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IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A POLITICAL SYSTEMS
ANALYSIS OF THE AMISH DISPUTE.

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THE REFUSAL TO UTILIZE JUDICIAL MACHINERY IN CONFLICT
RESOLUTION: A POLITICAL SYSTEMS ANALYSIS
OF THE AMISH DISPUTE

by

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requirements for the degree of Doctor of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A central purpose of this research is to cast some light on the conditions under which law is realistically available to perform one of its most characteristic functions: the settlement of disputes within a community by means of established judicial machinery. Law consists of both a body of rules, and a social process for compromising the conflicting interest of men. Theoretically, at least, it would seem obvious that law can be effective only when it has the general support of the community.¹ It would also seem obvious that this support can be maintained only if there are relatively few cases of deviant behavior, and only if sanctions are invoked in such cases by responsible officials employing established judicial machinery. Any refusal by officials to invoke these sanctions would entail some risk of eroding community acceptance which is the bedrock on which law rests. Yet it is all too clear that there are circumstances under which responsible officials take this risk. This raises two questions: (1) What type of circumstances lead responsible officials to refuse to enforce the law

through the use of established judicial machinery, and (2) What effect does such a refusal have on popular attitudes toward law?

The vehicle for exploring these questions is the Amish dispute, a controversy that wedged itself deep into the body politic, and rocked the state of Iowa in general, and two of its counties in particular, for more than six years. The dispute in the beginning revolved around an Iowa law which requires that all educatable children must attend schools taught by state-certified teachers. The law itself is of a common variety found in many states. The people with whom it came into conflict, however, represent one of the most unique cultural groups found in the United States today, and before the dispute reached a settlement it did, as the Governor of Iowa suggested, "move the hearts of a good many Americans to pity, . . . anger and curiosity."² The small handful of individuals around whom the dispute centers belong to the most conservative branch of the Amish religion. They are known as the Old Order Amish and in the whole state they number only about 1200 persons.³ The membership of this sect involved at the height of this dispute is even smaller, only fifteen families with a total of 37 children of school age in 1964, and 53 children of school age in 1965.

In the age of the atom the Old Order Amish still prefer to live by the horse-drawn plow and the kerosene lamp.

In most ways their culture is still heavily reminiscent of the Medieval European Age and environment in which their religion was born. Today they still prefer to live among their own people and they regard the outside world as hostile and full of sin. They consider themselves the guardians of a precious faith which their ancestors paid heavily in human suffering and life to preserve. As a result they consider it a major part of their mission in life to preserve this way of life and remain themselves a peculiar people.⁴ Their six year dispute with the authorities of Iowa resulted from just this insistence on maintaining their ancient way of life in the face of a rapidly changing age. No strangers to conflicts with the secular societies within which historically they have lived, the Amish for a six year period of time steadily refused to hire certified teachers for the two private schools which they operate in one corner of Buchanan County located in East Iowa. Obvious legal problems resulted which ultimately have been settled in the courts in other areas of the United States.⁵ In this case, however, even though the state had legal precedent on its side, it ultimately chose not to resort to the courts for a solution. The obvious questions this raises have already been stated.

The primary theoretical framework to be employed in seeking an answer to these central questions is Political

Systems Analysis.* This approach facilitates the identification of the significant variables involved, and their interrelationships. Systems Analysis conceptualizes the political arena as an interrelated set of components receptive to stimuli. Stimuli are transferred to the political system by inputs of two types, demands and supports. Demands call for some type of action on the part of the local decision-makers. In this study demands are placed on the decision-makers by the religious group, the local community, the general public of the state, key political officials of the state, and law. Supports include attitudes and behavior which buttress the political system at every level. Here supports are the attitudes of the public, the religious group, the local community, and the state officials.

In the present study the decision-makers are the members of the school board, the school superintendent, and the Buchanan County Attorney. Their central function in the political system is to process inputs by converting them into what Easton refers to as an "authoritative allocation of values for society as a whole."⁶ Values are allocated in the form of outputs, such as rewards and deprivations. The outputs in our study are the decisions as to how the controversy should be handled. The dynamic nature of the

*See primarily the works of David Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems, World Politics, IX (1956-57), 383-400; A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965).

political system is ensured by its ability to adjust to tension in its environment through a process known as feedback. Feedback allows the decision-makers to adjust their outputs so as to alleviate tensions. These outputs in turn affect the type of demands placed on the decision-makers and consequently affect future outputs.

In Chapter III a more detailed analysis of the dispute will be made. At this point, however, a sample of the outputs will reflect the conditions which prompted the hypotheses used to orient the research. Outputs included the following: (1) the initial decision late in 1962 to require the Amish to hire state-certified teachers or face fines; (2) the decision early in 1963 to drop charges against the Amish fathers who had been sentenced to jail for refusal to hire certified teachers and for failure to pay their fines; (3) the decision in the fall of 1964 to try to settle the dispute through negotiations and compromise rather than through the courts; (4) the decision in the summer of 1965 that negotiations had failed and that new attempts would be made through the courts to force the Amish compliance - this time fines were levied against the property of the Amish; (5) the decision on November 19, 1965, to forcefully bus the Amish children to city schools with certified teachers; (6) the decision on November 22, 1965, prompted by the Governor of the state, to call a moratorium on the dispute and seek resolution once more by compromise rather than through

the courts; and (7) the decision in the summer of 1967 by the Iowa legislature to exempt the Amish from the state school standards. The outputs clearly reflect a fluctuation between a hard and a soft line by the officials involved.

The outputs suggest an important question: What conditions existed in the political environment that the decision-makers perceived as Input-supports and Input-demands, and what effect did these perceived supports and demands have on the decisions rendered as outputs? Even before analysis was begun, it was possible to glean some understanding of Input-supports and Input-demands toward the dispute. Through a survey [the questions were drafted by myself] conducted by one of the state's leading polling agencies during October and November of 1965, it was revealed that the general public of Iowa was aware and concerned about the controversy and to a substantial degree behind the religious group in their fight against the state.⁷ Public opinion was also expressed through the letters and phone calls which the decision-makers received during the heat of the dispute; the overwhelming majority of which were adverse to enforcement of the law. In contrast, through newspaper coverage we were led to believe that at the outset, at least, public opinion in the local community in which the dispute took place strongly favored enforcement of the law.

These outputs and expressions of public opinion prompted the following hypotheses:

The Decision-Makers. The shifting nature of the attempts to solve the problem, including the ultimate decision not to enforce the law, results from the fact that law requires public support. Hence, the following: Hypothesis I: As public support for enforcement of the law decreased and demands for a shift in position increased, the decision-makers were persuaded to seek resolution through means other than the courts. Hypothesis II: The local decision-makers were sensitive to demands and supports from several sources:* (A) Those of certain key state officials; (B) Those of the general public outside the community; (C) Those of certain individuals in the community whom they perceived as opinion leaders; (D) Those of the local citizens in the community; and (E) Those of the Amish in the community. Hypothesis III: The resolve of the local decision-makers to enforce the law varied with the demands and supports of the five groups.

The Opinion Leaders. Preliminary research suggests that (1) the local opinion leaders (as perceived by the local decision-makers) at first favored enforcement of the law; (2) some began to have doubts, however, as outside reaction grew stronger; and (3) ultimately these doubters sought to communicate their second thoughts to the local decision-makers. Hence:** Hypothesis IV: (A) The commitments of the local opinion leaders varied with reactions outside of the community; and (B) The character of demands and supports placed on the local decision-makers by local opinion leaders varied with changes in the character of their commitments.

The Local Citizens. Hypothesis V: (A) Mass opinion in the local community initially exhibited something approaching consensus on settlement through the Courts; (B) The average citizen in the community resented outside reaction to the dispute. They considered it a local problem little understood outside of the community; and (C) The commitment for enforcement of the law by the local citizens was consistent and independent of outside reaction.

*A similar research design was used by Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

**Another author found that opinion leaders are more perceptive of opinion trends than the general public, Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955).

The Impact of the Dispute on the Attitudes of the Three Groups. Hypothesis VI: (A) As a result of the failure to enforce the law the local citizens lost a certain amount of faith and confidence in law; (B) This loss of faith and confidence was not true for the decision-makers; or (C) The opinion leaders.

To test the validity of these hypotheses and arrive at some conclusions concerning the network of variables which led to the decision not to utilize the law, three groups were interviewed: the decision-makers, the local opinion leaders, and a random sample of the population of the school district. As indicated before, an earlier sample had already been taken of the general public of the state.

Hypotheses I, II, and III were investigated by interviewing the local decision-makers. This included ten individuals who served on the Oelwein Community School Board during the dispute, the Superintendent of the Oelwein Community School District, and the County Attorney for Buchanan County. The Oelwein Community School District includes two counties, Buchanan and Fayette, The Amish are located in Buchanan county.

Initial contact with the decision-makers was with the Superintendent of the Oelwein Schools, Mr. Arthur Sensor. He supplied a list of decision-makers past and present, plus some maps of the Oelwein School District. Each of the other decision-makers was first approached by means of a letter explaining the study and forewarning them of my intention to contact them in the near future. A structured questionnaire

was used. Most of the general questions were closed-ended and most of the questions concerning the dispute were open-ended. The interviews lasted anywhere from one to four hours. Fourteen decision-makers were interviewed but two declined to provide anything more than spotty responses to questions concerning their party identification, income, support for various levels of government, etc. These two decision-makers were subsequently dropped from the study. Most of the decision-makers and opinion leaders were very enthusiastic about the study and very generous with their time and hospitality.

Eight of the decision-makers lived in the city of Oelwein (a city of 8,500 which constitutes about 80% of the population of the Oelwein Community School District), one lived in Hazleton (a very small town located in the heart of the Amishland), and two of the decision-makers who had lived in Oelwein while serving on the School Board had recently moved. One had moved to Mason City, Iowa; the other to Cedar Rapids, Iowa. During the dispute the general public and to some extent the newspapers branded the decision-makers with terms such as "prosecutors," "bullies," "Fascist," and numerous other scathing epitaphs which in general reflected adversely not only on their intentions but in some cases on their ancestry. This study will reflect the decision-makers, I hope in a more realistic light - as honest, well-meaning people trying to deal with a situation of which they and the

general public had vastly different images. As we shall see only the press and the general public seemed to have doubted the good intentions of the decision-makers, the Amish never did.

Hypothesis IV was tested through interviews with the opinion leaders of the School District. The opinion leaders were identified by asking each decision-maker if there were any persons in the community whose opinions they particularly respected and to whom they turned for advice and consultation on matters that came before them for decision. This, of course, is just one of the ways in which opinion leaders can be identified.* For the purposes of this study this method was chosen as best because we were not concerned with who the opinion leaders in the community actually were, but with whom the decision-makers thought they were. Seventeen persons were identified and each was interviewed. The opinion leaders included bankers, businessmen, doctors, lawyers, communication media personnel, and city and state officials in the area. In the more rural areas they represented the more prosperous non-Amish farmers. Four of the opinion leaders were past members of the school board (not during the Amish dispute).

Hypothesis V was examined by interviewing a random sample of two hundred and eighty-nine persons in the Oelwein

*For a critique of the various approaches see Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power & Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

Community School District. These interviews were carried out by a professional polling organization. The interviewers used a structured questionnaire and usually spent about an hour on an interview. Hypothesis VI was tested in each of the three sets of interviews.

During the course of the field work my curiosity frequently became aroused as to why one banker, minister, businessman, or farmer would be named as an opinion leader and why another of presumably similar success and status would not. Consequently I sent a letter explaining my study and requesting an interview with some fifteen persons who were not named as opinion leaders. Each of these persons granted an interview. Although they were not formally included in the study they did provide a wealth of information that helped me better to understand the dispute and its personalities.

The Amish were interviewed only in a very informal way. They would not submit to highly structured interviews but it was possible to speak informally with selected members. The nature of these interviews will become obvious as we proceed.

The paper is divided into two parts. Part I is composed of the next two chapters. The first of these chapters (Chapter II) is designed to provide enough insight into the Amish and their culture to reveal the atmosphere in

which the dispute took place. Chapter III presents an overview of the Amish dispute itself and the personalities involved. Part I thus serves primarily as an introduction to the political systems analysis that will be carried out in Part II.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

¹George Paton, A Textbook of Jurisprudence, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 62-93.

²Cedar Rapids Gazette, February 18, 1966, p. 1.

³Melvin Gingerich, "The Mennonites In Iowa," The Palimpsest XL, No. 5 (May, 1959), 161.

⁴Melvin Gingerich, Mennonites In Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939), p. 8.

⁵United States v. Kissinger, 250 F 2d 940 (3rd cir., 1958); People v. Pierson, 176 N.Y. 2d 201, 68 N.E. 243 (1903); Knox v. O'Brien, 72 A 2d 389; State v. Hershberger, 150 N.E. 2d 671 (1958); Gingerich v. State, 83 N.E. 2d 47; Commonwealth v. Beiler, 168 Pa Super 462, 79 A. 2d 134 (1951); State v. Hershberger, 103 Ohio app. 188, 144 N.E. 2d 693 (1955); Chalpin v. Glick, 172 Ohio St. 249, 175 N.E. 2d 68 (1961).

⁶David Easton, The Political System (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), pp. 129-134.

⁷Des Moines Register, December 2, 1965, p. 5.

PART I

THE OLD ORDER AMISH AND THE SCHOOL DISPUTE:
AN OVERVIEW

CHAPTER II

THE OLD ORDER AMISH

Culture and Heritage

The Old Order Amish represent the most conservative wing of six branches of the Mennonite religion residing in Iowa.¹ Ranging from the most conservative to the most liberal the six branches are the Old Order Amish, Beachy Amish, Conservative Mennonite, the Old Mennonite, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and General Conference Mennonite. In earlier days each of these branches (plus all the other branches represented in other areas of the world) were simply known as Mennonites, but time and different interpretations of the Bible have caused them to split into distinct groups. The Mennonite religion had a rather simple beginning, starting with only 15 adults on January 17, 1525, in Zurich, Switzerland during the time of the Reformation.² They were early known as the Swiss Brethren and they believed in the separation of church and state and in the doctrine of a free church. Such views fit poorly into this historical period and the Brethren were soon considered enemies of the state. One of their major disputes with the church-state of the day

was over their belief that only those persons mature enough to make their own decisions should be eligible for church membership. Since the church was a voluntary association of believers to them, they refused to accept infant baptism.³ They practiced and taught that baptism is only for believers in the Gospel. In defense they pointed out that "the Apostles baptized those who had heard, understood, and accepted the Gospel."⁴ Consequently, they insisted that those persons who were baptized as children must be rebaptized when they professed faith in Christ and became a member of the church.

The Reformers, they believed, whatever their profession may have been, did not secure among the people true repentance, regeneration and Christian living as a result of their preaching. The Reformation emphasis on faith was good but inadequate, for without newness of life, they held, faith is hypocritical.⁵

Those adults who had been baptized when young and later rebaptized were called anabaptist, or rebaptizers.⁶

The Anabaptist movement began to spread over Europe and grew highly fanatical in some areas. In 1536 the movement came under the leadership of Menno Simon, a priest in the Roman Catholic Church. To the Anabaptist movement Simon brought a message of

practical Christianity based upon love, peace, purity, and holiness, and he taught that the Church must be a faithful witness to Christ, keeping itself holy and pure in life and doctrine.⁷

Soon all such followers were known as Mennonites, and Simon

worked to make this new religion "less a matter of external forms and more an affair of the inner life."⁸ He wanted to make the ministry free, "to establish a free alter where all could worship in spirit and in truth, without the reading of mass, or the listening to sermons delivered by a paid hierarchy."⁹ Simon had a permanent influence on the movement which caused it to flourish and adopt his evangelical and peaceful ways.

For about a decade and a half the Mennonites existed as a united religion, worshipping mostly in open fields to avoid detection. Simple and honest, with an immovable faith, they had but one guide--the Bible. In the year 1693 a dispute broke out in the church over the practice of shunning. One group of Mennonites who were the followers of Jacob Ammann

believed with him in the doctrine of having no social or business relations with those who, having fallen into sin, and having been expelled from Church membership, would not repent and become reconciled to the Church.¹⁰

The schism resulted in the followers of Ammann breaking away from the Mennonites, and they became known as the Amish.

The Amish split with the Mennonites resulted from their habit of reading and interpreting the Bible in very literal fashion, a habit that sticks with them today. They base the justification for the practice of shunning on several passages in the Bible such as I Corinthians Chapter 5 of the New Testament which reads:

But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator,

or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such a man do not eat.

And in II Thessalonians 3:14; "And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed." The Amish believe that the practice of shunning is not an act of malice but it is a means of encouraging the sinner to recognize his wrongs and become reconciled to the Church. The practice of shunning is a very effective device for enforcing conformity to Amish norms. "It is reported that some Old Order Amish who have been shunned and returned to the fold tell of suffering for days such ailments as amnesia. Suicide under these conditions is not unknown."¹¹

Though divided over the practice of shunning, the Mennonites are of one mind when it comes to military service or the taking of an oath. "They interpret the spirit and teaching of Christ to be a message of love and good will to all, a program in which persecution, hatred, carnage, and warfare have no part."¹² They are, therefore, non-resistant Christians and find it impossible to go to the battlefield. They stress that they do not reject the battlefield for fear of losing their own life, but because they could never take the life of another. The Bible they point out says "Love your enemies," "Bless them which persecute you," "Avenge not yourself," and "Thou shall not kill." If, however, they must give up their lives to the state to preserve their

religion, as so many of their ancestors did, this they consider the kind of sacrifice "which the true Christian patriot must be willing to make when duty calls."¹³ Their objection to the oath is based upon such articles as "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath." Instead they prefer a simple affirmation.

The Amish attitude toward organized government is quite simple. They view it as a necessary evil. Their attitude is not too far removed from John Locke's social contract theory. They recognize that society among evil men would be inconvenient and therefore government must exist so that the evil forces in society can be regulated. On the other hand, since the "state exists for the regulation of an evil society the Christian ought to live above it."¹⁴ They fear participation in government because of necessity the state is invested with the power of coercion, which they abhor. They fear with T. S. Eliot that if they participate in government they will have to adopt its ways.

The Christian and the unbelievers do not, and cannot, behave very differently in the exercise of office; for it is the general ethics of the people they have to govern, not their own piety, that determines the behavior of politicians.¹⁵

They realize, however, that they cannot live entirely separate from the state and that they have certain obligations to it. They realize that when Jesus said, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," he recognized the

obligation of paying taxes. Paul also emphasized the need for law observance among Christians when he said, "Let everyone be in subjection to the higher powers."¹⁶

The obligation to obey secular rulers, however, has its limits.

It applies only to matters relating to the maintenance of order in the society of this world. The state may never encroach upon the sphere of the Church. In faith, religion and morals the Christian must be in complete obedience to Christ; and if the requirements of the state in any way conflict with Christ's commands the Christian must do as John and Peter did when they said: "we must obey God rather than men."¹⁷

Today some of the more progressive Amish not only participate in government but some hold minor offices. The Old Order Amish in Buchanan County, however, do not normally participate. By custom those who refuse to participate still show a deep respect for the government and make it a practice to "pray regularly for those having rule over them."¹⁸

Paul's Command, "Be ye not conformed to the world" has also had a great effect on the Amish. They interpret it as meaning that the Christian's "sense of values, his interest, his purpose in life all must be different from those of the unbelievers."¹⁹ This belief has not only caused the Amish to refuse to be integrated into the rest of society, but it has also caused them to fear any change in their way of life. A frequently repeated belief among the Amish is that "the old is best, and the new is of the devil."

The primary, self-governing unit, wherever Amish

live, is the "church district."²⁰ The Amish have no formal churches, instead they meet in one another's homes, bi-weekly. Each church district formulates the Regel Und Ordnung (or rules and orders) which are the rules which guide almost every aspect of the Amishman's life. The rules inevitably place great restrictions on change, and all baptized Amishmen are bound to follow these rules. Paul's command, they believe, means that they must be "other-worldly" minded and not spend their time trying to ape this world, or even in trying to improve it.²¹

The cherished motto of the Amish is Arbeit Macht Das Leben Susz - work makes life sweet. They set a great deal of store in hard, honest work and endeavor to instill this tradition in their children at a very early age. Traditionally the Amish have been farmers, and, even though they use primarily ancient farming techniques, they own some of the most beautiful, prosperous, and well-managed farms in the Midwest. Farming the Amish believe is the perfect occupation because it allows them to till God's soil, live a clean and healthy life, and at the same time live apart from the outside world.

Nestled deeply in the Amish philosophy is the belief that a good Christian should live a simple life, without ostentation or pride, and without conforming to the patterns and styles of the world. As a result the Old Order Amish in Buchanan County do not furnish their homes with

telephones, electricity, modern heating or plumbing, radios or television, or even pictures for their walls. Neither do they own tractors or automobiles. Their main mode of travel is still the horse and buggy. The dress of the Amish has changed very little in the last 400 years. Essentially their apparel is that of the Dutch peasant of the first half of the sixteenth century. It stresses modesty, uniformity, and simplicity. Most of their clothing is homemade. The men wear black felt hats with broad brims, coats without pockets, lapels, or turn-down collars, and baggy trousers that fasten on the side. Their shirts are plain and without buttons, since buttons are considered ornamental. Instead they use hooks and, consequently, they are sometimes called "hookies" by members of the outside world. In turn, they sometimes refer to outsiders as "buttons." The women also wear simple clothes without ornamentation. They wear full skirts that fall about an inch above the ground, aprons, and dark capes. The head is kept covered with a bonnet or dark scarf. After the Amish man takes a bride he grows a beard, but mustaches are not allowed. Quite obviously the Amish dress, vocation and customs plays an important role in keeping them separated from the outside world (boundary maintenance).

Traditionally the Amish have put very little emphasis on education. Although some of the more progressive Mennonites now go on to college, the Old Order Amish still believe that "no formal education beyond the elementary

grades is a rule of life."²² Usually the Amish believe that an eighth grade education is sufficient for the simple farming life which they intend for their children to pursue.

The Amish use their schools primarily to perpetuate their way of life. It is in school that their children study the German language which they use in their everyday speech and in their religion. The school is also used to teach the literature, songs, and traditions of the Amish past. They believe that to give up these teachings would be to remove one of the major walls separating their way of life from surrounding groups. There are also many aspects of modern education which they find repugnant and prefer not to have their children exposed to. These include the teaching of science, the exposure to worldly views, organized games, plays, parties, and instrumental music. All of these things they consider either sinful or detrimental to their way of life. As a result, the most conservative Amish deem it a necessity to run their own schools in their own way.

The simple philosophy of the Amish has been maintained by them only at considerable cost. The most tangible cost has been many lives. For some two hundred years in Europe they suffered the most grievous persecution. But it is well documented that even the most severe persecution did not dent their faith.

The Count of Algy in the Palatinate after three hundred and fifty Anabaptist had been executed there, was heard

to exclaim, "what shall I do, the more I kill, the greater becomes their number."²³

The ancient Hutterian chronicle says of 2,173 Anabaptist who were put to death: "The fire of God burned within them. They would die ten deaths rather than foresake the divine truth which they had espoused."²⁴ The suffering of the Amish has had a lasting effect on their attitude toward conflicts with the un-Christian world (outside world). In the first place they have become convinced that conflicts between the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of the un-Christian world are inevitable. Secondly, they have become used to being punished by the state and they regard such treatment as the price they must pay from time to time to protect and preserve their way of life. Their ancestors suffered for hundreds of years and surely, they believe, they can do no less to preserve their culture from the un-Christian world. Those early Amish who died to preserve their freedom of conscience in early times are exalted as heroes by the Amish much as Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale are the heroes of every school-boy in modern society. Next to the Bible, their favorite book is an 1100 page volume which relates the stories of hundreds of the early Mennonites who died as martyrs. Appropriately enough it is titled Martyrs Mirror. Another of their favorite books is the Ausband, which consists primarily of hymns written by imprisoned Anabaptists, many

of whom died at the hands of the state. With such a heritage it is no wonder that the Amish do not easily make peace with the outside world.

Adaptation and Stress in a Modern World

Change. The Amish fear of change cannot be over-emphasized. They are painfully aware that even the smallest change leads to additional change and then rejection of a cherished norm. As one author says "No process is more important in the life of the Amish than boundary maintenance; without hard and fast boundaries of conduct as well as spatial boundaries, their ways would change and their system dis-integrate."²⁵ Robert Merton's typology of adaptation represented in Figure 2-1 is especially helpful here. The typology represents various methods of adaptation to life's situations. Within the Amish community category I is certainly the most representative mode of individual adaptation. "For the Amishman to remain an Amishman he must accept the complex of items included in cultural goals and must also use only the institutionalized means for the goals attainment."²⁶ Category IV is one way the Amish can reject outside community pressures. If they are threatened they can simply move to a less threatening environment. This is not an uncommon phenomenon. The mode represented by Category V is less common to the Amish but is certainly the one accepted in the dispute over educating their children in Iowa. They

FIGURE 2-1*

A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

Modes of Adaptation	Cultural Goals Ends	Institutionalized Means Norms
I. Conformity	Acceptance	Acceptance
II. Innovation	Acceptance	Rejection
III. Ritualism	Rejection	Acceptance
IV. Retreatism	Rejection	Rejection
V. Rebellion	Rejection of prevailing ends and substitution of new ones	Rejection of prevailing norms and substitution of new ones

*Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1949), p. 133. Quoted and adapted by Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 223.

openly rejected the goals of education and the means of implementing it. Innovation does take place in the Amish culture but it is the product of great stress and endless hairsplitting. One author describes the following ways in which change takes place:

First, the rules are not enforced uniformly for all members (an example would be an aged person who needs electricity to store vital medicine) . . . Second, attitudes of the bishop and the ordained men in a given district may differ from those in other districts. Third, the rules may be broadened, such as extending religious activity to missionary work. Fourth, leaders

and parents tend to be tolerant of youthful activity, because they know that the risk of having children "go English" (leave the sect) . . . is very great.²⁷

The Amish in Buchanan County, Iowa have probably changed less than the Amish in most parts of the country.

Norm Consistency. It is, of course, impossible for the Amish to live completely separated from the outside world. They depend on many of the facilities and services of outside communities for their survival. Customarily every effort is made to keep "systemic linkage"²⁸ (contacts with their community and the outside world) to a minimum. The assimilation of outside customs, facilities, and conveniences is highly selective and not altogether logical. The Amish involved in this dispute illustrate this well. Although they are representative of the most conservative Amish in North America, they develop all types of habits that seem to flout their own norms. For example, they refuse to own automobiles but have no qualms about riding in those of their neighbors. They frequently hire automobiles to take them on trips, or on shopping tours. They will not have a telephone in their homes, but they have nothing against using their neighbors'. They will also borrow their neighbors' electricity to perform such jobs as debeaking chickens. They will not own a self-propelled tractor, but they will hire outsiders to come to their farms and do combining, plowing, and shelling with modern equipment. They also frequently hire out to operate such machinery on non-Amish farms.

They have accepted the gasoline and diesel engine and use them to power many stationary pieces of farm equipment and even some propelled, such as tilling machines. They will not use rubber wheels on their vehicles (because rubber is a synthetic product not natural to this world), but rubber shoes, suspenders, pulley belts, and hot water bottles are allowed. The logic of all this is very difficult to grasp, and it reveals a very important point about Amish thinking. Their whole value system is based on non-critical thinking processes. This is reflected in their rigid acceptance of their ancestors' interpretation of the Bible. Evidence is collected in a very selected process which allows contrary evidence to be ignored and supporting evidence to be over-emphasized.²⁹ This is not a phenomenon unique to the Amish but they are an extreme example. To the outsider this selective thinking process can seem a very serious weakness. One author hypothesized that the acceptance of modern facilities is based on the principle that "those practices are institutionalized which will not plunge the sect into deep contact with the outside world; that those practices are prohibited which would encourage a rapid interaction with the outside world."³⁰ Obviously there is some truth here, but it cannot be used to explain the distinction between rubber tires and rubber boots.

Community Stress. There is considerable evidence that Amish life is not without unresolved stress. One

author (a former Mennonite and Professor of Sociology) reports that "among the Amish the rate of suicide is just as high, if not higher, than for the nation."³¹ The same author noted that certain physical ailments tend to occur more often among Amish than non-Amish. They are "obesity, chronic bedwetting, digestive disturbances, and mental disorders."³² Rule conformity is one of the most obvious sources of stress. Adults face the difficulty of keeping their children from leaving the community. The fear of the children leaving the society is very real. One study found that 30 per cent of the children in one community joined the outside world.³³ Because of this fear the Amish parents are inclined to be lenient toward their children being a bit rowdy in their teen years. "'Running wild' is tolerated in the normal life of the young unmarried adult male."³⁴ After this period of rebellion the young Amishman is expected to return to the rules of his community and become a responsible member of the church.

With this background we can now turn to the dispute itself.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

¹John A. Hostetler, Amish Society (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 312.

²Melvin Gingerich, "The Mennonites in Iowa," The Palimpsest, XL, No. 5 (May, 1959), 15.

³Barthinius L. Wick, The Amish Mennonites (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1894), p. 6.

⁴Melvin Gingerich, Mennonites in Iowa (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939), p. 15.

⁵Harold Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision, ed. Guy F. Hershberger (Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1957), 40.

⁶Harold Bender, Mennonite Origins In Europe (Pennsylvania: The Mennonite Central Committee, 1945).

⁷Gingerich, Mennonites In Iowa, p. 25.

⁸Wick, The Amish Mennonites, p. 7.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Gingerich, Mennonites in Iowa, p. 31.

¹¹Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays On Their Persistence and Change (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 231.

¹²Gingerich, Mennonites In Iowa, p. 31.

¹³Guy F. Hershberger, Christian Relationships To State and Community (Pennsylvania: The Mennonite Central Committee, 1945), p. 73.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 9-10.

¹⁵T. S. Eliot, The Idea of Christian Society (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1940), p. 25.

¹⁶Hershberger, Christian Relationships To State and Community, p. 10.

¹⁷Ibid. (Italics mine)

¹⁸Gingerich, Mennonites In Iowa, p. 159.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 168.

²⁰Hostetler, Amish Society, p. 12.

²¹See Gingerich, Mennonites In Iowa, p. 173 and Hostetler, Amish Society, p. 50.

