Patriarchy, Technology and the Lives of Hutterite Women: A Field Study

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ABSTRACT

The Hutterite Brethren are a religious communal society found in rural areas of Western Canada and in several American states. Although there is considerable published research on Hutterites, little new research has been published since 1987. Few scholars have questioned the effects of either the patriarchal organization of Hutterite colonies or the isolation of Hutterite women within the communal domestic sphere of the colony. The focus of this research is on the contemporary situation of Hutterite colonies in Canada with specific focus on the effects of the introduction of technology on the lives of Hutterite women in the context of colony patriarchal structure.

In order to carry out this research, the author drew on her Hutterite heritage to gain access to a Hutterite colony in the province of Manitoba. The author lived on a Schmiedeleut colony for nine weeks during which she observed the lives of Hutterite women in the context of contemporary Hutterite colony organization. She was treated as a *dien* (single young woman) and participated in the daily activities and conversations of the *dienan* (young women). Given their location both in the life cycle and Hutterite stages of life, the *dienan* are the most sensitive to tensions and conflicts within Hutterite colony life. Participation observation provided the researcher a window — the vantage point of the *dienan* — on the lives of Hutterite women as effected by technological change within the colony patriarchal structure.

Habermas' distinction between pre-modern society and modern society as types, along with his notion of the colonization of the lifeworld, provided the framework for locating and analyzing the effects of technology on the lives of Hutterite women. Drawing on field data from the nine weeks of participant observation at the colony, the researcher was able to document and identify elements in the colonizing effect of technology on the communal domestic lifeworld of Hutterite women.

This thesis concludes that Hutterite male leaders have introduced advanced technology applications into nearly every aspect of colony production, including the communal domestic sphere of Hutterite women. The colonizing effect of the patriarchal intrusion of technology into the communal domestic sphere of Hutterite women has resulted in loss of traditional work roles for Hutterite women, in loss of the religious meaning of their work, and in resentment toward the patriarchal decision-making structure of colony life. Hutterite women display anger and depression, and, in number of instances, defect either temporarily or permanently from the colony. This colonization of the lifeworld of Hutterite women presents significant challenges to the communal patriarchal structure of the Hutterite Brethren in terms of providing new, meaningful work roles in a more diversified and egalitarian productive sphere and of providing some decision making opportunities for Hutterite women in areas that directly effect their lives. Since participant observation was central to this research, the author also discusses issues related to the relationship between emotion and knowing.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This work deals with the Hutterite Brethren, and more particularly, the Schmiedeleut, one of the four Leut or people that compose the Hutterite Brethren. Scholars have concentrated on the three Leuts that compose the Hutterite Church; the Schmiedeleut, Dariusleut and Lehrerleut. A fourth Leut, the Prairieleut, are ethnic Hutterites. The Prairieleut, have been called the "Forgotten Hutterites," although their communities are still in existence, they have been overlooked by Hutterite scholars (Janzen, 1994:69). I am of Prairieleut ancestry. My Hutterite roots were the basis for my gaining access to a Hutterite colony to conduct research for this thesis.

As I was conducting my initial research on the Hutterites, I became aware that there are issues not addressed in writings about the Hutterite Brethren. The lives and contributions of Hutterite women have all but been overlooked by scholars. Significant

1 The expression Hutterian is used more frequently by Hutterite religious leaders. It suggests a total philosophy, a way of life. Most individual members, however, tend to call themselves Hutterites, but refer to fellow Hutterites as either brothers or sisters, even if they do not live on the same colony. A member of another Leut, however, is generally called a galahtch, or galitz which are used as derogatory terms. No Hutterite I asked has given a specific meaning to these words, other than that they are negative.
social and cultural change has been occurring on colonies, but because much of the research is twenty years old, there is little literature on the present situation of Hutterites and on women. These lacunae led me to attempt to investigate Hutterite women within their own specific setting in the context of the Hutterite colony itself.

Because of my Hutterite ancestry, I was able to live on a Schmiedeleut Hutterite colony in Manitoba for nine weeks. I carried out this study in a Schmiedeleut colony in Manitoba, Canada. There I was able to observe the lives of Hutterite women and experience life as a single, young Hutterite woman (dien). In this study, I argue that social and cultural changes that have taken place during the last twenty years have significantly altered the lives of Hutterite women within the colony structure. These changes arise from the intrusion of technology not only into the colony's economic relationship to Canadian society but also into the world of Hutterite women within the colony. These effects were not as obvious and as dramatic for men as technology has allowed men to adopt new roles and tasks. Women's work roles, however, have become redundant, and unlike men, there have been no new work roles created for them. Work is a fundamental aspect of Hutterite life. Lack of work leads to disharmony.

1.2 FOCUS AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The Hutterite Brethren essentially is a pre-modern society. Kinship and religious foundations bind a Hutterite colony together, thus members can be viewed as an extended family with similar life experiences. During the past twenty years, Hutterite colonies,

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2 All hutrish words have come from the Hutterian-English Dictionary (1997) by Dr. Walter B. Hoover, a Prairieleut.
particularly those in the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba have experienced dramatic changes. Until the mid-1970's, colonies were not prospering financially. With the help of advanced agricultural technology, colonies in Canada prospered. Soon all aspects of colony began to be influenced by "outside" values. The infiltration of modern societal values onto Hutterite colonies has been subtle. It is the contention of this thesis that Hutterite women have been profoundly affected by the changes that have occurred on Hutterites colonies. The work that they have traditionally done in North America has been replaced by machinery. No other tasks have been created to help the women do meaningful activities. Hutterite women have been completely relegated by the patriarchal organization of the Hutterite Brethren to the domestic communal sphere of the colony. This is because of introduction and acceptance of technology by male Hutterites. This crisis has received little attention from scholars. Hutterite women are virtually ignored in literature. When Hutterite women are discussed, it is generally in terms of dress, work roles and their submissive attitudes. Their voices and stories are rarely heard.

1.3 OVERVIEW

This research is organized into the following chapters: chapter two is the historical and contemporary overview of the Hutterite Brethren; chapter three is a literature review focusing on Hutterite women, modernization and change on colonies, Hutterite women and work, and other aspects of Hutterite life; chapter four provides the theoretical framework for this research; chapter five presents the methodology used for field research; chapter six is a portrayal of a Hutterite woman's life; chapter seven is the principal findings chapter; chapter eight is the conclusion.
As a background to this study, chapter two presents an historical overview of the Hutterite Brethren and a contemporary overview of Hutterites in North America. The formation of the Hutterites and their beliefs is discussed in detail. Since their origins in 1528, the Hutterites have faced restrictive even violent opposition. They migrated across Eastern Europe to avoid intolerance. Thousands of Hutterites died as martyrs. Finally, after the Hutterite way of life was threatened by the loss of community living in Russia, the group migrated to the United States in 1874 and settled in South Dakota.

It was there that the Hutterites split into four Leuts. There the Hutterites lived peacefully as farmers until 1917 when their pacifist beliefs were threatened by the deaths of three young men for refusing to serve in the military. The Hutterites then sold all the property except for one colony and moved to Western Canada. The current situation of Hutterites in Canada is then described. Hutterites faced much hostility from local and provincial politicians in Manitoba and Alberta. It was only in the 1970's that opposition abated and the Hutterites began to prosper. The population of the Hutterites in Western Canada has steadily grown as displayed by table 1 from the 1991 Canadian Census.

Chapter three is the literature review. This literature consists of two parts. The first puts forward writings on Hutterite women, the work that they do, writings on technological change on Hutterite colonies and finally, how this technological change affects women. The second part details writings on various aspects of Hutterite life. These include housing, possessions, clothing, religion, baptism, courtship and marriage, family size and health and defection from Hutterite colonies.
Chapter four provides the theoretical context for the study. Habermas’ writings on the pre-modern versus modern society type are put forward to interpret the transitional state that is presently found in Schmiedeleut colonies in Manitoba. Habermas’ theory on the colonization of the lifeworld by system rationality is utilized to understand how Hutterite women’s lifeworlds have become colonized by modern society types. An overview of the differences between pre-modern society type and modern society type is provided to support the contention that Hutterite society is in transition.

Chapter five is the methodology of this study. This chapter presents how I was able to live on Schmiedeleut Hutterite colony in Manitoba to conduct research. My ethnic background opened doors for me and enabled me access to various aspects of Hutterite women’s lives that have never been documented. I was fully immersed in the life of a Hutterite single young woman *dien* for ten and a half weeks. As a member of the single young women (*dienan*), I experienced the same emotions as they. Soon after I began to live at Waldnerhof (a pseudonym to protect the colony’s anonymity), I became bored. It was after I left Waldnerhof that I realized that these were feelings of anger and resentment about the lack of power the *dienan* have over their lives. I, therefore, left Waldnerhof with mixed emotions. Emotions and field research are often not discussed. How I came to terms with my feelings is described in this chapter. Because I was the daughter of an ethnic Hutterite, I was also viewed as a possible convert. This also caused me to view my research experience at Waldnerhof with anger. This chapter ends with the observation that I experienced many of the same emotions of those who defect from colonies.
Chapter six discusses my findings. It is organized in terms of the life experiences of a *dien*. Because Hutterite society and its traditions are organized around the status of age and gender, this chapter is organized in a similar fashion. Many of my findings conflict with those described in the literature reviewed in chapter three.

Chapter seven is the principal findings chapter. It analyzes the descriptions put forward in chapter six utilizing Habermas' writings on pre-modern society and modern society as types. Hutterite society has undergone a great deal of change due to acceptance of technology. The results are put forward in this chapter, using examples from my research.

Chapter eight is the concluding chapter. It reviews the chapters within this work, and also the findings, limitations and contributions of this thesis. Finally, I propose further studies building on this findings.

1.4 SUMMARY

This thesis analyzes a number of issues surrounding the Hutterite Brethren. The first is that Hutterite women have been virtually ignored in writings on the Hutterite Brethren. Second is the fact that the work that they do and their perceptions have also been ignored. The third issue is that although there has been a great deal of technological change on colonies in the past twenty years, how this change has affected Hutterite women has not been studied. Introduction of technology in the context of Hutterite colony patriarchy has meant for Hutterite women the loss of work roles, loss of the religious meaning of work, and loss of control over their lives. It is the aim of this work to investigate this in order to give Hutterite women a voice.
CHAPTER TWO
THE HUTTERITE BRETHREN IN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

2.1 THE ORIGINS OF ANABAPTISM

The Hutterite Brethren are an Austrian branch of the Anabaptist movement that developed at the time of the Protestant Reformation in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century (Friedmann, 1961:41; Hofer, 1988:20). The Anabaptist movement traces its beginning to 21 January 1525 in Switzerland when Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, Georg Blaurock and others, following the lead of Martin Luther, met to discuss the New Testament and the necessity of infant baptism. Georg Blaurock asked Conrad Grebel in “the name of God to baptize him, since at that time there was no appointed servant of the word” (Hutterian Brethren, 1987:45). All in attendance were rebaptised, and pledged to teach the word of God. They became known as the Anabaptists as they believed in adult baptism (Hofer, 1988:20). Christian life for Anabaptists followed the teachings and life of Jesus Christ, with adherence to adult baptism (Stephenson, 1991:15).

As a social movement, Anabaptism spread from Switzerland and Southern Germany to the Austrian province of Tyrol. The practise of adult or “believer’s baptism” antagonized many, especially Roman Catholics. Although the history of Anabaptists is a history of intolerance and hatred, it is the Hutterites, with their collectivist sectarian
stance, who experienced the majority of persecution. In significant ways, persecution came to be a defining experience for the Hutterite Brethren.

2.2 THE FORMATION OF THE HUTTERITE BRETHREN

In the spring of 1528, a camp of two hundred of Anabaptists had left Nikolsburg because of intolerance. While reorganizing:

A cloak was spread down before the people and every one laid down on it his earthly possessions unconstrained and with a willing mind according to the teaching of the prophets and apostles Isa.23:18; Acts 2:44-45; 4:34-35; 5:1-11 (Hutterite Brethren, 1987:81; Horsch, 1931:7; Friedmann, 1961:41).3

In 1529, the Austrian Ruler Ferdinand I passed an imperial law (Diet of Speyer) that called for the death penalty for any person who did not cease belief in adult baptism (Hostetler, 1974:10).

Opposition towards the Anabaptist movement was having a detrimental effect on those living in community. Internal strife over Christian tenets led to division and separation. On 8 January 1531, under the leadership of George Zaunring, 150 persons moved to Auspitz, Austria and established a village that was self-sufficient, where everyone had taken a vow of poverty and all lived in equality. This settlement was called a brother house (Bruderhof).

In 1533, Jakob Hutter was chosen to be the head preacher (prediger) of the Bruderhof (Horsch, 1931:9). Because he provided strong and unifying charismatic leadership, the group became known as the Hutterite Brethren (Hofer, 1988:25).

3 The Hutterian Brethren prefer the King James Version of the Bible (George Maendel, pers. comm.). For this reason all biblical quotations will be from the King James Bible.
2.3 ARTICLES OF FAITH: KEY HUTTERITE BELIEFS

According to the Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren (1987:251), the five articles of faith are "the reason for the great controversy between us and the world." These five articles of faith are: (1) believer's baptism, (2) community of goods, (3) belief in the Lord's supper, (4) pacifism, and (5) the belief that community is more important than marriage.

The first two articles of faith, adult baptism and the community of goods, are most characteristic of and distinguish the Hutterite Brethren. The scriptural basis for adult baptism is Matthew 28:18-20. Sharing goods in community is based on Acts 2:44-45, and John 17:10 that states: "And all mine are thine, and thine are mine; and I am glorified in them." Rideman (1970:89) stated: "man must forsake all other created things as well as this when he dies and can carry nothing with him to use as his own."

In order to live in community one must have Gelassenheit, the "trusting yieldedness to God's will, abandonment of self, and joyful acceptance of suffering for Christ's sake" (Hutterian Brethren, 1987:265). The Hutterite position of Christian community integrates "true surrender" and the community of goods. It is this ideal which is expected to be evident in the everyday life of the Hutterite Brethren.

2.4 ORGANIZATION OF HUTTERITE SOCIETY

Hostetler (1974:29) estimates that in the nearly one-hundred years between 1529 and 1621, 102 Bruderhofs were established, comprising twenty to thirty thousand occupants. The organization of the settlements required educated members and economic resourcefulness since agriculture was but one of a dozen or so economic activities
engaged in by Hutterites. They had no access to land or living space except with the permission of ruling elites, so their potential economic success was limited to the support they received. The Hutterites possessed skills which the ruling princes could not find in their native populations.

In this early period, Hutterites drew membership from most social strata and occupational groups. The Hutterite Bruderhofs contained members from numerous professions and trades:

Mason, scythesmith, blacksmith, coppersmith, locksmith, clockmaker, cutter, plumber, tanner, furrier, cobbler, saddler, harness maker, bag maker, wagon maker, cooper, joiner, turner, hatter, cloth maker, tailor, blanket maker, weaver, rope maker, sieve maker, glazier, potter, beer brewer, barber-surgeon, physician (Gross, 1980:248).

The Hutterite Bruderhof contained forty or so dwellings. A cluster of long buildings was usually arranged around a village common or square. The ground floors of the larger buildings were used for workshops, including carpentry, for spinning, weaving, and sewing, for the laundry and for communal functions - the dining hall, kitchen, school and meeting place for worship. The roofs were steep and the attics consisted of two stories with rooms where married couples lived with their small children.

Childcare was left to the women of the Bruderhof. Once children were weaned, they were placed in the little school where they were supervised by a “school mother” (Hostetler, 1974:53). From the age of six onwards, Hutterite children attended a big school where they were instructed by a man. Hutterite women acted as midwives, wet nurses and child nurses not only on the Bruderhofs, but for neighbouring aristocrats (Hostetler, 1974:56). All the work that Hutterite women did within the Bruderhof
revolved around the domestic communal sphere of the colony, all of which were communally based, including the kitchen, the dining areas and childcare.

Within this communal setting, all that was earned was put into the common purse. The ritual, traditions, and organization of Hutterite life were established during these years. The Bruderhof represented a peaceful haven in contrast to non-Hutterite, feudal society. In many senses Bruderhofs were far more advanced than their neighbours. Hutterite life grows out of and is a response to marginality and separation from the world.

2.5 OPPOSITION TOWARDS THE HUTTERITE BRETHREN

It was putting the articles of faith into practice that evoked much of the opposition towards the Hutterite Brethren. The Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren, Volume One presents the intolerance that the Hutterites faced. Although Hutterites were tortured for their beliefs, they refused to recant their faith. The pacifism of Hutterite forefathers and foremothers is highly renowned. Stephenson (1991:21) summarizes the martyrdom of the Hutterite Brethren by reprinting what a Hutterite Chronicler wrote about violence of 16th century religious intolerance:

These all were executed with all sorts of torture and death, a new cloud of witnesses which surrounds us, a pillar of fire by night to go before us, confessors of the faith and Christian heroes of the truth of God, men and women, youths and maidens, old and young, teachers and healers, by which we see that God has poured out his grace and power in these latter days as well as in the former time:

• Some were tortured terribly on the rack so that they were torn apart and died.
• Some were burned to ashes and powder as heretics.
• Some were roasted on beams . . . Some were torn with red-hot irons . . . Some were penned up in houses and all burned together . . . Some were killed with the sword and their bodies chopped to pieces.
After the execution of Jakob Hutter in 1536, the violent opposition to Hutterites abated. Hutterite refugees settled in Morovia and in Upper Hungary (Slovakia). Although much of Hutterite history has been a story of intolerance and misunderstanding, the Hutterites had two periods of reduced intolerance. The first has been called the “good” (1554-65) period by Hutterite historians and the second the “golden” period (1565-92) during which violent opposition towards the Hutterites abated. It was during this time that missionaries were sent throughout eastern Europe to gain more converts to the Hutterite Brethren. Missionaries were sent to many parts of Europe: Bavaria, Hesse, Thuringia, the Rhineland, Silesia, Prussia, Switzerland, Poland, Italy, Denmark and Sweden. It has been stated that the Hutterites were the most aggressive missionaries of the sixteenth century (Hostetler, 1974:57).

