APPENDIX: NOTES ON FIELD SITES

After Ohio and Pennsylvania, Indiana is home to the third-largest population of Amish in North America. The northern Indiana settlement has a suburban feel and is home to an ideologically diverse group of Old Order Amish. Among the settlement's 163 church districts, many are quite "change minded" or progressive. Others, however, are more conservative or "tradition minded." The Montgomery/Odon settlement, on the other hand, is more rural, homogeneous, and tradition minded, being of Swiss (and mixed) origin rather than German, as is the case in northern Indiana (Amish America Website 2015; Nolt and Meyers 2007).

POPULATION

According to 2019 calculations by the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies, the Elkhart/LaGrange/Noble counties settlement was the third largest in existence after Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and Holmes County, Ohio. The Montgomery/Odon settlement is the seventh largest settlement overall and the fourth largest in Indiana.

Table A.1   Indiana Settlement Population Statistics (Amish Population Profile 2019)

Indiana Amish Settlement	Total Population	Number of Church Districts
Elkhart/LaGrange/Noble	25,660	192
Montgomery/Odon	5,290	29
Field site total	30,950	221
Indiana total	57,430	405

Fifty-four percent of Indiana's total Amish population live in the Elkhart/LaGrange/Noble and Montgomery/Odon settlements combined.

Figure A.1
Map of Indiana Amish communities as of 2006 (Nolt and Meyers 2007). The numbers on the map refer to how old the settlements are: 1 is the oldest and 20 the youngest.

ELKHART/LAGRANGE/NOBLE, NORTHERN INDIANA SETTLEMENT

The northern Indiana settlement is in many ways more suburban in feel than other Amish communities around the country. Partly this is because it draws millions of tourists each year to its museums dedicated to Amish heritage and culture and local shops. Village crafts, foods, and furniture shops and the sprawling Shipshewana Flea Market are common destinations for tourists seeking to experience what regional tourism bureaus have dubbed "Amish Country" (Nolt and Meyers 2007). In the settlement, Amish people account for about half of all residents, giving the area a clear association with its Amish population. According to Steven Nolt and Thomas Meyers, Goshen College[1] scholars who have extensively studied the Indiana Amish, it is seen as something of a center for thought development and leadership among Indiana's Amish communities. On the Indiana Amish School Committee, for example, the chairman has always been from the Elkhart-LaGrange settlement, as has the state's representative to the National Amish Steering Committee (Nolt and Meyers 2007).

Amish settlers first arrived in north central Indiana in 1841, when federal troops started forcing Native Americans out of the region and encouraged white farmers to settle there. This "first wave" of Amish settlers came to Indiana from the eastern United States. Their ancestors had come from Europe in the 1700s (Nolt and Meyers 2007). According to Nolt and Meyers, the first two decades of Amish settlement in the area were rife with tensions. Local memories pitted tradition-minded residents who moved there from Pennsylvania against change-minded Amish who came there via Ohio. These two groups split in northern Indiana in 1857, about ten years before a large-scale schism divided the Old Order Amish from more progressive sects in north America more broadly. In a nearby settlement to the southwest, Nappanee, other Amish and Mennonite immigrants were also moving in, bringing with them altogether different sets of ideas and philosophies. Among the various groups that settled here, there is a certain friendliness, including intermingling of young people and intermarriages. According to Nolt and Meyers, a key feature of the identities of northern Indiana Amish is "a shared history of churchly moderation that has discouraged conflict over Ordnung" (2007, 77). All church districts, they say, maintain fellowship with one another. They cite consensus and forbearance as a point of distinction among the northern Indiana Amish. When Old Order individuals recount stories about contentious times in their history,

"the moral typically lies in the wisdom of staying with the church's mainstream majority" (2007, 78).

The northern Indiana Amish have a history of resisting division. This is particularly noteworthy because there is no insistence on ideological uniformity or unanimity across districts. Over the years, the northern Indiana Amish have retained a congregationalism that places the authority of Ordnung in district hands (Nolt and Meyers 2007). This means that church districts respect one another's views and differing convictions, and, at the same time, they guard their own congregational prerogatives. According to Nolt and Meyers, modification of Ordnung in regard to technology has not occurred in any uniform way. For example, some churches started using bottled gas for heat in the 1920s, whereas others did not accept it until the 1990s (Nolt and Meyers 2007). Although Ordnungs differ drastically in the settlement on technology adoption, this has not led to a break in fellowship or the birth of new, more progressive affiliations. According to Nolt and Meyers, this "polity pattern" contrasts sharply with other Amish settlements such as Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where all the bishops gather twice a year at a meeting presided over by the senior bishop to approve or reject changes that percolate up from below (Nolt and Meyers 2007). "Northern Indiana Amish are familiar with what they term the 'Lancaster system of administration' and are quick to distinguish themselves from it, emphasizing their own inclinations toward district authority," according to Nolt and Meyers (2007, 80).