²²Hostetler, Amish Society, p. 61.

²³Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," 33.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Loomis, Social Systems, p. 234.

²⁶Ibid., p. 223.

²⁷Hostetler, Amish Society, p. 285.

²⁸See Loomis, Social Systems, pp. 236-240.

²⁹Ibid., p. 216.

³⁰Ibid., p. 221.

³¹Hostetler, Amish Society, p. 284.

³²Ibid., p. 275.

³³Ibid., p. 210.

³⁴John Hostetler, "Persistence and Change Patterns In Amish Society," Beyond the Frontier: Social Process and Cultural Change, ed. Paul Bohannon and Fred Plog (New York: The Natural History Press, 1967), 299.

CHAPTER III

THE DISPUTE

1961-1964

The dispute between the Old Order Amish and the officials of Buchanan County began late in 1961, reached the height of complication in mid-winter of 1965, and was resolved, temporarily at least, in the summer of 1967. The Old Order Amish have lived in Buchanan County since 1914, when nine Johnson County Old Order Amish families moved there because they were disturbed by the progressive ways of the Johnson County Amish in southeast Iowa.¹ The new Amish colony flourished and today the majority of Old Order Amish in the state live in this community. The community spreads over two Hazleton, one Oelwein, and two Fairbanks districts. During the some fifty years which the Amish have lived in this area they have provided for the education of their own children. In 1948, when the Hazleton schools become a consolidated district, the Amish, who were in an independent district, purchased two rural, private schools and hired two certified teachers to staff them.* They operated their

*The teachers had only a high school education and were certified by the state only on a provisional basis.

schools and paid the salary of their certified teachers out of their own pockets for some fourteen years.²

In November of 1961 a vote was held to determine whether the Hazleton and Oelwein school districts should be merged. The election was hotly debated and the Amish violated their usual practice and participated in the vote. The Amish later revealed that they voted on the basis of their understanding that they would be furnished with certified teachers if the merger were approved. This became a very important point in the course of the dispute. It does seem obvious that the Amish would not have forsaken their usual practice and participated in the election unless they felt they could derive some benefit by doing so. The truth, however, is difficult to discern because the Superintendent of Schools whom the Amish claimed promised them teachers died suddenly in 1962 without, as one opinion leader put it, "even a chance to write his memories."

During the interviews a variety of persons (both decision-makers and opinion leaders) stated that they knew the Amish were promised certified teachers. One city official (and a well known member of the community) claimed to have seen a document stating such, and to know that this document was presented to the Amish before the vote. As many more opinion leaders and decision-makers flatly stated that the Amish were promised nothing. Some obvious facts can

be stated. In the fall of 1961, the superintendent of schools for Oelwein, Mr. A. A. Kaskadden (regarded by almost everyone as a crafty politician and as one opinion leader said "not the type of guy to ever let anyone know exactly where he stood, or to close any question which could later be the subject of negotiation"), wrote the State Department of Public Instruction asking what steps or commitments he could take in dealing with the Amish schools. The State Superintendent of Schools replied by letter that "the Oelwein Board should consider providing good facilities and equipment along with good teachers consistent with good education practices."³ The Amish received a copy of the letter plus a statement from the board that it could provide them with school facilities (including certified teachers) only if they would accept the same curriculum, standards, and quality of facilities that prevailed in the rest of the state. This is where the situation stood when the Amish went to the polls.

On May 7, 1962, the Oelwein Board drew up a list of conditions to be met before the Oelwein Community School Board could agree to operate the Amish schools as part of the school system. The conditions were those stated above (i.e., the same curriculum and standards). The board further stated that the Amish would have to be prepared in the future to send their children to the public schools in Hazleton.

The situation became increasingly complicated on May 14, 1962, when two members of the State Department of Public Instruction visited the area and met with Mr. Kaskadden and the members of the Oelwein Community School Board. The two officials (Mr. Thomas C. Green and Mr. Melvin Anderson) made an inspection of the two Amish schools and arranged to meet with two Amish representatives (Mr. Joseph Yoder and Mr. Ben Beachy). Green told the Amish that their facilities could not meet state standards and that the Amish would have to send their 7th and 8th grade students to Hazleton immediately. The Oelwein Board would be allowed to operate their schools from Kindergarten to 6th grade as public schools, but only for a year (or possibly two). The curriculum, Mr. Green stressed, had to include science. If this was not agreeable, then the Amish would be expected to operate private schools with certified teachers as they had done in the past.

The Amish found these requirements not to their liking and decided instead to continue to operate their own schools. Moreover, they fired their certified teachers and hired two of their own people with eighth grade educations to teach in their schools. The Buchanan County Superintendent of Schools at the time, Mr. J. J. Jorgenson, informed the Amish that this action violated state law and that they could continue to operate their schools only if they hired certified teachers.⁴ The Amish citing the expense refused.

The Iowa law, which Superintendent Jorgenson maintained the Amish were violating, is section 299.1 of the Iowa Code entitled "Attendance Requirements:"

The Board may, by resolution, require attendance for the entire time when the schools are in session in any school year. In lieu of such attendance such child may attend upon equivalent instruction by a certified teacher elsewhere.⁵

The law is clear enough in intent, if not in wording, but the Amish were resolute and thus the struggle began.

When argument failed Superintendent Jorgenson turned to the courts and asked for an injunction to close the Amish schools. Justice Peter Von Metre of the Tenth Judicial District of Iowa refused to issue the injunction on the ground that Iowa law only authorized the closing of a "public school" that failed to meet state standards. He pointed out, however, that the state could bring charges against the Amish for failing to meet the state's compulsory school attendance laws in sending their children to these private schools.⁶ The Iowa Code in section 299.8 defines what shall be considered a truancy.

Any child over seven and under sixteen years of age, in proper physical condition and mental condition to attend school, who fails to attend school regularly as provided in this chapter, without reasonable excuse for his absence, shall be deemed to be a truant.⁷

Section 299.6 which deals with violations states that "any person who shall violate any of the provisions of section 299.1 to 299.5 inclusive, shall be fined not less than \$5 or more than \$20 for each offense."⁸ On the basis of these

provisions, in 1962 and again early in 1963, the Amish fathers were taken to court and fined. In both cases the Amish refused to pay their fines and consequently ended up in jail at Independence, Iowa. In each instance their internment lasted only a few days before the County Attorney at the time, William O'Connell, relented and arranged a temporary truce. The Amish never paid their fines.

In October of 1963 the Amish themselves decided to take the matter to court and ask that their children be exempted from the certified teacher requirement. When the court refused, the Amish initiated appeal to the Iowa Supreme Court, but withdrew the case before the court could make a determination. In the fall of 1964 the Oelwein Community School Board offered the first of several compromises designed to settle the dispute. They proposed that if the Amish would send their children to school at Hazleton they would provide them with a segregated classroom. They asked the Amish to give the plan a one year trial. The Amish, citing "religious convictions," refused.

Fall 1965

The dispute languished until late summer of 1965. At this time the school authorities attempted their second compromise. They located an Amish follower with a college degree and asked the Amish to accept him as their certified teacher. The Amish did not reply (perhaps because they felt

any Amishman with that much education could not be one of them) and the second attempt at compromise came to naught. By now the officials of the Oelwein Community School District were a bit frustrated and resigned to the fact that the dispute could not be settled without court action. Feeling that they had made a fair effort to settle the dispute by compromise, they felt justified in now returning to the courts.

Upon the death of Kaskadden in 1962, Arthur Sensor became Superintendent of the Oelwein Community School District. The Buchanan County Attorney at this time was Harlan Lemon. The president of the school board was N. J. (Buck) Kjar, a railroad dispatcher. The leader of the fifteen Amish families involved in the dispute was Dan Borntreger. Although Borntreger is not an Amish Bishop, he exercises secular leadership over the families involved in this dispute. The source of his rule over these people is something of a mystery. Many persons believe that he has an economic stranglehold on most of the families involved. It is true that he owns quite a bit of property. Rank or prestige in the Amish community can be based on many things including success as a farmer, as a religious leader, and age. The oldest persons in the Amish community are generally conceded the most rank. In any conference with the School Board and its officials Borntreger was the only one to speak regardless of how many other Amish attended. At one meeting

a board member challenged the other men to speak for themselves. One Amishman quickly accepted the challenge, and even more quickly changed his mind when given a reminding kick by the Amishman on either side of him. Borntrager himself is tough-willed but he never loses his temper. When pressed "he winks or smiles, or shrugs."⁹ He is in his late sixties, has a long white beard, and a very bald head. He has fathered fifteen children, twelve of whom survive and live in the Amish colony. Like most of the other people involved in this dispute, he claimed to be angry at no one. He justified his position thus:

We've got to do this to keep our faith going. If we let them (the children) go to town school they run all over, and then we don't have them on our farms. Some have gone to town schools and haven't turned out so well (the implication is that they left the Amish culture). It isn't what they teach in the town schools that we object to, its what they don't teach.¹⁰

He viewed his opponents in the dispute in rather detached fashion. About Arthur Sensor he says: "He's a fellow just like us. We lose our tempers occasionally but I'm not angry at him."¹¹ About Harlan Lemon he says: "We're trying to make a friend of him if we can."¹²

With this lineup of persomel the stage was now set for the next act. The School officials were ready for a show-down and they decided to begin by filing new charges against the Amish. But this time the unpaid fines would be imposed on their property, since the Amish seem to have been little moved by their previous trips to jail.¹³ As soon as

the new school year began in the fall of 1965 the Oelwein board began filing charges against the Amish parents. Each night the fifteen Amish fathers would drive their buggies to Justice of the Peace Court where they would be fined \$20 for each child of theirs not attending school that day plus \$4 for court costs. Throughout September, October, and most of November the ritual was repeated every school night and the unpaid fines began to mount into the thousands of dollars. By day the fines were processed as liens against the property of the Amish. Early in November the county sheriff served writs garnisheeing about \$165 worth of property per Amish father.

On a cold midwestern morning the dispute took a dramatic turn. The Oelwein Community School Board had decided that it was getting nowhere by fining the Amish daily, so they decided to declare the Amish children truants and take them to school in Hazleton.¹⁴ On Thursday, November the 18th, the Amish fathers and the news media were informed that on Friday county officials would take the Amish children to school in Hazleton. On Friday, November 19, School Superintendent Arthur Sensor, Hazleton Principal Owen Snively (acting as truant officer) and County Attorney Harlan Lemon showed up at the Amish farms shortly before 8:00 A.M. to collect the children. At each farm house the officials found no children. Their parents either claimed not to know where the children were or else said that they were at their private

schools. It soon became obvious that the Amish were determined to resist this new move.

After having no luck at the Amish homes, the officials decided to try the two Amish schools. They went first to Amish School No. 2 known as the Charity Flats school. They found Amish children there but all were strangely enough under school age. One of the Amish children told Superintendent Sensor that the older children had run into adjoining cornfields. Sensor declined an invitation by accompanying newsmen to try and catch them.¹⁵ They next decided to try the other school, Amish School No. 1, known as "Amish Parochial." Seemingly enough their luck had improved. There they found three Amish men, three Amish mothers, a teacher, and 28 children of school age. The officials were greeted by one of the Amish fathers, Abe Yoder, who told the authorities that the children would not go willingly.¹⁶

As newsmen waited the officials plus Sheriff Fred Beier and Deputy Sheriff Tony Wengert went into the school and explained that they were taking the children to school on a bus. The children seemed to be shocked by the situation and as they began to get into their wraps they started to cry. Superintendent Sensor was the first to come out of the school and he announced to newsmen that the children would be coming out and would board the bus. As the children came out of the school they gathered in a group. Then it happened. Someone cried run and the children

bolted for a nearby cornfield. Newsmen got a dramatic picture of tiny children running in fear as they climbed over, under, and through a fence to escape into adjoining cornfields. The picture graced the front pages of newspapers all over the United States that evening and suddenly the Amish dispute was local no more. The impact of this picture on the dispute cannot be overstressed. The scene automatically triggered sympathy for the Amish. Once the picture appeared in the papers, it would be fair to say, the School officials had lost all chance to enforce the law. Lemon told the three crying Amish mothers and the equally distraught teacher to get their children out of the fields and cold, that no further attempt would be made to take the children to school that day.¹⁷

Lemon, however, obviously changed his mind because at 1 p.m. the same day the bus returned. This time there were no parents or newsmen around and the officials had no problem getting the children on the bus. In all they rounded up 28 children and bussed them to Hazleton. Compared to what had happened earlier in the day the scene was as different as night from day. The driver of the bus reported that the kids had a "ball" on the way to school. "The children sang German songs, waved and shouted. They were as happy as any kids have ever been."¹⁸ At the school each Amish child was greeted by a public school child who had been assigned as an escort to help the Amish children get

acquainted. A local newspaper described the scene thus: "The scene brought tears to seasoned teachers' eyes. The children chattered happily and threw their arms around one another as each Amish child was welcomed by a public school pupil."¹⁹ In the school the children were divided into classes and later that day bussed back home. Oelwein officials had every reason to be pleased.

Monday morning, however, they were in for a shock. Once more they met with resistance from Amish parents and they found the children crying, screaming, and stirred to near hysteria. After having physically to collect some of the children from nearby cornfields and to trap others in one of the Amish schools, the authorities decided to give up. The children they said "were too overwrought to take anywhere."²⁰ Lemon left with a vow that the matter would be settled in the courts.

The Governor Intervenes

Tuesday morning the Governor of the state, Harold Hughes, who up to this time had been merely a fifty yard-line spectator, stepped in to ask for a short-term "all-inclusive moratorium."²¹ Hughes, a Democrat, had been elected Governor of Iowa in 1964. He is a big man with both the rugged good looks and the self-confidence of a western hero. From this moment on Hughes was destined to be in this dispute right up to his eyeballs and the newspapers

boldly stated that he had placed his political future on the line. Throughout the dispute Governor Hughes' attitude seemed to be characterized by three things: (1) sympathy for the Amish; (2) a desire to see that the law was upheld; and (3) a sense of moderation. As could be expected, his attitude toward other aspects of the dispute changed from time to time. In the beginning he seemed to be convinced that this was not a religious dispute, but later he seemed to have had a change of heart.

Religion is very seriously involved in what we are doing. But, to the extent that most of us understand religion, there is no religious persecution in it. Frankly, though, we do not understand their religion so to them it is a real issue.²²

He early viewed the dispute as a "breakdown in human relations" based upon a failure of communication.²³ He called for patience and restraint on the part of all involved, warning that "if we act in haste or in anger we will live to regret it."²⁴ Near the point of compromise he made the following statement during his weekly radio broadcast:

Our country was founded and based on religious freedom and I don't believe our society should ever progress to the point where any small minority by any means is deprived of their rights or their beliefs if it can be determined that it is a belief of conscience in God as they understand it.²⁵

In a practical sense such a statement is extremely naive, but it represents an attitude on the part of the Governor which allowed him to be the key figure in finding a means of reaching a compromise in the dispute.

On the day that Governor Hughes entered the dispute and asked for the moratorium Lemon and Sensor quickly agreed and the Oelwein School Board promised to act upon the motion that night. Governor Hughes stated that he wanted to seek a peaceful solution to the Amish situation within the confines and structures of the Iowa law. He said that he did not want the moratorium to drag on too long but he did want a cooling off spell and he wanted the Attorney General to see how other states had settled similar problems. Hughes stated that if another state could be found which had solved the problem "we will go directly to the scene. . . . Somewhere within the confines of a reasonable society, there has to be a reasonable solution."²⁶ In agreeing to the moratorium Lemon promised the Governor that the lull would also bring a respite in the assessment of fines against the Amish. The old fines he stated, however, would have to be paid. That night the Oelwein School Board took the moratorium under consideration and voted 5-1 to support it. Board President N. J. Kjar said after the meeting that they "were giving the governor a chance to do what he could."²⁷

December was something of a slow month for the dispute. The Governor and his staff began to work on a compromise. In the meantime Buchanan County officials had decided to hold a public auction on December 21st to settle part of the fines owed by the Amish. In all, the Amish fathers had been fined for allowing their children to miss

24 days of school before the moratorium was called. Their total fines added up to \$11,114. The scheduled sale was never held because an anonymous donor contributed \$1511.00 to pay the fines of the nine fathers whose goods were to be sold on December 21. During the month of December one of the leading newspapers in the state conducted a poll to see how citizens of Iowa felt about the dispute.²⁸ The poll indicated that Iowans were strongly interested in the dispute and that they tended substantially to support the Amish. This poll will be considered in more depth in Chapter IV.

In contrast, a reporter from the state's largest newspaper did a casual survey of the general public in the Oelwein Community and concluded that they overwhelmingly supported the School Board's action.²⁹ Two reasons were given to explain this difference in attitude; (1) the local people who lived around the Amish did not look on them as being any different than any other people; and (2) the local citizens were aware that over 100 other Old Order Amish families lived in the area and their children were taught by certified teachers. If it did not violate their religion, why should it violate the religion of these few families? Especially since even the families involved in the dispute had certified teachers in their schools at one time.

January was to be a month primarily of negotiation. On January 11th Governor Hughes personally visited the area to confer with the Amish and the Oelwein School Board

officials. After discussing the problem he was conducted on a personal inspection of the two Amish schools. At the conclusion of his visit the Governor hinted that in the end the Amish would have to obey the law. He did, however, suggest that he saw a ray of hope and wanted to explore a "couple of possibilities."³⁰ On the same day a sheriff's sale was held and \$720 worth of Amish goods were sold.³¹ All was quiet until January 24th when a couple of church officials interested in the case met with Governor Hughes. They left stating that "the situation looks hopeful. I believe the Governor is trying to find a solution."³² On the very next day several of the Old Order Amish and a National Council of Churches official met once more with Governor Hughes to "clear up some uncertainty and unclearness which had developed from the governor's talks in Hazleton earlier this month with Amish leaders."³³

The month ended on a grim note. On the 29th of January three Amish leaders showed up at the capitol (without an appointment) and spent an hour and a half conferring with Governor Hughes. After the meeting the Amish, obviously upset, hurriedly left the capital and Hughes issued a statement saying that "at this time the situation looks pretty dark. We have narrowed the corridor to the extent that it is impossible to squeeze through. I wouldn't close the door yet--but its getting more remote."³⁴

February got off to a slow start, but it did not end that way. On the 4th the Governor met with members of the Oelwein School Board and Buchanan County officials in his chambers for two hours, but all concerned refused to divulge the nature of their conference. Superintendent Sensor did suggest after the meeting, however, that the situation was getting closer to a solution.³⁵ The President of the Oelwein School Board, N. J. Kjar, said "the board still did not intend to put state-certified teachers into the Amish schools at public expense."³⁶ On the 15th of the month the Governor made his second trip to Oelwein to meet with the Amish, the members of the Oelwein School Board, and the attorneys for both sides. At the conclusion of the trip the Governor issued the following statement:

We believe we are closer to a solution than we have been in the past. It has not reached the point where we can say anything about it. There is still some negotiating to be done. I expect this to be resolved, one way or the other, before I leave for the Orient a week from Wednesday.³⁷

The Temporary Solution

On Tuesday, February 22, the Governor called a news conference and passed out copies of what he called a "temporary solution to the Amish dispute in Buchanan County."³⁸ The core of the compromise called for the two rural Amish schools to be leased to the Oelwein Community School District for \$1 a year, and for certified teachers to be supplied by the school board but paid for by private funds.

The funds were to be provided by the Danforth Foundation of St. Louis in the amount of \$15,000 for the rest of 1966 and for the next school year. This was to be a temporary solution until the Iowa legislature could try to solve the problem in its 1967 session. At that time, Governor Hughes said "he would propose and support legislation to provide a state fund to be administered by the Department of Public Instruction."³⁹ Some of the details of the agreement were these:

- (1) The Amish agreed that any non-Amish children living in the area would be welcome to attend the school;
- (2) It was agreed that certain adjustments would be made in the curriculum (no science, etc.) and in the use of teaching aids (no movie projectors, etc.) so as not to conflict with the Amish religion;
- (3) It was agreed that the Amish children could be instructed in the German language two hours per week as an extra-curricular activity;
- (4) The Amish agreed to comply with attendance laws and not take school time for farm work;
- (5) It was agreed that since the schools would now be public schools, religion would not be taught; and
- (6) It was agreed that the state could make minimal changes in the two schools to bring them up to respectable standards (such as installing electricity). The Governor stated that there were other details which would have to be worked out over time.⁴⁰

Nearly everyone viewed the settlement as a victory for the Amish. Everyone, that is, except the Amish. The

Amish had severe reservations about the plan and adopted what their attorney called "a wait and see attitude."⁴¹ Dan Borntrager said he was unhappy "because my people are unhappy."⁴² Buchanan County officials and Oelwein School Board officials were equally sure that they had not been the winners either. Most of them expressed severe reservations about the idea of providing special funds for one religious group. N. J. Kjar, President of the Oelwein School Board, expressed fear that the plan would spring Pandora's box and cause all types of minority groups to flock to Iowa, especially Buchanan County.⁴³

In the weeks that followed the Oelwein School Board interviewed and hired two certified teachers for the two Amish Schools.* The teachers found the Amish children avid for knowledge. One teacher stated that the children were so fascinated and enthusiastic that at the end of a day he often felt "drained dry."⁴⁴ He also found that the children had nearly no educational foundation upon which to build. For example, he stated that the children did not recognize the names of Lyndon Johnson or Harold Hughes, and that the words Vietnam and Equator were lost on them. On the whole he found teaching the Amish children a happy experience stating

*This time the certified teachers were college graduates, which is probably one reason that the Amish were not altogether enthusiastic about the solution.

"that handling a class with 100 per cent attentiveness is a rare and pleasant experience for any teacher."⁴⁵

Resolution

Governor Hughes was true to his word. At the opening of the 1967 session of the Iowa legislature he recommended that the legislature allocate an

Emergency aid for schools, including \$50,000 (a year) for aid to school districts in providing certified teachers and other assistance for special rural schools, such schools not having certified teachers at the beginning of the 1965-1966 school year.⁴⁶

The reference, of course, was to the Amish schools. The proposal was quite obviously a special grant for a private religious group and raised serious constitutional questions. The legislature saw the proposal in this questionable light and overwhelmingly withheld its support. The chairman of the House subcommittee on School appropriation summed up the general attitude by stating that "giving public funds to Amish schools is a violation of the principle of church and state under state laws and the state constitution."⁴⁷ He could have easily added "and the American constitution."

Hughes, realizing that he had come up against a stone wall, dropped the proposal and appointed a committee to study the problem. The committee studied a variety of alternatives but liked best one recommended by the American Civil Liberties Union. Following the ACLU position, they recommended that the State Superintendent of Public

Instruction, with the approval of the State Board of Public Instruction,

be empowered to exempt from the school standards those members or representatives of a local congregation of a recognized church or religious denomination established for 10 years or more within the state of Iowa prior to July 1, 1967, which professes principles or tenets that differ substantially from the objectives, goals or philosophy of education embodied in the state-standard law.⁴⁸

The exemption would be for two years. If a school wanted a renewal after that, the State Superintendent could order an achievement examination for the children to see if they matched the attainments of children of the same age in other schools.

The house received the bill in May and after some study indicated that it had little chance of being passed. The Senate gave the bill a better reception and indicated that it had a good chance of passage.⁴⁹ The bill's success in the house depended to a large extent on the position that the Speaker (Maurice Baringer, a Republican) would take since he represented Oelwein. On June 3, 1967, the Senate passed the bill 34-12. The house continued debate on the bill and still indicated general disapproval. Representative James Klein (a Republican member of the Governor's committee) warned the house that if they did not give favorable consideration to the bill "I'm afraid we're going to have another chase through the cornfields."⁵⁰ In a move that surprised most of Iowa, the House on June 30, 1967, approved

the Senate's bill by a vote of 81-35. The Speaker also surprised many by yielding his gavel and taking the floor to plead for the passage of the bill. In part he stated that the "Amish are a people under God, living according to their religious beliefs. We should be willing to bend in order to let these people live."⁵¹ Baringer stated that his vote would not be popular in his district but "so be it."⁵²

Thus ended for a time, at least, the long dispute. In the next chapter we will take a look at the environment in which the dispute took place.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

¹Melvin Gingerich, "The Mennonites in Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, XL, No. 5 (May, 1959), 209.

²Cedar Rapids Gazette, November 14, 1965, p. 1B.

³Oelwein Daily Register, November 4, 1961, p. 1.

⁴Cedar Rapids Gazette, November 14, 1965, p. 1B.

⁵Iowa Code, Vol. 13, Section 299.1, p. 369.

⁶J. J. Jorgensen v. Dan M. Borntrager

⁷Iowa Code, Vol. 13, Section 299.8, p. 376.

⁸Iowa Code, Vol. 13, Section 299.6, p. 375.

⁹Des Moines Register, November 27, 1965, p. 3.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., January 11, 1966, p. 1.

¹²Ibid., November 20, 1965, p. 1.

¹³Cedar Rapids Gazette, November 19, 1965, p. 1.

¹⁴Des Moines Register, November 20, 1965, p. 1.

¹⁵Cedar Rapids Gazette, November 19, 1965, p. 1.

¹⁶Ibid.,

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., November 20, 1965, p. 1.

¹⁹Ibid.

- ²⁰Ibid., November 22, 1965, p. 1.
- ²¹Ibid., November 23, 1965, p. 1.
- ²²Ibid., February 18, 1966, p. 1.
- ²³Ibid., November 27, 1965, p. 1.
- ²⁴Ibid.
- ²⁵Ibid., February 18, 1966, p. 13.
- ²⁶Ibid., November 23, 1965, p. 1.
- ²⁷Ibid.
- ²⁸Des Moines Register, December 2, 1965, p. 5.
- ²⁹Ibid., November 28, 1965, p. 1 and 4L.
- ³⁰Ibid., January 11, 1966, p. 1.
- ³¹Cedar Rapids Gazette, January 11, 1966, p. 1.
- ³²Ibid., January 24, 1966, p. 1.
- ³³Ibid.
- ³⁴Ibid., January 29, 1966, p. 8.
- ³⁵Des Moines Register, February 4, 1966, p. 8.
- ³⁶Ibid.
- ³⁷Ibid., February 15, 1966, p. 5.
- ³⁸Cedar Rapids Gazette, February 22, 1966, p. 1.
- ³⁹Ibid.
- ⁴⁰Ibid.
- ⁴¹Des Moines Register, February 23, 1966, p. 7.
- ⁴²Cedar Rapids Gazette, February 24, 1966, p. 5.
- ⁴³Des Moines Register, February 23, 1966, p. 7.
- ⁴⁴Des Moines Register, March 27, 1966, p. 1.
- ⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., February 3, 1967, p. 8.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 1 & 8.

⁴⁸Ibid., May 28, 1967, p. 10L.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., July 1, 1967, p. 4.

⁵²Ibid., p. 1.

PART II

A SYSTEM ANALYSIS OF THE AMISH DISPUTE

INTRODUCTION

Political Systems Analysis is the study of the cause and effect relationship between "sets of interrelated components"¹ known as systems. Each system is thought of as being highly interrelated to the other systems which lie in its environment. The environment of a system is the larger system to which it belongs, and the smaller systems within it are its components or sub-systems.² Political life, then, is visualized as an open system subject to influences from the various other systems which make up its total environment. In the Amish dispute, for example, the Oelwein area would be a sub-system of the state political system. The actions of each affect the other.

Stimuli from the environment are communicated to the political authorities (or decision-makers) by two types of inputs: demands and support. Through demands and supports "a wide range of activities in the environment may be channeled, mirrored, and summarized and brought to bear upon political life."³ In turn the political authorities are capable of affecting the environment through outputs such as rewards and deprivations. Through the process of feedback the political authorities can perceive the impact of

their outputs on the environment and make the necessary adjustments in their future outputs to maintain support for their policies and themselves.

In the next four chapters these elementary concepts will be applied and expanded upon. We begin in Chapter IV with an analysis of some of the environmental influences in the Amish dispute.

FOOTNOTES

¹Alfred Kuhn, The Study of Society: A Unified Approach (Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., and The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1963), p. 38.

²Ibid., p. 48.

³David Easton, A System Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 27.

CHAPTER IV

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Easton defines the total environment of a political system as being divided into two parts, the intra-societal and the extra-societal. The intra-societal environment

would include such sets of behavior, attitudes and ideas as we might call the economy, culture, social structure or personalities; they are functional segments of the society with respect to which the political system of the focus of attention is itself a component.¹

The intra-societal environment provides a constant source of stimuli which determines the conditions under which the political system functions. The extra-societal environment is composed of all those systems which lie outside the immediate society itself. An example would be the international political systems.

In this chapter we will examine two major categories of intra-societal environmental influences in the Amish dispute: (1) attitudes toward the Amish; and (2) the demands and supports concerning the dispute, manifested by various relevant publics. We begin with attitudes toward the Amish.

Attitudes Toward The Amish

The seventeen persons identified as opinion leaders by the decision-makers and the two hundred and eighty-nine local citizens from the Oelwein Community School District were asked a variety of questions concerning their attitudes toward the Amish. In trying to determine how these two groups felt toward the Amish and the dispute, one general rule was followed. That was not to feed the respondent any more information than possible and not to suggest alternative answers except in an introductory manner. The respondents were first asked the following questions:

As you know quite a few Old Order Amish live in this area. Some folks we talk to say they make good neighbors, other folks disagree. What about you? Do you think they make good neighbors, or not so good neighbors?

Sixty-one per cent (N = 176) of the local citizens answered "good neighbors," 13 per cent (N = 37) said "not so good neighbors," 9 per cent (N = 28) "it depends", and 16 per cent (N = 48) "don't know." The opinion leaders were less favorable, 5 (29%) answering "good neighbors," 5 (29%) "not so good," and 7 (42%) "it depends." Statistical analysis reveals that the differences between the two groups in attitudes toward the Amish are significant.* The opinion

*The sample size of the decision-makers and opinion leaders is too small for most parametric techniques. Consequently it was decided that the major statistical tools for analysis of these groups would be analysis of variance, difference of mean test, Gamma and Tau. Where it is deemed necessary to detect significant differences between the various

leaders, in other words, were significantly less favorable to the Amish.