During these two periods of nearly forty years the Hutterite Brethren experienced the most success. Individuals converted from all classes of society. The Bruderhof was a complex and well-organized village based on communal living. Nobles competed to have Hutterite Bruderhofs on their lands. During these periods the Hutterites became famous for their artisans, doctors, midwives, kindergarten, schools and the products produced within the Bruderhof. Hutterite communities in Morovia had superior physicians and medicinal practises. Hutterite bloodletters were continuously in high demand for their services. One physician, George Zobel was called to the Imperial Court in Prague and stayed there for six months and was said to have cured the emperor (Hostetler, 1974:55).
Bruderhof's were also renowned for their high levels of education. Hostetler writes that:

In a land where the great majority of people never attended a school, there was literacy in the Bruderhof. High standards of penmanship, stylized writing, and the skilful attention given to memory work and a knowledge of the Bible all helped to fortify the young for the difficult times to come. It was not until 1775, two hundred years after the first Hutterite settlements, that school attendance for children between the ages of six and twelve was made compulsory in Austria (Hostetler, 1974:54).

Hutterites were renowned for their clock making. The carriages made on Bruderhofs were in high demand by the nobility. Hutterites ceramics were also coveted by Europe's elite. Hostetler states, "The products of Hutterite craft, particularly tableware, won the admiration of the nobility, especially the lords of Hutterite estates (1974: 49-50). Haban ("Hutterite") pottery was superior in design and craftsmanship. Many studies have been devoted to excavating, collecting and exhibiting shards and pieces of Haban ceramics.

2.6 RENEWED INTOLERANCE AND THE DEMISE OF LIVING IN COMMUNITY OF GOODS

In 1592 great demands were placed upon the Hutterites as the year before war was declared between the Hapsburg monarchy and Turkey. The violence that faced the Brethren from 1593 onwards was so severe that only twenty-eight out of more than a hundred settlements survived. With the start of the Thirty Year War between Turkey and Austria in 1618, the Hutterites fell prey to bands of marauders from both empires. Because of their belief in pacifism, Hutterites did not resist the plundering of their Bruderhofs, but rather took refuge underground (Hostetler, 1974: 63). They hid in
subterranean passages and underground rooms excavated by hand. Although many tunnels can be still viewed in Morovia, it is believed that the Hutterites did not dig many of them, but utilized them nonetheless.

In 1621, one third of the Hutterites membership was murdered (Hostetler, 1974:65). Then in 1622 an edict was promulgated calling for the expulsion of Hutterites from Morovia. The Hutterites abandoned approximately twenty-four settlements in Morovia, fleeing to Slovakia, a Hungarian territory, where they were welcomed by Hungarian Lords in defiance of the Emperor of Austria (Hostetler, 1974:67). The Bruderhofs at Sabatisch and Grosschutzen in Eastern Hungary were overrun with Hutterite refugees. Hutterites were unable to survive such devastation, and by 1631, were fewer than a thousand Hutterites remaining. In 1685, the disintegration of the community of goods took place. Although the Hutterites still worshipped together, the loss of communal living threatened the Hutterite way of life.

It was then that many members converted to Roman Catholicism. Under Maria Theresa (1740-1780), Empress of the Hapsburg empire, an edict was passed that Jesuits were allowed to “convert” all within the Anabaptist sect. There were many book raids within Bruderhofs. Children were taken from their parents, meeting rooms were sealed off and everyone was to attend mass. Because they refused, all Hutterite ministers were arrested, as were many male members. The economic realm of the Bruderhof was in chaos as there were no men working. By May 27, 1763, all Hutterites in Sabatisch were converted to Catholicism (Hostetler, 1974:70). Descendants of the Hutterites continue to live there in the twentieth century. Hutterites surnames that still exist there include
Tschetter, Kurn, Muller, Pullman, Walter and Wollman. The Habaner as they are known, continue to live in original dwellings and maintain some Hutterite traditions, but they have remained Roman Catholic.

In 1755 a religious revival within the Lutheran Church occurred in Carinthia. Catholic authorities were threatened by this movement and ordered the deportation of approximately 270 individuals to Alwinz, Romania, only a half-days journey away from the Hutterite settlement in Alwinz. Two men, George Waldner and Andreas Wurz came in contact with former members of the Bruderhof who had given up communal living sixty years early. The Hutterites decided to reinstate communal living. In 1761, several Carinthean families moved near Alwinz, where a new Bruderhof was established. Many old Hutterites rejoined the Bruderhof. New members joined as well, such as a Hans Kleinsasser, who later was rebaptised and became a Minister in Alwinz in 1762. Joseph Muller was made steward, George Waldner was the school teacher. Dorothy Naegler was voted in charge of the kitchen. Later, strong leadership was provided by one Johannes Stahl who was subsequently imprisoned by Maria Theresa in 1762.

Although significant rebuilding within the Brethren had just begun, in 1767 sixty-seven persons of every age and of both genders, migrated to Wallachia in Southern Romania (Hostetler, 1974:78). War, hatred and opposition had once again threatened the organization, solidarity and belief system of the Hutterite Brethren. The Hutterite structure was permanently changed as the conditions and tasks facing the Brethren shifted from prosperity, education, and the conversion of new members (missionary work), to survival.
2.7 HUTTERITE MIGRATION TO RUSSIA

In Wallachia, the Brethren lived in constant fear of being attacked by roving bands of Turks. In 1770, sixty Hutterites migrated to Russia (Hostetler, 1974:91). These Hutterites first settled on the private estate of Count Peter Rumiantsev at Vishenka, in the province of Tchernigov (Hostetler, 1974:92). A contract was signed which promised freedom of religion, communal living, and exemption from military duty. The Hutterites beliefs were tolerated. For the first time in 95 years, they were not harassed or persecuted by the Church or state (Hostetler, 1974:99).

With the death of Rumiantsev in 1776, problems arose. When Rumiantsev's heirs tried to reduce the Hutterites to serfs, the Brethren appealed to Emperor Paul I to clarify their legal status. They were assured that they would retain the rights and freedoms they had known and that they were to have the same legal status as Mennonite settlers (Hostetler, 1974:100). In 1802, two hundred Hutterites moved onto crown land near Radichev, Ukraine.

Because there were no markets for the Hutterite Brethren's crafts, they concentrated on farming. Problems arose within the community. There was not enough land to support the growing population, and Bruderhof leaders were fearful of trying innovations as they were frightened of failure. Most of the first-generation members who had survived severe persecution were not longer alive. Factions formed and instead of turning over earnings to the Bruderhof treasurer, money went to private individuals. The situation escalated into a dispute between two preachers, one believing communal living
was a cardinal principle, the other believing it was a sin. In 1819, the collapse of the community of goods occurred.

Once more the Hutterite Brethren was about to dissolve. As a response to decline within Hutterite settlements, in 1842, some Hutterites moved to the Molotschna region, where they came into contact with Mennonite settlers. Mennonites went to great lengths to help the Hutterites, this resulted in the re-establishment in 1859 of communal living in some Hutterite villages. Smaller, more intimate, settlements were formed to replace the Bruderhof. These new communities were called colonies. Some Hutterites, however, remained in villages as private property owners (Friedmann, 1961:48). These individuals became known as Prairieleut.

In 1870, with universal military conscription ordered in Russia, the Hutterite life was once again threatened. In 1873, two delegates were sent to the United States and Canada to investigate the possibility of immigration. After being given the promise of military exemption by President Wilson, the delegates selected the South Dakota prairie as sites for settlements (Friedmann, 1961:48).

2.8 HUTTERITE EXODUS TO NORTH AMERICA

In 1874, the Hutterite Brethren immigrated to South Dakota. Of the 1200 who left Russia, only 400 settled in colonies. At the time of initial settlement, the 400 who continued in colonies settled into three colonies. That division of the Hutterite Brethren has remained. The three groups, or people (Leut) are named after their respective leaders; Dariusleut after Prediger Darius Walter, Schmiedeleut after Michael Waldner, a Blacksmith (Schmiede), and Lehrerleut, after Jacob Wipf, Prediger and teacher (Lehrer)
The remaining 800 decided against communal living and took homesteads. Those who had rejected communal life already in Russia were joined by many families who had previously lived in colonies before immigrating. These individuals were known as the Prairie people (Prairieleut), of whom I am a descendant. The Prairieleut have been overlooked by Hutterite scholars, who have failed to realize that the socialization patterns, language and belief systems of the Prairieleut are similar to their communal cousins.

During their first forty years in North America, colony Hutterites and Prairieleut intermarried. Because of this practise and that my mother's grandfather left a colony in South Dakota, I have many relatives on Hutterite colonies today. In the United States, the Prairieleut and Hutterites lived close together in Hutchinson County, South Dakota. Two other counties in South Dakota also contain significant Prairieleut communities: Yankton and Huron. Equally important is Chasely, North Dakota. Beginning in 1901, Prairieleut began moving to the Northwest Territories, Canada for homesteads. The majority settled in the Langham area in what is now the province of Saskatchewan.

The Hutterites and the Prairieleut have had a relationship characterized by tension. During their first years in the United States, Hutterite colonies were extremely poor because of crop failures. In contrast, Prairieleut farmers and merchants were relatively successful. This resulted in hard feelings and animosity. Prairieleut were not warmly welcomed on colonies. The Prairieleut disliked the notion of colony living and felt that the Hutterites were too dependent on one another. Starting in 1885, Prairieleut in South Dakota became aligned with the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren (Plett, 1985:153).
Prairieleut began to do missionary work on colonies, motivating some colonists to leave. This caused tensions as the Prairieleut believed in being in a spiritual rebirth and would preach the gospel to their Hutterites relatives.

Hutterite leaders chose land in South Dakota that closely resembled that of the Ukraine. One difference was that craft production was significantly reduced, although Hutterites still made many of their tools and household items (Hostetler, 1974:124). They responded to the growing specialization of modern agriculture and paid less attention to small industry and home manufacture. It was in North America that women began to work alongside the men as drought and other natural disasters threatened the Hutterite way of life. Often colonies had to abandon colonies because of poor land, or inhospitable terrain.

In South Dakota, for the most part, the Hutterites attracted little attention. There are a few exceptions however. In 1881, a daughter colony, Tripp was established by Bon Homme. The colony required financial aid and contacted the Rappites (Harmony Society) in Pennsylvania. The Rappites were extremely wealthy, but their belief in celibacy reduced membership. In 1884, all nineteen families from Tripp colony (which had been sold) moved to Pennsylvania. Two years later, the whole group of Hutterites returned to South Dakota. The Hutterites had found the land the Rappites lived on too difficult to convert into farmland. Although the Rappites wanted to make the Hutterites from Tripp their heirs, the urge to farm the land was too great for the Hutterites.

Problems did arise within the Hutterite Brethren when they first arrived in South Dakota. Factions quickly developed within the Dariusleut, resulting in the formation of
an independent colony not recognized by Hutterite elders. Because this group of individuals was led by three Hofer brothers, they were known by this surname. Since the Hofer's were not allowed to marry Hutterites, they wed Prairieleut. Independent Hofer colonies still exist in Alberta.

In 1917, the American government attempted to conscript young male Hutterites for military service. Those drafted went to jail as conscientious objectors. In the Fall of 1917, four young Hutterite draftees were tortured for their beliefs. The deaths of two of them resulted in the Hutterites deciding to move to Canada (Hostetler, 1974:130-131).

The Canadian government encouraged the settlement of the Hutterite Brethren on the Canadian prairies with guarantees that they would be allowed to have their own schools, to hold communal property, to pay appropriate taxes, and to be exempt from voting and from swearing the oath (Janzen, 1990:14; Palmer, 1971:20). By 1918, the Dariusleut had established six colonies in Alberta (along with the independent Hofer brothers colony), the Lehrerleut four colonies in southwestern Alberta, and the Schmiedeleut seven colonies in Manitoba (Palmer, 1971:20; Hofer, 1987:63).

2.9 INTOLERANCE TOWARDS HUTTERITES IN CANADA

Following the First World War, citizen's groups of Alberta and Manitoba expressed concern at what they perceived as a threat not only to their land holdings, but to Canadian patriotism (Janzen, 1990:14). The opposition to Hutterites was even articulated by federal officials. In 1919, an ordinance was passed prohibiting the immigration of Hutterites, Mennonites and Doukhobors to Canada. The ordinance was challenged by the Hutterite Brethren of Canada and Mennonite organizations. In June
1922, the ban on Hutterites and Mennonites was lifted. Four years later, the exclusion of Doukhobors was terminated (Janzen, 1990:15).

After the Second World War, the patriotism of the Hutterite Brethren was once again called into question. Citizens' groups in both Manitoba and Alberta once again sought to curb Hutterite expansion.

From 1952 onwards, the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut colonies of Alberta began to expand into Saskatchewan (Hofer, 1988:65). This expansion was a response to legislation in Alberta, which attempted to limit the growth of Hutterite colonies. In 1954 The Union of Manitoba Municipalities and the Hutterite Brethren of Manitoba signed a "Gentleman's Agreement" that limited the size of a colony's land holdings to 5120 acres (Janzen, 1990:64).

With the expansion of the Hutterite Brethren into Saskatchewan in 1952, the provincial Government decided to develop a "Hutterite settlement pattern that would free local communities from the ever present fear of overcrowding" (Janzen, 1990:77). The Saskatchewan Government's declaration of "Policy and Procedures-Hutterite Colonies" stated that a new colony should be at least 35 miles away from an existing colony, that it could be no larger than 10,000 acres, and that the needs of local farms would be considered first (Janzen, 1990:78). A study conducted in 1953 found Hutterite colonies within an area benefited the local community (Lobb and Agnew, 1953:25). Fears regarding the demise of towns and villages due to the presence of Hutterite colonies proved to be unfounded.
The Hutterite Brethren in Saskatchewan refused to renew the agreement in 1968. Problems had arisen from the delay of Government approval and the rise of land prices when it became known that Hutterites were interested in establishing a daughter colony in a certain region. Hutterite leaders felt that they were being unfairly penalized. The Government's response was the formation of a committee to act as a liaison between Hutterite colonies and municipalities.

In 1972, when New Rosedale Colony purchased Macdonald Air Base near MacGregor, Manitoba from the Canadian Government, farmers in the vicinity complained that this purchase violated the “Gentlemen’s Agreement.” In response, Premier Ed Schreyer pronounced the agreement as “unlawful and undemocratic” (Hofer, 1987:67).

2.10 HUTTERITES IN CANADA TODAY

Today many rural municipalities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta still call for the assimilation of the Hutterite Brethren. On 21 October 1983 the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities stated:

The effect of the rapid Hutterite expansion within our society is of great magnitude and with grave consequences for both the Hutterites and non-Hutterites if the issue is not dealt with a meaningful manner . . . Hutterian non-compliance and intimidation when council is fulfilling its role of administering the laws that have been drafted over the years and adhered to by other groups . . . the spread of daughter colonies is of concern not only to rural municipalities, but to school boards, chambers of commerce and the Saskatchewan Farm Ownership Board . . . senior government officials have granted special consideration to Hutterites, which only translates to discrimination toward the majority . . . senior governments have ignored the Hutterite expansion, for whatever reason, and have left local government, particularly rural government, to address the issue in the best manner it can (Fowler, 1983:C4).
In all three provinces there are no longer any land restrictions. There are 60 Dariusleut colonies in Alberta and Saskatchewan. There is also one Dariusleut colony in British Columbia. There are 83 Lehrerleut colonies in Saskatchewan and Alberta. There are 95 Schmiedeleut colonies in Manitoba. According to the 1991 Canadian Census, the total Hutterite population in Canada is 21,490 (Statistics Canada, 1993:10-11).

**TABLE 2.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hutterites in Canada</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>3580</td>
<td>3865</td>
<td>7445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>3950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>4900</td>
<td>5080</td>
<td>9980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10465</td>
<td>11025</td>
<td>21490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hutterites are often perceived as a threat when they move into a local municipality. One reason given by *Alberta Report* was that farmers are threatened by Hutterites because the land they purchase will always remain part of a Hutterite colony (Alberta Report, 1989:23). For the Hutterite Brethren, this is an era of peaceful coexistence. The threat to living in community is now from within. As successful agricultural producers, their main concern is no longer survival.

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4 Up until 1971, Statistics Canada collapsed Hutterites and Mennonites into a single category (Statistics Canada, 1971:9-1)
There have been few converts to the Hutterite way of life in North America. Hostetler estimates that there has been less than fifty adults who have joined Hutterite colonies since the Hutterites do not send out missionaries (1974:296).

Ironically the use of modern machinery and technology, which allowed colonies to compete successfully in agribusiness, now threatens to undermine the internal structure and the practise of communal living on Hutterite colonies. The maintenance of colony structures, especially colony growth is problematic. What occurred in Russia could once again happen in North America, as demonstrated by the current struggle within the Schmiedeleut between two factions (Preston, 1992). The existence of excommunicated colonies in Canada and the United States demonstrates that there are still problems surrounding leadership within the Hutterite Brethren. It is all but impossible to learn about the four excommunicated colonies in Southern Alberta: Brocket, Felger, Stirling or Monarch colonies. There were two excommunicated colonies within the Schmiedeleut, now there is only one, the other has be re-recognized by the Hutterite Church. In the United States there are two-excommunicated colonies, one in Montana and one in Washington.

