
D	II	V	V	V
E	III	NI	NI	NV
F	IV	V	V	V
G	IV	V	V	V
H	V	V	NI	NI

V= Verified by Subject

NV= Not Verified by Subject

NI= Not Enough information to code