Each of the respondents was then asked what it was about the Amish that he liked or disliked. Up to four negative and four positive comments were coded for each respondent. As indicated in Tables 4-1 and 4-2 the favorable comments ($N = 314$ [54%]) offered by the local citizens slightly outnumbered the critical comments ($N = 265$ [46%]). Twenty-two local citizens simply answered that they were like any other people, "some good and some bad." Most of the negative comments of the local citizens concerned the school dispute, the old habits of the Amish, their refusal to serve in the military, and their lack of support for the community.

Interestingly enough the primary criticism of the opinion leaders toward the Amish was that they "take from our society but do not contribute to it." For the local

samples on selected variables, analysis of variance or difference of means test is carried out with the null hypothesis (H_0) that there is no significant difference between the groups on the selected variable. H_a is that a significant difference does exist. The alpha (or area of rejection) is set at .01. The null hypothesis is systematically employed but is not constantly referred to for reasons of style. Whenever it is stated that a difference is significant, this means that it is statistically significant at the .01 level. The level of significance simply indicates the possibility that such an occurrence could happen by chance alone. The .01 level of significance means that there is only one chance in a hundred that such a relationship could occur randomly. The appendix contains a more thorough explanation of the methodological techniques and strategies used throughout the study.

citizens this response totaled only 15 per cent of their negative comments; but for the opinion leaders it amounted to 40 per cent of their negative total. This may represent an economic bias toward the Amish who do not purchase as much as the non-Amish in the community (a couple of the larger newspapers gave a certain amount of attention to this angle), or it may reflect a more subtle attitude articulated below by one of the opinion leaders.

The Amish cry to high hell that they be left alone to live as they choose. The problem, however, is that if they were left alone they would die off. They are not by any means self-sufficient, they depend on organized society for their survival. Being left alone to an Amishman means being able to sponge off of organized society for the things they need (hospitals, law enforcement, highways, food and material products) while not having to accept responsibility for support of the community. They need this community but hypocritically refuse to support it.

Regardless of its merits, this argument was heard over and over again during the course of the interviews with the opinion leaders. Dr. Jaggard, an opinion leader who was picked by five decision-makers, made the same point in much more colorful fashion. Dr. Jaggard is a physician and the originator and coordinator of a right-wing organization called Jag. The decision-makers and the other opinion leaders had a tendency to refer to him as "something else" or "far out." It soon became obvious that they were not repulsed by his political philosophy, but were half amused by his enthusiasm for politics. Jaggard turned out to be a repository of political fact. He possesses an almost

TABLE 4-1

POSITIVE COMMENTS OF THE OPINION LEADERS AND
LOCAL CITIZENS ABOUT THE AMISH

Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	
132	42.0	8	44.0	1. Good people, honest, decent, always friendly, courteous and agreeable.
77	24.0	3	17.0	2. Independent, keep to themselves, do not try to get government welfare.
54	17.0	3	17.0	3. Helpful to other people. Willing to aid those in need.
7	2.0			4. Very religious
6	2.0			5. Good farmers
10	3.0	1	5.0	6. Law abiding
		3	17.0	7. Other
Total	314	100%	18	100%

TABLE 4-2

NEGATIVE COMMENTS OF THE OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL
CITIZENS ABOUT THE AMISH

Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	
65	24.0	4	12.0	1. Should obey the school laws.
29	11.0	3	9.0	2. Should serve in the military and help defend our country.
18	7.0	1	3.0	3. They do not let their children have a say in the conduct of their lives.
57	21.0	1	3.0	4. Do not like their old ways. Too stubborn and set in their ways.
41	15.0	13	38.0	5. Take from our society but do not contribute to it.
16	6.0	2	6.0	6. Impose on their neighbors.
2	0.7			7. Intermarry
5	2.0	1	3.0	8. Do not respect our laws.
32	12.0	9	26.0	9. Others
Total	265	34	100%	

photographic mind and could recite Supreme Court cases, their disposition and how individual judges voted in particular cases. He described his political philosophy as "fighting back" and was able to discriminate at a high level on political issues and reject right-wing arguments which he considered basically inconsistent (such as the traditional right-wing attitude toward prayer in school). Printed below is an excerpt from the Jag bulletin relating to the Amish dispute. Notice how the points coincide with those of the opinion leader above.

The problems of the Amish colony near Oelwein have hit the front pages recently, apparently because the Berlin and Cuba situations are no longer holding the public interest. It must have been a slow news day this past week when the Des Moines Register gave its banner headline to the fact that a dozen Amish families planned to leave Iowa. Shucks, friends, these people are constantly shifting around from one colony to another, and these particular families have been getting ready to leave for three months. Point One for today - - - Don't get excited about headlines; their primary purpose is to sell newspapers.

The particular event that brought on this publicity was the jailing of eight Amishmen, which apparently is the first time any Amishman has been in jail for any reason in this area. Their offense - - operating two private grade schools for 37 Amish children with teachers who were not qualified according to Iowa law. The Amishmen were found guilty, and fined \$10 each, which they refused to pay. They preferred to go to jail for three days, because their religion taught them they should not pay fines which are unjust.

But, there were NINE Amishmen guilty and fined in this case, and only eight went to jail. Why? Because one man paid his fine, saying that it was against his religion to go to jail. All nine men were of the same religious group, living in the same close-knit and slightly in-bred colony, all reading the same Bible and practicing the same religion, but eight went to jail for their religion while one paid his fine for his religion. Point Two for today - - You can do anything in the name of religion.

The Amish school problems have focused attention on the simple and crude way of life which they prefer. Black hats, beards, hooks-and-eyes instead of buttons on coats, horses and buggies, no cars, no tractors, no electricity, no telephones, all add up to hard work and a rugged life. That's the way the Amish want it, with rugged individualism and charity toward their neighbors, and that's the way their religion tells them life should be. And where do they get these ideas? From the same Bible used by thousands of other religious groups, but interpreted by the Amish in their own peculiar fashion. The Amish won't use rubber tires, because the Bible doesn't mention rubber, but they let me treat them with penicillin. They don't believe in cars and telephones, but when they send a kid over to the neighbors to use their phone to call the doctor, the message is usually, "Come out right away, doc!", and they don't want me to take time to go out to the barn and saddle up a horse. Point Three - - - You can use the Bible to defend (or attack) anything.

If we relied only on the answers previously reported for the local citizens it would be easy to conclude that they really like the Amish and do not share to any large extent the attitudes of the opinion leaders. We have seen that five out of every six of the local citizens considered them good neighbors (N = 176, 73% of those who answered the question), as opposed to bad neighbors (N = 37, 15.3%). In addition, the local citizens made more positive comments (N = 314) about the Amish than negative (N = 265). We are restrained from this conclusion, however, by the responses to another question asked earlier in the interviews. Every respondent was asked to rate how much he liked each of fifteen groups. He could rank the groups from a high of +5 to a low of -5. A card was handed to the respondent which showed the following scale:

Like Very Much					No Attitude					Dislike Very Much
+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

The name of a group was read to the respondent and the answer recorded before the next group was read.

The results of the rankings presented in Table 4-3 proved interesting.* The local citizens and the opinion leaders both ranked the Amish fourteenth. Obviously the Amish came out very badly. The most exceptional difference between the rankings of the opinion leaders and the local citizens is how much more negatively the opinion leaders rank the Amish. Most of the groups that the local citizens and opinion leaders live around and know were rated high, but not the Amish.

How can the results of this question be reconciled with those discussed earlier? The answer seems to be that the question concerning the type of neighbors the Amish are is abstract while the ranking question is relational and allows the respondent to reveal his attitudes without appearing to be malevolent or condescending. When the two questions are combined, a better image of local attitudes toward the Amish becomes clearer. The composite might boil down to this. The opinion leaders and local citizens find a great

*The individual rankings were converted to a z score to stabilize the range and then a mean score was derived.

TABLE 4-3

MEAN Z SCORES FOR SELECTED GROUPS AS RATED
BY OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS

Rank	Ranking by Local Citizens		Rank	Ranking by Opinion Leaders	
1.	Whites	.844	1.	Protestants	.905
2.	Protestants	.642	2.	Whites	.873
3.	Policemen	.587	3.	Policemen	.705
4.	Catholics	.423	4.	Republicans	.582
5.	Republicans	.262	5.	Jews	.549
6.	Democrats	.173	6.	Big Business	.463
7.	Lawyers	.137	7.	Conservatives	.398
8.	Jews	.079	8.	Lawyers	.218
9.	Conservatives	-.035	9.	Catholics	.137
10.	Labor Unions	-.081	10.	Negroes	.132
11.	Negroes	-.146	11.	Labor Unions	-.503
12.	Big Business	-.328	12.	Democrats	-.521
13.	Liberals	-.348	13.	Liberals	-.835
14.	Old Order Amish	-.585	14.	Old Order Amish	-1.264
15.	Atheists	-1.786	15.	Atheists	-1.907

deal to admire about the Amish (thrifty, hardworking, honest, religious, etc.), but they do not really respect the Amish or their way of life. They do not think of the Amish as being any better than other people (which is an Amish belief), they do not like the heavy control the Amish maintain over their children, and there is a certain amount of animosity toward them because they do not send their sons to war or support the community economically. The local citizens and opinion leaders also see the Amish as inconsistent in their habits and beliefs, stubborn, unyielding, and selfish in their goals. Because of the inconsistent habits of the

Amish and the rebellious behavior of their teenaged children it should not be surprising to find that the non-Amish who live closest to them look upon them somewhat differently from those people who come in contact with them only occasionally, if at all. To the general public the Amish may be storybook and picturesque, but to their neighbors they are tissue and marrow and just as subject to errors of flesh and faith as the rest of us.

Still the things that the local citizens and opinion leaders admire about the Amish are so important to their own value system that they cannot bring themselves to express total dislike for the Amish. One of the opinion leaders (a law officer) made this point very obvious. He spent a good fifteen minutes relating all types of incidents in which the Amish kids have had minor brushes with the law, arguing that these incidents demonstrated that they were no better than other people. When he finished, however, he lowered his head, shook it from left to right and said: "still I don't want you to go away thinking that those are not good people out there (in the Amish community). They are and I want to give them credit for that." Frustration -- a kind of frustration that many people in the Oelwein Community know.

Demands and Supports: An Objective Analysis

In a later chapter we will consider the types of demands and supports concerning the dispute actually perceived

by the decision-makers. Here we are concerned with the demands and supports of various publics without concern for how they were actually communicated to, or perceived by, the decision-makers. There are several things that we need to know. What did the various publics view as the basis of the dispute? How did they think the dispute should have been solved? How stable were these attitudes? Did these attitudes amount to a group consensus? The opinion leaders and local citizens were asked each of these questions. In another sample, citizens taken from the whole state of Iowa were asked how they thought the dispute should have been solved. We begin with a question concerning the basis of the dispute.

The Basis of the Dispute

Two of the state's largest newspapers had treated the dispute as an economic versus a religious argument. This amounted to a debate over whether the Amish would not hire certified teachers for economic reasons, or for religious reasons. To determine how the opinion leaders and local citizens visualized the dispute the following question was asked: "In your opinion what seems to be the main question in this school dispute? I mean, what seems to be the basic problem?" Since the query was open-ended many respondents gave more than one answer. Up to three responses for each respondent were recorded, (See Table 4-4).

TABLE 4-4
 MAIN QUESTION IN THE SCHOOL DISPUTE

Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders			
N	%	N	%		
44	10.0	14	67.0	1.	(Financial) The Amish can't afford certified teachers. The Amish just don't want to pay for certified teachers.
78	17.0	3	14.0	2.	(Religion) The Amish don't want their children educated for religious reasons.
212	47.0	2	9.0	3.	The Amish are afraid that the children will be exposed to worldly things and this will cause them to stray.
39	9.0			4.	The Amish just want to keep their children working on their farms.
23	5.0			5.	Just ignorance, hardheadedness, and stubbornness on the part of the Amish.
49	11.0	2	9.0	6.	Any reference to the dispute being the fault of Dan Borotrager.
7	2.0			7.	Amish just won't obey laws.
Total	452	100%	21	100%	

The data in Table 4-4 reveal that the local citizens did not think of the dispute primarily as either economic or religious. They gave the greatest weight to the Amish fear of their children being exposed to worldly ideas. This is probably the most realistic attitude. The Amish did frequently state that they could not afford certified teachers, but most people believe they could. The primary fear of the Amish was probably the influence of modern education on their children. Borntrager on several occasions stated that certified teachers were not necessary, and that they taught bad things. The opinion leaders, as we see, restricted themselves almost entirely to the financial issue. This seems to be a product of two things: (1) A harder attitude toward the Amish, and therefore a tendency to want to discredit the Amish position; and (2) An economic bias on the part of the average opinion leader.

The Solution

In December of 1965, just after the Governor had intervened in the dispute, one of the state's leading newspapers conducted a poll across the state to see how the statewide public felt toward the dispute.* The first question

*The survey was conducted by the Iowa Poll, a professional polling staff of the Des Moines Register. The questions were constructed by the author. I would like to thank Mr. Glen Roberts of the Iowa Poll for including the questions for me.

sought to find out if the public was paying attention to the dispute. This is the way the question was worded: "The Amish who live in Iowa have been in the news recently over their children attending school. About how much attention have you been paying to the Amish school problem -- a great deal, some, or very little." The results presented in Table 4-5 reveal that a rather substantial proportion of those polled said they had been paying attention to the controversy. In fact, public interest in the dispute was much higher than one usually finds for a public or political controversy. The same question broken down by education showed that the more educated public was paying the closest attention to the dispute although the difference is not statistically significant (Table 4-6). The important point, however, is that normally the more educated public can be expected to pay more attention to public controversies, but in this case the dispute cuts across educational boundaries. Obviously the Amish dispute had salience for a broad spectrum of the Iowa public.

The poll then continued with this query:

A state law requires all children to attend state-approved schools through the eighth grade. Some of the Amish have refused to obey this law because they say they cannot afford certified teachers in their own schools and will not send their children to other public schools where they will be influenced by modern ways of life. Here are some possible actions which could be taken in the Amish dispute. Which one of these actions do you favor?

TABLE 4-5
STATE-WIDE INTEREST IN THE AMISH DISPUTE

	N	%
Great deal	321	53.0
Some	216	36.0
Very little	63	11.0
Total	600	100%

TABLE 4-6
INTEREST IN THE AMISH DISPUTE WITH
EDUCATION HELD CONSTANT

	Grade		High		College	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Great deal	82	57.0	167	51.0	71	57.0
Some	40	27.0	127	39.0	48	38.0
Very little	23	16.0	34	10.0	6	5.0
Total	145	100%	328	100%	125	100%

Table 4-7 shows the possible actions offered to the respondents and the responses. Combining categories 1, 4, and 6 on Table 4-7 reveals that 46 per cent of those questioned felt that the law should be changed, teachers should be provided, or the Amish should simply be let alone. On the other hand the total of categories 2, 3, and 5 reveals that only 31 per cent wanted the Amish to obey the law; of these only 15 per cent (categories 2 and 3) favored the use of some means of force. Thus 12 per cent (category 5) of the 31 per cent who wanted the Amish to obey the law would not be willing to force them to do so. This leaves only 19 per cent (categories 2 and 3) of the total sample who would support those actions necessary to settle this dispute in the courts. The same table shows the sample broken down by size of community, and reveals almost no support (4%) in farm areas for forcing the Amish to obey the law. Obviously this sympathetic public opinion would be important in any solution sought for the dispute. It also shows why Governor Hughes realized that he would have to become involved in the dispute if a political crisis were to be averted.

The opinion leaders and local citizens in the Oelwein Community were also asked how they thought the dispute should be solved. Contrary to what we found for the general public of Iowa, the opinion leaders and local citizens overwhelmingly favored enforcement of the

TABLE 4-7

SUPPORT OF THE STATE-WIDE PUBLIC OF IOWA FOR PROPOSED SOLUTIONS TO THE AMISH DISPUTE

	Total N	%	Metro N	%	Town N	%	Farm N	%
1) Change state law to permit Amish to attend non-certified schools	131	22.0	42	27.0	33	27.0	29	22.0
2) Fine Amish who disobey law and auction off property if they refuse to pay fines	93	15.0	32	22.0	18	11.0	1	14.0
3) Take Amish children away from their families so they can be educated in state approved schools	22	4.0	5	3.0	8	5.0	3	2.0
4) Nothing at all should be done	99	16.0	19	12.0	29	17.0	26	20.0
5) Amish should obey law but would not force them	72	12.0	11	7.0	27	16.0	15	11.0
6) State provide teachers	46	8.0	7	5.0	12	7.0	11	8.0
7) No opinion	82	14.0	21	14.0	23	14.0	18	14.0
8) Other ways	45	4.0	15	44.0	16	4.0	12	9.0
Total	600	100%	154	100%	166	100%	132	100%

law (See Table 4-8). Thirteen of the opinion leaders said the "Amish should be made to obey the law," 3 said, "leave them alone," and 1 said that "the state should provide them with certified teachers." Sixty-five per cent (N = 187) of the local citizens said "the Amish should obey the law," as opposed to 21 per cent (N = 61) who suggested something other than enforcement. Eighteen per cent of the local citizens simply said that "the Amish should be left alone." Seventeen per cent (N = 41) of the local citizens could give no answer.

What the local citizens and opinion leaders wanted done in the dispute depended heavily upon how they felt toward the Amish. To demonstrate this two scales were constructed from the earlier question which asked each respondent what he liked or disliked about the Amish.* The first of these is a directional scale which indicates whether a person's comments about the Amish were favorable only, critical only, or mixed (See Figure 4-1). The lower the mean the more favorable the group is toward the Amish. As we can see those opinion leaders and local citizens who wanted to leave the Amish alone are the most favorable toward them. Statistical analysis reveals that "attitude toward

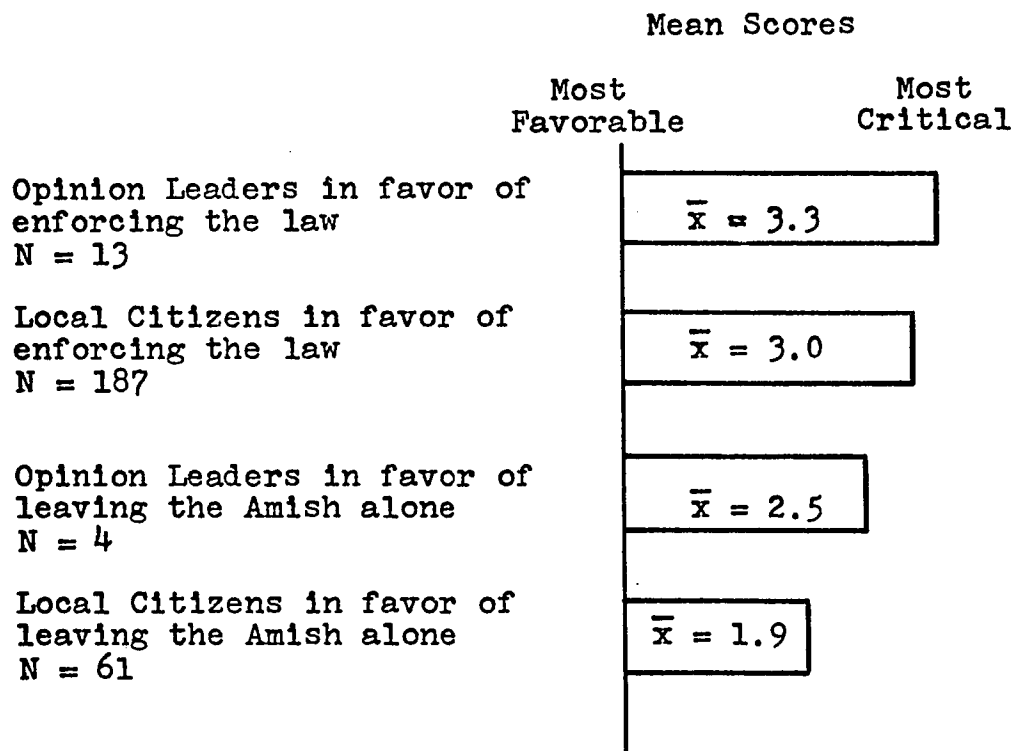
*The construction of these scales is explained in the appendix.

TABLE 4-8

WHAT THE OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
WANTED DONE IN THE AMISH DISPUTE

Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	
187	65.0	13	76.0	1. They should obey the law like everyone else.
53	18.0	3	18.0	2. Leave them alone.
5	2.0			3. The Amish should gain certification of their own teachers.
2	0.7	1	6.0	4. The state should provide them with certified teachers.
1	0.3			5. More negotiation and compromise.
41	14.0			6. D.K.
Total	289	17	100%	

FIGURE 4-1
DIRECTIONAL SCALE OF ATTITUDES
TOWARD THE AMISH



the Amish" is the best predictor of what an individual wanted done in the Amish dispute.* Statistical analysis also reveals that the differences between those who wanted the Amish to obey the law and those who wanted to leave the Amish alone is significant. It is also obvious from Figure 4-1 that the opinion leaders are more critical of the Amish than the local citizens.

The second scale is a summation index based on the sum of a person's favorable comments minus his critical comments (See Figure 4-2). Figure 4-2 demonstrates what the directional scale did except that it points up more clearly how very critical the opinion leaders who wanted the law enforced are of the Amish.**

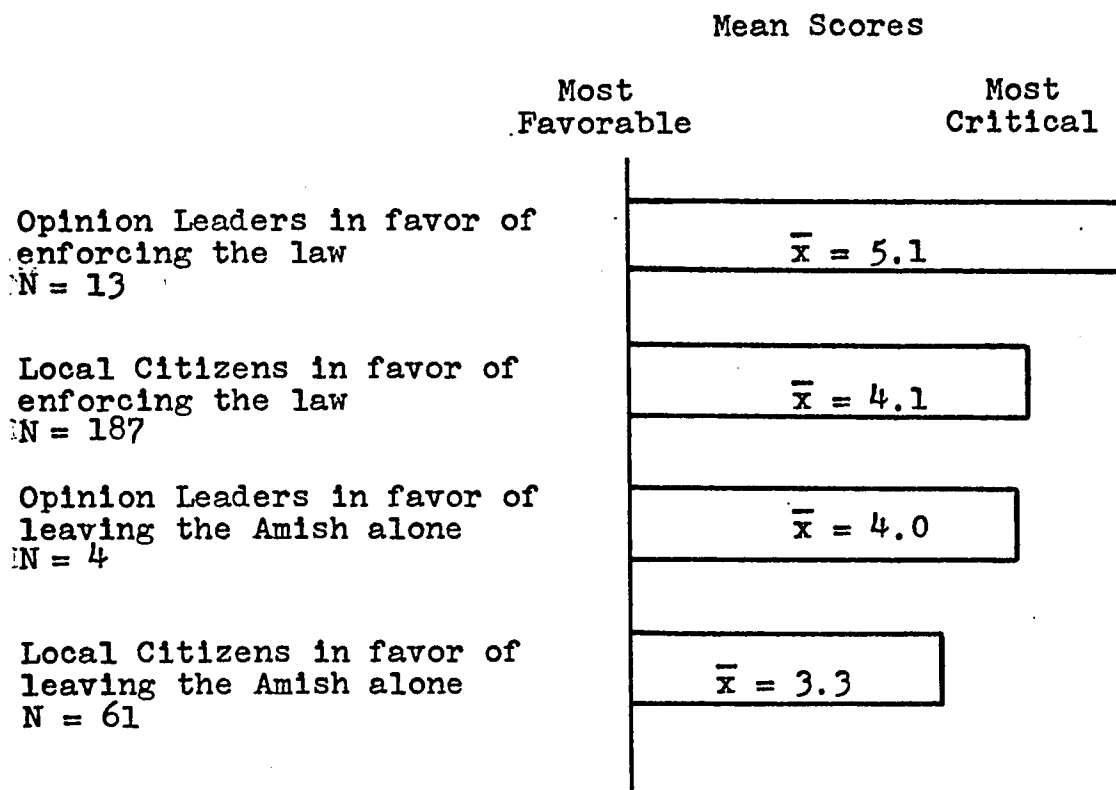
Attitude Change

The opinion leaders and local citizens were asked if their feeling toward disposition of the dispute had changed any in the past year or so. If they answered "yes," they were asked "in what way." Ninety per cent (N = 259) of the local citizens and 94 per cent (N = 16) of the opinion leaders stated that they had not had a change in attitude

*Regression analysis reveals that "Attitudes toward the Amish" is by far the most significant predictor of what an individual wanted done in the dispute. The Beta yielded for the local citizens was .38. The correlation between Attitude toward the Amish and how the dispute should be resolved is .46 (Pearsonian r) for the local citizen, and .33 (Tau-Beta) for the opinion leaders.

**This scale correlates at .497 (Tau-Beta) with what the opinion leaders wanted done in the dispute.

FIGURE 4-2
 SUMMATION SCALE OF ATTITUDES
 TOWARD THE AMISH



toward the dispute in the last year or so. In addition, of the 28 respondents who said they had had a change of attitude, 12 said they initially felt the Amish should be let alone, but more recently had decided that the Amish should obey the law. An additional 5 respondents said that their change of attitude had been a hardening of their initial attitude that the Amish should be let alone. Only 9 respondents stated that they had changed from wanting the law enforced to wanting the Amish to be let alone. Two more respondents said they became more intense in favor of letting the Amish alone. Very few persons had a change of attitude, in other words, and of those who did, more changed in favor of enforcing the law than in letting the Amish alone. Thus for the local citizens we can accept hypothesis V-C that the commitment for enforcement of the law by the local citizens was consistent and independent of outside reaction. For the opinion leaders, however, we must reject hypothesis IV-A that the commitments of the opinion leaders varied with reactions outside of the community. The opinion leaders like the local citizens favored enforcement and were consistent in this attitude.

This finding is particularly important for several reasons. In the first place by the time the interviews were taken, the dispute had been resolved for some three months (that is, the legislature had passed a law exempting the Amish). Obviously the fact that a new law had been passed

did not change the mind of very many of the respondents toward what should have been done in this dispute. This is true even though the respondents had shown high diffuse support for the legislature (See Table 4-9). A recent study has established that law can change deep rooted attitudes. Such change, however, is the result of an individual's personality and environmental experiences.²

Attitude change involves the individual's incentive to excise old attitudes, trustworthy associates who aid the individual to adopt, the intellectual tools to confine psychological repercussions to a minimum, and a social environment sufficiently compatible to permit new attitudes to develop.³

Obviously in this situation the conditions are not met. The individual did not need to change his attitudes because they were so highly compatible with those of the majority of citizens in the community. As one author noted "the influence of the group upon the perceptions and expressed opinions of an individual is one of the better documented generalizations in the small group literature."⁴ The community served as a form of group reinforcement and the change in law had little effect on their attitudes toward the dispute.

Attitudes Toward Outside Reaction to the Dispute

We have seen that the majority of the opinion leaders and local citizens were in basic agreement as to how the dispute should have been solved. This raises the question of whether outside reaction to the dispute served

TABLE 4-9
DIFFUSE SUPPORT

Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	
				If the Iowa legislature continually passed laws that the people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the legislature altogether? Would you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?
7	2.0			1. Agree Strongly
61	21.0	2	12.0	2. Agree
158	55.0	13	76.0	3. Disagree
49	17.0	2	12.0	4. Disagree Strongly
14	5.0			5. D.K.
Total	289	17	100%	

to unite them even more. As before we wanted to be particularly careful not to suggest this posture to the respondents. Hence the question was worded thus: "Do you think people outside the community had any effect on the local officials in the decisions they made? (If yes) Who were these outside persons?" Forty-two per cent (N = 121) of the local citizens answered the question negatively. Obviously they did not interpret outside intervention as a salient issue. Another 58 per cent (N = 138) of the local citizens named 218 persons or groups (up to four answers for each respondent were coded) whom they felt had influenced the decision-makers. All of the opinion leaders thought the decision-makers had been influenced by outside persons, and 32 groups and individuals were named. Most frequently mentioned by both the local citizens and the opinion leaders was the Governor (N = 61, and N = 16 respectively), the general public ("public opinion" [N = 45, and N = 8]), and the news media (N = 26, and N = 8).

The 138 local citizens who had stated that outside persons influenced the decisions of the local officials and all 17 opinion leaders were then asked if these outside people understood the problem. If they answered "yes," they were asked to identify those persons. Seventy-five per cent (N = 104) of the sub-sample of local citizens stated that persons outside the area did not understand the dispute. This left 25 per cent (N = 32) of the sub-sample who felt

that at least some of the outside people understood the dispute. Of this group, 17 named the Governor, 7 said all of them, 2 said the groups who paid their fines, 1 the news medias, and 9 named various other persons. Twelve of the opinion leaders stated that the outside people did not understand the dispute, but 5 said the Governor did.

The same respondents (138 local citizens and all 17 opinion leaders) were then asked if they thought the dispute would have been settled better if these outside persons had not gotten involved. This was followed by the question: "Why or why not" Table 4-10 reveals the variety of answers. Sixty-four per cent (N = 88) of the sub-sample of local citizens, and 76 per cent (N = 13) of the opinion leaders stated that the dispute could have been settled better without outside interference. Thirty-three per cent (N = 45) of the sub-sample of local citizens felt that the outside intervention was beneficial, as did 24 per cent (N = 4) of the opinion leaders. The 88 local citizens who resented outside reaction and intervention in the dispute represent only 30.4 per cent of the total sample of local citizens. Our results, therefore, are not sufficient to accept hypothesis V-C that a majority of the local citizens resented outside intervention. For the opinion leaders our data amply support the conclusion that they resented outside reaction

TABLE 4-10

COULD THE DISPUTE HAVE BEEN SETTLED BETTER IF
THESE OUTSIDE PEOPLE HAD NOT GOTTEN INVOLVED

Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	
19	14.0	2	12.0	1. (Yes) Outside people (including news media) encouraged the Amish and made it harder to get them to obey the law.
25	18.0	3	18.0	2. (Yes) The outside people didn't really understand the situation.
3	2.0			3. (Yes) The state officials only got involved for political gain.
24	17.0	7	41.0	4. (Yes) The local people (including decision-makers) would have been able to make the Amish obey the law.
2	1.0			5. (Yes) Because it still isn't settled.
15	11.0	1	6.0	6. (Yes) Other
6	4.0	2	12.0	7. (No) The law couldn't be enforced. The Governor provided the only possible solution.