Many colonies have become increasingly aware that shortages in available land and government quotas will soon necessitate the establishment of industries that are not solely based on agriculture, but on industrial manufacturing (Hofer, 1987: 78; Peter, 1987: 185). Crystal Spring colony of Manitoba has a hog equipment manufacturing plant, while others manufacture hog feeders, heat-exchangers, alfalfa pelletizing machines, prefabricated windows and roof trusses. A few colonies maintain stores on their colonies
that sell Hutterian and German literature and devotional books, while another sells mattresses and homemade furniture (Hofer, 1987:78; Janzen, 1990:246). Yet, Peter Rideman in *Confession of Faith*, writes that:

> We allow none of our number to do the work of a trader or merchant, since this is a sinful business; as the wise man saith, “It is almost impossible for a merchant and trader to keep himself from sin.” Therefore do we allow no one to buy to sell again, as merchants and traders do. But to buy what is necessary for the needs of one’s house or craft, to use it and then sell what one by means of his craft hath made there from, we consider to be right and not wrong (Rideman, 1970:126-127).

2.11 CONCLUSION

The history of the Hutterites is one that is inspiring. Stories of Hutterite martyrs dying for the beliefs is inspiring. Many people do not realize that the Hutterites are pacifists and that their forefathers and foremothers often were tortured and executed for their beliefs. It is this time in Hutterite history that has shaped what the Hutterite Brethren is today.

Hutterites are gentle, peace loving individuals who co-exist amongst us on colonies. Their belief systems have not changed, but one will find little on today’s Hutterite colony’s that is similar to that of the Bruderhof’s four hundred years ago, except for religious ceremonies. Since immigrating to Canada and the United States the economic and social organization of colonies has been dramatically altered. This thesis will analyze the changes and will demonstrate that modernization on colonies is effecting the lives of Hutterite women.
CHAPTER THREE

THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN OF THE HUTTERITE BRETHREN

IN LITERATURE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review provides an overview of published research on Hutterites with particular attention to research that relates to the experiences of Hutterite women. This chapter demonstrates that there are few writings on Hutterite women, and that their focus have been either on the patriarchal nature of Hutterite society or on the work that Hutterite women do. This review also shows that there has been a tendency by researchers to idealize the Hutterite Brethren as a utopian society, subtly promoting its patriarchal character. Much of the writing on the Hutterites is now dated. With several notable exceptions, researchers have praised the use of technology and diminished the effect on community living as relatively minor. This objective of this chapter is review the literature on Hutterite women and the picture of Hutterite life that this literature paints.

3.2 WOMEN WITHIN HUTTERITE COLONIES: PATRIARCHY

Deets' The Hutterites; A Study in Social Cohesion, originally published in 1935, was republished in 1975. It is typical of scholarly views of the situation of women within the Hutterite Brethren. "The attitude of the men toward the women is definitely
patriarchal. The women are told not to talk in public “because they don’t know enough,” and to “keep still in a meeting” according to St. Paul” (Deets, 1975:36). When Deets asked a former Prairieleut-Hutterite leader why the doctrine of brotherhood does not include the equality of women with men, he stated, “Yes, we are equal, men and women, in the eyes of the Lord, but the husband is the head of the wife, so we rather take the head than the feet” (Deets, 1975:36).

Deets (1975:37) goes on to state:

Submissiveness to traditional authority accounts for the influence of the women. It is the same submissiveness which contributes to the ultimacy of authority held by all adult members . . . The Hutterites do not recognize or appreciate the conserving role of the women.

Conkin (1964:77) acknowledges that all decision making is made by baptised males. The women are “completely in the background, but probably exert a conservative influence on their husbands.”

Reverend Paul S. Gross (1965:179) confirms this Hutterite view of women by stating that: "Hutterite women going about their work chattering and gossiping, thinking nothing of tasks too hard for a man." Gross observes that men are the “main body and voting power.”

Bennett (1967) studied the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut in the Maple Creek region of Southern Saskatchewan in 1964/65. He concedes a deficit of knowledge regarding Hutterite women and argues that they are disenfranchised.

The women do not vote on colony affairs; and if a colony meeting is held after a Church service, the women are excused before the business is discussed. The Hutterites do not emphasize this sexual role division. There are no taboos against men and women associating or talking together in places other than the dining hall and the Church (Bennett, 1967:145).
Bennett (1967:203) states that "in their traditional occupations of gardening, painting, food preparation, sewing, laundry and so on, the women show considerable initiative and consciousness of their economic value." He notes, however, that these are generally "routine, low-skilled task[s]." Bennett (1967:114) also maintains that Hutterite women are housewives and mothers first, light labourers second, and citizens third.

Hostetler and Huntington (1967:105) describe the Hutterite women's powerlessness: "When a preacher or householder is said to be strict, it generally means that he is strict in keeping the women in their place . . . this contributes to the smooth functioning of the colony as a unit." Lee and Brattrud (1967:518) state that a "girl, at a very young age, has been inculcated to be obedient and to accept man as the superior."

Flint (1975:11), however, argues that:

While official Hutterite teaching proclaims the subordination of women to men, a visit with several families in various colonies would soon dispel the idea that Hutterite women are downtrodden. At Pincher Creek, for example, there are numerous dominant and outspoken women, as in any farming community . . . There is no question of women's importance in the community. By precept and example they guide their children in a Christian life and by hard physical work contribute to the financial well-being of the colony. Though men control the official decision making positions, women can influence any matters in which they have an interest. "We give advice," said one Hutterite woman significantly.

Ryan (1977:89), who studied the Schmiedeleut in Manitoba, maintains that, although Hutterite society follows the tenets of the Old Testament that women lack the "right" to make decisions in colony affairs, Hutterite society has been described as:

A society of men aided and assisted by women . . . Hutterite women have a calm assured air about them which indicates that although they are conscious of their official subordinate status, they are fully aware of their ability to overcome it in indirect ways.
Janzen (1984:16) argues that Hutterite women are "disenfranchised, and live in a grey hopeless state of perpetual pregnancy."

A Hutterite cookbook from the United States argues that to many contemporary women, "the lives of Hutterite women may appear oppressive and joyless. To Hutterite women, on the other hand, life without the protection and safe haven of the community is unimaginable and frightening" (Kant, 1990:52).

Hutterites argue that a man rules over a woman not only because she "is of him" but also because Eve brought about the fall of Adam. Women have been deemed by the Lord to be weak and prone to sin, therefore it is man's duty to dominate woman.

3.3 HUTTERITE WOMEN AND WORK: SILENT BUT NEEDED WORKERS

The lives of Hutterite women are directly influenced by the colony they inhabit. Tradition and ritual dictate that the women's leadership roles are limited to a few posts. Work is seen to be a "calling." Hostetler (1974:182) argues that work is important as unifying and integrating element in colony life . . . lack of work could mean the breakdown of harmony. Hostetler (1974:299) states that "having enough work, especially meaningful, productive activity, for all members of the colony is considered essential to success." Thus females, regardless of age, serve God through work. Work and social life are combined, for as women work together they talk together (Hostetler, 1967:77). Hutterite women do not have an easy life, as they are constantly obeying the patriarchal organization of their colony which dictates that they are the weaker gender.
Published research contains few accounts of the lived experiences of Hutterite women. Women are closely bound to the colony and its workings. Hans Baer (1976:187) recognized that it is difficult for male researchers to gain access to Hutterite women.

Because of the strong separation between males and females in Hutterite culture, it was difficult for the author to speak with many of the females of the colony, particularly those under thirty.

Hence, Hutterite women remain invisible and silent. Men are more apt to be familiar with the outside. Hutterite men's familiarity with the outside world is necessitated by the colony's need for non-Hutterite produced goods, and by the agriculture production of the colony. Besides the occasional shopping trip or doctor's appointment, and/or visitors from other colonies, Hutterite women have few contacts outside the colony.

Women are relegated to the domestic communal sphere of the colony. Their lives revolve around cooking, cleaning, rearing children, preparing food, sewing and butchering. Positions held by women include the garden mistress, head cook, fabric mistress, teacher of the kleineshule, and, on occasion, midwife and the special needs cook (Peters, 1965:88). Conkin (1964:81) recognizes the irony that the head cook, kindergarten workers and garden mistress are all elected by men. Men even control women's involvement in the domestic communal sphere of the colony.

When discussing young unmarried women, Bennett (1967:203-304) notes:

In the work performed by the women, the level of mechanization is not as high as it is in farming activities. This is partly because of the nature of the tasks themselves, but also because there is a silent understanding that the young unmarried women need to be kept busy lest they become discontented or distract the men. The major female labour force consists of the unmarried girls; and many colonies have more than they really need
to perform the routine tasks. The problem of “unemployed” young women has become more urgent since many colonies have invested in garden tractors and cultivating attachments, for in the past, hand cultivation kept the girls busy most of the day.

Looney (1986:41) delineates a hierarchy of work tasks for women. They are as follows;

Permanent or weekly work assignments. These are always first priority:
- Head cook weekly cooks
- weekly bakers
- Kindergarten
- dairy lady duties
- after-meal clean-up

Other colony work where timing is important:
- duck and geese plucking
- canning
- harvesting
- hoeing and weeding
- butchering fowl

Other colony work where timing is not important:
- soap making
- painting
- watering
- noodle making

Regular home tasks:
- cleaning
- laundry

"Spare time" home tasks:
- sewing
- rug making
- knitting
- mending
- hobbies
Looney claims that women's work is affected by: (1) the size of colony (the larger the colony, the more work there is) and, (2) modernization. Many of the tasks that she discusses actually revolve around male Hutterite decisions rather than uncontrollable events, such as harvesting and food processing.

Looney was one of the first researchers to study Hutterite women within their own environment through participant observation, rather than by interviewing colony Ministers. Looney gained access to the colony through the English school teacher rather than through the colony leaders. Looney (1986:18) states: "This formality (of being linked to the English school teacher) was never entirely lost, however . . . In this colony my most frequent contact was with two families, and was less close with the remaining women." Looney operated from a nearby town rather than staying at the colony which she was studying. She did, however, work "alongside the women at any colony tasks scheduled for that day, or else visited in someone's household, helping with any household work" (Looney, 1986:21).

Looney's findings are important since she is interested in the work of Hutterite women as compared to non-Hutterite, Alberta farm wives. She recognized that the work Hutterite women do is important to a colony's financial well-being and can be compared to the work non-Hutterite farm women do. This research contributes a great deal since Looney associates with her informants directly investigating the kind and amount of work performed by Hutterite women.
3.4 THE DILEMMA OF MODERNIZATION: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Few authors examine the social consequences of the Hutterites acceptance of technology or raise questions about the potential effect of modernization on colonies and individual Hutterites. What is notable in the writings about the Hutterites is the author's admiration for the communal/Anabaptist vision of the Hutterites. Within geographical regions with high concentrations of Hutterite colonies occasional criticisms of the Hutterites are found in local newspapers or regional magazines. Such publications include Alberta Report, Western Producer, Winnipeg Free Press, Brandon Sun and the Lethbridge and Calgary Herald.

According to Flint (1975:25), the modernization that has taken place on colonies is within moderation and has not challenged the religious convictions of the Hutterites. Although telephones, travel to other colonies, and money allowances for "luxury" items have become popular within the Hutterites, Flint maintains that because Hutterites have managed to relax their former prohibitions so slowly (and always unanimously), there has not been a loss of respect for the authority of the Hutterite Church and its leadership. Religious convictions are judged to have remained intact.

Ryan (1977:272-273) contends that the survival of communal Hutterites is based on a combination of strategies, the strongest being religious ideology. In order for Hutterite communities to survive, there must be a strong economic base.

Hutterites have always recognized that to be economically efficient they had to adopt the best technology available to any particular time. For this reason, they have never been hesitant to adopt modern farming techniques. This has been instrumental in their economic survival. In other words, Hutterites see no inconsistency in using twentieth century tools to achieve the basic objective of preserving their sixteenth century religious and social institutions (Ryan, 1977:274).
Most scholars maintain that the technology that is embraced by the Hutterites benefits the community as a whole but that the use of technology also benefits individuals as well. Innovations like television, radios and automobiles have not been accepted for they "threaten the social solidarity of colony life" (Ryan, 1977:274; Peter, 1987:20). According to Peter (1987:87-88) the de-legitimation of the world is caused by its own refusal to accept the true meaning of God's spirit.

The financial security of colony as a whole must come before personal comfort. Hostetler (1974:299) mentions, however, that innovations: "have not altered the basic social patterns. Relationships to the outside world have not changed, although the frequency of contacts with outsiders has increased."

Baer (1976:187) challenges Hostetler, arguing that:

Technological innovation is indeed vital to the maintenance of the Hutterite colony and its ability to expand. On the other hand, technological innovation brings the colony into greater contact with the outside world in a number of ways which have an acculturating effect.

Peter (1987:185), in fact, argues that the traditional system of the Hutterites is now being challenged by: "technological change, regulatory restrictions primarily bureaucratic in nature, and the limiting of expansion due to changes in the surrounding farm population." According to Peter (1987:119), modernization affected the economic organization of the colony. Traditionalism was maintained predominantly in social relations and religious observances. There remains, nevertheless, a basic tension, if not incompatibility, between traditionalism and modernization, one which poses a potential threat to the Hutterite way of life.
Peter (1987:185) states that the Hutterites are no longer diversified when it comes to farming but rather are becoming specialized:

Instead of a multi-skilled large work-force that would often be employed on a number of different tasks in the course of the agricultural year, there are now required a few, mechanically competent machine operators, with a sufficient degree of technical knowledge to use sophisticated equipment.

Peter (1987:xv) also points out that an important facet of Hutterite life that has not been thoroughly researched is the:

Modification of the traditional colony through the replacement of mixed farming by specialization in one or two crops. This process involves the acquisition of the most sophisticated agricultural equipment, calling into play new skills which, in turn, modify the old hierarchical colony structure, and ultimately contribute to a complete revision of the gender-based division of labour. There is, for example, the gradual erosion of the traditional attitudes towards the possession of private property.

Melland (1985:2) found that the housing types of the Hutterites have changed because the Hutterites are:

Participating extensively in the market economy, and for this reason, they can no longer maintain their separation from the world as an ideal. Indeed, in many areas, the Hutterites are the major agricultural producers and literally cannot afford to remain aloof. This trend is definitely assimilative and represents a trade-off of a certain amount of freedom, or isolation, for the greater security and greater acceptance by the non-Hutterite community.

Although colonies were generally self-sufficient in the past, they have "adjusted to the market economy" (Ryan, 1977:93). Hutterites have had to adopt mechanization and various labour saving devices (Ryan, 1977:93). For their farm operations, Hutterites use the most modern implements and machinery available. Outsiders sometimes claim the Hutterites overcapitalize in farm machinery. Although the Hutterites take great pride in their modern farm equipment, the fact remains that they observe sound business practises (Peters, 1965:108-109).
Many colonies, especially within the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba, focus on one industry, usually hog production, plus seed crops. What demonstrates the greatest financial return is what usually becomes the main industry. Traditional colonies maintain mixed farming operations, with three to four different crops, plus production of poultry, dairy, beef, hog, turkey, duck and geese. Mixed farming operations not only provide a more stable income, but also provide work for men who might remain idle if their home colony had only one main industry.

The work ethic on colonies is extremely strong. Riley (1964:15) claims that there are three principles from the Hutterites religious beliefs that serve to motivate production and farming practises. These are self-sufficiency, simplicity of living, and efficiency, especially when accepting changes in farming practises.

3.5 THE EFFECT OF MODERNIZATION AND CHANGE FOR HUTTERITE WOMEN'S WORK ROLES

The social and cultural change which has been taking place, according to Peter (1987:197-198), has greatly affected the lives of women.

These changes, which seem to be correlated with the adoption of technologically more sophisticated, and generally labour-saving, devices by Hutterites, also affect the roles of women within the culture in a substantial way.

A summary of the social and cultural changes which Peter notes (1987: 203-204) are:

Modern homes require new cleaning devices such as floor-polishers and vacuum cleaners, soaps and detergents. Old-fashioned laundry facilities in the colony and the scheduling of a wash-day for each family have been replaced by the most modern washing facilities. Field work formerly done by Hutterite women has virtually disappeared with the exception of gardening, and much of the work even here is performed by machines. A change in the pattern of consumption has led to the discontinuation in
some colonies of the labourious fruit and berry-picking activities. Women who did the painting in the colony now do so using the most modern devices. The milking of dairy cattle, which was a traditional chore for women has been taken over by men with the introduction of technologically sophisticated milking devices. The work routinely done by women like cooking and baking has been modernized through the utilization of cooking and baking facilities living up to modern commercial standards. The occasional work of cleaning and killing chickens, geese, and duck is now largely done by machines. The cleaning and sorting of eggs also largely consists of monitoring machines. Sorting and cutting potatoes is still a monotonous activity, but has lost much of its drudgery and its dirtiness. A great amount of clothing that traditionally had to be supplied by the women, such as socks, shirts, and underwear, are now replaced by commercial garments.

Although Hutterite women's work is contained within the private home, or the domestic communal sphere of the colony, their work directly contributes to the well-being of the colony. Ruth Schwartz Cowan (1983:6) argues that: “even if the household is an isolated work environment, it is also part of a larger economic and social system; and if it did not constantly interact with this system, it could not function at all.”

Not only has technology affected the work roles of Hutterite women, it is undermining the traditional authority of the colony and relationships. These include style of housing, ownership of private property, clothing, dating, marriage, joining the Hutterite Church, the size of Hutterite families, and finally, defection from Hutterite colonies. These consequences will be discussed in the following pages.

3.6 HUTTERITE HOUSING

Hutterite housing was based on the traditional longhouse design which was first established in Czechoslovakia. Each longhouse consisted of four apartments which
generally could have from two to five bedrooms (Deets, 1975:12; Hostetler, 1974:203). Each apartment was sparsely furnished with the bare minimum. Most floors were either dirt, hardwood or stone (Conkin, 1964:76). The walls were bare and without adornment except for a calendar and a large clock that is given as a wedding present from the groom’s colony. The apartment has a sitting room, a sewing room, plus accommodations for eating (Peters, 1965:95).

Colony carpenters construct the majority of furniture that is found within colony homes, kitchens, and Churches. Peter (1987:180) claims that the furniture that a family has received from the colony in the past, but which also proves surplus to their requirements, may also be sold to outsiders for cash, usually by women.