Although northern Indiana Amish seek to maintain community through cooperation and mutual respect for each other's differences, they also express misgivings about the degree of Ordnung diversity, according to Nolt and Meyers. The growth and size of the settlement magnify the array of opinions found here. Although each district has authority over its own Ordnung, "the reality is less random than such a characterization implies," Nolt and Meyers report (2007, 80). Districts make decisions while considering their neighbors' opinions. According to Nolt and Meyer's observations, "Church members are aware of the contours of diversity and can locate patterns of practice" (2007, 80).

Increasing population and land prices in the area, as has been the trend across the country, have brought about a move out of agriculture and into other industries for northern Indiana Amish workers. As early as the 1930s, a few men in northern Indiana started working in local factories, at area

grain elevators, and—in a few cases—driving delivery trucks. Churches granted such exceptions when no other work was available and required that the men drive only when they were on the job and working for a non-Amish employer who owned the vehicle, according to Nolt and Meyers. Farming became less and less viable throughout the twentieth century as the population in the area grew and Amish and non-Amish alike continued to buy available land, which sent land prices soaring. By the 1980s, farming was the profession of only a minority of Amish men in northern Indiana, and factory work was the norm. This stands in contrast to most all other Amish settlements, according to Nolt and Meyers, where Amish-owned home businesses, employing family members and neighbors, have been the alternative to farming.

MONTGOMERY/ODON, DAVIESS COUNTY, SOUTHERN INDIANA SETTLEMENT

Although Indiana Amish in general have received less attention from scholars than those in other states, the settlements within Indiana have also received varying degrees of attention. The Daviess County settlement, though relatively large in terms of population, has not been as comprehensively studied as other settlements in Indiana, including smaller ones. In contrast to early Amish settlers in the northern Indiana settlement, individuals who started the southern Indiana Amish settlement moved there via a "second wave" of immigration directly from Switzerland. The Daviess County settlement, established in 1869, is considered an "offshoot" of the Allen County settlement, which was established in 1844 (Nolt and Meyers 2007). According to Nolt and Meyers, the ethnic differences between the Amish who descended from German immigrants and those who descended from Swiss immigrants produce a number of cultural differences that are still visible today. For example, in Swiss settlements, the dialect is not considered Pennsylvania German or Dutch. Instead, speakers there refer to their native language as Swiss. According to reports, it is quite difficult for a Pennsylvania Dutch speaker to understand a Swiss speaker when they are talking quickly. Additionally, the preferred buggy style in Swiss settlements does not have a top, and in non-Swiss areas it typically does. In many ways, the Swiss Amish are more tradition minded and conservative than their German counterparts. Although the Daviess County settlement was founded by Swiss Amish from Allen County, Nolt and Meyers describe it

as in ethnic transition, or "both Swiss and not-Swiss" (2007, 64). According to Nolt and Meyers, over the course of the twentieth century, the degree of Swiss ethnicity has waned in Daviess County, despite a general sense there that the settlement is still Swiss related. As evidence of this, Nolt and Meyers cite a notable language drift in which Pennsylvania German has replaced Swiss, and enclosed buggies were adopted in 1990.

Historians have also cited the discovery of a document called "Rules and Order of the Church" from 1871, two years after the establishment of the Daviess County settlement, which consists of 13 agreed-upon church standards for the new congregation. These standards include rules against adultery, participating in elections, holding a public office, or working for the government. Additionally, members were not permitted to use the power of the government to protect themselves. They were to trust in God and not in the power of man for their own protection (Stoll 1997). Other standards include encouraging members to hold each other accountable for their sins and helping each other to be financially responsible and independent of the outside world. Tobacco use was expressly prohibited at church services. Additionally, members were required to first take care of people within the community before offering money or goods (via loan or otherwise) to the outside world. With regard to clothing, a rule states that members should "not go along with the world in their pomp and pride from one style to another, for the world will pass away with its lust as John says" (Stoll 1997, 28). Holidays should be observed solely to honor God, if they are observed at all. If a church member marries outside the church, he or she cannot be a member of the church and can be reinstated only if he or she brings the marriage partner back into the church or if they separate from each other. Finally, it is not allowed to go to a "show" or "fair" where the "spirit of the world has dominion" (Stoll 1997, 30).