TABLE 4-10 (cont'd)

Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	
5	4.0	1	6.0	8. (No) The local officials would not have settled it as well.
6	4.0			9. (No) The outside people really wanted to help. It was good that it was brought to the attention of the public.
10	7.0			10. (No) The outside contribution provided at least a temporary solution.
18	13.0	1	6.0	11. (No) Other
Total	183	100%	17	100%

and intervention in the dispute. This lends additional support to the rejection of the hypothesis that the commitments of the opinion leaders varied with reactions outside the community.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined certain aspects of the environment in which the dispute took place. We have found that the attitude of the opinion leaders and local citizens toward their Amish neighbors is a complex and curious mixture of attraction and repulsion. The local citizens felt that the basis of the dispute was the Amish fear of their children being subjected to outside influences. The opinion leaders, however, saw the dispute as primarily a question of economics. The general public of Iowa gave only very limited support to forcing the Amish to obey the law, and the majority of those having an opinion favored leaving the Amish alone. The local citizens and the opinion leaders, however, overwhelmingly favored enforcement of the law. Both groups were consistent in this attitude. The best predictor of what the average local citizen or opinion leader wanted done in the dispute was his attitude toward the Amish. Our data do not permit conclusion that the majority of the local citizens resented outside intervention in the dispute. But certainly the opinion leaders did.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

¹David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), pp. 21-22.

²William K. Muir, Jr., Prayer in the Public School: Law and Attitude Change (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967).

³Ibid., p. 122.

⁴Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and School and The Political Socialization Process," American Political Science Review, LXI (September, 1967), 752.

CHAPTER V

THE DECISION-MAKERS

The decision-makers in a political system are quite simply those persons who have the "day-to-day responsibility for governing."¹ Easton refers to them as the authorities. The authorities can be identified as those persons in a system who meet the following criteria.

They must engage in the daily affairs of a political system; they must be recognized by most members of the system as having the responsibility for these matters; and their actions must be accepted as binding most of the time by most of the members as long as they act within the limits of their roles.²

The local decision-makers (or authorities) selected for this study meet these criteria. Each has either been elected or appointed to a political position which carried with it the authority to make binding decisions in the Amish dispute. They include the Oelwein Community Superintendent of Schools, the Buchanan County Attorney, and 10 individuals who served on the Oelwein Community School Board.

In this chapter we will be concerned with three major questions. How do the decision-makers compare with other persons in the local community? What attitudes do the decision-makers manifest toward the Amish? Lastly, what type of demands and supports did the decision-makers perceive

in the dispute? A comparison of the decision-makers with the opinion leaders and local citizens is carried out to show the relationship of the decision-makers with each of these groups, and to emphasize the role that each group played in the dispute. We begin with this comparison.

The Decision-Makers Compared with the Opinion
Leaders and Local Citizens

SES and Political Affiliation

It became reasonably apparent during the course of the interviews that the decision-makers identified persons as opinion leaders who reflected to a large extent their own socio-economic status, political philosophy and even geographic location.* It was also apparent that the opinion leaders and decision-makers differed from the local citizens not only in these terms, but also in their attitudes toward a variety of issues. Similar findings have resulted from many studies as Sidney Verba, et al. recently pointed out: "most recent academic studies of public attitudes . . . indicate differences between the political attitudes of elite groups and attitudes reflected in mass samples."³ In terms of socio-economic status the data reveal that the

*The opinion leaders were identified by asking each decision-maker if there were any persons in the community whose opinion they particularly respected, and to whom they turned to for advice and consultation on matters that came before them for decision.

sample of local citizens had an average education of 11.3 grades, and a mean income of \$5,880. The opinion leaders were better educated (mean = 14.2), and in a much higher income bracket (mean = \$12,500). The decision-makers fall between the two other groups in terms of both education (mean = 12.7), and income (mean = \$9,700).

An obvious attitudinal difference between the three groups appeared early in the interviews when the respondents were asked as an introductory question what they felt to be the most important problem that the government in Washington should try to take care of. Up to three responses were coded for each respondent. The local citizens most frequently mentioned Vietnam (40.8% of the total comments, N = 566). The opinion leaders and decision-makers, however, seemed much more preoccupied by economic problems. Four decision-makers and three opinion leaders simply stated "Stop this country from going Socialistic." This was the general tenor of the economic proposals, but most were worded more subtly. Economic responses by the local citizens represented only 14.4 per cent of their total responses. Among the opinion leaders and decision-makers they totaled 59.5 per cent and 54.5 per cent respectively. This is probably not surprising since the overwhelming majority of the opinion leaders and decision-makers were business owners, business managers, bankers, doctors, and farmers. Eleven additional queries were employed to see how

the three groups varied on selected political variables. These variables are represented in Figure 5-1. Statistical analysis reveals that the local citizens vary from both the opinion leaders and decision-makers on all but one of the variables. The opinion leaders and decision-makers, however, do not differ significantly on any of the variables. The one question on which no significance difference is detected between the local citizens and the other two groups is accounted for by the fact that the local citizens rank both conservatives and liberals low. The decision-makers and opinion leaders rank liberals low also (consequently no difference), but they rank conservatives high (difference significant). The difference on party issues is accounted for by the fact that the opinion leaders and decision-makers lean heavily toward the Republican party and its candidates, while the local citizens are more evenly split among the two parties. This is graphically demonstrated by Figure 5-2 which shows the party identification of each of the three groups. In this chart the more closely its mean approaches 6.0, the more heavily Republican the group is. Several studies have found a high correlation between socio-economic status and Republican party affiliation.⁴ Figure 5-3 shows a bar graph indicating for whom each group voted for Governor in 1966. The smaller the mean, the more strongly the group supported Governor Hughes

FIGURE 5-1

THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
 COMPARED ON SELECTED POLITICAL VARIABLES

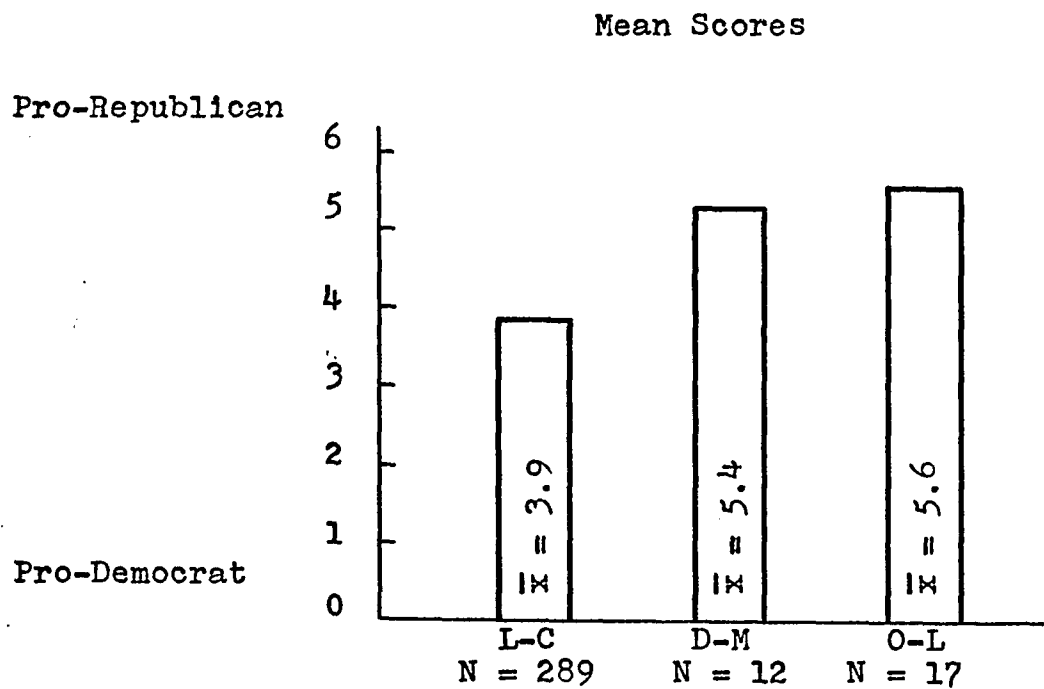
1. Party ID	**
2. Attitudes Toward Republicans	**
3. Attitudes Toward Democrats	**
4. Attitudes Toward Conservatives	**
5. Attitudes Toward Liberals	#
6. Attitudes Toward Big Business	**
7. Whom did you vote for Governor in 1964	**
8. Which party do you usually vote for in state legislature elections	**
9. Whom did you vote for for President in 1964	**
10. The Government is getting too powerful	**
11. Medicare	**

**Significant at .01 level

Not significant at .01 level

FIGURE 5-2

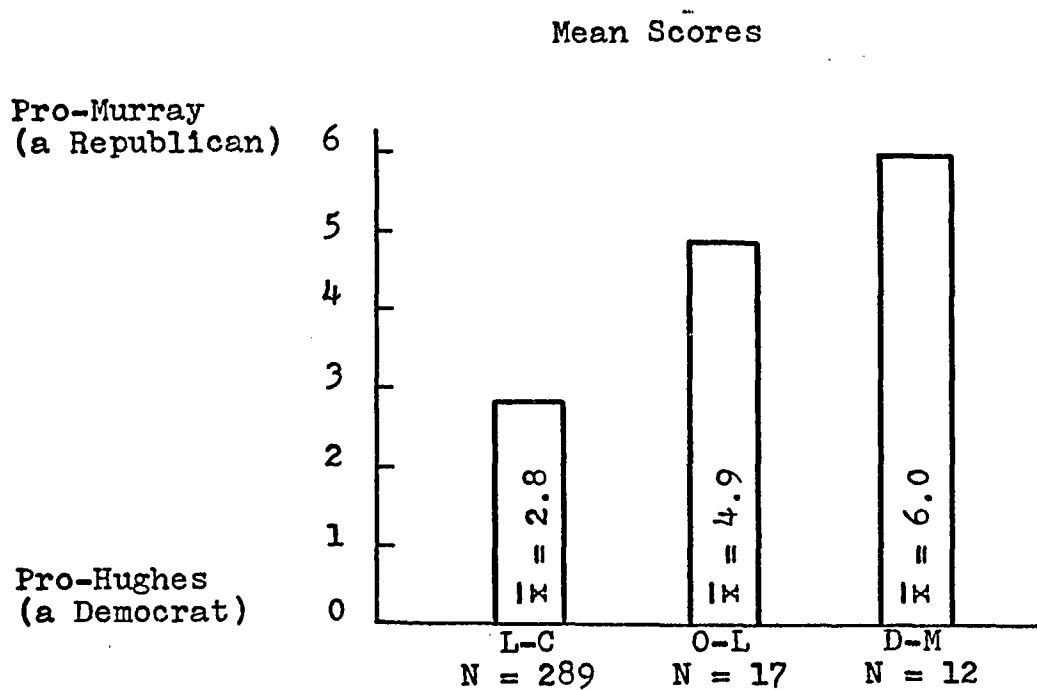
THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
COMPARED ON PARTY IDENTIFICATION



L-C = Local Citizens
D-M = Decision-makers
O-L = Opinion Leaders

FIGURE 5-3

THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
COMPARED ON WHO THEY VOTED FOR GOVERNOR IN 1966



L-C = Local Citizens
O-L = Opinion Leaders
D-M = Decision-makers

(a Democrat). As the figure shows the local citizens voted more heavily for Hughes than did either of the other groups.

The opinion leaders and decision-makers were also more inclined to think the government is getting too powerful and that medicare is a bad idea.* Thus we can safely conclude that the decision-makers and opinion leaders lean heavily toward economic conservatism and Republican party affiliation, while the local citizens are more evenly divided between the two major parties and economically moderate.

Civil Libertarian Attitudes

The fact that the opinion leaders and decision-makers tend to be more Republican and more conservative on economic issues than the local citizens does not, however, mean that they will be more conservative on civil libertarian issues. Indeed, several studies have found that lower-status persons have more "liberal" attitudes toward social welfare issues than upper-status persons, yet they have less tolerant attitudes toward deviants and ethnic minorities.⁵ Consequently, it was decided to extend the analysis to selected civil libertarian issues. The issues are represented in Figure 5-4. It is obvious from the figure that

*Eighty-three per cent (N = 10) of the decision-makers and 71 per cent (N = 12) of the opinion leaders stated that the government was getting too powerful, as opposed to only 44 per cent (N = 126) of the local citizens who gave this answer. Eighty-three per cent (N = 10) of the

FIGURE 5-4

THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
 COMPARED ON SELECTED CIVIL LIBERTARIAN VARIABLES*

-
- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. Controversial speakers like Communists and Nazis should not be allowed to use public buildings for their speeches. | # |
| 2. All children should be allowed to ride public school buses regardless of whether they are going to a public or private school. | ** |
| 3. A suspected criminal should not be allowed to see a lawyer until the police have had an opportunity to question him in private for at least an hour or so. | # |
| 4. Local officials should allow mass meetings and parades to take place even though it appears that such events may cause immediate and serious trouble in the community. | # |
| 5. The police should be permitted to tap phones when they have a good reason to believe this will help solve a serious crime. | # |
| 6. Churches should pay taxes on their church property and other assets. | ** |
| 7. Police should not be allowed to stop and search suspicious persons without a warrant. | ** |
| 8. People who admit they are communists should not be allowed in public libraries. | # |
| 9. News stories which keep the police from solving a crime should not be printed until the police decide the stories can be released. | # |
| 10. In general are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between | ** |
| 11. Attitude toward Negroes. | ** |
| 12. Attitude toward Jews. | ** |

**Significant at .01 level

Not significant at .01 level.

*The data for these variables is included in the appendix.

there is not a significant difference between the three groups on some of the more controversial topics.* As before we find that where there is a significant difference it is between the attitudes of the local citizens on the one hand and those of the decision-makers and opinion leaders on the other. The decision-makers and opinion leaders do not differ significantly on any of the variables. The difference on variable 2 is accounted for by the fact that the decision-makers and opinion leaders are more inclined than the local citizens to think that public school buses should be reserved to public school students. On variable 6 the difference is accounted for by the fact that the decision-makers and opinion leaders are more inclined to think that churches should pay taxes on their church property and other assets. The difference on variable 7 is accounted for by the opinion leaders and decision-makers being more inclined than the local citizens to think that the police should be allowed to stop and search suspicious persons without a warrant. Variables 10, 11, and 12 show a

decision-makers and 76 per cent of the opinion leaders were opposed to medicare as compared to only 36 per cent of the local citizens.

*An attempt was made to scale the first 9 questions for each sample with the hope that a conservative liberal scale could be devised for each respondent; however, both Guttman scaling and Factor Analysis revealed no underlying dimensions. When only those persons with a high school or better education were subjected to the same analysis two factors were revealed. They consisted of variables 5 and 9 which might be thought of as a police prerogative variable, and 1 and 4 which could be a free speech variable.

differences because the opinion leaders and decision-makers have a more facilitating attitude toward minority groups than the local citizens. The decision-makers and opinion leaders were much more in favor of desegregation than the local citizens (83% [N = 10] of the decision-makers, 82.3% [N = 14] of the opinion leaders, and 29% [N = 74] of the local citizens).

What conclusions can be drawn? Variables 2 and 6 are complex and probably have an economic base so they will be set aside. Most of the more controversial topics show no difference. Variable 7 shows the opinion leaders and decision-makers less moderate than the local citizens, and variables 10, 11 and 12 more moderate. We conclude that the opinion leaders and decision-makers differ significantly only in their attitudes toward ethnic groups. In the area of civil rights they are more moderate in their thinking than the local citizens.

The conclusions drawn here match those intuitively reached during the field work. One decision-maker (who felt himself to be outside the ruling clique of decision-makers) reviewed the completed list of opinion leaders and picked out 8 persons (all from the city of Oelwein) belonging to the business, banker profession and identified them as a clique who joined with decision-makers of similar leaning to keep school taxes low and educational benefits at a minimum. Not all the opinion leaders and decision-makers

belonged to this clique or were politically of this persuasion, but the clique clearly represented the majority. Hunter's finding that admission to the circle of decision-making in Regional City was almost wholly dependent on a man's position in the business community would, however, be much too strong here.⁶ It is clear that this group of individuals possesses more of the resources of leadership (higher incomes, better education, and higher employment) including what Dahl called the most important resource "available labor time."⁷ Their occupations and central location in the area gave them more opportunities to meet with one another and more time to pursue political goals. The relationship of this group to other areas of decision-making in the community was not studied in any depth, but it did become obvious that the political leaders in the city of Oelwein did not identify with this group. My suspicion would be that Dahl's conclusion that "a leader in one issue-area is not likely to be influential in another,"⁸ would apply here. This, it should be emphasized, is primarily an intuitive conclusion. Most studies have found a difference between economic and political leaders, however, with different variations in issue overlap.⁹

Political Interest and Activity

We have demonstrated that the decision-makers and opinion leaders are of a higher socio-economic class and

possess more of the resources of leadership than the local citizens. Several studies have concluded that political activity is highly correlated with those characteristics. For example, Dahl in his study of New Haven concluded that the political leader "not only has more resources at the onset than the average citizen, but he also tends to use his resources more efficiently."¹⁰ In similar fashion, Agger and Goldrich concluded that "there is a positive and substantial relationship between SES and participation in community organization."¹¹ A variety of variables was selected and a statistical analysis carried out to see if the decision-makers in the Amish dispute are more interested and active in politics. Figure 5-5 shows the variables and the results.

All of the variables show a significant difference. As before the difference is between the local citizens and each of the other two groups. The decision-makers and opinion leaders do not differ significantly on any of the variables. The data show that the opinion leaders and decision-makers are very interested in politics, and 22 of the combined group stated that they usually work actively for their party at election time. Figures 5-6 and 5-7 show this graphically. In Figure 5-6 the larger the mean the more interest a group has in politics and governmental affairs. As the figure shows, the opinion leaders claim to have the most interest in politics and are followed

FIGURE 5-5

POLITICAL INTEREST, POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND
POLITICAL EFFICACY

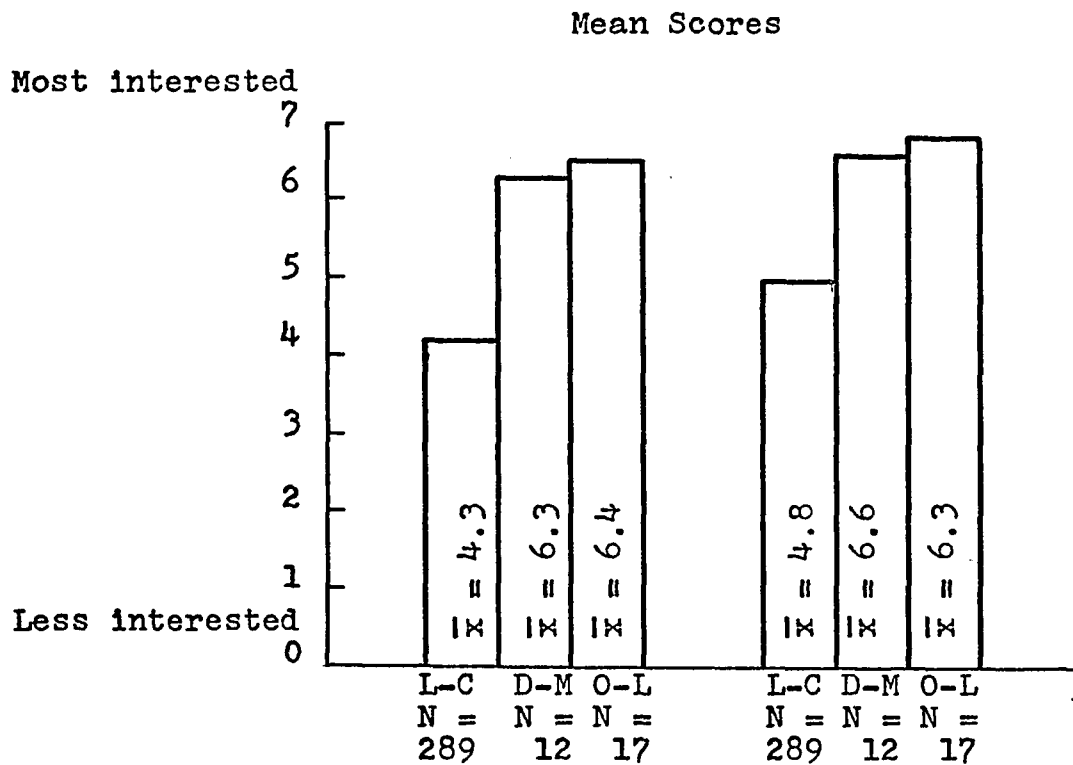
-
- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| 1. | Interest in politics. | ** |
| 2. | How often follows reports of political and governmental affairs in the newspapers. | ** |
| 3. | Efforts of persuading others to vote for a particular candidate or party. | ** |
| 4. | Ever worn a campaign button or put campaign sticker on your car. | ** |
| 5. | Worked for one of the parties. | ** |
| 6. | How likely is it that you would do something about a local political act that you disagreed with. | ** |
| 7. | How likely is it that you would succeed. | ** |

**Significant at .01 level

Not significant at .01 level

FIGURE 5-6

THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
 COMPARED ON INTEREST IN POLITICS AND
 GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS



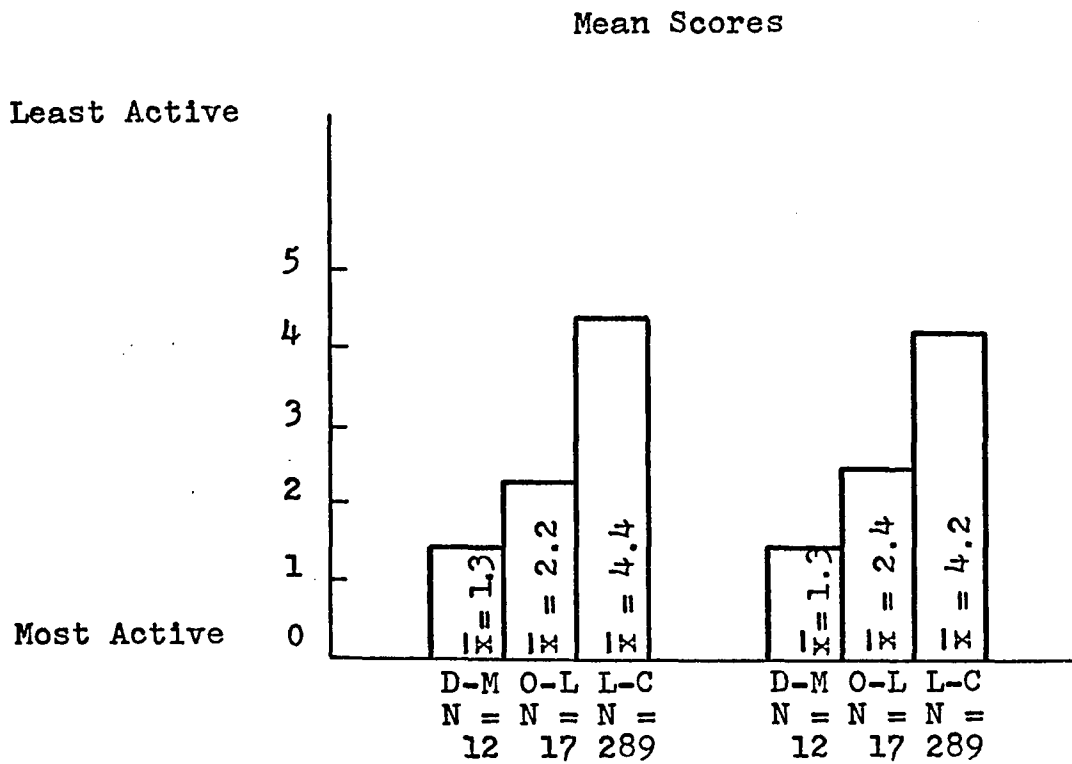
Interest
 In
 Politics

Tendency To
 Follow Reports
 Of Political And
 Governmental
 Affairs

L-C = Local Citizens
 D-M = Decision-makers
 O-L = Opinion Leaders

FIGURE 5-7

THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
 COMPARED ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY



Frequency Of
 How Often They
 Show Other
 Persons How To
 Vote

Work For
 Political Party

D-M = Decision-makers
 O-L = Opinion Leaders
 L-C = Local Citizens

closely by the decision-makers. Figure 5-7 shows a graph for political activity. The smaller the mean, in this case, the more active the group. The decision-makers are the most active, followed by the opinion leaders and local citizens. Figure 5-8 shows the three groups compared on political efficacy. On this figure the smaller the mean the more efficacious the group. The decision-makers and opinion leaders prove to be much more efficacious than the local citizens.

The decision-makers and opinion leaders not only proved to be more interested in and efficacious about politics, but they are also less alienated from the political system. To show this 11 variables were chosen. Statistical analysis reveals that the eleven variables form three basic patterns of thought.* They have been labeled "Alienation From Man," "Alienation From Government," and "Disposition Toward Change." Figure 5-9 shows that there is a significant difference between the groups on the alienation from man and government variables, but not in terms of disposition toward change. The analysis reveals that the difference is between the local citizens and each of the other two groups. The decision-makers and opinion leaders do not differ significantly on any of the variables. The difference between the

*Factor analysis was used on the local citizen data, and Guttman scaling on the decision-making and opinion leader data to reveal the underlying dimensions within these variables.

FIGURE 5-8

THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
 COMPARED ON POLITICAL EFFICACY

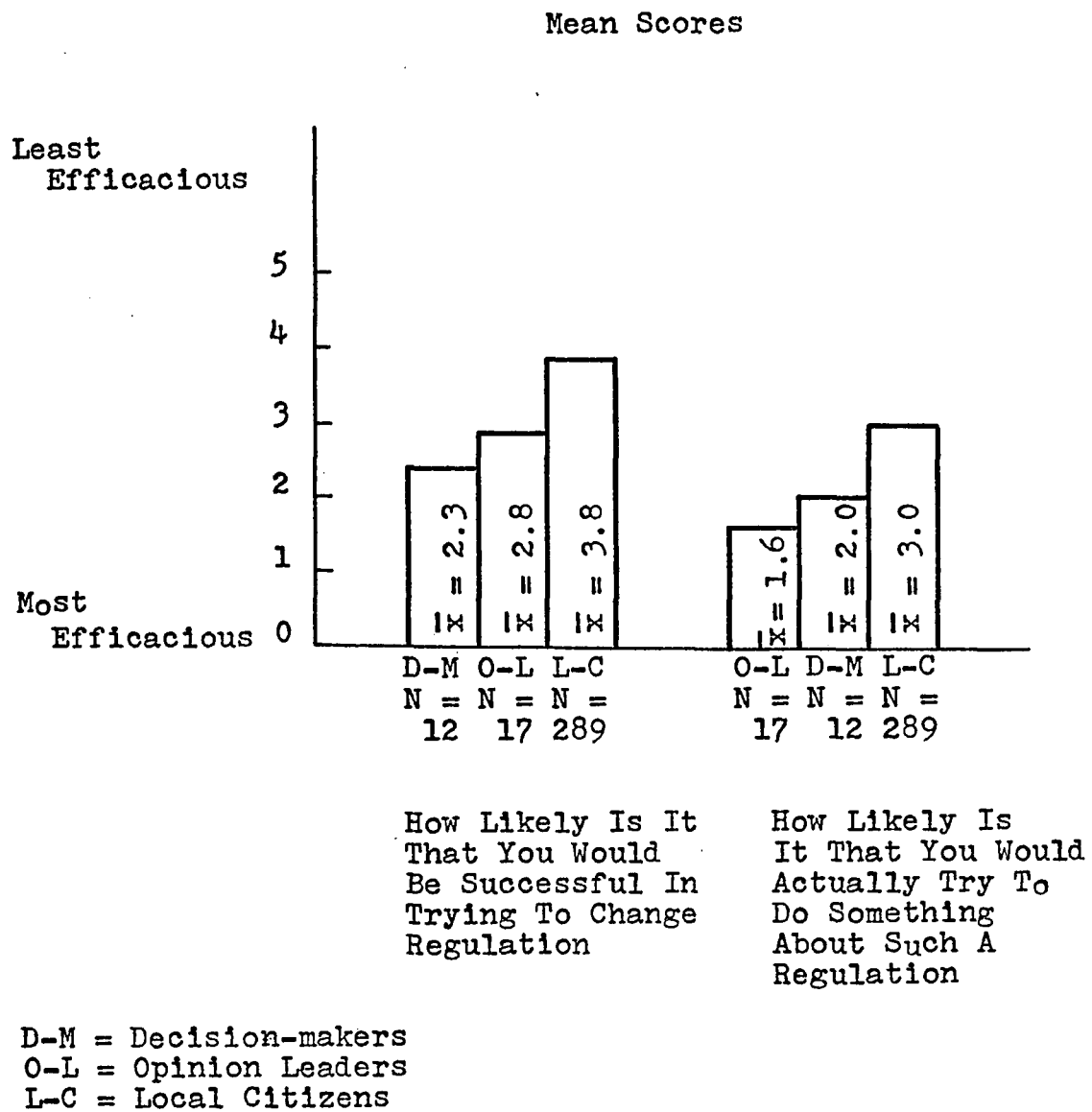


FIGURE 5-9

THE DECISION-MAKERS, OPINION LEADERS AND LOCAL CITIZENS
 COMPARED ON ALIENATION FROM GOVERNMENT AND MAN AND
 DISPOSITION TOWARD CHANGE*

Alienation from Man

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. You can't be too careful in your dealings with other people. | ** |
| 2. Most people are more inclined to look out for themselves rather than other people. | ** |
| 3. If you don't watch yourself, other people will take advantage of you. | ** |
| 4. No one is going to care much about you when you get right down to it. | |

Disposition Toward Change

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. If something grows up over a long time, there is bound to be much wisdom in it. | # |
| 6. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse. | # |
| 7. Our society is so complicated that if you try to reform parts of it, you're likely to upset the whole system. | # |

Alienation From Government

- | | |
|--|----|
| 8. I don't think city officials care much about what people like me think. | ** |
| 9. Voting is about the only way people like me can have any say about how the city council runs things. | ** |
| 10. Sometimes city politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on. | ** |
| 11. People like me don't have any say about what the city government does. | ** |

**Significant at .01

Not significant at .01

*The data for these variables can be found in the appendix.

local citizens and the other two groups is accounted for by the fact that the decision-makers and opinion leaders are less alienated from government and man than the local citizens. None of the three groups show a high propensity for change. The finding that the decision-makers and opinion leaders are significantly less alienated from government and man would be in agreement with Presthus' finding that as income and education increase, there is a steady decrease in alienation.¹²

In summary, we have demonstrated that the decision-makers and opinion leaders complement each other in terms of SES status, political ideology, and political behavior. We have also found that the decision-makers along with the opinion leaders possess in much greater amounts the resources of leadership and that they use their resources to much greater advantage than the local citizens. Politically, the decision-makers and opinion leaders are much more knowledgeable and active and have a higher level of political efficacy. The decision-makers are more conservative economically than the local citizens, but about the same in terms of civil libertarian questions with the exception of civil rights and attitudes toward minorities where they are more moderate. The decision-makers and opinion leaders also reveal less alienation from man and government than the local citizen, but similar attitudes toward change. For a majority of the local citizens, the decision-makers and

opinion leaders reflect very poorly their attitudes toward most political issues, and we must conclude that the political consensus between them would not be very high.