Hutterite housing types, according to Peter (1987:xv), are becoming modernized and now emphasize family privacy, which therefore reflects and effects the relations between women. John F. Melland (1985:xiii) surveyed eighty-eight Hutterite colonies in Canada and the United States. The introduction of modern housing allows colony members to “move offstage where they can improvise on group norms.” Melland (1985:xiii) discovered that Hutterite housing has changed very dramatically and “mirrors” fundamental social and cultural change in Hutterite society, change that has been brought about by developments that have increased the tension between “being on the colony” and “being in the world.” Melland (1985:xvi) argues that this increase in tension and attempts at reconciliation are the driving mechanism of change on Hutterite colonies.
3.7 HUTTERITE POSSESSIONS

Hutterites take a vow of poverty at baptism. Hutterite ideology is lenient towards the ownership of minor luxuries. These include mirrors, ornaments, hairbrushes, rocking chairs, lace curtains, pictures, and fancy needlework. Boys slip in radios, pose for photographs, and secretly smoke (Conkin, 1964:99). The threat of private accumulation of property is always of concern to colony leaders. Allowances are made in order to stop thefts or the selling of gifts from the colony. Couples who marry require furnishings and other household items. Gifts given at the time of marriage by relatives, from other colonies in particular, are always viewed as personal property. They will have been purchased by the donors out of personal rather than community funds (Peter, 1987:181).

There are specific rules regarding personal property. Since the formulation of the Hutterites Brethren, the needs of the individual have been acknowledged. Individuals and families require personal belongings. Peter (1987:179) maintains that gifts such as fabric for clothing threaten the Hutterites rules regarding personal property. He argues that a gift of material from another colony results in individuality which in turn strengthen ties between Hutterites that are not fellow colonists. Peter (1987:20) also maintains that the Hutterites still suppress aesthetic expression in the form of music, graphic representations, radios, televisions, painting, furniture, and dress. He also argues that this leads to attachment towards material possessions.

3.8 CLOTHING

Hutterite women use no cosmetics of any kind, wear only the plainest types of glasses, and have a standard type of dress according to their Schmiedeleut. Hutterite
women are obsessed with dress material and making new dresses. It is not surprising that clothing is the aspect of Hutterite women's lives that authors dwell on the most.

The Hutterites believe that because “sin comes from a woman” (Sirach 25:32), women and girls are required to hide everything that could be a source of lust for men's eyes” (Holzach, 1993:10). Conkin (1965:89) argues that all Hutterite women wear very wide, dark (but not black or solid), ankle-length skirts gathered at the waist. They wear a dark-coloured, fitted bodice over a light-coloured, long sleeved, tight-necked blouse. They generally wear aprons with plaid patterns. For festive occasions, they wear aprons with bright colours (Conkin, 1965:89).

Peter (1987:404) claims that:

The dress patterns, which previously de-emphasized body contours are changing to reveal in a moderate way the shape of the breasts and the waistline. The hemline has moved upwards to expose the ankle, and the shoes and stockings are of commercial quality.

Small decorative effects are not forbidden. All women wear black shawls with white polka dots under which the women's long hair is braided and bound. After years of complaining, women were given permission to wear bonnets in the hot sun. Women's clothing is made at home from large bolts of purchased cloth. Most men's clothing is bought ready-made (Conkin, 1965:89; Hostetler, 1974:174).

3.9 RELIGION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE TRADITIONAL

The Hutterite Brethren represents a sectarian form of religious organization. The Hutterites are conservative interpreters of the Bible and follow the tenets of the New Testament. According to Driedger, Currie and Linden (1983:228) religious sects that are of the dualist view of good and evil set up “ideological (fundamentalist theology) and
sociological (ethnic communities) subsystems that insulate, and sometimes isolate, individuals and groups so that the two kingdoms or societies can be formed." The Hutterites linkage to the outside world is strictly controlled (Driedger, Currie and Linden, 1983:228).

Church is the institution of salvation for all baptized members; sect is the brotherhood of the regenerate, the congregation of saints, a gathered Church of true Christians (Friedmann, 1961:6).

According to Hutterite ministers, material objects do not become sacred. Special importance is attached to words, language patterns, and oral tradition. There are virtually no religious relics, or decorations within the Church buildings. Hutterite religious ceremonies are based on words, not objects or property. Bibles and sermon books are treasured, but the contents (the Word), not the material object itself, are believed to be sacred and are not interpreted or questioned (Hostetler, 1974:151). Peter (1987: 49) maintains that: "Members have recently been observed taking their notebooks to Church services where they record the ideas expressed in the sermon for subsequent discussion with others." ⁵

The lack of power and charisma behind the Hutterite sermon creates problems as:

Hutterite religion is highly traditionalized, and eschews any appeal to the senses that might attract the religious mind. The service is centred around the reading of printed sermons, thus lacking any spontaneity. There is no updating of the sermons, or indeed of Hutterite theology in general, so that the listener receives a highly traditionalized message, the content of which is already quite familiar (Peter, 1987:56).

⁵ Karl Peter, along with Edward Boldt, base much of their knowledge on religious revivals on Boldt's own experiences growing up on a Hutterite colony. According to Rod Janzen (1986: 125, citation no. 70), Edward Boldt's father, Peter Boldt, taught at Standoff Colony in Southern Alberta, for 31 years. Standoff is an unusual colony since the majority of inhabitants became "born again" with the encouragement of Peter Boldt (Janzen, 1986:24).
Religious holidays are looked upon with great anticipation. Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost are "observed relatively quietly, but on the occasion of a wedding, the colony families enjoy themselves" (Bennett, 1967:138).

3.10 BAPTISM

Baptism is the rite of passage within the Hutterite Brethren that is the most significant. To leave the colony after one has been baptised holds dire consequences. The baptismal vow is found in Hostetler (1974: Appendix Seven). Baptism "signifies submission to the spiritual community and acceptance of adult responsibility" (Hostetler, 1974:235). Baptism is generally held every two years, and the service usually takes place on Palm Sunday, or occasionally, at Pentecost (Hostetler, 1974:236).

3.11 COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Courtship occurs during visits between colonies occasioned by gatherings for marriages, funerals, work exchanges, and visiting of relatives. Courtships usually last from one to three years (Peters, 1965:94). Hutterites prefer "sibling exchange marriages in which two brothers marry two sisters or a brother and a sister marry a brother and sister" (Hostetler, 1974:238).

The engagement ceremony is held several days before the wedding ceremony (Stephenson, 1991:192). In front of the congregation, the prospective couple are promised to each other. After the engagement service, a special dinner is held, then hymns and wedding songs are sung by guests who have been invited to share with the festivities (Hofer, 1984:676)
On the day of the wedding the groom will wear his best Sunday clothes and the bride will usually dress more colourfully that colony regulations permit (Peters, 1965:94). The ceremony takes place on a Sunday morning and is performed by a visiting Minister. The theme centres around the submissiveness of the wife to the husband and the submissiveness of the husband to the Church and Christ; and how one shall lead the other closer to the Lord (Hofer, 1984:676). After the formal ceremony, a wedding dinner is held and songs are once again sung. After the festivities, the couple "are expected to live happily ever after" (Hofer, 1984:676). Hutterite society is both patriarchal and patrilocal (Stephenson, 1991:107-108). At the time of marriage, the wife must move to her husband's colony. Since most individuals on a colony are closely related, a woman cannot marry a fellow colonist. Within all three Leuts, only individuals who are second cousins or more distantly related can marry. While a Hutterite man's position becomes more powerful at marriage, a woman's independence is reduced. A wife is expected to transfer her kinship loyalties to her husband's family after marriage (Bennett, 1967:135). A husband grows a beard, becomes a voting member, and, depending on the size of the colony, he may be offered a managerial position.

There are few intermarriages among the three Leuts of the Hutterite Church (Peters, 1965:93; Stephenson, 1991:71). The unmarried state for both genders is frowned upon. There is no discrimination toward men or women who are widowed or toward childless couples (Peter, 1987:94). Marriage is thus largely a duty comparable to other duties such as work and going to Church. This duty is performed under the eyes and
supervision of the whole community, which takes great interest in its progression and controls it through its responses (Peter, 1987:81).

3.12 HUTTERITE FAMILY SIZE AND HEALTH

There are approximately 50,000 (religious) Hutterites in North America. The population growth of the Hutterites, along with their restricted gene pool, has made them one of the most studied populations in North America. Hutterite ideology towards the family is favourably portrayed by scholars.

Eaton and Mayer (1954) found that the Hutterite population on colonies was doubling every sixteen years. Eaton and Mayer (1954) calculated the average size of the Hutterite family to be 10.4 children (Lang and Gohlen, 1985:395). Lang and Gohlen's attempt to replicate these findings failed. They calculated the median to be 9.4, and the arithmetic mean to be 8.97 (Lang and Gohlen, 1985:395).

Hostetler (1974:293) argues that the Hutterites follows the biblical creed “be fruitful and multiply.” Hutterites “believe in simple, faithful, and natural marital relationships which produce many children . . . which contributes to the rapid growth of the population, which also increases manpower” (Khoshkin, 1976:50).

The overall growth of the Hutterite population is significant since the majority of its members are descendants of fifteen original families (Friedmann, 1970:100). This growth has led scholars to view the Hutterite population growth as “startling” and “phenomenal” (Boldt, 1983:235).
Using a 1981 enumeration of Hutterite colonies in Saskatchewan, both the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut, Ingoldsby and Stanton (1988) calculated the average number of children per family to be 5.00.

Stephenson (1991:97) argues that, until recently, information about the structure of the Hutterite population has been plentiful and of high quality. Much of the literature, however, is now out of date and no longer accurately reflects trends within all three Leuts. What is absent from writings on Hutterite family size are the physical and psychological repercussions for Hutterite women who have large numbers of children.

One change which is noted by scholars is illegitimate births. In the mid-1960's, Peters (1965:83) claimed that no major sex crime had ever been recorded among the Hutterites, and not more than ten illegitimate babies had been born (Peters, 1965:83). Twenty years later, Peter (1987:71) claims that during the last five years as many as eighty premarital pregnancies a year were reported for one of the three Leuts. There was also one reported case of brother-sister incest. This observation indicates change is taking place within the Hutterite family and interpersonal relations.

3.13 HUTTERITE DEFECTION

Barkin and Bennett (1972:463) argue that:

The rate of temporary out-migration from Hutterite colonies is below their population growth; most students obtain figures of no more than 1 percent from localized studies. The rate of temporary out-migration, confined to young men, is higher, from 2 to 5 percent . . . departure of women is virtually zero.

Few individuals are permanently excommunicated as members from Hutterite colonies. For serious transgressions, such as adultery, theft, trouble with the law, or
breaking baptism vows, members are put on the ban (auschluss) for two weeks. During this time the individual is separated from all other colony members. Most individuals soon reunite with the Church. A few, however, remain under the ban, eventually leaving the colony (Hostetler, 1974:145).

No person under the ban is ever asked to leave the colony. Usually the banned member is required to stay in a room apart from his or her family and allowed to speak only with the preacher or persons designated by the preacher. Other than the shedding of blood, which the Church cannot forgive, deserting the colony is the worst possible offense (Hostetler, 1974:145). The Hutterites believe that there is no hope of heaven for anyone who dies outside the Church.

Mackie (1975:301-307) delineates Hutterite defections into three types, based on accounts of ex-Hutterites. The first type involves concerns about power. A number of the male defectors are sons of Hutterite leaders, who believed that they should inherit, rather than earn leadership positions. The second type result from weak community cohesion, manifested in expressions of ambivalence towards the Hutterite system. The third type is “acclutered,” involving a rejection of the communal lifestyle of the Hutterites in favour of individuals earning their own wage, and accumulating personal property (Mackie, 1975:302).

In addition to Mackie’s three types, Peter (1987:48) argues for a fourth motive for defections. Evangelical Protestantism is attracting a number of Hutterites as converts. Revivalism and the promise of salvation to Hutterite members. Hartse (1994:69) agrees with Peter’s findings: “A crisis has arisen as numerous members reject the basic Hutterite
tenet that communal living is essential for salvation ... and have embraced a conservative Protestant interpretation of Christianity." Hartse (1994:70) claims that approximately six hundred Hutterites have left colonies in all three Leuts for religious reasons. This would represent one in fifty Hutterites becoming "born again."

Rich (1995:58) studied ex-Hutterites in Manitoba. Most of her informants belonged to the same Church and were evangelical Protestants. Not surprisingly, she found that twenty-three of her informants had left colony life for religious reasons. Twenty out of the twenty-eight participants in her study were women (Rich, 1995:143). Rich surprisingly argues that physical conditions of Hutterite colonies are archaic and lack basic amenities such as running water in homes. Rich also argues that the current situation of strife within the Schmiedeleut is leading to greater numbers of individuals leaving Hutterite colonies. This is leading them to have a personal rather than communal experience with God.

3.14 CONCLUSION

The literature review demonstrated that Hutterite women have been largely overlooked by researchers. The invisibility of Hutterite women has maintained the patriarchal ideology of the Hutterites and its utopian image. Only Baer (1976:187), Melland (1985:2) and Peter (1987:185) argue that significant social and cultural change is occurring within the Hutterite Brethren. Nevertheless, since much of the literature in circulation has been published prior to 1980, there is limited understanding and interpretation on the extent of the changes taking place as well as their effects. Peter argues these social and cultural changes are effecting colony inhabitants. Few writings
on the Hutterite Brethren question why it is so patriarchal. Scholars do not recognize the paradox between the use of current technology and the pre-modern, traditional society that the Hutterites are attempting to maintain. I will be address this paradox and its consequences for women in this thesis.
CHAPTER FOUR

A HABERMISAN TYPOLOGY: PRE-MODERN SOCIETY, MODERN SOCIETY AND COLONIZATION OF THE LIFEWORLD

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Habermas' system and lifeworld distinction provides a theoretical framework for locating and analyzing social and cultural change on Hutterite colonies and illuminates the effects in the lives of Hutterite women. Although Habermas' discussions of pre-modern or traditional societies was not focussed on the Hutterite Brethren, or Hutterite women specifically, his theory of the lifeworld and its colonization does, however, provide a framework for distinguishing the unique position of the Hutterite colonies in contemporary society, and for analyzing their adoption and use of technology in order to engage in successful agricultural production and marketing.

Melland (1985) discusses change on Hutterite colonies utilizing the writings of Habermas. Most writings on religious communes and utopias applaud the communal atmosphere of Hutterite colonies and laud the communal kitchen as a blessing for women. They do not address issues surrounding patriarchy and inequality as experienced by Hutterite women. Habermas' writings are therefore being utilized in order to understand the transformations that the Hutterite Brethren is currently undergoing. It has been argued that Habermas pays little attention to gender issues (Lee, 1996:74). Although Habermas
that Habermas pays little attention to gender issues (Lee, 1996:74). Although Habermas does not overtly address gender inequality, his theories regarding pre-modern society which is male dominated can be applied to the Hutterite Brethren.

4.2 DEFINITION OF TYPE

Although Habermas' framework focuses on contemporary society, he proposes an earlier form for society out of which, and in contrast to which, modern society has arisen. A typology can be formulated from Habermas' work for contrasting pre-modern society with modern society. An ideal type may involve an exaggeration of a particular feature (Martin, 1970:76). The logic and coherence of the type is intentionally constructed for purposes of analysis and not directly derived from empirical phenomena. The ideal type involves a mental standard which enables analysis without asserting the presence of all the individual features. According to Martin (1970:76),

[T]he type is an attempt to organize empirical data in preparation for the comparative study of it. It is a tool, or strategy of empirical explanation in sociology, not a substitute for explanation or an end in itself.

Ideal types focus on specific aspects of the social world. At the same time, types allow us to locate change over time within the theoretical context.

4.3 PRE-MODERN SOCIETY AS A TYPE

Habermas' description of pre-modern society organized around kinship and religion can be employed to locate and analyze Hutterite society and culture, not only in its 16th century origins, but in its four centuries of resistance to modern developments in relationship to nation states and capitalist economies. Hutterite resistance has retained the form of a traditional society based on kinship and religion. Kinship and religion are
dominated by men, women have no place in decision making or community guidance.

Habermas (1989: 192) maintains that a "system of kinship relations forms something like a total institution," forming the institutional core and functional base of society. As a system, kinship provides the basis for a social unit whose norms divide the "lifeworld into areas of interaction with those who are kin and those who are not" (Habermas, 1989:192).

The boundary of kinship relations are porous, since small pre-modern groups must practise exogamy.

The underpinning of kinship relations define the "boundary of the social unit."

The kinship system is composed of families ordered according to relations of legitimate descent. As a rule, domestic groups form the core, that is, groups composed of parents and children living together in the same place. New families arise through marriage. . . . Status means here one's position within a group formed along lines of legitimate descent. . . . they guarantee that women are exchanged between families of different descent (Habermas, 1989:191-192).

For Habermas, the lifeworld concept of society finds its strongest empirical hold in pre-modern societies (Habermas, 1989:190). Habermas defines the lifeworld as the pattern of the social system as a whole. The lifeworld is the "dense network of shared meanings individuals draw to construct identities, to negotiate situational definitions, and to create social solidarity" (Habermas, 1989:18). The cultural reproduction of the lifeworld allows for "continuity of tradition and the coherence of knowledge sufficient for daily practise" (Habermas, 1989:176).

The norms of the kinship system draw their binding power from their religious foundations. The members of the tribe are thus always a cultic community. . . . Social control requires a cultically anchored, religious grounding: violations of central norms of the kinship system count as sacrilege (Habermas, 1989:193).
Elements of religious myth support the identity of members of the kinship group or cultic community. A religious world view within this type serves an ideological function. A shared, homogeneous lifeworld tends to characterize a kinship based society, with consciousness based upon myth (religion) rather than rationality. Social control is religiously anchored. A society of this sort in omnipotent as it reproduces itself as a whole in every social interaction (Habermas, 1989:191).