The first Amish settlers in Daviess County were small-scale farmers who had cows to milk for home use and butter to trade for groceries, a few pigs, hens, and a field of wheat to grind into flour and sell as a cash crop (Stoll 1997). Photodocumentarian Bill Whorrall reported his personal experiences conversing with members of the Amish community in Daviess County while compiling stories and photographs for a 2003 book documenting life in the settlement. According to his observations, farming has undergone changes over the years. He says that turkeys are no longer free ranging; a company has them in long metal buildings. Wheat is rarely

grown because it is too difficult to compete with operators out West. Dairy farming, though, seems to be making a comeback. Farming in the region is now rarely the sole source of income (2003). The increasing number of people working off the farm is likely the most important change in life among the southern Indiana Amish, according to Whorrall. In describing life at the beginning of the twenty-first century for the Amish in Daviess County, Whorrall writes,

> Very few Amish men live a life exactly like their fathers'. But it is still a rural life in a flat country, with a few rolling hills and woods, and creeks that shelter deer, rabbit, squirrel, coyote, muskrat, fox and mink. It is cows, corn and buggies. It is sickness, being kicked by a horse, knowing that you have neighbors around you who will help you. It is being separate from the world of obsession with material goods and fancy. (2003, 4)

Businesses emerging in recent years include "door shops, window shops, cabinet shops, craft shops, furniture shops, furniture restoration shops, upholstery shops, trim shops, bakeries and restaurants" (Whorrall 2003, 23). Other local enterprises make items such as noodles, candy, and bonnets or run auctions, according to Whorrall. In these types of work arrangements, people can work from home while still holding the outside world at bay, Whorrall says. My interviews reported that many Amish men are now working in the construction business in Daviess County. According to Whorrall's observations, working outside the community on a construction crew "can put the community member into English culture. This can erode the network of community and can lead to problems" (23). Small home businesses allow people to make a living while remaining in control over access to cultural and ideological influences.

Although Whorrall reported Amish resistance to the building of an Amish-themed tourism industry in the area, one has indeed emerged in recent years. A large Amish restaurant, Gasthof Amish Village, was opened in 1988 and has grown into a hub for tourists visiting the area. According to their website, they offer home-cooked Amish food (Gasthof Amish Village 2019). In 1997 a hotel was also opened on the property. Today, members of the Amish community sell seasonal produce, furniture, crafts, and quilts there. Each September the Gasthof Amish Village hosts a fall festival featuring Amish-made crafts, outdoor cooking, and field harvesting using "Amish equipment and tools" (Gasthof Amish Village 2019). An organized

Amish community tour is offered through the Daviess County Chamber of Commerce and Visitors Bureau. It includes lunch at Gasthof Amish Village and escorts tourists to a number of Amish-owned craft and variety stores throughout the community (Gasthof Amish Village 2019).

According to the reputable website, *Amish America*, maintained by independent author and scholar of the Amish Erik Wesner, the Daviess County Amish are known for their distinct southern twang and their reputation for friendliness. The Daviess County settlement is located in a rural part of the state, full of dusty roads that turn to mud in downpours, according to Wesner. Small businesses such as furniture shops and construction crews are common here. Weekly Friday night auctions at Dinky's, a sprawling complex of barns and outdoor arenas, are a popular draw for Amish and non-Amish residents alike.

I certainly encountered more participants who were reluctant to agree to interviews in Daviess County as compared to those living in northern Indiana. For me, therefore, it is not surprising that little has been written in recent years about the members of the Amish community who live there. In the early 2000s, Bill Whorrall describes similar experiences during his work conducting a more casual documentation of life there. I feel very lucky to have acquired the information that I did there and hope it contributes to building a fair and respectful understanding of what it is like today to live as an Amish person in Daviess County.

The two settlements studied in this book show how sociotechnical changes are being negotiated in two very different Amish settlements. Technologies such as cell phones, computers, and the internet have been adopted or not in different ways and for different reasons in these Amish communities. These differences point to the socially constructed nature of technology and the mutability of its imprint on our social arrangements. The eventual use, adoption, or rejection of an artifact or a sociotechnical arrangement is shown here to be highly influenced by contexts that have evolved over generations and are influenced by perceptions surrounding ethnicities, power, religious values, and the social networks across which resources and information flow.