Decision-Maker Attitudes Toward the
Amish and the Dispute

In Chapter IV we surveyed the rather complex attitudes of the local citizens and opinion leaders toward their Amish neighbors. The decision-makers were not specifically asked if they liked the Amish but inevitably the topic came up in the course of the interview. They were, however, asked to rank the same fifteen groups that the opinion leaders and local citizens had been asked to rank. One of the groups included was the Amish. The opinion leaders and local citizens ranked the Amish 14th, meaning that they ranked only Atheists lower. Table 5-1 shows how the decision-makers ranked the groups. They ranked the Amish 12th, placing liberals, Democrats and Atheists lower. Although it is doubtful that they like the Amish any better than the local citizens and opinion leaders they may dislike liberals and Democrats less than the other two groups. Their attitudes toward the Amish are actually very similar to those of the local citizens and opinion leaders.

During the course of the interviews most of the decision-makers digressed long enough to relate at least one or more anecdotes concerning themselves and the Amish,

TABLE 5-1
 MEAN Z SCORES FOR SELECTED GROUPS
 AS RANKED BY THE DECISION-MAKERS

Rank	Ranking by Decision-Makers	
1.	Policeman	.948
2.	Protestants	.802
3.	Republicans	.744
4.	Whites	.685
5.	Conservatives	.596
6.	Big Business	.395
7.	Jews	.349
8.	Catholics	.327
9.	Negroes	.173
10.	Lawyers	.012
11.	Labor Unions	-.514
12.	Old Order Amish	-.635
13.	Liberals	-.790
14.	Democrats	-.892
15.	Atheists	-1.715

the general tenor being an attempt to demonstrate that they really liked the Amish and the Amish really liked them. The decision-makers simply could not bring themselves to say that they disliked the Amish. Most tried to make it clear that while the Amish might be industrious, honest, and religious, they were also backward, inconsistent in their behavior, closed to reasoning, somewhat childlike, and as subject to vice as the next. "Good people," as one decision-maker said,

but just as human as the rest of us, and subject to just as many vices. Why the public persists in thinking of them as saints is beyond me. They aren't,

and they simply can't be allowed to do as they please. The modern world exists! They either admit that or they will be devoured by it. If not today, tomorrow. If not them, their children. It's cruel not to make them face that reality.

Harlan Lemon, the Buchanan County Attorney and the only liberal Democrat among the decision-makers, expressed a similar attitude:

I feel compassion for the Amish. . . . But they are not a colony of saints as many would believe. They have their good points and their bad points. They have chosen to separate themselves from the world and in so doing they have been cruel to themselves and their children.¹³

None of the decision-makers felt that the dispute was primarily a question of religious freedom. Most believed it was primarily a financial angle that kept the Amish from obeying the law. Superintendent Sensor explained his position thus: "I do not believe this is a religious issue. I agree that the Amish think it is. But I feel that they are so mixed up in this matter that they feel everything they do is a matter of religion."¹⁴ Lemon made a similar point:

You can't draw a line on religion with the Amish because their religion and their way of life are so intertwined as to be the same. The question is: Do these parents have the right to withhold a basic education from their children under the guise of religious freedom.¹⁵

All of the decision-makers stated that they thought the best solution to the dispute would have been enforcement of the law, and they wanted it enforced. Sensor summed up the decision-makers sentiments: "My feeling is that

the law is for all the people of Iowa. It ought to be enforced, not winked at."¹⁶ At one time during the dispute the school board issued the following statement of its position:

The Oelwein Board of Education is sympathetic toward the Amish people. They are peaceful citizens who shun many of the modern ways of the world and who desire very little education for their children. The Board of Education is also sympathetic toward the Iowa school laws and their enforcement. The board does not feel that the rights of the family in education are absolute. They must be in harmony with the state, which also has rights in education. The State of Iowa has the duty to promote the welfare of its citizens by maintaining an educational environment which will contribute to desirable social, moral and intellectual growth. The laws of the state regarding education apply to all its citizens including the Amish. The board upholds the rights of the Amish people to educate their children in their own schools. But those rights must be exercised in accord with the laws of the State of Iowa. The elected members of the Oelwein Community School Board of Education and the administration feel that they would be derelict in their duties if they were to become negligent in the enforcement of compulsory education laws.¹⁷

The decision-makers also made it clear that they resented outside intervention in the dispute. They were asked if they thought the dispute would have been settled better if outside persons had not gotten involved. Ten decision-makers said "yes." They felt that they could have gotten the Amish to obey the law and this would have been the best solution for their children. One decision-maker said that the dispute was always a state problem but state officials were afraid to get involved in its early stages. Another decision-maker said that by the time the

state did get involved "We were helpless. We couldn't do a thing. Our back was against the wall."

Demands and Supports Perceived By
The Decision-Makers

We are now in a position to determine what conditions in the political environment the decision-makers perceived as Input-supports and Input-demands. In Chapter IV we revealed the demands and supports of the state-wide public, the local citizens, and the opinion leaders as determined by interviewing them. Demands and supports became effective, or they are given the opportunity to become effective, only if they are successfully communicated to the decision-makers. In other words, the decision-makers can be affected or influenced only by those demands and supports which they perceive. In this chapter we will take a look at the demands/support environment as perceived by the decision-makers. Before we begin, the demands/support relationship hypothesized in Chapter I should be reviewed. We suggested that the shifting nature of the attempts to solve the Amish dispute, including the ultimate decision not to enforce the law, resulted from the fact that law requires public support. Hence;

Hypothesis I: The local decision-makers were sensitive to demands and supports from several sources: (a) those of certain key state officials; (b) those of the general public outside the community; (c) those of certain individuals

in the community whom they perceived as opinion leaders; (d) those of the local citizens in the community; and (e) those of the Amish in the community. Hypothesis II: The resolve of the local decision-makers to enforce the law varied with the demands and supports of the five groups.

These hypotheses were formulated long before the field research began, and with full knowledge that if valid they were contrary to much established knowledge about the role of citizens and public opinion in political decision-making. Contrary to the conclusions of persons such as V.O. Key who concluded that "the leadership structure exists on a foundation of popular consent, which reflects itself in consensus on specifics as well as in a generalized support of the political system,"¹⁸ most modern research has concluded that the general public participates in such a small way and possesses so little specific knowledge of political issues and events that those who govern are given very considerable discretion. As Dahl concluded "politics is a sideshow in the great circus of life."¹⁹ Presthus concluded that "It is well known that individual participation in political affairs, beyond voting is limited to a small minority of the population."²⁰ Converse pointed out "that government officials, in those (few) situations where they recognize public opinion, are prone to see it as 'an entity to be guided, not to be guided by.'"²¹ Wahlke makes a heavily documented argument along

this line pointing out among other things "that few citizens entertain interests that clearly represent 'policy demands' or 'policy expectations' or wishes and desires that are readily convertible into them," "relatively few citizens communicate with their representatives," and that "citizens are not especially interested or informed about the policy-making activities of their representatives as such."²² In the face of all this evidence and much more, why formulate the hypotheses in the manner above? The answer is quite simple: The Amish dispute seemed exceptional. The communication media had built the dispute up as an example of a situation where the various publics were aware, aroused, and vocal. Let us turn to the evidence.

We established in Chapter IV that the majority of the local citizens favored enforcement of the law and were consistent in this belief. Similarly we found that the majority of the opinion leaders also favored enforcement of the law and, contrary to our initial thoughts, were consistent in this opinion. We are now interested in how they communicated these sentiments to the decision-makers. We approached this question by asking the local citizens and opinion leaders the following question: "At any time during the dispute did you ever get in touch with any local officials about how you thought the dispute should be handled?" Of the 289 local citizens only 18

(6%) answered this question affirmatively. Most of these individuals (N = 14) stated that they talked to members of the school board and/or the school superintendent. The decision-makers were asked if the local citizens sought to communicate their thoughts concerning the dispute to them and without exception they stated the the local citizens gave them overwhelming support. When probed, most of the decision-makers admitted that very seldom did a local citizen make a special effort to seek them out and communicate their thoughts. Mostly they said that the topic came up in informal or casual meetings. Interestingly enough there was some support for an argument made by Professors Jewell and Patterson "that high concern of representatives for their constituency is plausible in spite of the fact the legislators have low saliency in constituents' eyes."²³ Five of the decision-makers stated that they were concerned about how the local citizens felt toward the dispute and so they purposely sought the opinions of the local citizens. One decision-maker put it this way:

At several points in the dispute the whole United States seemed to be against us, so naturally we were concerned with how the local people felt. Several of us sounded them out and they supported us without reservation. We never really doubted they did. You just know how the people feel. It isn't scientific, its the result of living around these people all your life. You know what they are thinking.

Another decision-maker answered this way:

It should be clearly understood that with few

exceptions, the people of the School District supported the board and administration completely. In fact, most of the calls and comments from local citizens were to the effect that we were being too lenient and too conservative in dealing with the Amish. One citizen of Hazleton (a respected man who has several times been an unsuccessful candidate for the school board) threatened to file a Writ of Mandamus against the board to force us to file charges against the Amish and jail them. His attorney advised him to let it rest.

The decision-makers were also asked if they felt that the local citizens supported them consistently to the end of the dispute. Each answered affirmatively.

The opinion leaders, as one might expect, stated that they discussed the dispute with the decision-makers in a much higher ratio than the local citizens. Only one of the 17 opinion leaders stated that he never discussed the matter with any of the decision-makers. This opinion leader was a very distinguished individual who held a local political post. He was not a member of the business elite who represented the average opinion leader.²⁴ Although there was some overlap most of the opinion leaders stated that they had discussed the matter with the decision-maker(s) who had identified them as a opinion leader (although they were not always aware of who identified them). The opinion leaders also stated that they discussed the matter with the decision-makers usually in an informal manner primarily during off work hours. This was natural since they usually moved in the same social circles. If an opinion leader and a decision-maker would not normally

meet in their day-to-day endeavors, then normally they did not discuss the problem. The decision-makers also made it clear that they realized the support of the opinion leaders and knew this support to be consistent.

Another obvious area of support for the decision-makers came from the local communication media. The area newspapers and radio stations were openly in support of the school board. The president of the radio station in Oelwein was named by three decision-makers as an opinion leader. He was also mayor pro-tem of the city of Oelwein.

In Chapter IV it was established that the majority of the state-wide public outside the local community opposed enforcement of the law. The crucial question is how obvious were these attitudes to the decision-makers? The answer quite simply is that they could not help but be very aware that outside reaction was negative. The public made themselves known through letters specifically addressed to individual decision-makers, open letters to the board, and even in some cases by phone. If a decision-maker held a position which made him obvious in the dispute (such as president of the school board, school superintendent, or county attorney) then he received more letters and phone calls. Several of the board members stated that they never received a letter specifically addressed to themselves, but did read open letters sent to

the board and passed around by the members. The persons who filled the three positions mentioned above received as many as two hundred letters.

The letters received seem to have been the topic of a great deal of discussion among the decision-makers. As one decision-maker said: "At least one effect of the letters was to allow me to draw some conclusions about people who write letters." His reference was that a good many of them seem to be badly disturbed. Another decision-maker described the typical letter "as probably a tension-releasing device for the letter writer little related to the dispute."²⁵ One decision-maker provided an example of the type of letter he received:

One . . . was from a 14 year old girl who quoted several biblical passages, none of which had any application I could see to the Amish, and warned us that if we continued to "persecute the Amish," who she said were God's chosen people, we would all be eternally damned.

Most of the letters opposed the decision-makers' position and showed little, if any, specific understanding of the dispute. Some were quite colorful in both wording and thought. Printed below is an excerpt from a letter received by one of the decision-makers:

Dear . . .

I have followed your problem with the Amish children in their school with interest. I think that I have an answer to your problem--have the Sheriff deputize all of the other people (other than Amish), go to their school and drag the children down to one of

your schools that is probably staffed with college grads with all sorts of degrees. There they can be taught that no longer can they hear a prayer in school. They can be taught that if anything develops, that they do not agree with, they must make signs, and march and demonstrate against this. They will learn from a great segment of the other student body how to Shindig, Hootenanny, Frug, Mashed Potato and all kinds of a go go wiggles. Teach them that they are stupid for working and saving and loving the soil as they do. Tell them that under the New Frontier and the Great Society all they have to do is get educated, sit on their rumps, have illegitimate children, and get on welfare or the job corp or some other government handout program. Tell them that if they will all vote as a liberal block for anything the New Frontier crowd wants, they will be cared for well. Tell them to burn down their town and blame it on police brutality and the weather(hot or cold--it does not matter). Tell them in your schools that they are so far behind in their thinking and planning they have a very small school drop-out program, their crime rate is down, they have respect for their parents, and fellow man. I doubt if they have to have police in their schools to keep the teachers from being beat or stabbed. This is just too far behind the times--get them out in the great American crowd and contaminate them with all our sins.

The newspapers outside of the local area gave the dispute considerable attention as did state radio and television stations. As pointed out in Chapter III, the dispute was even national news at one point, and attracted Huntley-Brinkley to the area. The decision-makers viewed this coverage as primarily negative and felt that the newspapers played a substantial role in turning the general public against them.* Time and again the decision-makers

*The respondents almost always equated the term "newspapers" with two of the larger newspapers in the state--the Des Moines Register and the Cedar Rapids Gazette. Some of them were aware that many newspapers in the state, especially the smaller ones, were on their side.

stated that the newspapers sensationalized the dispute for the purpose of increasing their circulation. The topic inevitably came up in opinion leader interviews and many of them were particularly upset by what they considered extremely biased news coverage. One businessman pungently expressed himself by exclaiming that "if those son-of-bitches from the press can make it through the pearly gates, anybody can." One of the decision-makers expressed a more impassioned attitude when he said "the newspapers never really seemed to understand that they were playing with the lives and future of considerable numbers of persons."

Neither could the decision-makers help but be aware of pressure from state officials. In the early stages of the dispute the state refused to take an interest even though several of the decision-makers appealed to them for advice and aid. Only when the dispute was on the verge of becoming a state-wide political issue did Governor Hughes and Attorney General Scalise take an active interest. Scalise tried to serve as mediator late in the dispute, but failed miserably. Scalise was highly sympathetic to the Amish and tried to convince the School Board to give in to the Amish. At one point he traveled to Oelwein and appealed to the School Board and an audience of local citizens to let the Amish go their own way. The audience

did not receive him sympathetically and when one of the decision-makers would make a point in rebuttal the partisan audience cheered heavily in support. The incident served to harden Scalise and severely handicap communications between his office and the board. Several of the decision-makers felt the whole incident was regrettable. When the Governor did get involved there was really nothing that the decision-makers could do but let him have his way because ultimate legal authority rested in the powers of his office. The Governor's sentiments toward the dispute could not be considered wholly directed in favor of the Amish. It was obvious that he found them difficult to reason with, and at one point he told the decision-makers that "the Amish lied to him on several occasions." The Governor did, however, realize that a solution had to be found to the dispute before it cast a stigma on his administration. If this meant that the Amish got off the hook, that is the way it would have to be. As we have noted, the overwhelming majority of the decision-makers considered his intervention unwarranted. From their point of view the decision-makers were probably correct in this attitude because the Governor could simply have backed the school board.

Another source of demand-supports was, of course, the Amish themselves. There is every reason to believe

that the 15 Amish families were not altogether unanimous in their stand on the school issue. One of the 15 Amish fathers made it quite clear to me that he did not really feel very strongly about the school question but that his wife did and he felt he had to go along with the others. He stated that although there were a few people in the 15 families who felt the way he did, most were certain that Dan Borntrager was right. The decision-makers were aware of these small chinks in the Amish armor (several of them directed me to the particular Amishman), but they were also aware that the rest of the Amish would do as Borntrager said. "Realistically," one decision-maker said, "we have to look at the Amish as being unified. They have a patriarchal society and Dan is the patriarch."

Most of the other Amish families in the area who were not involved in the dispute tended to play only the role of silent sympathizer with the other Amish. A few tried to help them by making an effort to get various local non-Amish persons to help support the Amish cause. One opinion leader and several decision-makers received letters from Amishmen beseeching their brethren's cause. The letters were usually on simple scraps of paper or on a page from their children's Big Chief tablet, the wording badly misspelled, and printed with pencil in very large symbols. Mostly one would have guessed that they came from

first-graders. One of them sent to an opinion leader went like this: "Hve you ben reading the paper. You better leave the Amish be or your town will be wrund." "Crude," said the opinion leader, "but straight to the point."

The perceived decision-making environment in oversimplified form can be summarized by Figure 5-10.

FIGURE 5-10

THE PERCEIVED DECISION-MAKING ENVIRONMENT

Support	Decision-makers	Opposition
<u>Local Citizen</u>		<u>General Public</u>
<u>Local Influential</u>		<u>State Officials</u>
<u>Local Communication Media</u>		<u>Outside Communication Media</u>
		<u>Amish</u>

Hypothesis I can be accepted. The decision-makers were aware of demands and supports from a variety of sources. The decision-makers perceived support from a majority of the local citizens, opinion leaders, and local communication media. The decision-makers perceived opposition from a majority of the state-wide public, state officials, outside communication media, and the Amish themselves.

In the next chapter we will turn to the impact of the perceived demands and supports on the actions rendered as outputs by the decision-makers.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER V

¹David Easton, A System Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 39n.

²Ibid., p. 212.

³Sidney Verba et al., "Public Opinion and the War in Vietnam," American Political Science Review, LXI (1967), 318.

⁴R. Agger and D. Goldrich, "Community Power Structures and Partianship," American Sociological Review, XXIII (1958), 388-9.

⁵Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," American Sociological Review, XXIV (1959), 482-501; Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 118; James W. Prothro and Charles M. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy," The Journal of Politics, XXII (1960), 276-294.

⁶Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 79.

⁷Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 306.

⁸Ibid., p. 183.

⁹Robert Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); and Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

¹⁰Dahl, Who Governs?, p. 306-307.

¹¹R. Agger and D. Goldrich, "Community Power Structures and Partianship," American Sociological Review, XXIII (1958), 388-9.

- ¹²Presthus, Men at the Top, p. 337.
- ¹³Des Moines Register, November 27, 1965, p. 3.
- ¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁶Ibid.
- ¹⁷Report of the Oelwein Community School Board, November, 1965.
- ¹⁸V. O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 53.
- ¹⁹Dahl, Who Governs?, p. 305.
- ²⁰Robert Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 281.
- ²¹Quoted in John C. Wahlke, "Public Policy and Representative Government: The Role of the Represented," Prepared for the Seventh World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Brussels, Belgium, September 20-31, 1967. Published by the Laboratory for Political Research (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1967), 20.
- ²²Ibid., p. 6-10.
- ²³Malcolm E. Jewell and Samuel C. Patterson, The Legislative Process In The United States (New York: Random House, 1966), 351-352.
- ²⁴There is evidence that this individual was chosen because the decision-makers felt that his position in the community demanded it. He probably was not privy to the decision-makers at all. See Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 50.
- ²⁵This conclusion has some basis in empirical findings. See Robert E. Lane, Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 108-111.

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPACT OF PERCEIVED DEMANDS AND SUPPORTS ON
OUTPUTS: THE FAILURE TO UTILIZE THE LAW

The outputs of a political system are the authoritative decisions or policies formulated by the decision-makers. Outputs represent the conversion of demands and supports into rules or policies, and can be thought of as the transactions between the political system and its environment. The specific impact of perceived demands and supports on the decisions rendered as outputs varies considerably. The decision-makers may choose to ignore the demands/supports, they may try to flank them, or even to manipulate them. The decision-makers may not even be aware themselves of the impact of certain demands and supports on their actions. In this chapter we will survey the impact of demands/supports on the decisions rendered as outputs in the Amish dispute.

Consequences of Demands/Supports

We began simply by asking the decision-makers if they felt that their own decisions in the dispute had been affected by the negative reaction of the majority of the

general public outside of the community. Only one decision-maker said "yes." The other eleven were quite explicit in stating that they were not influenced by outside opinion because "those people did not really understand the dispute anyway." In addition they stated that they "were not running a popularity contest," "they were trying to uphold the law as their office demanded," and "do the right thing." These phrases were used time and again. The eleven decision-makers were then asked: "In other words outside reaction really played no role in the dispute?" None of the eleven would agree with this. As one decision-maker said: "My own decisions in the dispute were not affected by outside reaction but it certainly altered the dispute." Each of the decision-makers seemed to be aware of one or more consequences of outside public opinion. The consequences they cited were of three distinct types: (1) The Amish who were quite aware of outside support, were encouraged by it to hold out until they won; (2) The outside reaction brought financial and legal aid to the Amish and thereby enabled them to remain adamant and do things they would not have been able to do if left to their own resources; and (3) The outside reaction eventually created a political crisis and caused state political leaders who normally would not have been interested to become involved. Still all this does not answer the question as to why the law was not utilized.

The Failure to Utilize the Law

To get at this point the decision-makers were asked the following question: "I seem to remember that in the early stages of the dispute an attempt was made to reach a settlement through the courts. The law seemed to be on your side, so why did you abandon the effort?" Up to three responses were coded for each respondent. All of the answers except one fell into one of the three following categories: (1) The law couldn't be enforced (N = 5); (2) Trying to enforce the law was not getting us any place (N = 5); and (3) The law was too unpopular with the public (N = 8). One decision-maker felt that the effort to enforce the law through the courts was never abandoned. Individual attempts were, he conceded, but each time one type of attempt failed another type was tried. This, of course, does not explain the abandoning of one attempt and the search for a new method.

Along the same line the decision-makers were asked: "Legally everything was on your side. Yet you couldn't reach a settlement through the courts. Would you say the law in this case was useless?" Nine of the decision-makers answered "yes." Three, however, were perceptive enough to say "no, it was our own reluctance to enforce the law." This, of course, is the key to the fact that the law was not enforced--the decision-makers were reluctant to enforce

it. The fact that "enforcement of the law was too unpopular" was mentioned eight times demonstrates that public opinion affected the decisions of the decision-makers a great deal more than they were willing to believe or admit. Even the statements that "the law couldn't be enforced," or "that trying to enforce the law wasn't getting any place," reveal that the decision-makers were simply not convinced that enforcement of the law was best, or even just. The law definitely could have been enforced had the decision-makers really wanted to go all out in doing so.

It is well to examine what enforcement of the law would have meant. As long as the Amish refused to give in, one or more of three forms of action could have been taken. First, the Amish fathers could have been jailed. Since they were in civil contempt they would have been imprisoned until they decided to comply. Second, substantial amounts of the Amish property could have been garnisheed and sold at public auction to pay their fines. Finally, the Amish could have been driven from the state. Any combination of these alternatives would have been very harsh, and the decision-makers were aware of this. Several decision-makers stated that the legal alternatives seemed harsh in relation to the infraction. As one decision-maker put it, "they hadn't stolen anything or hurt anyone physically, but the legal solutions seemed better suited for that type of

crime." Enforcement of the law lacked what Edmond Cahn has called "desert."¹ "The law," says Cahn, "is regarded as an implement for giving men what they deserve, balancing awards and punishments in the scale of merit."² If the law cannot perform this function it will not be considered "just."

As one considers some of the efforts to enforce the law the principle of desert becomes more obvious. Early in the dispute several of the Amish fathers were jailed. Incarceration had little effect, however, because the Amish simply went to jail, and sat the time out. The children were still not in school, and the breadwinner had been taken away from the family. It was the type of futile situation which simply served to provoke sympathy for the Amish from the general public. It was non-violent protest superbly applied. Had the dispute concerned a different type of people (especially an extremely unpopular group) enforcement of the law might have turned out to be a functional solution. The Amish reputation for being simple, hard working, honest, and religious, however, certainly persuaded many that they should not be treated in this manner. As one opinion leader said: "Can you imagine one of those guys (Amishmen) being in jail with a bunch of crooks."

All of this points very clearly to the validity of

Cahn's conclusion that if law lacks desert (among other things) it cannot be accepted as just. The lack of desert invokes what Cahn calls the sense of injustice on the part of society.

It devotes that sympathetic reaction of outrage, horror, shock, resentment, and anger, those affections of the viscera and abnormal secretions of the adrenals that prepare the human animal to resist attack. Nature has thus equipped all men to regard injustice to another as personal aggression.³

The decision-makers' alternative of seizing Amish property might have proved a more feasible solution had it not been for the late date at which the alternative was utilized. By the time it was employed, sympathy outside of the local community was heavily behind the Amish and they received financial support which saved them from losing their property. The decision-makers thus found that their efforts to apply the two most logical legal weapons were abortive. This left the decision-makers with only the alternative of forcefully seizing the Amish children and taking them to public school. This, of course, proved to be the step that converted the dispute into a political crisis, for which there was no available legal solution.

One final query produced overwhelming support for the conclusion that the greatest obstacle to enforcing the law was the decision-makers' own reluctance to do so. The question posed was this: "If the public had supported

you all the way, would the law have been enforced?" All 12 of the decision-makers answered in the affirmative. Even if the legal alternative had been harsh, if public support had favored such a solution, the law would have been enforced. This reasoning is easy to follow. The law might be harsh, but that is the price one pays if he chooses to break it.

One last reason why the law was not used that we have mentioned but not expanded upon merits further comment. Once the dispute became national news it also became a state political crisis, and a legal solution was out of the question. No legal alternative existed which would get Governor Hughes and the Democratic party off the hook. It was a perfect example of the system finding it necessary to respond to political demands and process a new solution to alleviate stress in the political environment. The process takes place by adjustment through a process Easton calls "feedback." Feedback is the information link between the political system and its environment. Through feedback the political system can adjust to actual or potential crisis or stress. Without feedback Easton says "the system would find itself utterly exposed to the vagaries of chance."⁴ Hughes and his administration had too much political acumen to take chances. The demands were obvious, and the anticipated consequences of ignoring these demands were too ominous a risk to take.

Some Conclusions and Some Hypotheses

We have found that both a majority of the local citizens and the opinion leaders were heavily in support of enforcement of the law and both groups were consistent in this attitude. The opinion leaders communicated their thoughts to the decision-makers in a much higher degree than the local citizens. Even though the local citizens felt strongly about the dispute, they did not communicate their opinions to the decision-makers in any substantial degree. The decision-makers did show a concern for the opinions and support of the local citizens and were probably more active in seeking their attitudes than the other way around. The apathy of the local citizens is rather startling considering the fact that this dispute was undoubtedly the most newsworthy event in the community's history. The majority of the decision-makers and opinion leaders resented outside reaction to the dispute and reinforced each other in their attitudes. The decision-makers did not visualize the major issue in the dispute as freedom of religion, and expressed a conviction that the law should have been enforced.

We have shown that the decision-makers were sensitive to demand-supports from a wide variety of sources, and that the determination of the decision-makers to enforce the laws depended at least in part on the demands and

supports of these groups. We found several reasons why the law was not enforced: (1) The reluctance of the decision-makers to enforce the law; (2) The disparities between the infraction and punishment; (3) The lack of public support for enforcement; and (4) In its latter stages the dispute no longer resembled a legal problem.

At this point we can formulate a few hypotheses concerning the conditions under which law is realistically available for conflict resolution which might be tested in future research:

1. Law requires public support. Without such support the law cannot be effective.
2. Law requires the support of the enforcers. If those required to enforce the law cannot support it, they will look for alternative means (which may include ignoring the fact that a law is being broken). Such intangibles as the popular support of the law breakers, the intensity of their defiance, and the perceived justification of their cause probably play a role here. If the enforcers of the law search for alternatives they will probably not be able to admit to themselves that they are doing so. They will rationalize their endeavors.
3. The sanctions for violating a law must be of such a nature that, if invoked, they serve to render punishment, compliance, or restitution which man can regard as "just." This is the principle of desert as formulated by Cahn,
4. There can be a legal solution only to legal problems. Laws are the product of politics, and if they prove dysfunctional to the political system the gravitation is naturally back to the political processor for a new workable legal solution. What is workable at one point in time, may not be suitable in others. This feedback process is one of the healthy means by which laws are adapted to the environment.

CHAPTER VI

FOOTNOTES

¹Edmond Cahn, The Sense of Injustice (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1949), p. 16.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 24.

⁴David Easton, A System Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 367.

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPACT OF OUTPUTS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW
AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

We have described the political system as open and subject to stimuli from its environment. Two of the most obvious types of stimuli we have identified as demands and supports. Both demands and supports are a product, in part at least, of the outputs of the political system. This is not to say that the members of a political system will always be aware of outputs, or their effect on themselves. When they are directly affected by an output(s), however, the chances are that they will make their own evaluation of it. This evaluation will play a role in determining their present and future demands and support for the system. In the Amish dispute several publics were involved in the problem and directly affected by the outputs. In this chapter we will try to determine the impact of these outputs on their support for law and the political system.