In pre-modern societies there is a corresponding division of labour among the generations. Even from earliest years, children participate in work of the society. The elderly take on the “political” (Habermas, 1989:194). Labour is organized according to kinship. This development presupposes a close connection between language and kinship in the community. Kinship structures are a symbolically and linguistically constituted and organized world (Habermas, 1987:13).

In traditional societies the relations of production are incorporated into the general political order, while religious world views solidify group solidarity (Habermas, 1989:202). Within the pre-modern society, the mechanism of exchange has minimal interaction with economic functions. Habermas views pre-modern society as (a) socio-cultural lifeworld and (b) self-maintaining system, in which system integration and social integration are interwoven (Habermas, 1989:190).

Habermas also maintains that the pre-modern or traditional society regulates its exchanges with its social and natural environments by coordinated interventions into the external world. Looked at from the member's perspective, this is a matter of maintaining the material substratum of the lifeworld, that is, of producing and distributing goods, and
of settling internal conflicts. Performance of these tasks calls for cooperation. Even simple tasks require that the complex activities of different persons be expeditiously coordinated. There is a premium on adapting simple action systems to the conditions of cooperation based on a division of labour (Habermas, 1989:194).

Gender, age, and descent (ascribed status) are the dimensions along which roles are differentiated. Systemic mechanisms remain tightly intermeshed with mechanisms of social integration only as long as they attach to pre-existing social structure, which is the kinship system (Habermas, 1989:199). Classifications within the group are based upon prestige, gender and age. The rank of one’s family is more important than an individual’s rank within that family (Habermas, 1987:201).

The concept of the lifeworld is the strongest in pre-modern society, where structures of guided interaction immediately constitute supporting social structures. Worldviews are spread over the social structure as a whole and are integrated within daily routines. All those that compose a pre-modern society experience a common social world. Culture is transmitted orally. Mechanisms of exchange are minimal, with exchange based upon and controlled by religion and kinship. A person is born into a family and into a religious worldview. Within the pre-modern type, systemic mechanisms have not yet become detached from institutions effective for social integration.

Habermas sees social evolution as a process of rationalization. Habermas’ discussions on the pre-modern type provides the terminus a quo’ for an analysis of how system and lifeworld become separated. Habermas contrasts the pre-modern society and
modern society in order to differentiate between subsystems of the lifeworld and the social structures that steer social integration.

4.4 MODERN SOCIETY AS A TYPE

Modern society is characterized by processes of secularization, democratization, individuation, and technological advance which make possible, according to Habermas (1987:3) human emancipation. White (1988:3) observes the relevance of Habermas' work for locating and interpreting social and cultural change:

Habermas represents an interpretation of modernity that defends key aspects of modern culture and shifts the focus back to the economic and political systems. He develops a distinction between the achievement of a modern culture and the processes of societal modernization (White, 1988:3).

Habermas argues that western modernization has constituted a one-sided and thus distorted development of the rational potential of modern culture. He identifies these distortions as "colonization of the lifeworld" and "cultural impoverishment" (White, 1988:3). Modern life is no longer based on kinship, myth and cultic community, but rather on system. The lifeworld plays a reduced even minimized role in day to day interaction. Within modern society religion stabilizes class relations and legitimizes the state. Economy, politics, technology and the domination of the state have led to the demise of the pre-modern cultic community. The consequence of this transition from a pre-modern society to the modern society has been the emergence of the persistent colonization of the lifeworld.

In modern society, the power of the kinship group has been undermined by the differentiation of the economic system. The lifeworld no longer has any function or
influence within the exchange process as the mechanism of exchange is no longer tied to religion and the kinship system. As the lifeworld becomes colonized by the economic/political system, kinship and religion no longer provide the basis for or the reinforcement of the group's identity. Economy, through the medium of money sets an agenda that is largely disconnected from kinship based norms and values (Habermas, 1989:189). Society is no longer based on kinship lines, but on power and market exchange relations.

The economic realm of the market economy has invaded the lifeworld, resulting in the rationalization of communication. Communicative action is based on the economic system rather than on cultural imperatives. This results in the "breakdowns in interpersonal relationships, distorted social relations and/or personal development, the loss of meaning, alienation and anomie" (Langer, 1995:89).

The dilemma that faces advanced capitalism is:

Actions must accord with the class interests of capital in continuous accumulation and on the other, with the demand of the population that the political system express universalistic, democratic values (White, 1988:111).

For Habermas, like Marx, social formations are defined by a specific mode of production. The dialectic of the forces and relations of production explain social change. Class conflict is the mechanism by which this is accomplished.

Money is a special exchange mechanism that transforms use values. Within pre-modern kinship based society, exchange of goods occurred between members of the group and was directly tied to religion and kinship. Within modern society, money steers relations of exchange.
Habermas postulates that many of the ills caused by modernity have been due to the corruption of the lifeworld by the political/economic system. It is with capitalism that commerce among business enterprises and the interchange with noneconomic environments, private households and the state are carried out. Money has structure forming effects when it becomes an intersystemic medium of exchange (Habermas, 1989: 205).

Intensive commodification of private life, the growing categorization and redefinition of new areas of private life through intrusion of exchange value. Leisure, family life . . . development as a human being, increasingly become targets of commodification, as we are presented with new and more extensive pre-selected packages of behavioral, psychological and sexual scripts (White, 1988:115).

In pre-modern society, kinship and myth were the basis of society. Allegiance was tied to cultic community. With the formation of genuine politic power that no longer derives it authority from the prestige of leading descent groups, but from disposition over judicial means of sanction, the power mechanism detaches itself from kinship structures. Social stratification is combined with features of participation in political domination and of the production process.

Organizational complexity constituted at the level of political domination becomes the nucleus of a new institution: the state (Habermas, 1989:199). Whereas pre-modern society was organized around kinship lines, within the modern type the social structure is a general political order, within which the social strata are assigned their proper places, to which they are subordinated (Habermas, 1987:199).

Habermas draws attention to this mechanism of state organization. It is incompatible with the social structure of societies organized along kinship lines. In
contrast the capitalist enterprise and modern administration are independent units. Allegiance has shifted from the cultic community to the state, resulting in a loss of meaning. Societies organized around the state have their social stratification separated from the kinship system. The state becomes ordered according to social classes based on possessions.

Systems rationalization has forced technology into the lifeworld. In colonizing the lifeworld, technology has changed work, spawning a concomitant loss of shared meaning by individuals and groups. Culture becomes saturated with technology such that culture and technology cannot be separated. Technology becomes an instrument of systems rationality (Langer, 1995:88).

4.5 COLONIZATION OF THE LIFEWORLD

Habermas argues that a rationalized lifeworld is one of the initial conditions for modernization processes. It must be possible to anchor money and power in the lifeworld as media (Habermas, 1987:85). Yet, Habermas believes that loss of meaning, anomie, and alienation, can be traced back to the rationalization of the lifeworld (Habermas, 1989:177).

Habermas argues that in the course of social evolution, the system penetrates the lifeworld and destroys traditional forms of life, thereby contributing to the appearance of problems associated with identity formation, anomie and loss of meaning (Habermas, 1987:25).

The development of a symbolically structured lifeworld is indicated by the separation of culture, society and personality (Habermas, 1989:187). Habermas sees
social evolution as a second-order process of differentiation: system and lifeworld are differentiated due to complexity of each. At the same time they get differentiated from one another at the same time (Habermas, 1989:189).

When the lifeworld becomes colonized with rationality, what occurs is the "redefinition of everyday life situations . . . which leads the individual to define her/his existence in terms of strategic-rational acquisitive relations" (White, 1988:113-114).

Habermas believes that loss of meaning, anomie and alienation - the pathologies of bourgeois society . . . can be traced back to the rationalization of the lifeworld (Habermas, 1989:183). This rationalization of the lifeworld can be understood as the terms of successive releases of the potential for rationality in communicative action (Habermas, 1989:190). Rationality can also be viewed as the extension of the area of society subject to the criteria of rational decision (Habermas, 1987:237).

The lifeworld is reproduced through communicative action and generates ongoing patterns of social relations and the integration of individuals into these patterns (White, 1988:99). Habermas also maintains that pre-modern society more or less model this ideal type of a collectively shared, homogeneous lifeworld, by virtue of the kinship structures of society and mythical structures of consciousness. Habermas (1989:19) sees the rationalized lifeworld as making possible "higher levels of reflexivity, the criticizibility of interpretations, and the demystification of legitimations and the expansion of spaces for public discussion." Individual reproductive process can be evaluated according to the standards of "the rationality of knowledge, the solidarity of members, and
the responsibility of adult personality" (Habermas, 1989:177). Breakdown of the solidarity of collective conscience within pre-modern society results in anomie and corresponding conflicts.

Culture depends on the degree of continuity of valid knowledge, while social integration reproduces the stabilization of group solidarity. Socialization forms responsible actors (White, 1988:100). The notion of lifeworld is employed by Habermas to account for the symbolic reproduction of society (White, 1988:100).

The following table compares pre-modern society and modern society utilizing the writings of Jurgen Habermas (1989).
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<tr>
<th>FEATURES</th>
<th>PRE-MODERN SOCIETY</th>
<th>MODERN SOCIETY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>organization of society</td>
<td>• a cultic community, based on religion and kinship</td>
<td>• system and lifeworld are major divisions of society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lifeworld</td>
<td>• lifeworld equated with society, transmits traditions and knowledge. Lifeworld shared and homogeneous</td>
<td>• system carved out of and at expense of lifeworld. Individual autonomy is the norm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Worldviews spread throughout social structure as a whole and tightly woven within daily routines. Coherence and consistency</td>
<td>• Sphere of economy, politics and technology and domination of the state result in increasing colonization of lifeworld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• members experience common, shared social world</td>
<td>• colonized lifeworld results in anomie and alienation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religion</td>
<td>• society is religion based on myth and basis of social control. Religion legitimizes rule by descent. Culture and religion interpenetrate and reciprocally enforce each other</td>
<td>• society is secular. With separation of Church and state religion has become privatized and society secularized. Religion has moved into the sphere of the family. Religion, however, functions to stabilize class relations and legitimize the state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td>• kinship as the organizing principle of society. Kinship defines boundaries of the social unit</td>
<td>• The lifeworld and its functions relegated to the family. The family preforms solidarity and culture socialization that produces lifeworld functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Extended family. Grandparents and elders revered; childrearing is done by kin. Elders valued for wisdom</td>
<td>• nuclear families as typical the form. Childrearing includes professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEATURES</td>
<td>PRE-MODERN SOCIETY</td>
<td>MODERN SOCIETY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>women are exchanged between tribes, thus unifying them. Society is patriarchal</td>
<td>marriage is within the lifeworld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>principle of order and organization</td>
<td>tradition</td>
<td>rationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>member's perspective</td>
<td>collectivity</td>
<td>individuality, autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>education is generally informal with culture, some formal elements</td>
<td>education is formal, universally required. Education as the basis of transmitting societal skills and beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social control</td>
<td>social control cultically anchored religiously grounded. Largely informal control</td>
<td>social control based on laws and norms enforced by the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td>based on oral</td>
<td>utilizing technology and is based on the economic system. Communication has become rationalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>Shared amongst members. Grown or gathered and hunted by the tribe. Food is ritual and the basis of work groups</td>
<td>foodstuffs are purchased utilizing money, viewed as production (system).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>work is organized according to age and gender. All expected to work regardless of age and ability. Work is necessary for the survival of society. Work provides goods for both personal and collective use.</td>
<td>Seen as being within the system and economy. Goods have been transformed into commodities. Work is tied to capitalist society. Labour is a commodity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEATURES</td>
<td>PRE-MODERN SOCIETY</td>
<td>MODERN SOCIETY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>structure of society</td>
<td>• system and social integration tightly woven. Coordination of society as a whole. A shared lifeworld is key to cooperation and cultural interpretations, roles, and gender relations</td>
<td>• Society organized around the state. Social stratification separated from the kinship system. The state becomes ordered according to social classes based on possessions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exchange</td>
<td>• Bartering with emphasis on quotes and words</td>
<td>• money has become the symbol of and the basis of exchange with value in itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technology</td>
<td>• technology is minimal. Rudimentary tools used in production.</td>
<td>• Technology control, necessary in societal advancement. Technology has become an instrument of systems rationality. Technology provides an instrumental approach to the world, a form of control. Systems rationalization has forced technology into the lifeworld. In colonizing the lifeworld, technology has changed work, spawning a concomitant loss of shared meaning by individuals and groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political power</td>
<td>• Power tied to kinship group. Rulers picked because of age and kinship group. It is a patriarchal system. Women are always viewed as inferior.</td>
<td>• Political power is now organized at the level of the state. There is genuine political power that is no longer derived from descent groups but from participation in political domination and production.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6 CONCLUSION

Habermas wishes to illuminate:

. . . the degree in which the systematic integration begins to undermine functions essential to the reproduction of a rationalized lifeworld. The mediatization of the lifeworld takes on the form of a colonization of the lifeworld when the systemic media, money and power begin to displace communicative sociation in core spheres of action within which the three processes of symbolic reproduction take place (White, 1988:109-110).

It is the colonization of the lifeworld reproduction which generates the pathologies of advanced capitalism (White, 1988:110). Colonization of the lifeworld is not voluntary. Rather, it reflects structural effects of system development on people's lives: "the increasing penetration of economic principles into previously non-market spheres" (Langer, 1995:22). According to Habermas, crisis and conflict occur now within non-economic realms (Habermas, 1987:10).
5.1 GENESIS OF A QUESTION: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PROJECT

There are few references to the part Hutterite women have played within Hutterite history. As the literature review indicates, writings about the Hutterites tend to maintain the invisibility of Hutterite women. Peter and Whitaker (1981:145) note the absence of published research on Hutterite women (1981:145). Apart from the notable exceptions of Melland (1985), Looney (1986) and Peter (1987), the literature does not reflect social and cultural changes taking place on Hutterite colonies in the last 20 years. As a result we not only know little about Hutterite women, we do not know how such changes are affecting Hutterite women.

Looney's (1986) work on colonies in Southern Alberta was ground breaking as she observed and interviewed Hutterite women while they worked around a particular colony. Not only did she interact with the women, but she gathered her information about colony life from Hutterite women and not colony leaders.

Melland (1985:2) determined that significant change was taking place on colonies. He documents this within his work "Changes in Hutterite House Types: The Material Expression of the Contradiction Between "Being-On-The-Colony" and "Being-In-The-
World." He does not however, spell out this contradiction, nor does he indicate specifically how this change affects the lives of Hutterite women.

Peter's writings (published in book form in 1987) are a major contribution to recent writings on Hutterites, especially on women. By visiting colonies in Alberta throughout his academic career, Peter recognized that change was occurring on Hutterite colonies which was dramatically affecting colony life, especially for women.

I required access to a colony where I might observe and participate with Hutterite women during their daily routines. I needed to participate in Hutterite life in order to document the extent of social and cultural change taking place on Hutterite colonies, and to observe whatever affects such change was having on Hutterite women. If I could gain access, it would provide me first-hand observation of Hutterite women.

5.2 FAMILY ROOTS AS A CONNECTION

My hope to study the Hutterites began as a desire to learn about my heritage. As the daughter of a non-colony Hutterite (Prairieleut), I was in a unique situation. There are minimal relationships between Prairieleut and Hutterites. It is now more than 120 years since the split occurred in Russia between those who took up private ownership and those who choose to live in community. The largest factor in this erosion has been the assimilation of the Prairieleut into Canadian and American society. There are few intermarriages of Prairieleut. This has resulted in the consistent decline in the use of the Tyrolean (hutrish) dialect and cultural traditions are no longer being taught to younger generations.
I wished to foster the relations between those on and off the colony. I wanted to understand how contemporary Hutterite colonies actually operate. To most outsiders, life as a Hutterite seems both mysterious and oppressive. My earlier interactions, however, showed me that the Hutterite colony could be a welcoming and supportive place. It represented a utopia of sorts for me.

5.3 ATTEMPTING TO GAIN ACCESS/ENTRANCE TO THE FIELD

In Fall 1993, I visited relatives among the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba to find out whether I could live in one of the colonies. My ties to the group were based on being *freunt* (family). In all three prairie provinces and *Leuts*, Canadian Prairieleut have visited their relatives on colonies. When some relatives, including a Dariusleut woman, and I, visited Schmiedeleut colonies for five days in October 1993, we were warmly welcomed. Hutterites have a tendency to treat Prairieleut as long-lost kin, which we usually are.

My principal reason for visiting colonies in Manitoba was to determine whether it was possible to live on a colony in order to carry out research on Hutterite women. Although I had been to Dariusleut colonies before, I had not stayed overnight. On this visit, then, I was able to assure myself it would be emotionally possible for me to live on a Hutterite colony for a limited time and carry out participant observation. I found the communal setting enticing, even beguiling. Although my presence was a novelty to Hutterites, I felt accepted as a Prairieleut.

I was interrogated by Hutterite adults, especially Ministers, about my reasons for wanting to study Hutterite women. I was a Prairieleut who wanted to learn first-hand about Hutterite life, especially the lives of women. My request was accepted without
hesitation. Because Hutterites have been frequently studied, as well as inundated with visitors, they are not greatly concerned that being studied will disrupt colony schedules. When I was attempting to establish contacts during a German Teachers meeting that we had come across, I explained that I wanted to live on a Hutterite colony by living like a Hutterite young woman. No one raised concerns about whether I was a "worldly" individual who was too corrupt, that I would talk about sex, drink, smoke or act in a sexually provocative way. Apparently I was viewed as someone who would not challenge the colony routine. Although I met individuals who were receptive to my research plans, no colony leaders invited me stay at colonies. While two individuals thought that I might be able to stay at their respective colonies, internal strife within the Schmiedeleut, however, raised concerns about the feasibility at that time. Many colonies have opposing factions that cause disagreement about any issue. Discussions on this conflict can found in Preston (1992), Derkson (1991), Kleinsasser (1994) regarding the Schmiedeleut and their relationship with the Bruderhof, a group based in Rifton, New York that has twice been aligned with the Hutterite Brethren. This split within the Schmiedeleut, which has polarized relations among all three Leuts, meant that I would be living in the middle of a dispute.