Support For Law

In Chapter IV we found that nearly two-thirds (N = 187) of the local citizens and three-quarters (N = 13) of the opinion leaders felt that the Amish should have been forced to observe the law. In Chapter V we found that the decision-makers also wanted the law enforced but were frustrated in their efforts for a variety of reasons. A clear majority of the local citizens, opinion leaders, and decision-makers, in other words, were painfully aware that their desires in the Amish dispute had not been satisfied by the political system. What impact, if any, did this have on their respective attitudes toward law? Earlier we hypothesized that: (A) As a result of the failure to enforce the law the local citizens lost a certain amount of faith and confidence in law; (B) This loss of faith and confidence was not true for the decision-makers; or (C) The opinion leaders. We decided that the greatest danger in trying to extract the responses to test these hypotheses would be in suggesting answers to the respondents. For this reason a purposely gross interview index was used so that each respondent could be prompted to reveal only attitudes quite salient to himself. We began with the following question: "About how much respect would you say the people around here have for the law? A great deal, some,

or not very much." The answers as Table 7-1 shows were pretty evenly split between "a great deal," and "some" with a much smaller proportion stating "not very much."

TABLE 7-1
RESPECT FOR LAW

Decision-Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
4	34.0	163	56.0	9	53.0	(1) A great deal
6	50.0	102	35.0	6	35.0	(2) Some
2	16.0	23	8.0	2	12.0	(3) Not very much
		1	0.3			(4) N.A.
Total	12 100%	289	100%	17	100%	

For those respondents who answered "some" or "not very much" the interviewer followed up by asking: "Have people always felt that way or have they changed just recently?" Table 7-2 shows that the decision-makers and opinion leaders are more inclined to think that people have changed just recently. Respondents who answered "changed just recently," were asked "Why is that?" Table 7-3 shows the sizeable distribution. The responses make it very clear that the local citizens did not feel that people had lost respect for the law because of the Amish

TABLE 7-2
RECENT CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD
RESPECT FOR LAW

Decision-Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
2	25.0	67	55.0	4	50.0	(1) Always felt that way
6	75.0	54	45.0	4	50.0	(2) Changed just recently
Total	8	100%	121	100%	8	100%

dispute. If anything the most salient factor was probably the riots that had sprinkled the country in the summer of 1967. Interesting enough, however, half of the decision-makers felt that people had lost respect for law because of the Amish dispute. Still in the whole sample (N = 318) we found only 10 persons who felt that people had lost respect for the law because of the Amish dispute. These 10 persons were then asked if they personally had lost respect for the law. As Table 7-4 shows the respondents now dropped from ten to six. That is, only six persons were ready to say that they personally lost respect for the law because of the Amish dispute (and one of these was qualified). Four of the decision-makers felt that they had lost a certain amount of respect for those who

TABLE 7-3
REASONS FOR CHANGE IN RESPECT FOR LAW

Decision-Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
		10	18.0			(1) Sign of the times. Too much freedom. Things change so fast.
		9	17.0			(2) Its the fault of parents. They don't teach their children any values anymore.
		15	28.0			(3) Its the fault of the police. They are poorly qualified. They don't really enforce the law. The law is too lenient.
6	100.0	2	4.0	2	100.0	(4) Because the Amish got away with disobeying the law.
		2	4.0			(5) Television and movies are corrupting our people.
		1	2.0			(6) The Vietnam war causes people to disrespect the law.
		9	17.0			(7) People just don't respect the law anymore.

TABLE 7-3 (cont'd)

Decision-Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders	
N	%	N	%	N	%
					(7) Break law if they disagree with it. People are more selfish now and have less morals (<u>Amish not mentioned</u>)
		6	11.0		(8) Other
Total	6 100%	54	100%	2	100%

TABLE 7-4
PERSONAL LOSS OF RESPECT FOR LAW

Decision-Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
		2	100.0	1	50.0	(1) Yes
				1	50.0	(2) Yes, some people just don't have to obey laws.
1	17.0					(3) Yes, if you know the right people you don't have to obey the law.
1	17.0					(4) Qualified yes, see more ways to get around law and therefore respect it less.
4	66.0					(5) Not for law, but for the people who govern.
Total	6 100%	2	100%	2	100%	

govern. It is interesting that the decision-makers and opinion leaders were more inclined to lose respect for the law than the local citizens; although the number is quite small in all cases. Obviously the local citizens were able to reconcile the dispute psychically more easily than the opinion leaders and decision-makers. None of this should obscure the fact that the majority of the opinion leaders and at least 50 per cent of the decision-makers were able to be quite philosophical about the dispute and its ultimate conclusion. Several of the decision-makers and opinion leaders were very sophisticated in their attitudes for laymen. One of the decision-makers exemplified this with the following answer;

Laws are written by legislatures which are created by politics and legislatures make mistakes. Sometimes they simply cannot anticipate the circumstances under which future challenges of the law will be made. Often, when the laws are very old, circumstances have entirely changed. Sometimes the legislature fails to make its intent clear to those who are charged with enforcing the law. In any event, our system of government provides the means of righting these mistakes, even though it sometimes seems to take too long, and of course, the voters still have the power to "turn the rascals out" and elect those whom we feel will write the laws we favor.

Still the question remains: Why were the decision-makers and opinion leaders affected more by the dispute than the local citizens. Several answers might be suggested. It is hardly novel to find that those persons who have the most knowledge of the functioning and personalities of the

political system are the most critical of it--although studies concerned with the relationship of political knowledge to support have reached divergent conclusions depending on the institution involved.¹ In this case it could well be that the decision-makers and possibly the opinion leaders could have had insights into the dispute which they interpreted as weakness in the political system, and which the local citizens merely accepted as the normal give and take of the system. Again the decision-makers and opinion leaders might have simply been searching for a scapegoat. Probably the main reason, however, is that some of the decision-makers and opinion leaders were sincerely disturbed that a solution to the dispute could not be found which would have backed their actions in the dispute--something other than just letting the Amish go their own way. Consequently they were tempted to exaggerate the repercussions of this failure. It may seem ironic that the decision-makers could lose respect for the law when we have concluded that one of the major reasons for the law not being enforced was their own reluctance to enforce the law. Yet this is certainly plausible. Had the law been a better instrument they would not have had so much difficulty in trying to enforce it.

One might also argue that it would be ironic for the local citizens to have lost respect for the law when

actually their attitudes toward law was not the important factor that persuaded them to back enforcement of the law. They backed enforcement because of their attitudes toward the Amish, not law. It would be unreasonable to argue that the local citizens in our sample had attitudes toward law that differed dramatically from those of their fellow Iowans who did not back enforcement. Empirically we can verify this fact on a couple of abstract questions about law asked of both the local citizens and a random sample of Iowans in a study conducted in the same year by Professors Boynton, Patterson, and Hedlund.² Table 7-5 compares the two samples and reveals no statistically significant differences in their attitudes toward law. Still we cannot be sure that this distinction between attitudes toward the Amish and attitudes toward law was clear to the local citizens. There was a great deal of talk in the Oelwein Community about the fact that the Amish should obey the law because laws are for everyone. Regardless of the real motives of the local citizens (which they might not be aware of) they could have rationalized obeying the law as the reason for their stand. Nevertheless, the local citizens like the opinion leaders and decision-makers did not significantly lose respect for the law.

TABLE 7-5
ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW

Local Citizens N = 289 N %		Iowans N = 1001 N %		
				(1) Some people tell us that they think there are times when it almost seems better for the citizens of the state to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the state legislature to act, others disagree. Would you say that you agree strongly, agree, disagree, disagree strongly?
6	2.0	12	1.0	A. Agree strongly
35	12.0	132	13.0	B. Agree
160	55.0	517	52.0	C. Disagree
76	26.0	281	28.0	D. Disagree strongly
12	4.0	59	6.0	E. D.K. N.A.
				(2) Some people tell us that they think there are times when it almost seems better for the governor to take the law into his own hands rather than wait for the state legislature to act, others disagree. Would you say that you agree strongly, agree, disagree, disagree strongly?

TABLE 7-5 (cont'd)

Local Citizens N = 289		Iowans N = 1001		
N	%	N	%	
9	3.0	8	0.8	A. Agree strongly
108	37.0	250	24.0	B. Agree
141	49.0	541	54.0	C. Disagree
18	6.0	118	12.0	D. Disagree strongly
13	4.0	84	8.0	E. D.K.
Total 289	100%	1001	100%	

Support For The Political System

If loss of respect for law was minimal, what about loss of support for the political system? Did those persons who wanted the law enforced channel their disappointment to the political system by withdrawing support? In a preliminary report Professors Murphy and Tanenhaus indicated that they found a direct relationship between persons' policy attitudes and their support for the United States Supreme Court.³ Could such a relationship be true for our data? To answer this question adequately we would have to have information on how the persons in our samples supported the political system before the dispute as well as after the dispute. This, of course, we do not have.

We can, however, compare the local citizens, opinion leaders, and decision-makers by dividing them into those who wanted the law enforced and those who preferred to let the Amish alone, and see how they differ on a number of support questions. Any differences found could not be proven to be the result of the Amish dispute, but we might be able to develop some hypotheses for future research. The samples in the Amish study can be compared to the sample of Iowans (referred to above) taken in the same year by Boynton, Patterson, and Hedlund.* As a subsample we can also use those persons in the Boynton, Patterson, Hedlund study from the Oelwein area (N = 17). The persons in this subsample would only by chance be any of the same persons included in the Amish study. Unfortunately the identical support questions asked in the two separate studies are limited only to the legislature. Table 7-6 shows the frequency and percentages distribution for four questions which were included in the Amish study and the Boynton study of Iowans.

Figure 7-1 shows two graphs comparing the three groups in the Amish study plus the Boynton sample of Iowans and its Oelwein Community subsample on the question concerning the type of job that the state legislature does.

*Hereafter referred to as the Boynton study of Iowans.

TABLE 7-6
LEVELS OF SUPPORT FOR THE IOWA LEGISLATURE

	Iowans		Decision-Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. In general would you say that the Iowa state legislature does an:								
1. Excellent job	45	4.0	1	8.0	3	1.0	1	6.0
2. A good job	465	46.0	5	42.0	105	36.0	5	29.0
3. A fair job	384	38.0	4	33.0	135	47.0	10	59.0
4. A poor job	37	3.7	2	12.0	35	12.0	1	6.0
0. NA, DK	70	7.0	0	0.0	11	4.0	0	0.0
2. Some people tell us that they think the state legislature is controlled by a small handful of men, who run it pretty much to suit themselves, no matter what the people want. Would you:								
1. Agree strongly	20	2.0	0	0.0	29	10.0	0	0.0
2. Agree	226	23.0	3	25.0	98	34.0	7	41.0
3. Disagree	563	56.0	7	58.0	130	45.0	10	59.0
4. Disagree strongly	103	10.0	2	17.0	8	3.0	0	0.0
0. DK	89	9.0	0	0.0	24	8.0	0	0.0

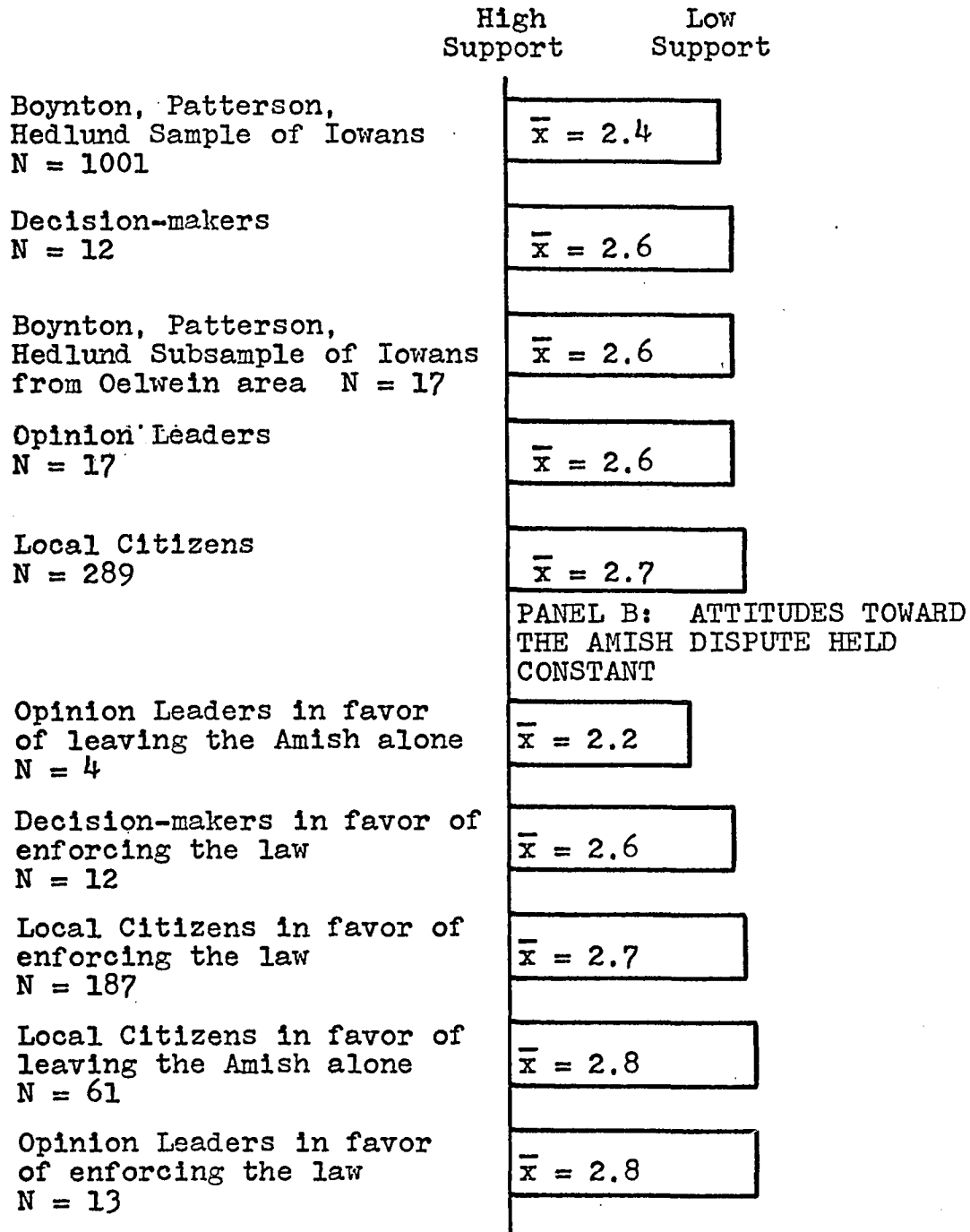
TABLE 7-6 (cont'd)

	Iowans		Decision- Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3. Most of the things that the state legislature does are in the interest of the general public rather than the interest of special groups. Would you:								
1. Agree strongly	23	2.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	1	6.0
2. Agree	657	66.0	8	67.0	185	64.0	11	65.0
3. Disagree	192	20.0	3	25.0	68	24.0	5	29.0
4. Disagree strongly	12	1.0	1	8.0	5	2.0	0	0.0
0. DK, NA	117	12.0	0	0.0	27	9.0	0	0.0
4. If the Iowa legislature continually passed laws that the people disagreed with, it might be better to do away with the legislature altogether? Would you:								
1. Agree strongly	4	0.4	0	0.0	7	2.0	0	0.0
2. Agree	120	12.0	0	0.0	61	21.0	2	12.0
3. Disagree	621	16.0	6	50.0	158	55.0	13	76.0
4. Disagree strongly	164	16.0	6	50.0	49	17.0	2	12.0
0. DK, NA	92	9.0	0	0.0	14	5.0	0	0.0
Total	1001	100%	12	100%	289	100%	17	100%

FIGURE 7-1

THE TYPE OF JOB THE LEGISLATURE DOES

PANEL A: FIVE SAMPLES



In the case of this figure the lower the mean the higher the support for the legislature. As the figure shows, all the Amish study groups and the Boynton subsample from the Oelwein area show a lower support for the legislature than the Boynton sample of Iowans. The only statistically significant difference occurs between the Boynton sample of Iowans and the local citizens. Figure 7-1 also shows the local citizens, opinion leaders, and decision-makers broken down into subsamples according to whether or not they wanted the law enforced in the Amish dispute. The opinion leaders in favor of leaving the Amish alone constitute such a small sample ($N = 4$) that it would be hazardous to draw even very tentative conclusions about them. We will continue to plot them on the figures but refrain from making any inferences about them in relation to the other groups. As the figure shows, there are no statistically significant differences among the groups on this question. However, it is interesting to note that the local citizens who favored leaving the Amish alone supported the legislature even less than those local citizens in favor of enforcing the law.*

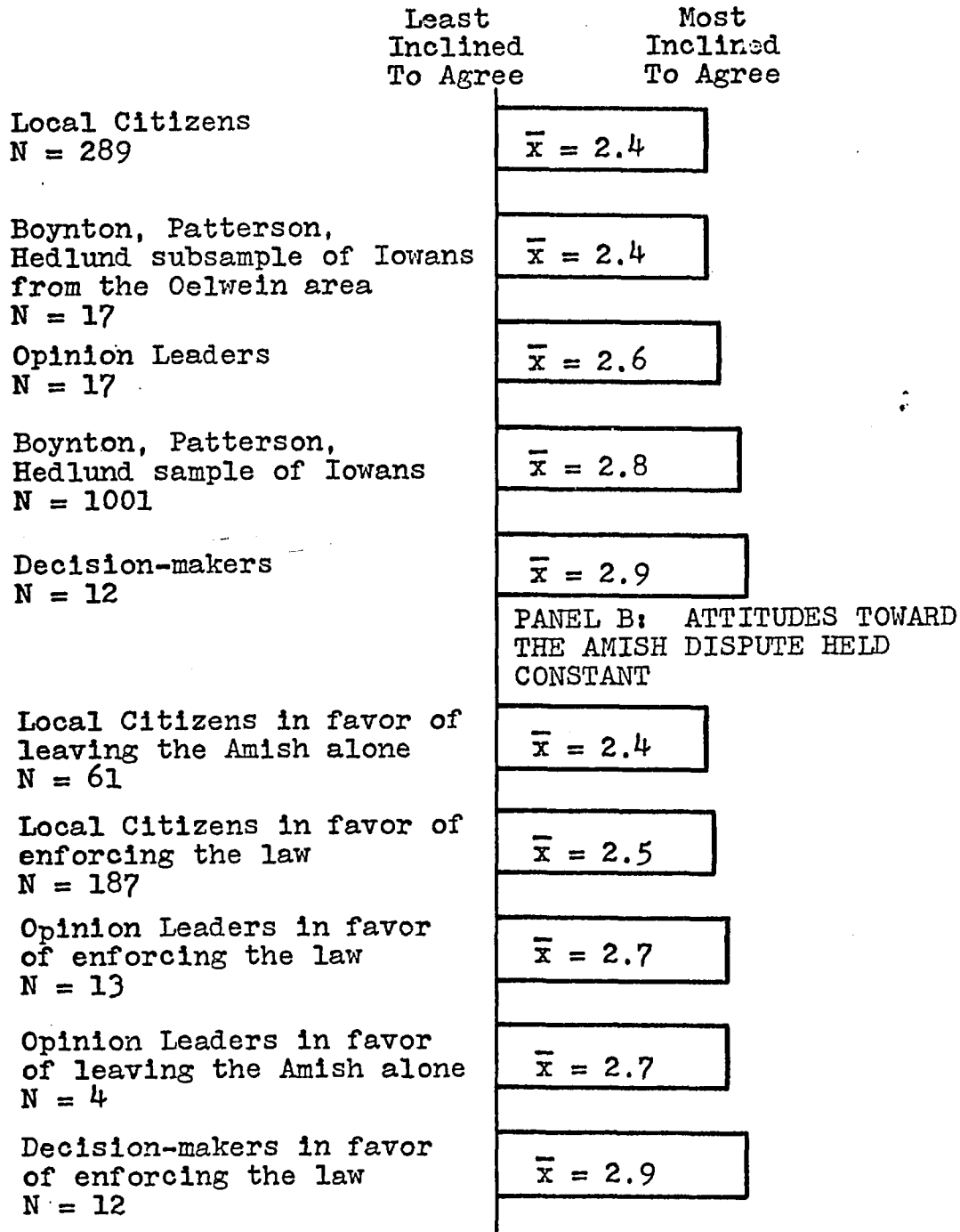
Figure 7-2 compares the various samples on whether they think the state legislature is dominated by a small handful of men who run it pretty much to suit themselves

*Difference not significant at the .01 level.

FIGURE 7-2

LEGISLATURE CONTROLLED BY A SMALL HANDFUL OF MEN

PANEL A: FIVE SAMPLES



regardless of what the people want. The lower the mean the more inclined the group is to agree with this statement. As the chart shows the local citizens are the most inclined to agree with this statement, but they do not differ from the Boynton subsample of Iowans. The local citizens differ significantly from the Boynton sample of Iowans and the decision-makers. The Boynton sample of Iowans and its subsample from the Oelwein area also differ significantly. Figure 7-2 also shows the Amish study groups broken down according to whether they wanted the law enforced. There is no significant difference between the local citizens who wanted enforcement and those who did not. The decision-makers who are the least inclined to agree with this statement differ significantly from both local citizen samples.

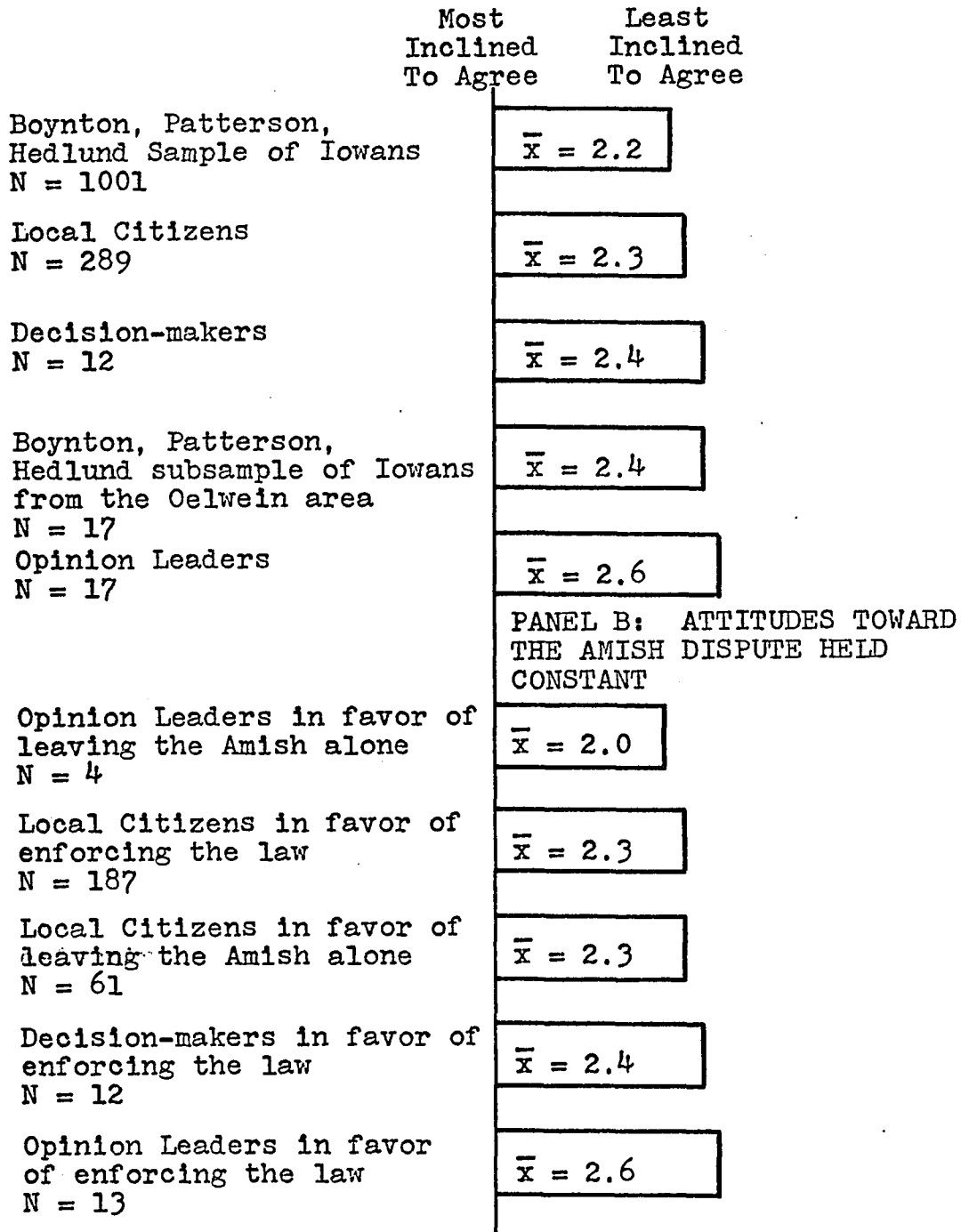
Figure 7-3 shows the various samples compared on a question which states that most of the things the legislature does are in the interest of the general public rather than the interest of special groups. The lower the mean the more inclined the group is to agree with this statement. The Boynton sample of Iowans are most inclined to agree with the statement whereas the opinion leaders are the least inclined.* The local citizens, decision-makers, and the Boynton subsample of Iowans from the

*Difference significant at the .01 level.

FIGURE 7-3

MOST OF THE THINGS THE LEGISLATURE DOES ARE IN
THE INTEREST OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC

PANEL A: FIVE SAMPLES



Oelwein area do not differ significantly. Figure 7-3 also shows what happens when the sample is broken down according to attitudes toward enforcement of the law. The decision-makers and the local citizens who wanted to leave the Amish alone do not differ significantly, but the local citizens in favor of enforcing the law differ significantly from the opinion leaders in favor of enforcing the law.

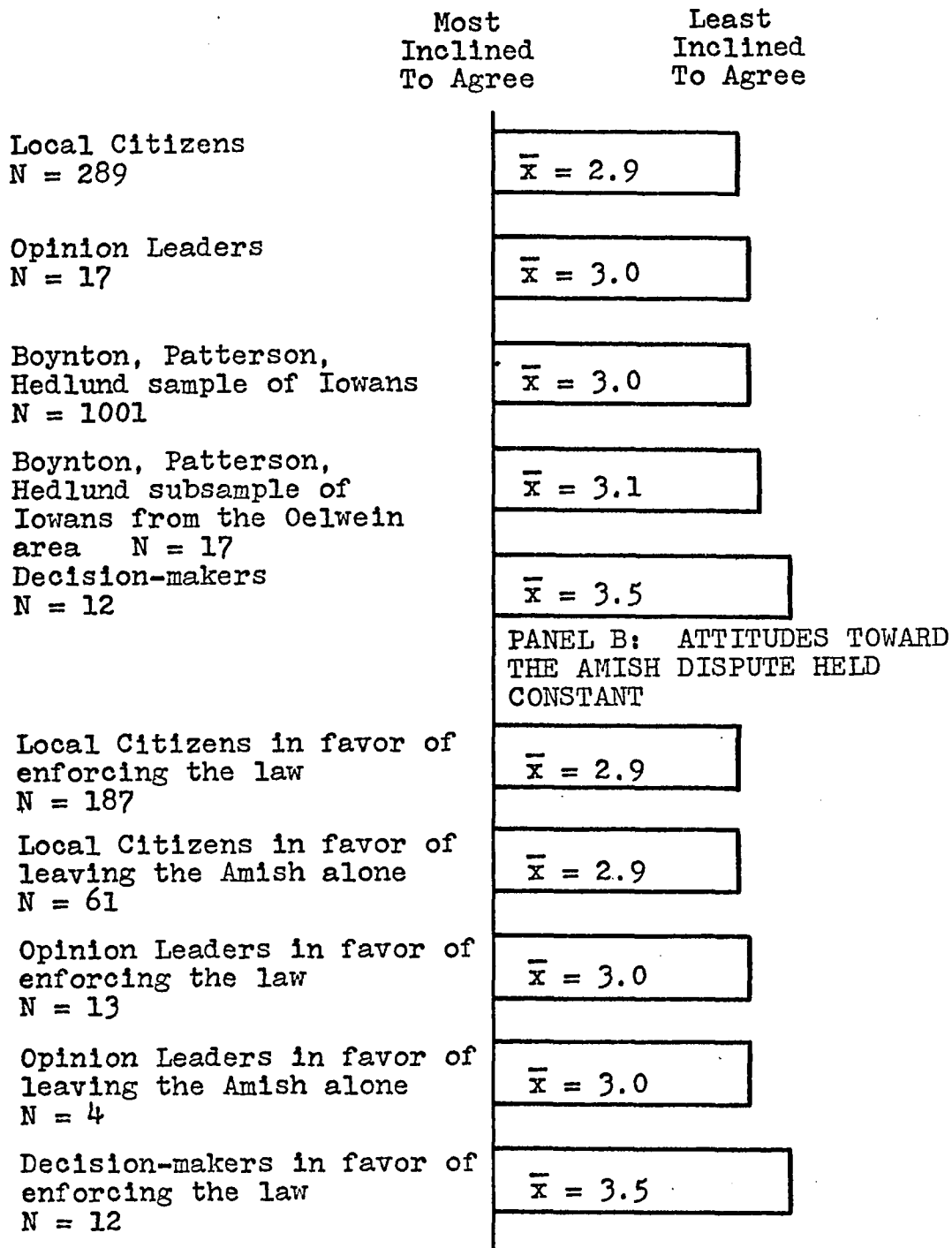
Figure 7-4 shows the various samples compared on the most drastic question in the series. This is the statement that if the state legislature continually passed laws that the people disagreed with, it might be better to do away with the legislature altogether. The lower the mean the more inclined a group to agree with the statement. The only significant difference is between the decision-makers and each of the other four groups. Figure 7-4 also shows the samples broken down according to whether they wanted the law enforced or the Amish let alone. As before the only significant difference is between the decision-makers and the other groups. This difference results from the fact that the decision-makers support this statement far less than any of the other groups.