Visiting Schmiedeleut colonies had reduced the chances of my being able to stay at a Darius or Lehrerleut colony in Saskatchewan or Alberta. My association with the Schmiedeleut would involve "shadow stigma" (Goffman, 1963), since the Schmiedeleut are perceived by the other two Leuts as being more liberal. Without an invitation, I would be unable to live at a Hutterite colony to do the participant observation research.
The only way that appeared open to me was to gather first-hand information during day 
visits to various colonies in Saskatchewan.

5.4 CONTACT

I made a second attempt to gain access to colonies by mailing letters, along with 
copies of my Hutterite heritage (freuntshaft), to contacts within the Schmiedeleut. I also 
sent letters to the head Ministers, or Elders of the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut. I received 
no written replies. In mid-February 1994, I received a phone call from a Reverend 
Waldner from "Waldnerhof" in Manitoba. Through a neighbouring colony, he had 
received a copy of my letter. Reverend Waldner told me that I could conduct the 
research at his colony. He would give permission because I was Prairieleut and many of 
my relatives had close relations with this particular colony. I informed Reverend Waldner 
that I would follow all the rules and preconditions set up for me if I would be allowed 
to stay at Waldnerhof. I also informed him that I would be bringing a letter of consent 
for him and the secretary of the colony to sign. He refused to do so stating that my being 
Prairieleut was all he needed to know. Since he was the gatekeeper who controlled my 
entrance into his and other Schmiedeleut colonies, such agreement on my part was 
crucial. It constituted a breakthrough as it was now possible to carry out this study.

I identified myself as an individual who was writing a "book" about Hutterite 
women. I asked that all members of Waldnerhof be told that I was going to live at 
Waldnerhof to learn about the lives of Hutterite women. Reverend Waldner decided that 
I would associate with his 21 year old daughter Linda. My association with her who 
would ease my introduction into the world of the dienan (di-nun) the term (plural) used
for single young women. The dienan are categorized as those women of the colony who are unmarried and between the ages of fifteen and thirty. This is the age period of the greatest freedom for Hutterite women which typically ends with marriage. My age (twenty-five), my marital status (single) placed me in the role of the dien (dên), the term (singular) for single young woman.

Hutterite society ascribes status to individuals based on age, gender and family rather than on achievements, and ability. As a dien I could not work or associate with married or retired women. Association with the single dienan was the appropriate social location for me. It was also assumed that I could cook, clean, process vegetables, as well as that I was healthy and willing to do any heavy labour that was required of me. All of my experiences at Waldnerhof as well as at other Hutterite colonies I visited were influenced by my location among the dienan. My own interpretations were and have been shaped not only by this social location and status, but also by my being an outsider.

It was agreed that I would stay two months at Waldnerhof. In February 1994, Linda and I began corresponding so that my scheduled entry at Waldnerhof for early May, 1994 would not be difficult for the two of us or for Waldnerhof residents. Over the intervening three months, we wrote frequently. I learned much about Waldnerhof from Linda's letters. I purchased and sent the appropriate fabric to Waldnerhof so that I would have clothing waiting for me when I arrived. This exchange strengthened the bond between Linda and me.
5.5 ENTRANCE INTO THE FIELD

On Saturday, 30 April 1994, I arrived at Waldnerhof. From the beginning, I was treated as an insider. Although at first I was stared at and questioned, after the initial period of my newness, approximately four weeks, both Waldnerhof residents and I settled down together. We only communicated in English. I was informed that most Waldnerhof inhabitants saw my visit as an opportunity to improve their ability to communicate in English.

It was, however, surprising that I was repeatedly told that I walked, talked and acted like a "true" Hutterite. I was compared to being a new bride who married into the colony. I was welcomed warmly and treated, not as an outsider, but as a long-lost daughter. I was treated differently, however, by the young men of Waldnerhof. At first they welcomed me, but after two weeks, they typically ignored me. In their eyes, I was not a possible romantic interest since I was not a "true" Hutterite. I was informed by Fritz, the son of Reverend Waldner that I was not born Hutterite. Even were I to join the colony and learned hutterish, Fritz would never marry me. I was of no interest to the young men because I was different. My being an "outsider" was not a threat to them, but the reason why I was unattractive to them.

5.6 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: OUTSIDE-INSIDER

One of the conditions of my staying at Waldnerhof was that I would dress as a Hutterite young woman. This condition ensured that I would not be a disruptive influence at Waldnerhof. My clothing/dress included a skirt (kittel) that Linda had found for me from her closet, a white blouse (hemd), a head covering (tiechl) of Linda's, and a
borrowed black jacket (wanik). I soon had my own clothes sewn from the fabric I had sent. In the eyes of the women this clothing altered my appearance slightly since my dresses were sewn from fabric the women had not seen before.

It took me two weeks to become accustomed to the rituals and unspoken rules that guide the life of a dien. At first I wanted the young women to learn from my example. For instance I did not fashion my hair in the prescribed way; I did not wear a slip under my clothes; I did not wear any shoes except my Birkenstock sandals. After three weeks, however, when I experienced an overwhelming desire to fit in, I found that I was ignoring all that I did not like about colony life. I began to do my hair in the same style as the women, to dress in the same manner, and even to speak with a Hutterite German accent. I tried to work as hard as the other dienan did, even cleaning up after the men of Reverend Waldner's residence. I readily entered into conversations about cooking, sewing and marriage with the dienan and married women.

The occasion on which I clearly knew that I was an insider was the first time I went to a nearby town to shop with Linda. Although I felt slightly odd in my distinctive Hutterite dress, when we ran into other Hutterites, they assumed that I was from Waldnerhof. This reception let me know that I was, despite my outsider background and perspective, for all practical purposes, an insider in the eyes of others. I found that I was actually displeased when it was pointed out to Hutterites from other colonies that I was an "Englishae" writing a book.
It was interesting how I was perceived. I thought of myself as a scholar while most Hutterites, especially Schmiedeleut in Manitoba and Dariusleut from Saskatchewan, compared my staying at a Hutterite colony to Fiona, a young woman from a major centre in Saskatchewan who attempted to live at a nearby Dariusleut colony. She did so because she yearned for the sense of community that the Hutterite life offers. Fiona was said to be a wonderful worker and was extremely avid about Hutterite life for the first few months that she was at the colony. After this time, however, she began to disobey rules and initiated a relationship with a single young man whose parents wished to put an end to Fiona's stay at their colony. She later moved to a Manitoba colony. Fiona attempted to follow the Hutterite lifestyle on various colonies in Manitoba. It eventually became clear that she could not conform to the Hutterite life and was expelled from the colony.

Most Hutterites in Manitoba compared my sojourn at Waldnerhof to Fiona's search for community. It was difficult to explain my interest in Hutterites to non-Waldnerhof Hutterites. It was even more difficult to discuss my interests with Hutterites who were engulfed in the struggle that was dividing the Schmiedeleut both in Canada and the United States.

5.6.1 MY LIFE AS A DIEN

As a dien I had much more freedom than a married Hutterite woman. Although the young men and women treated me as a novelty at first, they soon became used to me. The young women were not threatened by my knowledge of the outside world and the young men never viewed me in a romantic way or as someone eligible for marriage.
Because of their attitude, I was excluded from some subjects of information within their conversations.

I was unprepared for the freedom the dienan have, especially in comparison to the curfews and rules I followed when I was a teenager. Young Hutterites are expected to date. When a pre-marital pregnancy occurs, there are hurt feelings, but never the mistrust or animosity that faces many young women on the “outside.” I was informed by Reverend Waldner’s wife that it is never held against a couple if they “have” to get married. Rather the community treats it as a moment of weakness that can be forgiven. Until recently, it has been the norm that the father of the child would marry the mother. Now, in many cases however, this is no longer expected. Women may marry whomever they want. Most often it is not the father of their child.

My own expectations about sexual mores were different from those of the young Hutterites. It is assumed that young men and women will break rules, especially when it comes to dating. Another aspect that was beyond my experience was the group solidarity that existed among the single young men and women. Despite the view of Peter (1987:69) that Hutterite peer group behaviour is competitive and often aggressive, I found that though individuals may not like members of their peer group, they still try to cover up for each other in order to protect the freedom that they know.

5.6.2 THE WORK OF THE DIENAN

The young women work together at any task that has come up, necessary or not. For instance, planting bedding plants in the garden, washing the kitchen and dining hall every Friday afternoon, cleaning the school and Church every Friday night. The work
that the *dienan* do is usually separate from that of the married women (*frau*). When it is an important task, such as food processing, the women all work together. The dien generally do the more labour intensive work, while the married women have easier tasks to complete.

To compensate for all the extra work they must do, and the fact that the young women want to meet single Hutterite men, the dien are included on a number of trips every year, particularly in Spring and Summer. Since I went on six trips with them, I, too, became part of the group. Only for a very short period of time was I asked about my life on the "outside." Soon I was told about their lives and various anecdotes relating their experiences. As an Englishwoman I was treated as unimportant. This taught me a great deal about the way Hutterites think. I found that my achievements and qualifications were not salient, because I was from the "outside."

5.7 CONSEQUENCES OF BEING AN OUTSIDE-INSIDER

After my first four weeks at Waldnerhof, my emotional responses towards the Hutterites changed dramatically. This was in part, as Jackson (1986:271) noted, that "in fieldwork one overreacts as a consequence of the feeling of helplessness and disorientation endemic to experiences of total immersion in a strange culture." At first I ignored what were warning signs. I remember telling myself that women enjoyed not having any power and that it was perfectly natural to have men ruling over women! To experience Hutterite life was no longer something of newness, but now as ordinary and everyday. I began to take it for granted as the way things were.
Although I was unaware of the subtle change in my outlook and consciousness at the time, I realized that I had begun to experience Hutterite life as a dien. This perspective contrasted sharply with my own cultural norms and expectations as an outsider. I began following more rigidly the patterned behaviour of many of Waldnerhof's dienan. Like them, I began to nap two to three hours every afternoon. This afternoon nap (mittoch schlofan) is expected of women. I also began to eat excessive amounts of food (and gain weight). I found myself feeling sluggish. Although I did not realize it at the time, in retrospect I have come to interpret my response as a reaction to boredom.

So quickly had I become socialized into the round of life of a dien that I did not realize how powerless dienan felt until I returned home. I have been told often (on the condition of anonymity) that many Hutterite women are depressed much of the time. Only after a period of reflection did I come to realize that the underlying truth in my own emotional responses while at the colony.

5.8 RESEARCH STRATEGIES: AN OVERVIEW

When it was established that I was to stay at Waldnerhof to conduct my research, it was assumed not only by Reverend Waldner but also by me, that I would be very busy taking notes and studying what was going on around me. It soon became obvious that note taking was not possible. Every day I was either visiting or working. I was so immersed in the role of a dien that only every second day, could I make a few notes about what was going on around me.

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I was also concerned that any potential written response I had about Waldnerhof or Hutterite life would be read by Linda or another member of Reverend Waldner's family. In order to protect myself, I wrote much of what I had experienced in letters to family members. These letters were mailed without being read by colony authorities.

Total immersion in the Hutterite way of life was difficult. My contact with the outside world provided some points of reference. At least twice a week I was in contact with my mother by telephone. She kept me informed about all that was happening to our family and neighbourhood, while I told her what I had learned from various Hutterites regarding our family connections. Almost every home on a colony has a radio. I also listened to the radio. It was a connection to the "outside."

Once I had left the colony and returned home, I began to rebound from my feelings of sluggishness and boredom. I began to write and categorize much of what I had observed. Only in this process was I able to identify and frame my observations and experiences. My ability to take notes had been adversely affected by the expectations of the Hutterites towards me as a female. The letters I wrote to my family have been a valuable source of field notes, enabling me to read what I had experienced during the time of my fieldwork. Whitehead and Conaway (1986:4) argue that female field workers have to conform to local gender ascriptions more completely than do male field workers.

5.9 PERCEPTIONS OF AN OUTSIDE-INSIDER

Through participant observation, I came to experience the life of a Hutterite dien as unfair in comparison to that of a Hutterite man. I came to understand that my boredom also contained anger toward two aspects of the setting: as a potential convert
and the patriarchal setting. One source of my anger was the expectation that, as a Prairieleut, I was a potential convert to Hutterite way of life. Reverend Waldner's expectation of converting me to the Hutterite Brethren came from his own background. In 1910, his grandmother, a Prairieleut, joined a colony in South Dakota at the age of seventeen. He thought that there was nothing abnormal about having me join the Hutterite Brethren. Many of his ideas were directly influenced by the linkage of the Society of Brothers to the Schmiedeleut Hutterite Brethren. Reverend Waldner considered it wonderful that people would convert to the Hutterite way of life, thus gaining salvation.

The pressures exerted on me to become a "true Christian" were pervasive and relentless. It was not the women who wished me to stay for a long period of time at Waldnerhof, but the men who were full members of the Church.

My second source of anger arose over the treatment of Hutterite women. I knew the Hutterite Brethren is patriarchal, but I did not realize how repulsive the male Hutterite view of women is. I was repeatedly told that women are the weaker gender. For instance, I was informed that Prime Minister Kim Campbell lost the 1993 election because she was a woman; the Canadian public realized that women simply do not have the capabilities to run a country. When I attempted to argue that Kim Campbell lost the federal election because most voters were dissatisfied with the Progressive Conservative party, my views were dismissed as being unimportant. The real issue in their view had to do with women's incapability of handling leadership roles.
Another incident which occurred after I left the Waldnerhof colony revealed how women on a Hutterite colony are viewed. While attending a Dariusleut Shivaree (holba) a pre-wedding celebration, my mother and I were talking to a colony secretary, discussing colony life when he informed us that if it were not for women, there would be no problems on colonies.

Hutterite men are socialized to believe they deserve preferential treatment simply because of their gender. To see such behaviour annoyed me, especially when I saw such deference taught to young children. I also could not accept the Hutterite view towards education. Women have very little schooling. Such feelings of resentment raised questions about my previous positive, somewhat idealistic feelings about Hutterite life. I left Waldnerhof at the end of nine weeks, feeling very knowledgeable about the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba. After returning home, however, as I reflected on my stay at Waldnerhof, I came to realize that I felt disillusioned with Hutterite life. In trying to re-enter the outside world, I also felt something like an ex-Hutterite.

5.10 OUTSIDER AGAIN: DEBRIEFING

It was difficult for me to re-adjust to being in the “outside” world. When saying our farewells at the bus station, Reverend Waldner's wife cried. Not only was I still in my role as a Hutterite dien, I stayed in my Hutterite clothes on my trip home! Members of my family were in a state of shock when they saw me. There I was at the bus depot not only dressed like a Schmiedeleut Hutterite, but also talking and acting like one. Any time Hutterite society was criticized, I was quick to defend it, even though I was allowed to belittle it. My references to “our” kitchen, “our” colony annoyed my family members.
Even though I had left Waldnerhof, my thinking and behaviour patterns were to a considerable extent still those of someone on the colony. I, did, however experience a sense of freedom at home, which was also mixed with ambivalence. No longer did I have to ask permission to leave colony property, or to wait for men to drive me anywhere in town. Now that I was home, I could go to the store anytime, eat meals when I wanted and sleep in if I wished. I realized how controlling and regimented Hutterite life had been. Because I had now experienced the rules that govern Hutterite colonies, I felt that I was really free. Although I felt free, I did not know how to handle it. In many ways I still yearned for the sense of community I had experienced at Waldnerhof. One can imagine how ambivalent and confused it must feel for someone raised from birth to defect temporarily from a Hutterite colony. I had, at least, lived on the outside for all of my life, so I was familiar with all that I faced. The exhilaration of freedom must be overwhelming, yet the lack of emotional support from one’s family on the colony must be difficult to handle.

Reverend Waldner tried to maintain my emotional ties to Waldnerhof by telephoning me at home to see how his “new daughter” was doing. I was repeatedly asked when I was returning. It was difficult for my identity as an outsider to co-exist with the new “outlook” I had developed. I had feelings of freedom mixed with terror at being apart from Waldnerhof. My life still revolved around the colony, even though I had lived there for only two months.
For two months I had become, for all practical purposes, a resident and member of Waldnerhof, an unbaptised dien. After seven weeks at Waldnerhof, I decided that I had carried out sufficient observation of the Hutterite way of life for my study. By this time, I had begun to feel considerable ambivalence about the life of Hutterite woman. I did not feel as if I was being forced into joining the Hutterite life. Instead, it is my belief that Reverend Waldner felt that since the Hutterite colony the surest way of going to heaven, all individuals should try the Hutterite life in order to gain salvation.

Although I knew some details of Hutterite life, I was an outsider. I did not learn about all facets of Hutterite life. For instance, gossip about young people from other colonies about illicit activities, was withheld from me. Such things as pre-marital pregnancies, the sexual and physical abuse of children on certain colonies, or problems with drug and alcohol abuse were never topics of discussion in my presence. I have subsequently learned some of this background, however, from Hutterites who have permanently left the colony. The informants are individuals with whom I have corresponded after I completed my fieldwork. I met some individuals through the KIT (Keep in Touch) newsletter. It is circulated among ex-members of the Bruderhof, many of whom are ex-Hutterites. One such individual is George Maendel. I have also had contact with Sam Hofer, an ex-Hutterite who writes fictional novels about Hutterite life. He has also had a number of cookbooks of Hutterite fare published. I have also remained friends with the women of Waldnerhof, particularly Linda, Reverend Waldner's daughter. This friendship is based on the bond we formed while I lived at Waldnerhof.
My family was concerned at how sluggish Hutterite life had made me. I had become passive with little initiative. Leaving Waldnerhof left me tired, both emotionally and physically. I was in fact depressed. It took me sometime to realize what I had experienced, especially the attempt to recruit me as a permanent member of Waldnerhof.

The identity and affection issues I experienced happen to social scientists conducting participant observation in groups significantly different from their own social and cultural context. The emotionally charged relationship I had with Waldnerhof's residents and other Hutterites resulted in feelings of ambivalence. The identity ambivalence I had to cope with when I exited Waldnerhof frightened me.

What helped me to understand my experiences was reading about the experiences of individuals in similar circumstances. Michael Holzach (1993), lived on two Dariusleut colonies in Southern Alberta in 1980. He experienced many of the same emotions that I did. The Joyful Community by Zablocki was particularly helpful since I realized that my experience was not unique. In fact, individuals who had left the Society of Brothers or Bruderhof, as they are more commonly called, (a quasi-Hutterite group based in the state of New York) experienced emotions similar to those I experienced. In early 1995 I began receiving KIT. Such readings helped to heal my hurt feelings. Knowing what I had experienced was not unique gave me perspective.

5.11 REFLECTION ON EMOTIONS AND KNOWING

Although I was viewed by Waldnerhof residents as something akin to an insider, I experienced myself as an outsider-insider. Immersing myself in the role of a dien allowed me to experience the life of a young, single Hutterite woman. Had I not had my
knowledge of the Hutterite dialect, foods, behaviour and expectations, I would not have been able to observe and interpret what I did at Waldnerhof. It was as a member of a dien that I came to experience the life of a Hutterite woman.

Hutterite women are angry at the lack of experience they have. Their hostility can be quite shocking and is often directed at men. At Waldnerhof, I saw that the women have very quick tempers and will “tell each other off” in an instant. An example of this was when Reverend Waldner’s sons would dirty the main bathroom by walking across it right after Linda and I had cleaned it, their actions would be interpreted as demonstrating male superiority. Linda would respond to such actions with quick anger.

One of the most surprising aspects to my life at Waldnerhof was my conservative behaviour in comparison to that of the dien. I was not only repeatedly told that I was dressed very suitably in comparison to the young women my age, but also my standards of behaviour were higher. First, Hutterite dien attempt to dress fashionably. Because the strongest outside influence on a Hutterite colony is “country-western,” the young people idealize this way of life, especially within the Schmiedeleut and Dariusleut.

In order to imitate a country-western look, young men wear cowboy boots (they are no longer forbidden by colony leaders), the women wear lace-up cowboy boots. Most Hutterite men wear cowboy hats or country styled baseball hats, many men within the Dariusleut wear bandannas. Hutterite women and men wear cowboy styled jackets; most Hutterite men of all Leuts wear cowboy shirts. Being farmers, the young men envision themselves as cowboys. Most young men and women play guitar and the harmonica and sing country-gospel songs. The young men dream of being cowboys, while the young

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women listen to and sing many country-gospel songs and try to groom themselves accordingly. Although they do not alter the traditional Hutterite dress, their hairstyle, footwear and jackets have an overt western look to them.

When Reverend Waldner agreed to let me stay at Waldnerhof, I promised that I would be a “lady.” This meant that I would behave with the utmost tact and standards. I was surprised at the behaviour of the young women and men on colonies. It is expected that young people will “act up.” They are generally not reprimanded for misbehaviour. When a young couple would want to be alone, they would simply go into a bedroom and shut the door. It would be compromising my standards if I were to do such a thing. It was assumed by all that as an outsider, I would have moral standards lower than those of the Hutterites with whom I was living. The opposite was the case. The drinking of alcohol, the breaking of rules, the theft of colony and non-colony property, and sexual transgressions presented a different picture of Hutterite life to me.

5.12 CONCLUSION

In so far as I had taken on the identity of a dien, even if it was for a short time, I experienced emotions to some extent similar to those of others in the group. I was often angry, bored and resentful at how unfair it seemed. I still was unsure about my feelings towards the Hutterites though, especially at Waldnerhof. Because the colony inhabitants had been very caring and welcoming, I felt as if I were letting them down by leaving. I was also blind to the “power relations or inequalities in the group because such discoveries would exacerbate our discomfort” (Kleinman and Copp, 1993:35).
When I decided that I had to return to my home, I was uneasy about leaving Waldnerhof. I felt afraid that I would not only miss all of the members of Waldnerhof a great deal, but that I would feel lonely after living in a group setting for two months. In his research on the Bruderhof, Zablocki (1973:160) found that many ex-members had difficulty recovering from their experiences. He named this difficulty "exile syndrome" and described it as follows:

Dispirited, purposeless drifting, viewing any possible life outside the Bruderhof as dull, pale, and meaningless. Exile syndrome generally wears off after a year or so, but in some it has persisted more than five years (1973:160).

It was quite difficult for me to separate my feelings for Hutterite society from those I had for individual Hutterites. The gender inequality that pervades Hutterite colonies emotionally challenged me. It has also been difficult to analyze the emotional ambivalence that I felt when I realized that the reason I was allowed to live at Waldnerhof for two months was not so that I could research the Hutterites, but because I was viewed as a potential convert.
CHAPTER SIX

THE LIFE OF A HUTTERITE WOMAN:

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT THROUGH THE EYES OF A DIEN

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present a detailed portrait of the multifaced lifeworld of a Hutterite female as viewed through the perspective of a dien. This portrait will be based on, and guided by observation, my sensibilities as a Prairieleut, my social location on a Schmiedeleut colony, and most importantly, my viewpoint as a dien who was an outside/insider. The focus of this portrayal will be on the Schmiedeleut since it is within this population of the Hutterite Brethren that I conducted my research. Most of my findings were gained through my observations and participation of daily life at Waldnerhof colony. My visits to other Schmiedeleut colonies while in the company of Waldnerhof residents also guides my perspective. Comparisons to the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut will be noted only (1) when I had asked about differences, especially since many of my earlier ideas about Hutterites were based on interacting with Dariusleut, and (2) when the dienan brought my attention to the differences between their way of doing things and the traditions of the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut. This detailed portrait is organized in terms of age and locale since this is how life is organized for Hutterite females.
Discussions within this chapter are guided by what I learned by observing and interacting with the young women at Waldnerhof. Hutterite dienan are extremely opinionated and have views on almost everything. The portrait presented in this chapter reflects the viewpoints of a dien. Through I was an insider in many respects, I was not privy to some information. Because I was in fact to learn about Hutterite life, it is quite possible that the dienan were scared that what they would tell me would be published in my “book.”

6.2 FROM BIRTH TO DINDLA (BIRTH TO TWO AND HALF YEARS OF AGE)

Within Hutterite society a baby, regardless of gender, is treasured, viewed as a gift from God. The entire colony anticipates the birth of a child. The dienan view the birth of a baby as exciting. The only time a dien may feel sorry for a female girl (dindla) is when she is the only girl among a number of male siblings. Generally, the young girls who are pitied the most are those who are the oldest in the family. Since they generally have to help their mothers much of the time, their free time is quite limited.

The more children born into a colony, the sooner the colony will split, thus insuring that the Hutterite Brethren will grow and continue. At birth, the first gift a child receives upon birth from her colony is 100 meters of cloth for clothing and diapers. Hutterite mothers breast feed their infants. This not only creates a special bond between mother (muotr) and child (cindr), it is also economical for the colony.

Hutterite tradition dictates that grace is said before and after each meal; mothers are expected to say grace even before breast feeding. Although young children do not comprehend what is occurring, this ritual instills the importance of prayer. Children are
also taught to say a short prayer before going to bed. When they awake, they must also thank the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost for allowing them to live one more day. Ritual prayer prepares the children for kleineshule (kindergarten), German school, Sunday school and finally Church for the rest of their lives. It is expected that colony members will pray. The dienan encourage prayer amongst their younger brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews when they babysit. Prayer is the norm. The dienan have little respect for young couples who do not teach their babies to pray. They view such families as lazy. Such families are usually composed of parents who have both left the colony for a period of time. By not instilling the necessity of prayer, these particular individuals represent a breakdown of the Hutterite religious practical world view in daily life.

In the Schmiedeleut, the female toddler begins wearing a headcovering cap only upon entering kindergarten, usually at two and half years of age. Females must cover their heads the rest of their lives because it is biblically sanctioned.6 According to the dienan, the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut have their infants wear headcoverings. The dienan view this practice with distaste since they view children as innocent and that forcing them to wear caps immediately after birth is a tradition which no longer has to be followed.

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6 This Hutterian requirement is based on Corinthians 11:3-12:
"But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of every woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God. Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be shaved. For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and the glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man. For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels."
When the toddler (age two and a half years of age) begins to wear a headcovering, she is seen as an individual who must submit to the will of the community and to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

The standard uniform from birth to dindla depends on the Schmiedeleut. Many infants and toddlers within the Schmiedeleut wear purchased clothes. It is difficult to discern if a Schmiedeleut toddler is even Hutterite, since her dress is “worldly. Many young females wear long skirted dresses that were popular forty years ago in the Welt (World). These are sewn from long-wear polyester interlock or cotton for summer. Much of the dress fabric used is passed down, usually from neighbouring Hutterite girls, sisters or cousins.

Mothers generally pay great attention to the style and colour of their children’s clothes, particularly their daughters. Clothing is extremely important to them, especially what their daughters wear. Most Hutterite mothers compete with one another in order to have stylish clothes for their children. One woman I knew went so far as to buy second hand ladies dresses in order to have unique fabric for her one year old daughter. This woman was quick to ask total strangers if they had any old fancy dress material that they did not want.

The dienan view the way the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut dress their children with contempt. They belittle the dark colours in which the Dariusleut clothe their infants and laugh at the neon colours worn by the Lehrerleut. I often heard them say, “dumb gahlatch’s, dressing their children so awful.” One young Schmiedeleut mother when showing off her nine month old daughter's pastel dresses that were trimmed in lace and
ribbon, was overheard saying, “those in Alberta, the poor children (orma cinder).” Cotton is only worn during the warmer months of summer in the Schmiedeleut.

Hutterite women are consumed with dress and are teaching their daughters the same thing. In fact, many women are dressing their infants in commercially made clothing, although it is not discussed.

6.3 KINDERGARTEN (TWO AND A HALF TO FIVE YEARS OF AGE)

When the female child is around two and half years of age, she starts attending the kleineshule or kindergarten. Within the Schmiedeleut, kleineshule begins in May and finishes at the end of September and is run by three women. The Minister and his council pick out the workers and the teacher. It is no longer the case that these women are old maids, as stated by Bennett (1967:146). Many colonies use women who are in their thirties and forties as well, depending on how old their children are, or how many women there are on the colony. He argues that these women “entertain the pre-school children in the Children’s House while their mothers are busy with other matters.” Kindergarten is not to entertain the children but rather to socialize the children into the Hutterite way of life and their peer group. Women of all ages work in the kindergarten. It is a task that is, however, viewed with disgust by the dienan. Most hate to work in the kleineshule when they have to replace a worker. They view this work as drudgery as they have been surrounded by children since they were able to babysit. Now that the dien are “adults” they want nothing to do with children.

The kleineshule is headquartered near the kitchen and Church, usually in a small two-bedroom cottage surrounded by a fence. Furnishings include a fridge, stove and toys.
for the young children. Outside are swing sets, sandboxes and grass on which to play. The Schmiedeleut have always attempted to have a well-stocked playschool. The _dienan_ view their time in kleinashule with fond memories. They are generally not upset that they were forced to go to school when they wanted to stay home with their mothers. I believe that although the _dienan_ dislike having anything to do with the kleineshule now, they enjoyed attending school as it taught them how to socialize with their peers and how to act like a Hutterite.

Although Peter (1987:65) reported that colonies in the Schmiedeleut no longer have kleineshule because individual mothers prefer to look after their own children, I have never heard of this. Some colonies do not have children of this age, so there is no kleineshule. If there are fewer than three children, an older woman, usually an _ancala_ (grandmother) will look after the children within her home. The decline in the number of young children results from the reduced family size, colony defections and the number of unmarried baptised members.

### 6.4 LEAVING KINDERGARTEN (FIVE YEARS OF AGE)

When a girl turns five, she begins eating in the children's dining hall, attending Church and German school. This represents a distinct change for the young girl. In one sense she looks forward to “being grown up.” At the same time, she finds it difficult to leave the security of the home.

The children eat their three daily meals in the children's dining hall. For the first time, the children are segregated, with the young girls eating on one side of the dining area, and the young boys on the other. Their eating area, separate from the adults, is
supervised by the German teacher and the small school grandmother (*essenschul ancala*) who is either the German teacher's wife, or an older woman appointed by the council (Hofer, 1984:672). She serves the children their food and drink, ladles out servings and teaches the children dining manners. She also instructs the girls on how the women work; how properly to clean up the dining hall after meals, and how to do dishes. Unless the *essenschul ancala* has been extremely hard on the *dienan* when they were young, most have no resentment about their days in the junior kitchen. Even the segregation of boys and girls and the fact that it was girls who always cleaned up after the boys, does not anger the *dienan*. To them it is just part of being on the colony.

At eight in the morning everyday except for Sunday, the German teacher rings a bell that announces that the German school is to start. It is held in the school, sometimes in a room separate from the English school. Children who are between five and fifteen attend. The Schmiedeleut have German school from September to the April. During spring and summer, the German teacher is thought to be too busy to conduct school. When I asked if German school was held all year round in the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut, I was informed that it was. The *dienan* seemed happy that the young Hutterites from their colony were spared from year-long attendance at German school.

6.4.1 CHURCH SERVICES

Unlike twenty years ago, most Church services are held in the sanctuary of a Church building. In the past having a separate Church building was viewed as being to "worldly." Most colonies now have a separate Church building or like Waldnerhof, a dual purpose building. The separation of the Church building from the rest of the colony
facilities can be seen as imitating non-Hutterite Churches. Churches no longer have homemade pews and benches since such construction is seen as being too old fashioned. Now colonies purchase Church furniture. The dien are extremely proud of their colony's Church and compare it to others. One time when I was at a Schmiedeleut colony, I noticed that their Church had stained glass windows. When I later asked a dien from Waldnerhof about this, she said that they were trying to be Catholic.

When the bell is rung for prayer (gebet) every day before supper (at six o'clock in the evening during the summer months, and five-thirty during the rest of the year), the young children run to the Church waiting to be let in by the Minister. During gebet and the Sunday morning service (lehr), the young children are not expected to behave. They lie on the benches, fall asleep, stare at the back pews, talk amongst each other, even get into disagreements. They are not severely disciplined by the German teacher since such behaviour is seen to be part of being a child. While the dien also view treat bad behaviour as part of being a child, they express annoyance at the young children when they act up during Church services.

Held daily, gebet is thirty minutes long, while the Sunday morning lehr is ninety minutes. Every third sermon is only seventy-five minutes long, and is considered a treat by the dienan.

Although Church sermons are held in High German, most Hutterites are not trilingual. Most preachers include hutrish words in the religious ceremony. I have been informed by ex-Hutterites that although Hutterite religious ceremonies are conducted in High German, most Hutterites do not understand the language. Although most Hutterites
are taught to read high German, they cannot understand more than one or two German sentences. According to a Dariusleut German teacher, the Schmiedeleut concentrate more on the usage of High German than the Lehrerleut or Dariusleut, with the consequence is that more of the religious services among the Schmiedeleut are conducted in High German than among the other two Leuts.

Although Peter (1987:49) argues that many Hutterites can be seen taking their notebooks to Church services in order to take notes for later discussions, in the thirty colonies I visited I did not see this practise. When I asked the dienan, they had never heard of it. Hutterite religion and religious ceremonies have not changed substantially for 450 years.

Since there are only four hundred sermons in existence, most adult Hutterites know them from memory. This contradicts Peter's (1987:49) claim that most Ministers embellish or interpret sermons. In fact this is a practise forbidden by the Hutterite Brethren in all three Leuts. Reverend Waldner told me that divergence at this point would be ground for ex-communication of colonies, like those in existence in Southern Alberta. The forefathers' interpretations of the Bible are considered to be as authoritative today as they were four hundred years ago. The Hutterite religious ceremony has not been influenced by "English" society. It is interesting to note that although most dienan listen to the Church service, they are unable to discuss what it was about. To many young woman, it is the "same old thing."
6.4.2 SUNDAY SCHOOL

Once a girl turns five, she begins attending Sunday school which runs Sunday afternoon for half an hour. The German teacher rings the bell at 2.00 pm and expects all of his charges to meet him at the Church. There the children must repeat in High German the Bible verses which the German Teacher has given them to learn. Traditionally, the German teacher was expected to strap the younger children on the hand if they did not learn their verses. In the case of a serious infraction a solid strapping on the bottom was to remind the children what was expected of them.

It is not surprising, though, that many parents in the Schmiedeleut have forbidden the German Teacher to discipline their children. I have been told that some male parents have even gone as far as to complain to a local detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police about such practices. The dienan, with whom I lived with, tended to view such parental interruptions with contempt because they felt that if these parents want to live on the colony, they should follow tradition.

Not only do the school age children have to attend Sunday school, but all unbaptised Hutterites under the age of twenty-five must also participate together. According to the dienan of Waldnerhof, the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut, able bodied individuals attend Sunday school until they become baptised. German school and Sunday school prepare young women for baptism, teaching them what is to be recited during the baptismal ceremony. I have been told by the dienan that most Hutterites are baptised so that they do not have to attend Sunday School. Young Hutterites strongly dislike Sunday
school because they feel that they are "grown up" and no longer have to go to school of any sort.

The German teacher is feared by young Hutterites. He not only watches over them when they eat in the dining hall, but also watches their every movement outside of school. During the summer months or weekends, he regularly assigns them jobs. If he is also the garden man, the young girls are expected to help him weed, water and harvest. Many times he also scours the colony looking to see what the children are doing, especially when he rings the bell for night curfew. The dienan view the German teacher with ambivalence. Until they are baptised or twenty-five years old, he controls their movements. This frustrates them since they feel he has power that he should not have.