Before trying to interpret these findings we can consider one additional question asked only of the samples

FIGURE 7-4

DO AWAY WITH THE LEGISLATURE

PANEL A: FIVE SAMPLES



in the Amish dispute. The decision-makers, local citizens, and opinion leaders were asked what type of job they thought the Governor was doing (Table 7-7). Figure 7-5 shows the mean graphs. The lower the mean the better job the group thinks the Governor is doing. From this table it would appear that the local citizens support the Governor less than either of the other two groups.*

TABLE 7-7
SUPPORT FOR GOVERNOR

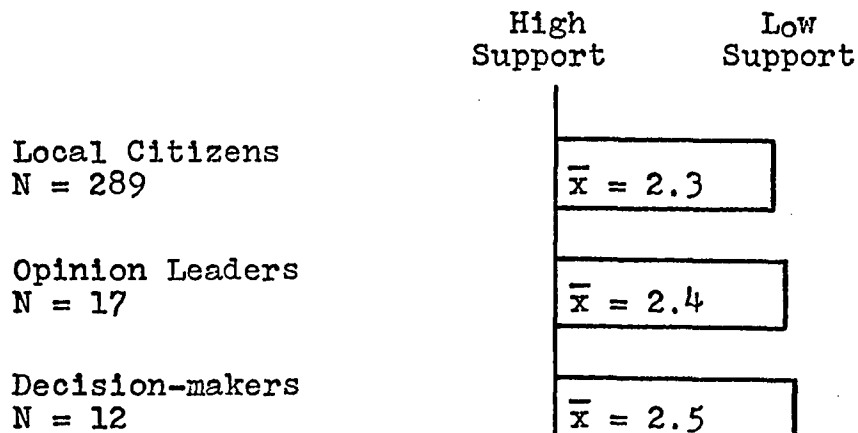
Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens		What about the Governor of the State of Iowa, would you say he does:
N	%	N	%	N	%	
2	17.0	3	18.0	34	12.0	1. An excellent job.
3	25.0	6	35.0	133	46.0	2. A good job.
6	50.0	7	41.0	93	32.0	3. A fair job.
1	8.0	1	6.0	26	9.0	4. A poor job.
				3	1.0	0. DK, NA.
Total	12	100%	17	100%	289	100%

However, note what happens when the samples are broken down according to whether they wanted the law enforced or not

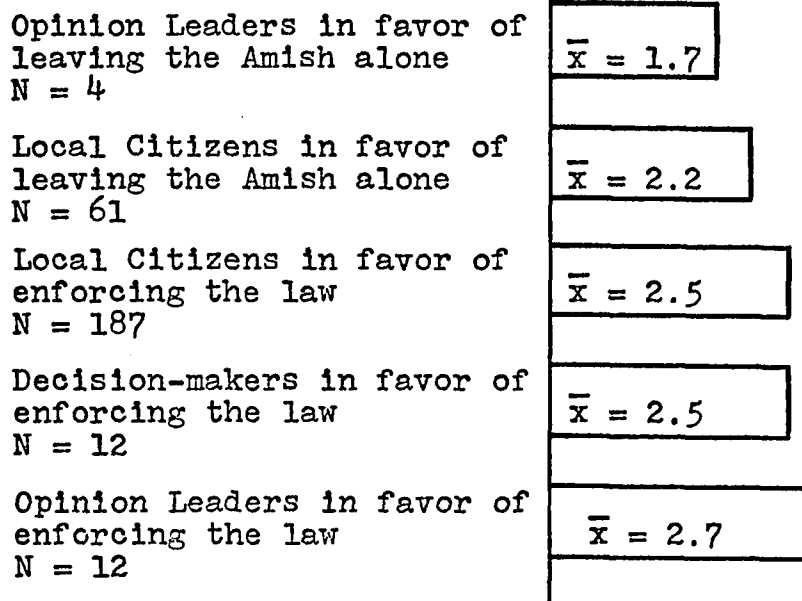
*There are no significant differences among the groups.

FIGURE 7-5
TYPE OF JOB THE GOVERNOR DOES

PANEL A: THREE SAMPLES



PANEL B: ATTITUDES TOWARD
THE AMISH DISPUTE HELD
CONSTANT



(Figure 7-5). Clearly it is the opinion leaders who wanted the law enforced who give the Governor the least support.

There is also a significant difference between the local citizens who wanted the law enforced and those local citizens who wanted to leave the Amish alone. The most obvious is the statistically significant difference between those who wanted the law enforced and those who did not. Those who did not want the law enforced support the Governor more highly.

How can one interpret these five questions in terms of support for the political system? First as Figure 7-1 pointed up all three samples in the Amish dispute study support the political system less than the average Iowan (as reflected in the Boynton, Patterson, Hedlund study). Even the sample of local citizens who wanted the Amish left alone supports the legislature significantly less than the average Iowan. Figure 7-2 shows that the local citizens and opinion leaders are also more inclined than the average Iowan to think that the legislature is controlled by a small handful of men who run it to suit themselves. Figure 7-2 shows that all three groups in the Amish dispute are less inclined than the average Iowan to believe that most of what the legislature does is in the interest of the general public. Figure 7-4 shows that the local citizens are more inclined to advocate

doing away with the legislature than the average Iowan. Even breaking the local citizens down according to whether they wanted the law enforced does not alter this fact (Figure 7-4). Comparison of Figure 7-1 and 7-5 reveals that the local citizens and the opinion leaders give more support to the Governor than the legislature. This is not true for the decision-makers who support the legislature more strongly. There is a particularly striking difference between the support that the local citizens in favor of leaving the Amish alone give the legislature and the Governor. They support the Governor quite highly, but support the legislature even less than the local citizens who wanted the law enforced (compare Figure 7-1 and 7-5). The opinion leaders who wanted the law enforced support both the legislature and the Governor less than either of the other two groups.

It would probably be reasonably safe to conclude that the people in the Oelwein area have been affected to some extent by the long Amish dispute and exhibit a certain amount of loss in support for the political system. Even so this may not be particularly important for the political system for it is obvious that all three groups still support the system quite highly. It would take a mean of 3.0 just to evaluate the legislature or Governor as doing a "fair job," and as we have seen none of the groups rate either that low.

The four opinion leaders who did not want the law enforced and who seemed to demonstrate such high support for both the Governor and the legislature had one characteristic in common--a strong sympathy for the Amish. None of them belongs to the economic elite in Oelwein and one is a member of the Iowa legislature. Obviously the Amish exemption could have had the effect of a specific support for them. The opinion leaders who wanted the law enforced, and supported the system the least, were composed primarily of the economic elite. They are primarily Republican and not particularly sympathetic to the Amish. They could have had more than one reason for not supporting the system any more highly than they did. During the summer of 1967 the Iowa legislature passed a new tax which was considered particularly onerous by the businessmen of Iowa. The newspapers revealed that the tax was passed in great haste and in secret session. Many of the opinion leaders made reference to this tax when answering the support questions.

The most surprising finding was that those local citizens who wanted the Amish left alone did not support the legislature even as highly as those local citizens who wanted the law enforced. It would seem that they had every reason to visualize the Amish exemption as a specific reward. A comparison of these 61 local citizens

with the 187 local citizens who wanted the law enforced revealed several interesting points. Two differences among the groups are very obvious. The local citizens who wanted the Amish left unmolested have a very strong attachment to the Governor, and a great deal of sympathy for the Amish.* Interestingly enough they are also less interested in politics, less efficacious, and more inclined to be politically alienated.** They are more inclined to think that city officials do not care much about them, and that they have little or no say in the way the city is run. They are, in other words, the type of people who have so little political energy that they attach themselves to one source of guidance politically. Governor Hughes with all his charisma is a perfect recipient. In fact, these 61 local citizens conform very closely with the characteristics that Davies isolated for persons who develop charismatic identifications for political leaders.⁴

The Basis of Support

How can we account for the fact that respect for the law and support for the political system were apparently affected so little by the Amish dispute? In other

*Both differences are significant at the .01 level

**All significant at the .01 level

words, why did not denial have more drastic results on personal attitudes toward respect for law and support for the political system? In the introduction we stated that law could be effective only if it has the general support of the community. This support, we argued, could be maintained only if there are relatively few cases of deviant behavior, and only if sanctions are invoked in such cases by responsible officials employing established judicial machinery. Yet we have noted that in the Amish dispute a sizable number of persons realized that a law was being broken, wanted it obeyed, but failed to lose respect for law because it was not. Why? Do people just blindly support law? Obviously not. The general public of Iowa knew that the Amish were breaking a law but they did not back enforcement. The alternative to uncritical support is that the average person is capable of being philosophical about the fact that laws are not always enforced. This would mean that even though the average individual supports a system of law to bring order and security to his environment, he is also capable of seeing laws in a personally discretionary light. To test this hypothesis a battery of questions were asked of the decision-makers, opinion leaders, and local citizens. The questions asked and the frequency distributions of the responses are reported in Table 7-8. In each of the

TABLE 7-8

LAW AND DISCRETION

	Decision- Makers N	%	Local Citizens N	%	Opinion Leaders N	%
A. A public school teacher breaks the law by holding a morning prayer even though the courts have ruled school prayers illegal.						
1. Punish	7	58.0	73	25.0	9	53.0
2. Exception	4	42.0	212	73.0	7	41.0
0. Don't Know	0	0.0	4	2.0	1	6.0
B. Parents break the law by picketing a store which sells "girlie" magazines that the courts have said are legal.						
1. Punish	8	66.0	114	39.0	8	47.0
2. Exception	4	33.0	169	58.0	8	47.0
0. Don't Know	0	0.0	5	2.0	1	6.0
C. A policemen breaks the law by beating a man until the man admits committing a murder that the man in fact committed.						

TABLE 7-8 (cont'd)

	Decision-Makers		Local Citizens		Opinion Leaders	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Punish	8	66.0	230	80.0	14	82.0
2. Exception	4	33.0	56	19.0	3	18.0
3. Don't Know	0	0.0	3	1.0	0	0.0
D. A young man breaks the law by refusing to fight in Vietnam because war is against his religious beliefs.						
1. Punish	10	83.0	175	61.0	9	53.0
2. Exception	2	17.0	109	38.0	8	47.0
0. Don't Know	0	0.0	5	2.0	0	0.0
Total	12	100%	289	100%	17	100%

four cases the respondent was asked to assume that a law was being broken (cases B and D would not normally be against the law). The results are very interesting. Considerable evidence suggests that a very wide majority of persons would in an abstract sense agree that people must always obey laws. But in concrete situations like those on Table 7-8 we see that they are willing to weigh the case and make a decision. An excellent example of an abstract indicator of peoples attitudes toward obedience of laws is provided by a question asked in the Boynton study of Iowans. The question was this: "Even though one might strongly disagree with a state law--after it has been passed by the state legislature one ought to obey it." Only 3 per cent of the total sample disagreed with this statement. Yet on Table 7-8 we see that the samples in the Amish dispute not only are willing to make exceptions, but in one case 74 per cent of the local citizens were willing to make an exception to a law (Question A).*

*Further evidence of this distinction between abstract and concrete attitudes toward law is provided by a question included in the 1966 Election Survey. The question and distribution was this: "Some people we talk to feel that a person shouldn't be punished for breaking a law which he believes is against his religion. How about you: Do you think a person should or should not be punished if he breaks a law which he believes is against his religion?"

	N	%
1. Should be punished	810	61.0
2. Should not be punished	202	15.0

Figure 7-6 shows the results of a law enforcement index for each respondent. This simply amounted to assigning each respondent a score based on the number of exceptions he would make in the four cases presented in Table 7-8.* The lower the mean for a group, the less inclined they were to make exceptions. As the figure shows the decision-makers were the most inclined to make exceptions. The local citizens were the least inclined. The decision-makers and opinion leaders do not differ significantly but they both differ significantly from the local citizens. Figure 7-6 also shows what happens when the local citizens are broken down according to whether they wanted the law enforced in the Amish dispute. The local citizens who wanted to leave the Amish alone are the least inclined to make exceptions. Statistical analysis shows, however, that the difference between the two groups is not significant. Similarly, statistical analysis reveals that the law enforcement scale is a very poor predictor of what an individual wanted done in the Amish dispute.** Interestingly enough the best predictor

	N	%
3. Depend.	159	12.0
4. DK.	112	8.0
5. NA.	8	2.0

*This scale is explained in more detail in the appendix.

**Rank order correlation analysis was used for the decision-makers and opinion leaders. Multiple regression was employed for the local citizens.

FIGURE 7-6
ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW

PANEL A: THREE SAMPLES

Local Citizens
N = 289

$\bar{x} = 2.1$

Opinion Leaders
N = 17

$\bar{x} = 2.6$

Decision-makers
N = 12

$\bar{x} = 2.7$

PANEL B: ATTITUDES TOWARD
THE AMISH DISPUTE HELD
CONSTANT

Local Citizens in favor of
leaving the Amish alone
N = 61

$\bar{x} = 2.0$

Local Citizens in favor of
enforcing the law
N = 187

$\bar{x} = 2.2$

of the law enforcement scale is education. The better educated a person is, the more likely he is to be willing to make exceptions.*

In the previous chapter we concluded that law does require public support. But is it true that this support can be maintained only if sanctions are invoked against persons who break the law? To a large extent the answer is yes. People would not support a law that everyone was permitted to ignore. Still most people are obviously capable of accepting certain exceptions to law. The four questions above show how persons are willing to make exceptions to laws they disagree with. These same persons agreed much less with theoretical questions concerning conditions under which the people and the Governor could take the law into their own hands (See Table 7-5). These same persons would also probably find it very difficult to agree with abstract questions concerning civil disobedience. Yet in concrete situations they will make exceptions, just as most persons make a few exceptions to laws in their personal endeavors now and again. Support for the law is not then based on guaranteed enforcement. If respect for the law could be destroyed in people by the failure of the legal system to maximize

*Multiple Regression on the local citizen data yields a Beta of .24 for education against the law index. Tau Beta for the decision-makers yields .36 and for the opinion leaders .39.

their expectations in every instance the pillars of law would be built on a precarious foundation. Indeed, guaranteed enforcement might cause more disrespect than enforcement by reason. The law is permeated by compassion, error and even dishonesty. But it is all part of a system that one grows up knowing.

This brings us to a more complete discussion of what Easton calls support. Diffuse support was probably the key reason that the people in the Amish dispute did not measurably lose respect for law or the political system. Easton speaks of both specific support ("stimulated by outputs that are perceived by members to meet their demands as they arise or in anticipation"⁵) and diffuse support ("a reservoir of favorable attitudes or good will that helps members to accept or tolerate outputs to which they are opposed or the effect of which they see as damaging to their wants"⁶). Obviously in the Amish dispute diffuse support would be the most important, although the exemption satisfied the wants of a portion of the local citizens and opinion leaders. For the larger number of local citizens, opinion leaders, and decision-makers their wants in the dispute were denied and so their continued support for the system would come primarily from their reservoir of diffuse support. Diffuse support, says Easton, is the means which "enables

a system to weather the many storms when outputs cannot be balanced off against inputs and demands."⁷ Diffuse support, in other words, is the most important variable in the persistence of any political system. As Easton says:

the most stable support will derive from the conviction on the part of the members that it is right and proper for him to accept and obey the authorities and to abide by the requirements of the regime. It reflects the fact that in some vague or explicit way he sees these objects as conforming to his own moral principles, his own sense of what is right and proper in the political sphere.⁸

This, as Dye points out, is a commitment to a form of decision-making.

The way in which a society authoritatively allocates values may be an even more important question than the out-comes of the value allocations. Our commitments to democratic processes are essentially commitments to a mode of decision-making. The legitimacy of the democratic form of government has never really depended upon the policy outcomes which it is expected to produce.⁹

Dahl in similar fashion explains the stability of New Haven's political system in terms of support for the democratic creed.

Because leading officials with key roles in the legitimate political institutions automatically acquire authority for their views on the proper functioning of the political institutions, as long as these various officials seem to agree, the ordinary citizen is inclined to assume that existing ways of carrying on the public business do not violate, at least in any important way, the democratic creed to which he is committed.¹⁰

Support for the system then is a product of not

only specific gratifications of present or future demands, but also of "the deep-rooted attachments of its supporters to the system itself."¹¹ These attachments are the product of many factors, the most obvious of which are a belief in the legitimacy of the system, a belief in the common interest of the members of the system, and a function of ideology.¹²

One question remains unanswered. How do individuals formulate these attachments and become committed to a particular political system? Dahl's answer is that "widespread adherence to the democratic creed is produced and maintained by a variety of powerful social processes. Of these, probably formal schooling is the most important."¹³ These social processes are normally referred to as political socialization which has been defined as "the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes, and behavior accepted and practiced by the ongoing political system."¹⁴ It is doubtful that most political socialization is purposeful. Primarily political attitudes and behavior are learned incidentally and reflect the environmental influences of the individual. Studies with American children have found that they form a positive attitude toward the political system at a very early age. "We find that the small child sees a vision of holiness when he chances to glance in the direction of government--a

sanctity and rightness of the demigoddess who dispenses the milk of human kindness."¹⁵ The young child's first attachment is to individuals, usually the president. In latter years this attachment shifts more heavily toward institutions. But as Hess and Torney point out:

Despite the decline in the personal respect for authority figures, a basic regard for the roles of authority in the system and for the competency necessary to perform these roles seems not to diminish. Apparently the feeling of liking for political authority figures are transformed into feelings of confidence in and esteem for the roles which these figures occupy and for institutions.¹⁶

In other words, political socialization promotes stability in the political system primarily by committing persons to it. "Political socialization . . . is essentially a conservative process facilitating the maintenance of the status quo by making people love the system under which they are born."¹⁷

Any political system requires stability before democratic processes can function. The Amish dispute is an example of the system functioning in the ideal. Demands were made on the system and the system responded. Those who won were gratified. Those who lost accepted defeat, for the most part, without bitterness or malevolence. The losers prepared perhaps to use the same system another day to fight the Amish exemption.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VII

¹See G. R. Boynton, Samuel C. Patterson, and Ronald Hedlund, "The Nature of Support for Legislative Institutions," A preliminary report prepared by the Laboratory for Political Research (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1967); and Walter F. Murphy and Joseph Tanenhaus, "Constitutional Courts, Public Opinion, and Political Representation," A preliminary report prepared by the Laboratory for Political Research (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1967).

²I would like to express thanks to Professors Boynton, Patterson, and Hedlund for allowing me the use of their data here and in a latter section of this chapter.

³Walter F. Murphy and Joseph Tanenhaus, "Public Opinion and the United States Supreme Court: A Preliminary Mapping of Some Prerequisites for Court Legitimation of Regime Changes," A paper delivered to the 1967 Shambaugh Conference on Judicial Behavior, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 27.

⁴James C. Davies, "Charisma In The 1952 Campaign," The American Political Science Review, XLVIII (December, 1954), 1083-1103.

⁵David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 273.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 278.

⁹Thomas R. Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public: Policy Outcomes in the American States (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1966), p. 300.

- ¹⁰Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 316.
- ¹¹Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public . . .
p. 300.
- ¹²Easton, A Systems Analysis . . . pp. 278-319.
- ¹³Dahl, Who Governs? . . . p. 317.
- ¹⁴Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 2.
- ¹⁵David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), 43.
- ¹⁶Robert Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes In Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967), p. 221.
- ¹⁷Siegel, "Assumptions About the Learning . . ."
p. 7.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

On July 1, 1967, the newspaper headlines signaled the end of the six year dispute: "Amish Win School Battle."¹ The general public seemed to have paid little attention to the news. Detroit was in flames, the middle east was threatening war, and the public's interest had moved on to other things. Only the newspaper editors seemed interested in having a final say. As the decision-makers might have guessed, two of the state's larger newspapers came out in favor of the exemption. Twelve smaller newspapers from around the state, however, opposed the exemption.² A few of the editorials showed interesting insights into the dispute and warrent consideration.

The largest newspaper in the state, the Des Moines Register, took the following stand:

If the Old Order Amish are to be exempted, it is better to do it by the law than by non-enforcement of the law. The passage of a law is to some extent, at least, a public acceptance of what it contains. Such a law also is subject to test by the courts, on such questions as partiality to religious groups.

The proposed exemption law does not march with the educational principles the state has adapted or no exemption would be needed, but we doubt that it would harm those principles much. Too few children

are involved. Unwavering strictness, however, would be likely to create another series of arrests, fines, seizures of property, and distressing incidents such as the tragic flight of the Amish children to the cornfields. We think most Iowans are sick of that. . . . No one wants to see a gentle and moral people flee, even for mistaken reasons, from the State of Iowa.³

The Cedar Rapids Gazette maintained that

it would be utterly ridiculous to think that there is any perfect answer to the problems created by those professing the Amish religion who refuse to pay certified teachers for their schools, as required by state law. . . . The exemption seems to be, perhaps, the most reasonable solution of the problem that can be expected.⁴

The Oelwein Register delivered probably the most bitter editorial against the exemption.

The farther one drives from Oelwein, the more distorted the Amish story becomes. . . . Whereas the vote allegedly was to keep the Amish from moving away, actually it stamped Iowa as a haven for a group not noted for their agricultural or social progressiveness. It justifies the use of "child labor" on the farm for those land holders who benefit by children being taken out of school after eighth grade. The words of Speaker Maurice Baringer notwithstanding, this was not primarily a religious controversy.

The die is cast; the legislature has spoken. It is the helpless Amish children who are being discriminated against. They are the ones who are being deprived of their rights.⁵

A weekly newspaper, the Independence Bulletin-Journal, agreed that no religious issue was at stake.

A wholly neglected fact in this entire controversy is that for every member of the Amish sect in Iowa balking at certified teachers, there are at least 10 following the same religious precept who accept conformance with law as a duty of good citizenship.

Its a case of a tiny core of strong-willed followers of the Amish faith being given prior

consideration over the main body of those guided by the same religious principles and authority.

If from the very start of this controversy there had been a due regard for this fact by the Governor and others who have encouraged disdain for law and constituted authority, the long drawn-out wrangling might well have ended long before now.⁶

The Waterloo Courier asked:

Do we really wish to permit children to meet legal educational standards today while thinking that the sun revolves around the earth and that lightning is caused by the wrath of God? . . .

Everyone would like to find some solution to the Amish school problem and then comfortably forget it. But this bill proposes an easy solution at the sacrifice of the welfare of the Amish children.⁷

John McCormally, Pulitzer Prize winning editor of the Burlington Hawkeye, took this stand:

What the legislature has done is to endorse ignorance by agreeing that the Amish, alone among Iowans, will be permitted to send their children to inferior schools, taught by inferior teachers. . . .

The so-called solution to the Amish problem is filled with ironies and contradictions. First of all, the Amish, nationwide, are noted for their thrift and business shrewdness and can afford as well as anyone else the cost of adequate education.

Secondly, if a group is to be singled out for exemption from the educational laws, what is to prevent it also from being exempt, on the same grounds, from the sanitation laws, the liquor laws, the tax laws, the usury laws, or any other?

Thirdly, if such an exemption is good for one religious group, why not others? Scores of Catholic parochial schools have been closed for the simple reasons that their parishes couldn't afford to meet the state standards for teachers and curriculum. This has been a good thing, I think. But many Catholics may think differently, may prefer to send their children to schools staffed by aged, untrained nuns and part-time housewives, who teach nothing but catechism. Why can't they do it, under the great Iowa solution?

It is as I say, uncomfortable to find yourself a

reactionary, opposed to a religious minority. But the discomfort may be only temporary. When a high court gets its hand in this latest Iowa monstrosity, look out!⁸

The Sioux City Journal concluded that "it is better to lose 30 to 35 families than to pollute the educational standards for more than 600,000 families that remain in the state."⁹

Several newspapers expressed concern that the testing provision of the exemption law would work. The Tipton Conservative said:

The key is the testing process. If the Amish are to be required to meet standards that are comparable to those of other state schools, the Amish are likely to be hesitant. The idea that they can take teachers with an eighth grade education and give their children a comparable education is pretty much wishful thinking.¹⁰

The Des Moines Register bluntly said: "We have little faith in the test system the exemption law provides."¹¹

Concern over the testing system was indeed valid. No one who had even the most prefunctory insight into the Amish had any doubt that they could not pass the tests.

In October, 1967, the Old Order Amish in the Oelwein District applied for exemption of their two schools (which had an enrollment of 54 students) and gained approval. One Mennonite school also asked for exemption and several others expressed interest. At the same time that State Superintendent Johnston approved the Old Order Amish exemption he expressed reservation

that the Amish children would ever be required to take the achievement tests. This, of course, was the final concession needed by the Amish. Victory, for the time being at least, had come to the plain people.

FOOTNOTES

EPILOGUE

¹Des Moines Register, July 1, 1967, p. 1.

²Bill Sherman, "A Study of the Views of Iowa Newspapers on the Amish Exemption From School Standards," Midland Schools, LXXII (September, 1967), 24-27.

³Ibid., p. 26.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 25.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

This research was designed to develop at least partial answers to two questions: (1) What type of circumstances leads responsible officials to refuse to enforce the law through the use of established judicial machinery; and (2) What effect does such a refusal have on popular attitudes toward law? The assumptions were three: First, the foundation of law is public support. Second, this public support can be maintained only if there are relatively few cases of deviant behavior, and only if sanctions are invoked in such cases by responsible officials employing established judicial machinery. Third, any refusal by officials to invoke these sanctions will entail some risk of eroding community acceptance which is the bedrock on which law rests.

The research was oriented by six hypotheses derived from a preliminary analysis of selected outputs and expressions of public opinion in the Amish dispute. The hypotheses have been subjected to empirical and statistical evaluation throughout the text. Some of the hypotheses were confirmed, and some were rejected.

Four new hypotheses were suggested for future research. The conclusions concerning each of the hypotheses will be considered in review.

We tried to explain the failure to utilize the law by suggesting the following five hypotheses:

The Decision-Makers. The shifting nature of the attempts to solve the problem, including the ultimate decision not to enforce the law, results from the fact that law requires public support. Hence, the following: Hypothesis I: As public support for enforcement of the law decreased and demands for a shift in position increased, the decision-makers were persuaded to seek resolution through means other than the courts. Hypothesis II: The local decision-makers were sensitive to demands and supports from several sources: (A) Those of certain key state officials; (B) Those of the general public outside the community; (C) Those of certain individuals in the community whom they perceived as opinion leaders; (D) Those of the local citizens in the community; and (E) Those of the Amish in the community. Hypothesis III: The resolve of the local decision-makers to enforce the law varied with the demands and supports of the five groups.

The Opinion Leaders. Preliminary research suggest that (1) The local opinion leaders (as perceived by the local decision-makers) at first favored enforcement of the law; (2) Some began to have doubts, however, as outside reaction grew stronger; and (3) Ultimately these doubters sought to communicate their second thoughts to the local decision-makers. Hence: Hypothesis IV: (A) The commitments of the local opinion leaders varied with reactions outside of the community; and (B) The character of demands and supports placed on the local decision-makers by local opinion leaders varied with changes in the character of their commitments.

The Local Citizens. Hypothesis V: (A) Mass opinion in the local community initially exhibited something approaching consensus on settlement

through the Courts; (B) The average citizen in the community resented outside reaction to the dispute. They considered it a local problem little understood outside of the community; and (C) The commitment for enforcement of the law by the local citizens was consistent and independent of outside reaction.

The data reveal that the hypotheses vastly oversimplified the complex interrelationships in the dispute. We found that both a majority of the local citizens and opinion leaders wanted the law enforced and backed the decision-makers. As Hypothesis V suggests, the local citizens were consistent in this support. Contrary to Hypothesis IV, however, the commitments of the opinion leaders were not influenced by outside reaction to the dispute. The majority of the opinion leaders backed enforcement, and were consistent in this attitude. In fact, the data reveal that the opinion leaders and decision-makers resented outside reaction and intervention in the dispute. The majority of the local citizens, however, did not view outside intervention in the dispute in salient fashion.

As Hypothesis II suggests, the decision-makers did perceive demands and supports from a variety of sources. They perceived support for enforcement of the law from a majority of the local citizens (although the local citizens were not very active in making their thoughts known to the decision-makers), opinion leaders and local communication media. They perceived opposition

to enforcement of the law from a majority of the state-wide public, state officials, outside communication media, and the Amish themselves.

Eleven of the 12 decision-makers stated that their actions in the dispute were not affected by public opinion. At a later point in the interviews, however, the decision-makers unanimously agreed that "if public support had been behind enforcement, the law would have been enforced." We concluded, therefore, that the failure to enforce the law did result, in part, from lack of public support. Several other factors also played a role in the determination not to utilize the law. Probably most important was the fact that the law lacked what Cahn has called "desert." That is, the decision-makers did not consider the legal alternatives in the Amish dispute just; they seemed too harsh, and better suited as retribution for an act of violence. Yet if the public had favored enforcement, the law would have been enforced. The decision-makers would have been able to rationalize enforcement because they would not have visualized enforcement as a matter of discretion. The law could have been enforced and the decision-makers would not have felt a personal responsibility for the consequences. But with public opinion badly divided the decision-makers were faced with accepting personal responsibility for choosing

to go all out and enforce the law. Here their conscience prevailed.

Lastly, we found that as the compromise stage approached the dispute came to resemble a political crisis more than a legal dispute, and consequently a legal solution was out of the question.

On the basis of these conclusions we formulated a revised set of hypotheses concerning the conditions under which law is realistically available for conflict resolution which might be tested in future research:

1. Law requires public support. Without such support the law cannot be effective.
2. Law requires the support of the enforcers. If those required to enforce the law cannot support it, they will look for alternative means (which may include ignoring the fact that a law is being broken). Such intangibles as the popular support of the law breakers, the intensity of their defiance, and the perceived justification of their cause probably play a role here. If the enforcers of the law search for alternatives they will probably not be able to admit to themselves that they are doing so. They will rationalize their endeavors.
3. The sanctions for violating a law must be of such a nature that, if invoked, they serve to render punishment, compliance, or restitution which man can regard as "just." This is the principle of desert as formulated by Cahn.
4. There can be a legal solution only to legal problems. Laws are the product of politics, and if they prove dysfunctional to the political system the gravitation is naturally back to the political processor for a new workable legal solution. What is workable at one point

in time, may not be suitable in others. This feedback process is one of the healthy means by which laws are adapted to the environment.

The sixth of the original group of hypotheses concerned the impact of the dispute on attitudes toward law. Hypothesis VI was this: (A) As a result of the failure to enforce the law the local citizens lost a certain amount of faith and confidence in law; (B) This loss of faith and confidence was not true for the decision-makers; or (C) The opinion leaders. The data confirmed that a clear majority of the decision-makers, opinion leaders, and local citizens wanted the law enforced and were painfully aware that their desires in the Amish dispute had not been satisfied by the political system. Still the analysis revealed that none of the three groups significantly lost respect for the law.

When the test was extended to support for the political system we did find that a majority of the local citizens, opinion leaders, and decision-makers support the state political system slightly less than the average Iowan, but their support is still quite high. We concluded, therefore, that the failure to enforce the law did not cause any of the three groups in the Amish dispute to lose significant respect for the law or the political system. We suggested two reasons why such a loss of support did not occur. First, the average person in our samples

was capable of being philosophical about the fact that laws are not always enforced. This philosophical attitude stems from the fact that the average person is capable of viewing law in a personally discretionary light. In the abstract they give heavy support to obeying all laws, but in concrete situations they are willing to weigh the case and decide if the law should be enforced. Still to a large extent respect for law does depend on enforcement, but not guaranteed enforcement. Secondly, loss of support was not significant because the process by which an individual is socialized to the political system under which he lives provides him with a bank account of good will toward that system (diffuse support). This bank account is drawn upon to mitigate the effects of political decisions that conflict with an individual's desires and expectations.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

OELWEIN COMMUNITY SAMPLE

The universe for this sample consisted of all persons 21 years old and older in the Oelwein school district who lived in housing units (as defined by the 1960 Census) and who were not members of the Old Order Amish. Although the unit of interest was the individual, it was impossible to draw a sample of persons directly; rather, it was necessary to draw a sample of households and, then, persons within households. A total of 300 interviews were desired but it was decided to aim for 326 eligible persons which would allow for an 8 per cent non-interview rate. On the basis of a previous survey, it was estimated that on a state-wide basis, the average number of persons 21 years of age and older per household was about 1.85. Thus, about 176 households would be required to yield 326 eligible persons. In order to decrease the number of households in which more than one person would have to be interviewed, it was decided to double the number of households in the sample and subsample the individuals within households at a rate of one half. Thus a sample of 352 households (occupied dwelling units) was desired which was expected to

yield 652 persons 21 years old and over of whom 326 would be drawn in the subsample and 300 would consent to be interviewed. In order to obtain the required number of households (occupied housing units) it was estimated (on the basis of the 1960 Census) that a total of 376 housing units would be required to allow for vacant units which could not be differentiated from occupied units in the sample frame. The required number of housing units was to be drawn in 150 clusters or area segments expected to yield on the average two interviews each. The 376 housing units and 150 segments were allocated to the areas proportional to their sizes as shown in Table 10-1.

Segments were drawn separately within each of the three communities in a random systematic manner; thus each can be considered a separate stratum. In the open country area a special technique was used which essentially formed the area into 16 nearly equal-sized strata. One segment was drawn at random from each stratum. The formation of strata and the draw within stratum was done in such a manner that any two units in the area had a chance of being in the sample simultaneously.

The sample, then, can be described as a stratified, self-weighting cluster sample of persons 21 years old and over. The uniform sampling rate was 1 out of 18.28. The probability of any household being included in the sample in

TABLE 10-1

PROPORTIONAL ALLOCATION OF HOUSING UNITS AND SEGMENTS

Area	Number of housing units, frame	Allocation of sample	
		housing units	Segments
Oelwein	2,845	311	124
Hazleton	192.	21	8
Stanley	44	5	2
Open country*	356*	39*	16
Total	3,437	376	150

*The 356 on which the allocation is based represents the non-Amish housing units. Actually the open country frame included a total of 496 housing units of which 140 were estimated to be occupied by Old Order Amish. Since these could not be identified at the sampling stage, it was necessary to apply the open country rate (39 out of 356) to the total number of units in the frame. Thus the sample in the open country actually included 54 housing units of which 15 were expected to be Amish and thus excluded from the universe of interest. The number of segments was held at 16.

the sense of being in a sample segment was twice this rate (1 out of 9.14); however, the probability of any household being included in the sample in the sense of having an individual within the household selected in the subsample depended on the number of eligible individuals in the household. Thus, the sample was not self-weighting in terms of households.

Results

In all, 392 occupied housing units were identified in the sample which was 40 more than were expected. Several factors can be cited as contributors to this difference; namely,

- a) sampling error,
- b) differences between the sampling frame and the actual situation with regard to the number of housing units in the universe (e.g. the expectation did not include an allowance for growth),
- c) differences between the estimated and actual occupancy rates.

These 392 occupied housing units yielded 705 eligible persons for an average of 1.80 per household which was slightly less than the 1.85 estimated. These were then sampled at a rate of 1 out of 2 yielding 353 persons selected for interviewing. Interviews were obtained from 290 of these;

37 refused; 12 could not be contacted after repeated attempts (at least 3); and the remaining 14 were not interviewed for various reasons such as illness, senility, deafness, etc.

In the subsampling no controls were instituted to assure that the subsampling rate was applied equally to males and females since the procedure used was thought to be sufficiently rigorous to keep the variation within the limits of sampling error. However, as it turned out 139 males and 214 females were selected for interview so that while the overall subsampling rate was 1 out of 2, the realized rate for men was 1 out of 2.39 and for women 1 out of 1.74.

Estimation

The sample as originally conceived was self-weighting for persons so that estimates of population means could be obtained directly from the corresponding sample means. However, some modification of the estimation procedure is necessary in order to compensate for the different subsampling rates for males and females. Consequently the following estimation procedures were used, \bar{Y}_F , estimated population mean per person, females = \bar{Y}_F , simple sample mean, females \bar{Y}_M , estimated population mean per person, males = \bar{y}_M , simple sample mean, males \bar{Y} , estimated overall population mean = $\frac{373\bar{y}_F + 332\bar{y}_M}{705}$; the simple sample means

for males and females weighted by the number of each identified in the sample. Estimation of proportions were made in a similar manner substituting p_F and p_M for \bar{y}_F and \bar{y}_M , respectively, where p_F is the proportion of females interviewed possessing a particular characteristic and p_M the proportion of males possessing this characteristic.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire used in the interviews with the opinion leaders and local citizens was identical in all respects. Most of the same questionnaire was used in the decision-maker interviews with the exception of Part D which concerned the Amish dispute. The questionnaire printed below, therefore, contains a Part D for the local citizens and opinion leaders, and a Part D for the decision-makers.

AMISH STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Political Science - University of Iowa
and
Statistical Laboratory - Iowa State University

Head of household _____ Segment _____ H.H. No. _____
Postal address _____ Respondent No. _____ of _____
Street or R.R. No. _____
City _____ Interviewer _____
Date _____
Name of respondent _____ Time interview began _____

PART A

As you well know, there are many serious problems in this country and in other parts of the world. We'd like to start out by talking with you about some of them.

A1. What do you personally feel are the most important problems that the government in Washington should try to take care of?

Are there any others? _____

In our studies over the years we have collected some ideas which people have about the sorts of things the government in Washington should or should not be doing. I will first read you some statements about these ideas, and then we would like to get your opinion of each statement.

Interviewer: Be aware of the respondent's answers to Question A1 and how they relate to Questions A2 to A10.

A2. "Some people are afraid the government in Washington is getting too powerful for the good of the country and the individual person. Others feel that the government in Washington has not gotten too strong

for the good of the country." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

Yes _____ No _____ Go to A3.

A2a. What is your feeling? Do you think:

1. The government is getting too powerful

or do you think

5. The government has not gotten too strong?

A3. "Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and colored children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business." Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side over the other?

Yes _____ No _____ Go to A4.

A3a. Do you think the government in Washington should:

1. See to it that white and colored children are allowed to go to the same schools

or

5. Stay out of this area as it is not its business?

8. Don't know

A4. Have you been paying attention to what is going on in Viet Nam?

Yes _____ No _____ Go to A5.

A4a. Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Viet Nam or should we have stayed out?

1. Yes, did right thing

5. No, should have stayed out

8. Don't know.

A4b. Which of the following do you think we should do now in Viet Nam?

Interviewer: Hand respondent pick card

1. Pull out of Viet Nam entirely
2. Keep our soldiers in Viet Nam but try to end the fighting
3. Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Viet Nam
8. Don't know

A5. "Some say that the civil rights people have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough." How about you? Do you think that civil rights leaders are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are they moving at about the right speed?

1. Too fast
5. Too slowly
3. About right
8. Don't know

A6. During the past year or so, would you say that most of the actions colored people have taken to get the things they want have been violent, or have most of these actions been peaceful?

1. Most been violent
5. Most been peaceful
8. Don't know

A7. Do you think the actions colored people have taken have, on the whole, helped their cause, or on the whole, have hurt their cause?

1. Helped
5. Hurt
8. Don't know

A8. In general are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between?

1. Desegregation
5. Segregation
3. In between

A9. "Some say the government in Washington ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost, others say the government should not get into this." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

Yes _____ No _____ Go to A10.

A9a. What is your position? Should the government in Washington:

1. Help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost

or

5. Stay out of this

A10. "In general, some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own." Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?

Yes _____ No _____ Go to Part B.

A10a. Do you think that the government

1. Should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living

or

5. Should let each person get ahead on his own

PART B

Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your interest in politics.

- B1. First, generally speaking, how interested are you in politics -- a great deal, somewhat, not very much, or not at all?
1. A great deal
 2. Somewhat
 3. Not very much
 4. Not at all
- B2. Do you follow reports of political governmental affairs in the newspapers nearly every day, once a week, from time to time, or never?
1. Nearly every day
 2. Once a week
 3. From time to time
 4. Never
- B3. During elections do you ever talk to any people and try to show them why they should or should not vote for one of the parties or candidates?
1. Yes
 2. No
- B4. Have you ever worn a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?
1. Yes
 2. No
- B5. Have you done any work for one of the parties or candidates?
1. Yes
 2. No

B6. Who did you vote for for Governor in the last election: Hughes or Murray?

1. Hughes
2. Murray
3. Did not vote
4. Not eligible to vote

B7. In elections for the state legislature, that is the legislature that meets in Des Moines, have you always voted for the same party, mostly the same party, or have you voted for legislators of different parties?

1. Always the same party
2. Mostly the same party
3. Different parties _____ Go to B8

B7a. Which party?

1. Democrat
2. Republican

B8. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Democrat	Republican	Independent	other party Specify_____
Would you call your- self: a strong Dem. or a not very strong Dem.?	Would you call your- self: a strong Rep. or a not very strong Rep.?	Do you think of your- self as closer to: the Rep. or to the Dem. party?	
Strong	Strong	Republican	
Not strong	Not strong	Democrat	
		Neither	

B9. In general would you say that the Iowa state legislature does an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

1. Excellent job
2. A good job
3. A fair job
4. A poor job

B10. What about the Governor of the State of Iowa, would you say that he does an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

1. Excellent job
2. A good job
3. A fair job
4. A poor job

Interviewer: Hand respondent orange card

B11. Some people tell us that they think the state legislature is controlled by a small handful of men, who run it pretty much to suit themselves, no matter what the people want. Would you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Disagree strongly
5. Don't know

B12. Most of the things that the state legislature does are in the interest of the general public rather than the interest of special groups? Would you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Disagree strongly
5. Don't know

B13. If the Iowa legislature continually passed laws that the people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the legislature altogether? Would you agree, strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Disagree strongly
5. Don't know

B14. As you know there are many groups in America that try to get the government or the American people to see things more their way. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these groups.

Interviewer: Hand respondent yellow card.

Here's an interesting experiment. You notice that the 10 boxes on this card go from the Highest Position of Plus 5, that is, something or someone you like very much, to the Lowest Position of Minus 5, that is, something or someone you dislike very much. Please tell me how far up or down the scale you would rate the following groups of people?

Interviewer: Circle response for each item.

	Plus	D.K.	Minus
a. Big Business	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
b. Liberals	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
c. Catholics	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
d. Lawyers	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
e. Protestants	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
f. Democrats	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
g. Old Order Amish	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
h. Policemen	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
i. Jews	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
j. Labor Unions	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
k. Whites	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
l. Republicans	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
m. Negroes	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
n. Conservatives	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	
o. Atheists	+5 +4 +3 +2 +1 0	-1 -2 -3 -4 -5	

PART C

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your feelings about law.

C1. Some people tell us that they think there are times when it almost seems better for the citizens of the state to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the state legislature to act, others disagree. Would you say that you:

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Disagree strongly
5. Don't know

Interviewer: Hand respondent blue card.

C2. Some of the people we talk to tell us that they feel that people should always be punished when they break the law, while others feel that exceptions should sometimes be made. We have some specific cases here, and we would like you to tell us if you think people should be punished for breaking the law in such cases, or whether exceptions should sometimes be made.

a. A public school teacher breaks the law by holding a morning prayer even though the courts have ruled school prayers illegal.

Punish Exception

b. Parents break the law by picketing a store which sells "girlie" magazines that the courts have said are legal.

Punish Exception

c. A policeman breaks the law by beating a man until the man admits committing a murder that the man in fact committed.

Punish Exception

- d. A young man breaks the law by refusing to fight in Viet Nam because war is against his religious beliefs.

Punish

Exception

- e. The Old Order Amish break the law by refusing to send their children to state schools because it violates their religious beliefs.

Punish

Exception

- C3. About how much respect would you say that people around here have for the law? A great deal, some, or not very much.

1. A great deal _____ Go to C4.
2. Some
3. Not very much

- C3a. Have people always felt that way or have they changed just recently?

Always felt that way _____ Go to C4.

Changed just recently

- C3b. Why is that?

- C3c. Have you personally lost respect for the law recently?

- C4. Some people tell us that they think there are times when it almost seems better for the Governor to take the law into his own hands rather than wait for the state legislature to act; others disagree. Would you say that you:

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree

3. Disagree
4. Disagree strongly
5. Don't know

PART D

Local Citizens and Opinion Leaders

Now let's turn to another subject.

D1. As you know quite a few Old Order Amish live in this area. Some folks we talked to say they make good neighbors, other folks disagree. What about you? Do you think they make good neighbors, or not so good neighbors?

1. Good neighbors _____ Complete D1a and D1b
2. Not so good neighbors ____ Complete D1a and D1c
3. Depends _____ Complete D1a
4. Don't know _____ Go to D2

D1a. Why is that? _____

Anything else? _____

D1b. (For "good neighbors" respondents only) Well, is there anything at all you do not like about the Old Order Amish? What is that?

Anything else? _____

D1c. (For "not so good neighbors" respondents only) Well, is there anything at all you like about the Old Order Amish? What is that?

Anything else? _____

D2. How much attention would you say that you have paid to the matter of Old Order Amish school children? A great deal, some, or very little.

- 1. A great deal
- 2. Some
- 3. Very little

D3. In your opinion what seems to be the main question in this school dispute? I mean, what seems to be the basic problem?

Don't know _____ Go to D5.

D4. Well, what do you think should be done about the school problem?

D5. Has your feeling about this changed any over the past year or so?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No _____ Go to D6.

D5a. In what way has your feeling changed?

D5b. What is it that made you change your mind?

D6. At any time during the dispute did you ever get in touch with any local officials about how you thought the dispute should be handled?

1. Yes
2. No _____ Go to D7.

D6a. What did you do?

D6b. Do you think your opinion had any effect on what the officials did?

1. Yes _____ Go to D7.
2. No

D6c. Why not?

D7. Do you think people outside the community had any effect on the local officials in the decisions they made?

1. Yes
2. No _____ Go to PART E.

D7a. Who were these outside people?

D7b. Did any of these outside people really understand the problem?

1. Yes
2. No _____ Go to D7d.

D7c. Which of these outside persons understood the problem?

D7d. Do you think the problem could have been settled better if these people had not gotten involved?

1. Yes

2. No

Why(or why not)? _____

PART D

Decision-makers

D1. I seem to remember that in the early stages of the dispute an attempt was made to reach a settlement through the courts. The law was on your side, so why was the effort abandoned?

Any other reason? _____

Any other reason? _____

A2. (If they did not mention adverse public opinion outside of the community):

What about the attitudes of the general public outside of the community? Did they seek to communicate their opinions to you?

(If yes): In what way:

Did their opinion have any effect on you?

- A3. (If they did not mention state officials): Was there any actions or pressure from state officials? (If yes) Did this affect your decisions?

(If yes) In what way?

- A4. (If they did not mention pressure from the grass roots level in their community): What about the opinion of the local people? I mean the opinions of just average citizens in your community? Did they ever contact you? (If yes) What were their attitudes toward the dispute?

- A5. Was their opinion mostly consistent or did it change during the dispute?

- A6. (If they did not mention influential people in their community): Are there any persons in this community whose opinions you particularly respect and to whom you turn to for advice and consultation on matters that come before you for decision? (If yes) Could you name some of these persons?

- A7. Did you discuss the Amish dispute with any of these persons? (If yes) Did they support your decisions in the dispute?

A8. Was their attitude toward the dispute consistent or did their opinion change at sometime during the dispute?

A9. In what way did it change? _____

A10. Would you say that had it not been for all the publicity that the dispute received it would have been concluded much differently?

(If yes) Why? _____

(If no) Why? _____

A11. Do you think everyone would have been much better off had the decision simply been handled locally?

(If yes) Why? _____

(If no) Why? _____

A12. (If not mentioned): Do you think the state officials who intervened ever really understood the situation?

A13. (If not mentioned): Legally everything was on your side. Yet you couldn't reach a settlement through the courts. Would you say the law in this case was useless?

(If yes) Why/in what way? _____

(If no) Why not? _____

A14. If the public had supported you all the way, would the law have been enforced?

PART E

Here are some statements about which people have differing opinions. We wonder if you would tell us how you feel about these statements.

Interviewer: Hand respondent orange card. Read each statement and record (X) the respondent's rating in the appropriate box

Statement	Respondent Ratings			
	Agree Strongly	Dis- Agree	Dis- Agree Strongly	Don't Know
E1. You can't be too careful in your dealings with other people				
E2. Most people are more inclined to look out for themselves rather than other people				
E3. If you don't watch yourself, other people will take advantage of you				
E4. No one is going to care much about you when you get right down to it				
E5. Human nature is fundamentally cooperative				
E6. If something grows up over a long time, there is bound to be much wisdom in it				
E7. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse				

Statement	Agree Strongly	Agree	Dis- Agree	Dis- Agree Strongly	Don't Know
E8. Our society is so complicated that if you try to reform parts of it, you're likely to upset the whole system					
E9. I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas					
E10. I don't think city officials care much about what people like me think					
E11. Voting is about the only way people like me can have any say about how the city council runs things					
E12. Sometimes city politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on					
E13. People like me don't have any say about what the city government does					

PART F

- F1. Suppose a regulation were being considered by your city that you considered very unjust or harmful. What do you think you could do about it?

Anything else? _____

- F2. If you made an effort to change this regulation, how likely is it that you would succeed: Very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Don't know

- F3. If such a case arose, how likely is it that you would actually try to do something about it? Very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Don't know

PART G

The following statements relate to several problems which many people feel are currently facing the country. Once again, I would like to have your personal views on these statements.

Statement	Respondent Ratings			
	Agree Strongly	Dis- Agree	Dis- Agree Strongly	Don't Know
G1. Controversial speakers like communists and Nazis should not be allowed to use public buildings for their speeches				
G2. All children should be allowed to ride public school buses regardless of whether they are going to a public or private school				
G3. A suspected criminal should not be allowed to see a lawyer until the police have had an opportunity to question him in private for at least an hour or so				
G4. Local officials should allow mass meetings and parades to take place even though it appears that such events may cause immediate and serious trouble in the community				

 Respondent Ratings

Statement	Agree Strongly	Dis- Agree	Dis- Agree Strongly	Don't Know
G5. The police should be permitted to tap phones when they have a good reason to believe this will help solve a serious crime				
G6. Churches should pay taxes on their church property and other assets				
G7. Police should not be allowed to stop and search suspicious persons without a warrant				
G8. People who admit they are communists should not be allowed in public libraries				
G9. News stories which might keep the police from solving a crime should not be printed until the police decide the stories can be released				

Interviewer Note: For farmers and self-employed businessmen, we want net income (gross income minus expenses).

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| A. Under \$1,000 | F. \$5,000 - \$7,499 |
| B. \$1,000 - \$1,999 | G. \$7,500 - \$9,999 |
| C. \$2,000 - \$2,999 | H. \$10,000 - \$14,999 |
| D. \$3,000 - \$3,999 | I. \$15,000 - \$24,999 |
| E. \$4,000 - \$4,999 | J. \$25,000 and over |

That is all the questions I have, and I would like to thank you very much for your cooperation.

Time interview ended _____

INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

I-1. What county does respondent live in?

I-2. What is the respondent's race?

I-3. Respondent's cooperation

Very good

Good

Fair

Poor

Very poor

I-4. Respondent's general interest in the subject seemed:

Very high

Fairly high

Average

Fairly low

Very low

I-5. Respondent's general level of information on the subject seemed:

Very high

Fairly high

Average

Fairly low

Very low

APPENDIX C

SCALE CONSTRUCTION

Three scales played a considerable role in the data analysis and consequently their construction warrants consideration. Two of the scales were concerned with attitudes toward the Amish. The first we called a "summation scale." It was constructed from question D1 which gave the respondent the opportunity to make up to four positive and four negative comments about the Amish. The summation scale amounted to the sum of the favorable comments minus critical comments. The scores were assigned on the basis of the following sums:

3 or 4 favorable comments	= 1
2 favorable comments	= 2
1 favorable comment	= 3
0 favorable comments	= 4
1 critical comment	= 5
2 critical comments	= 6
3 or 4 critical comments	= 7

The directional scale uses the same question as a base. Scores were assigned thus:

favorable comments only	= 1
mixed comments	= 3
critical comments only	= 5

The law recode was a simple index of how many times

a respondent would not enforce the law in a situation where he disagreed with the content or application of the law. Four questions were asked. For each exception he was given a score of 1. The highest possible score would be 4.

APPENDIX D

COMPUTER PROGRAMS AND STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

Basically three types of multivariate statistical techniques were used in the data analysis. They were Factor Analysis, Multiple Regression, and one-way Analysis of Variance. Each of these techniques are available at the University of Iowa on the IBM 7044 or the IBM 360-65 computer. The programs were written by Lon Mackelprang of the Department of Political Science and the author. Each of the programs has a special routine which treats blanks in the data fields as missing data, and an option is provided so that any numerals designated in three F10.0 fields on the control card may also be treated as missing data. This last option is handy if, for example, "no answer" has been coded 9. The 9 could not validly be included in the statistical analysis so it must be removed from the data. In adjusting for missing data the program does not discard a whole case because it includes missing data; instead the correlation between any two variables containing missing data is skipped and the number of cases is adjusted accordingly. The number of cases for any particular variable is computed and printed out.

The uses made of Factor Analysis and regression were straight forward and no explanation of these techniques need be made here.* Several revisions, however, had to be made in the Analysis of Variance program, and should be explained. First, an adjustment for unequal samples had to be written into the program. This means altering only two formulas in the program. They are the formulas for between-sets sum of squares and within-sets of squares. These alterations can be found on pages 278 to 281 of J.P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics In Psychology and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965). Secondly, in those cases where the sample size is too small to assume that the data have a normal distribution the student t test may be used. This test was also written into the program. The computation for this test can be found in any standard statistical text. The source used here was Paul G. Hoel, Elementary Statistics, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 177.

*A good elementary explanation of Factor Analysis can be found in Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1965), pp. 650-690. A more sophisticated analysis can be found in H. Harmon, Modern Factor Analysis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960). A lucid explanation of regression can be found in Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), pp. 273-354.

APPENDIX E

DATA FOR FIGURES 5-4 AND 5-9

Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
						1. You can't be too careful in your dealings with other people
0	0.0	1	0.0	77	27.0	1. Agree strongly
5	42.0	8	50.0	185	64.0	2. Agree
7	58.0	8	50.0	21	7.0	3. Disagree
0	0.0	0	0.0	2	.1	4. Disagree strongly
						0. Don't know
						2. Most people are more inclined to look out for themselves rather than other people
0	0.0	0	0.0	66	23.0	1. Agree strongly
6	50.0	11	65.0	195	67.0	2. Agree
6	50.0	6	35.0	25	9.0	3. Disagree
0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4. Disagree strongly
						0. Don't know
						3. If you don't watch yourself, other people will take advantage of you.
0	0.0	0	0.0	67	23.0	1. Agree strongly
0	0.0	4	24.0	150	52.0	2. Agree
12	100.0	13	76.0	65	22.0	3. Disagree
0	0.0	0	0.0	1	.3	4. Disagree strongly

Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
						4. No one is going to care much about you when you get right down to it.
0	0.0	0	0.0	26	9.0	1. Agree strongly
0	0.0	1	6.0	107	37.0	2. Agree
10	83.0	14	82.0	144	50.0	3. Disagree
2	17.0	2	12.0	10	3.0	4. Disagree strongly
						0. Don't know
						5. If something grows up over a long time, there is bound to be much wisdom in it.
2	17.0	0	0.0	9	30.0	1. Agree strongly
3	25.0	9	53.0	195	67.0	2. Agree
5	42.0	8	47.0	62	21.0	3. Disagree
1	8.0	0	0.0	1	.3	4. Disagree strongly
1	8.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0. Don't know
						6. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.
1	8.0	0	0.0	14	5.0	1. Agree strongly
3	25.0	5	29.0	125	43.0	2. Agree
6	50.0	12	71.0	133	46.0	3. Disagree
2	17.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	13	4.0	5. Don't know
						7. Our society is so complicated that if you try to reform parts of it, you're likely to upset the whole system.

Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
1	8.0	0	0.0	9	3.0	1. Agree strongly
3	25.0	3	18.0	129	45.0	2. Agree
6	50.0	14	82.0	133	46.0	3. Disagree
2	17.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	14	5.0	0. Don't know
						8. I don't think city officials care much about what people like me think
0	0.0	0	0.0	16	6.0	1. Agree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	100	35.0	2. Agree
11	92.0	17	100.0	152	53.0	3. Disagree
1	8.0	0	0.0	9	3.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	12	4.0	0. Don't know
						9. Voting is about the only way people like me can have any say about how the city council runs things
0	0.0	0	0.0	18	6.2	1. Agree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	152	53.0	2. Agree
10	83.0	17	100.0	108	37.0	3. Disagree
2	17.0	0	0.0	7	2.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	0. Don't know
						10. Sometimes city politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on
0	0.0	0	0.0	32	11.0	1. Agree strongly
1	8.0	1	6.0	151	52.0	2. Agree
10	84.0	16	94.0	97	34.0	3. Disagree
1	8.0	0	0.0	7	2.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.0	0. Don't know

Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
11. People like me don't have any say about what the city government does.						
0	0.0	0	0.0	5	2.0	1. Agree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	83	29.0	2. Agree
10	84.0	17	100.0	180	62.0	3. Disagree
2	16.0	0	0.0	17	6.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	0. Don't know
12. Controversial speakers like Communists and Nazis should not be allowed to use public buildings for their speeches						
3	25.0	5	29.0	94	32.0	1. Agree strongly
2	16.0	7	41.0	142	49.0	2. Agree
7	58.0	5	29.0	43	15.0	3. Disagree
0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	6	2.0	0. Don't know
13. All children should be allowed to ride public school buses regardless of whether they are going to a public or private school						
0	0.0	1	6.0	66	23.0	1. Agree strongly
1	8.0	6	35.0	125	43.0	2. Agree
10	84.0	9	53.0	71	25.0	3. Disagree
1	8.0	1	6.0	8	3.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	19	7.0	0. Don't know

Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens	
N	%	N	%	N	%

14. A suspected criminal should not be allowed to see a lawyer until the police have had an opportunity to question him in private for at least an hour

0	0.0	0	0.0	7	2.0	1. Agree strongly
3	25.0	10	59.0	66	23.0	2. Agree
6	50.0	6	35.0	179	62.0	3. Disagree
3	25.0	1	6.0	33	11.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	0. Don't know

15. Local officials should allow mass meetings and parades to take place even though it appears that such events may cause immediate and serious trouble in the community

0	0.0	0	0.0	1	.3	1. Agree strongly
4	34.0	5	29.0	24	8.0	2. Agree
7	58.0	9	53.0	216	75.0	3. Disagree
1	8.0	3	18.0	44	15.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	0. Don't know

16. The police should be permitted to tap phones when they have a good reason to believe this will help solve a serious crime

0	0.0	1	6.0	30	10.0	1. Agree strongly
8	67.0	14	82.0	179	62.0	2. Agree
3	25.0	1	6.0	51	18.0	3. Disagree
1	8.0	1	6.0	18	6.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	11	4.0	0. Don't know

Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
17. Churches should pay taxes on their church property and other assets						
6	50.0	1	6.0	12	4.0	1. Agree strongly
0	0.0	6	35.0	102	35.0	2. Agree
6	50.0	10	59.0	134	46.0	3. Disagree
0	0.0	0	0.0	18	6.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	22	8.0	0. Don't know
18. Police should not be allowed to stop and search suspicious persons without a warrant						
0	0.0	0	0.0	7	2.0	1. Agree strongly
4	33.0	3	18.0	132	46.0	2. Agree
5	42.0	8	47.0	133	46.0	3. Disagree
3	25.0	6	35.0	12	4.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	5	2.0	0. Don't know
19. People who admit they are communists should not be allowed in public libraries.						
1	8.0	3	18.0	24	8.0	1. Agree strongly
3	25.0	6	35.0	122	42.0	2. Agree
5	42.0	8	47.0	116	40.0	3. Disagree
3	25.0	0	0.0	12	4.0	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	15	5.0	0. Don't know
20. News stories which might keep the police from solving a crime should not be printed until the police decide the stories can be released.						

Decision-Makers		Opinion Leaders		Local Citizens		
N	%	N	%	N	%	
1	8.0	2	12.0	46	16.0	1. Agree strongly
9	75.0	12	71.0	216	75.0	2. Agree
0	0.0	2	12.0	21	7.0	3. Disagree
2	16.0	1	6.0	2	.6	4. Disagree strongly
0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	0. Don't know
21. In general are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between?						
10	83.0	14	82.0	74	26.0	1. Desegregation
0	0.0	0	0.0	168	58.0	2. Segregation
2	17.0	3	18.0	33	11.0	3. In between
0	0.0	0	0.0	14	5.0	0. Don't know
<hr/>						
Total	12	100%	17	100%	289	100%