6.5 SCHOOL AGED CHILDREN (SIX TO FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE)

When a child turns six years of age, she begins attending English school. This is a big step for the young female since she is no longer a "baby," but part of the group. Except for a few words, most Hutterite children do not speak English until the begin attending English school. I have never heard a dienan complain about their lack of English skills or the fact that they have a heavy hutrish accent. For them, having their heavy accent is something they are proud of.

During this time, the mother of a dindla decides that she will start wearing a shawl instead of the cap. The mother who sees that her daughter is entering puberty indicates she is ready to wear a shawl. The shawl is treated as a symbol of adulthood. The dienan look back at this time with fond memories. They can remember the excitement they felt when they began to wear a shawl and the teasing they received about "being grown up."
Another important time is when the dindla gets asked to babysit a colony infant. This is often a brother, sister, cousin, niece or nephew. The young girl is usually around ten years old. It is a great honour for a young girl to be asked. Among the Schmiedeleut, because of a shortage of young females on the colony, young boys may also be asked. According to the dienan, this practise is not followed by the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut who see child care as being exclusively women's work.

After being asked to be a family's babysitter, the young female remains almost indentured to the particular family. At Waldnerhof for instance, Linda was asked when she was thirteen to be the babysitter for the first child of a newlywed couple. Linda was extremely proud of being asked as all of the other dindla's from the colony wanted to babysit for this couple. This couple came to have five children, all of whom Linda babysat. She also helped the mother clean and do chores. Even though Linda was 21 years old, when the mother went away for the day, Linda made lunch for the father and cleaned the house. Anytime the family needed a babysitter, Linda was asked to babysit.

Babysitters are not paid. Rather it is expected that they will babysit as part of being a Hutterite. At Christmas time and birthdays, a dien will receive presents from the family she helps. When a dien marries into another colony, one of her younger sisters will often replace her in the role as family friend/babysitter. The dienan view all of this as duty, yet they enjoy babysitting for their mother. They do not, as mentioned before, like to work in the kleineshule, probably as it is far more regimented than babysitting within a home.
Once they are over the age of ten, many young girls are dressed exactly like their older counterparts. They look forward to the day when they are fifteen and can join the adults. At the onset of puberty, the young women and men are given more responsibility. They are treated as the leaders of the junior dining hall. The young girls are given more chores within the home and are called upon by other women for help. These times are viewed with happy memories by the dienan as they are finally being treated as responsible adults.

6.6 THE LIFE OF A DIEN (FIFTEEN TO THIRTY YEARS OF AGE)

When a woman turns fifteen, she is considered and treated as an adult. It is traditional to give the young woman and man a large wooden hope chest. According to the dienan, Schmiedeleut colonies no longer give a chest as this is not practical. The colony carpenter constructs a dresser and two bedside tables to give to the young woman, and a desk to give to the young man. Schmiedeleut dien ridicule the traditional chest, calling it a "hopeless chest."

Although the dien is supposed to receive a rolling pin when she turns fifteen, this no longer takes place. Within the Schmiedeleut, a dien receives a small expensive parring knife to use when cooking or processing food. She also receives a pair of rubber boots to wear in the kitchen when she and the dienan are cleaning or to wear while working in the garden. She also receives a hoe and pail for when she helps clean with the other dienan, for picking fruit, vegetables or herbs, and when making soap. The dienan see these items as far more important than traditional presents.

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When a young woman turns fifteen in all three Leuts, she is given material for new dresses since she is now an adult. The amount of material varies according to the colony she is from. Some Schmiedeleut give cloth for eight dresses, others may give fifteen. She is also given material for blouses, undergarments and jackets. The Schmiedeleut consider themselves privileged to have such modern costumes in comparison to the Lehrerleut whose women and dien must wear a starched headcovering, high-necked white blouse, and the plaid apron that must be worn. I was informed by the dienan that the costume the Lehrerleut wear is the same as that worn in Russia. I generally had the impression that they thought the Lehrerleut were bizarre in terms of their dress. The starched headcovering was viewed with what could be called disgust. I was told once that when a woman takes off her shawl, it is so starched that it doesn’t move. The Schmiedeleut dienan are proud that they often can alter the size and style of the shawl without too much hassle from colony leadership. Tradition in the Schmiedeleut, as well as the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut has women wear a plain black jacket similar to a Nehru jacket. Now, on most Schmiedeleut colonies, all females wear bomber jackets similar to those their brothers are wearing, but constructed out of iridacent fabric in dark colours.

When a young woman turns fifteen, her responsibilities change. As someone expected to assist others, she has learned that the appropriate attitude is submissiveness. Nevertheless, the responses of young women to such demands have changed. Within the Schmiedeleut, dienan talk back to men, complain behind the men’s backs, or forget items of food that are for the men. An example of this would be to burn the toast of a man who is considered to be too demanding.
The young woman still helps her mother at home: cleaning, doing laundry when their wash day arrives, sewing, and working in the communal kitchen. She is expected to help clean the home with her mother, clean up after her brothers, make not only her own bed but those of her brothers' and to clean the bathrooms of her home. It often angers the dienan that even though they are "grown up" they still have to help clean and to look after men. Many of the dienan are in foul moods most of the time. The dienan use foul language quite a bit. I also learned at Waldnerhof that manners are not highly stressed. Nobody says "please" or "thank you," especially during meal times.

When the young woman turns seventeen, the head cook assigns her a cook week with a partner. It is here that she begins washing dishes, serving the food to the men (in some cases to the women), and preparing some foodstuffs for the cooks. As the youngest women in the dining hall, the dienan must cater to the needs and demands of the men during meals. If men want more bread, the dienan must get it for them. Young women do this grudgingly, and will either laugh it off with their friends, or talk back to the men.

A young woman becomes totally emersed in the world of the dienan. Her life revolves around cooking, working in the garden, cleaning her parent's home, sewing, and young men. This is the most exciting stage in a Hutterite woman's life. A young woman goes on many dates, usually for walks around the barns (even though young people are not supposed to date until they are baptised), and wear pretty, bright coloured (and tight) clothes, which resemble the clothing styles of non-Hutterite young women. The dienan love their freedom and are quick to criticize those who do not want to go and have fun.
Schmiedeleut dienan enjoy grooming themselves, especially when it comes to makeup. On colonies, one can find all types of beauty products. Practises include: the colouring of hair, the use of hair-styling aids, the wearing of jewellery (including engagement and wedding bands), and the wearing of contact lenses rather than eye glasses. The dienan love to wear makeup and to dress up. They often embellish their dresses, blouses, stocking and shawls in order to look “worldly.” They do not see this as rebelling but as part of being young and having fun.

The hairstyle of a woman indicates the strictness of her colony. The Hutterite tradition and practise have dictated that women part their hair in the middle and roll it down the side of their head. Schmiedeleut colonies no longer require such a practice since the dienan have simply refused to part their hair. Many dienan wear their shawls as far back as possible in order to show off their hair. They do this simply for the reason that it is now expected that they will.

Although it might not seem obvious, the shawl can also be used to measure the strictness of the colony for the dienan. Some women's shawls in both the Dariusleut and Schmiedeleut have minuscule sized white dots. On the other hand, the Lehrerleut have a set guideline for the size of dots on the shawl. It is annoying to women that they cannot control the type of headcovering they wear. Women who have permanently left the Hutterite colony state that the wearing of a shawl is no guarantee of heaven (anonymous, pers.com). For them, the shawl represented a form of social control. The dienan on the colony, however, see the wearing of the shawl as part of their costume showing to the world that they are Hutterites.
All clothing that the women wear is homemade, except for brassieres and stockings which are purchased. Clothing material is purchased from salespersons based out of Winnipeg, Manitoba or Lethbridge, Alberta. There are a number of companies whose sole clientele are Hutterites. The dienan and other colony members enjoy working with such individuals since they are familiar and understand the idiosyncracies of the Hutterites.

Some researchers make claims that are simply not true. When the dienan hear these claims they laugh off what is said about them. For instance, Rich's (1995:32) claims that many young Hutterite men are seen wearing jeans off the colony is simply not true. Schmiedeleut Hutterite elders decided that young men are allowed to wear purchased denim pants if they have no back pockets and are of a dark colour. Most Schmiedeleut Hutterite men do not wear suspenders (an expected part of the male Hutterite costume) when they are trying to make an impression on Hutterite women.

Although, Peter (1987:179) claims that gifts such as clothing material threaten the community of goods, Hutterites do not experience this. Different clothing material is an outlet for expression. The material generally used for dresses is originally purchased by the fabric mistress (Zueschneiderin). The Zueschneiderin is an appointment made by the Council of Elders of a particular colony. By tradition, it is the Secretary’s wife who is given the position. Within the Schmiedeleut, women attempt to have dresses made of material that is unique. Many dienan exchange the material that the fabric mistress has purchased. This is not against colony regulations and is seen as acceptable. Peter's view that material from another colony is a form of worldliness that threatens colony stability
is not well-founded. Fabric mistresses purchase all material from the same salespersons or stores.

The most important shift in a dien’s life is that she begins actively associating with Hutterite women her age from other colonies, thereby gaining both new associations and ideas. She visits other colonies as much as possible, sometimes for weeks at a time. This is viewed by the dienan as a way to meet prospective love interests. The reasons for visiting new colonies is that her labour is required, such as; varnishing and painting in the homes. Sometimes a loved one needs to be taken care of. Often a colony will need help processing vegetables, or help with butchering. A dien will also stay at another colony in order to help a sister, aunt, cousin, sister-in-law or close friend with sewing, house cleaning, or childcare. Over the age of 18, a Hutterite woman is ready and willing to help a fellow Hutterite, especially if the individual in need lives in another province or state. These trips will sometimes last from four to six weeks and are generally organized so that they will not interfere with cook weeks so that their labour is not missed.

Regardless of age, Hutterite women now travel more and more. Twenty years ago it was unheard of for a Hutterite female to leave the colony more than once a month, except for a funeral. Now, Hutterite women typically go to “town” at least once every two weeks. The dienan at Waldnerhof looked forward to when they could go to town. I remember times when they would pretend to be sick so that someone would take them to the doctor. This was so they could go into town for a break from the colony.
The lack of work for women and the availability of numerous colony vehicles in all three Leuts insures that there is frequently a vehicle leaving the colony for the closest urban area with shops patronized by Hutterite customers. Now some Hutterite women are obtaining their driver’s licence, especially amongst liberal Dariusleut and Schmiedeleut colonies. The dienan at Waldnerhof, however, were not allowed to obtain driver’s licenses as Reverend Waldner did not think it was appropriate. Three of the dienan from Waldnerhof wanted their driver’s licences since they thought it would be “fun” to have more freedom. One Dariusleut woman I know is regularly in town to pick up machinery parts, fertilizer and other necessities. She is her colony’s “gopher.”

Education is also becoming important within the Schmiedeleut. Tradition dictates that formal education beyond what is required for working on the colony is not needed. The Schmiedeleut realize that education is necessary in this age. Many young Schmiedeleut women now wait until they are seventeen before they quit school. They see the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut as having “backwards” views toward education. Approximately thirty Hutterites in the Schmiedeleut are presently acquiring their grade twelve, and are attending University. A program at Brandon University in Manitoba provides training for Hutterites to become teachers. At least the dienan can now aspire to be school teachers.

Among the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut, teenagers attend school until the age of fifteen, the age at which a teenager can quit school with his or her parent’s permission. Because the English language is learned primarily when the young Hutterite begins attending English school, she is disadvantaged and is often held back in school. A
number of Dariusleut and Lehrerleut only have their grade seven or eight when they quit school at the age of fifteen. The Schmiedeleut *dienan* pity the "poor Albertans" (*gahlatchs*).

Education is becoming more highly stressed within the Schmiedeleut because of the use of highly mechanized equipment. Since most barns are computerized, new skills are required to operate such facilities. There is also a shift from owning land to the construction of large barns that require little land. For instance, a majority of colonies in Manitoba own minimal land since there is more money to be made in large (1000 sow) hog operations. There is also a lack of land in Manitoba, according to Reverend Waldner, so to remedy the situation, many Hutterite colonies are forming manufacturing companies. In Manitoba, there are colonies that manufactures windows, furniture and mattresses, lumber, bolts, hog barn equipment, and manure spreaders. There is also a hog slaughtering plant that is owned by a consortium of Manitoba Hutterite colonies. Another colony specializes in programming and selling computers specifically geared to farming. I know of Hutterite women working at manufacturing bolts, binding books and manning colony owned book stores. Having businesses that interact with the "world" has been opposed to by Hutterite tradition.

6.6.1 WORK IN THE COMMUNAL KITCHEN

I learned that in all three *Leuts*, it is now the trend to have one large building which houses the kitchen, the laundry, the slaughterhouse and the Church. Most kitchens are upstairs, while the butchering shop, food processing equipment, and storage facilities are downstairs. Most kitchens have a separate baking room, a room for pots and pans
and special storage units for dishes. Most importantly, the adult dining room is centred within the building, while the kitchen is off to the side. Within the building are the separate facilities for the junior kitchen. The dienan are extremely proud of their kitchen, especially if it is equipped with the latest in equipment. The dienan are proud to show visitors their kitchen, eating and cooking facilities. All the dienan from a particular colony think they have the nicest kitchen and houses. The only time there is dissension is when the dienan feel their colony should be renovated in order to keep up with brand new colonies.

Many colonies serve traditional dishes. The foods are simple. In many instances the foods are high in saturated fat, such as gripen which is animal cracklings (fat). Other dishes such as Knokala, Knoedel, Mourtoshen, Russan Kaus and Gashel soup are made regularly. Many dienan do not readily eat traditional Hutterite foods because they are high in calories. They prefer more modern foods such as pasta, pizza and Chinese food. Head cooks are given an allowance to purchase cookbooks in order to learn new recipes. Preparing Chinese food is extremely popular on colonies, as are stir-fries, pizza, lasagna, roasts, beef stroganoff, crab salad, and desserts such as fruit pizza and black forest cake. Cooking is one of the dienan's creative outlets on the colony.

Colonies purchase the most modern appliances available. Appliances in the Waldnerhof kitchen include everything but a dish washer: vegetable peeler, a chipper for french fries, a huge electric pot in which to boil food items, industrial sized ovens, a warmer, mixer, saw, grill, deep fat fryer, grater, refrigerator, range and a small microwave.
Another important time in a dien's work in the kitchen involves food processing. Colonies grow their own vegetables and herbs. All the women process fruit and vegetables, not just the dienan. Much is canned, while other items are blanched and frozen. Some fruit is purchased in bulk from wholesalers and is processed in the preferred Hutterite ways. A number of colonies also have chokecherries, Saskatoon berries, strawberries, raspberries and grapes to make wine and jam, as well as citrus melons to make marmalade. All of the aforementioned fruit and produce are picked by the dienan and women. This does not conform with Peter's (1987:203-204) claim that such work has been discontinued on many colonies. Every year a married woman is chosen to be an organizer of all the food processing. She coordinates the work with the garden mistress. Regardless of age, all women participate in the preparation involved with canning or freezing vegetables and fruit. The dienan and the women thoroughly enjoy canning season because it is a chance for all the women to work together so that they can carry on conversations with each other.

On colonies like Waldnerhof, there is a lack of high quality foodstuffs, an offshoot of not having a mixed farming operation. Even though a colony may have its own dairy, this does not mean that the women will use fresh milk products. Until colonies invested in mechanized milking machines, women milked cows. Women no longer help out in the dairy. There are minimal dairy products used in colony kitchens because of milk quotas and sanitary/health regulations with respect to raw milk. Butter is rarely made, cream for coffee has been replaced by coffee whitener, and milk is often purchased from grocery stores.
Schmiedeleut women must often cook with inferior meat, dairy products and eggs. It remains to be seen if purchasing rather than producing milk, eggs, cheese, beef, ducks, turkeys, chicken is beneficial for Hutterite women. The dienan of Waldnerhof were greatly embarrassed by the quality of their foodstuffs, especially when there were guests. The foodstuffs colonies do purchase are often substandard and may be contaminated with bacteria or have an expired shelf life. Lack of home grown or quality foods has resulted in feelings of hostility and resentment when women cook, especially the dienan who are more apt to complain.

Cook weeks are rotated every 8-16 weeks at many colonies, while bake weeks are every 18-32. The result is that most married women spend little time in the kitchen. Bread is baked Monday and Wednesday, while buns are made on Friday. Cooks make the dessert every second day. The bakers of the week also make a special treat on Wednesday in case there are guests. Cakes, pies, and cookies are often made by the dienan who love to experiment.

Women always do the dishes. Hutterite kitchens are consistent in how dishes are done. In the Schmiedeleut, homemade soap is used. Soap making is a time consuming and miserable task. Schmiedeleut elders feel that there is no need to purchase either soap for washing dishes or detergent for laundry. I was told that Dariusleut and Lehrerleut colonies use purchased dish detergent.

Contrary to the findings of Looney (1986:41), no tasks are given priority in the kitchen, according to the dienan. Meals are neglected because of butchering, harvesting, noodle making and soap making. Time is important in all three of Looney’s categories.
All tasks from cleaning the home to butchering ducks are seen as equally important since they benefit the community as a whole.

The work patterns established according to Hutterite tradition have the dienan and women shifting between working extremely hard, or not having any work at all. In my conversations with Hutterite dienan, I have learned that many find their colony's work patterns for the dienan to be a contradiction in their lives. On one hand, they work too hard during the summer time, and in winter they have nothing to do.

6.6.2 DATING AND MARRIAGE

Another important aspect of a dien's life involves interest in the opposite gender. Finding a date is, to a considerable extent, the main recreation that exists on colonies. When young people get together, they usually do so at the home of the parents of a dien. If there are many young people together, or if more than one colony comes over at the time, the young people congregate in the school to socialize and play games. In order to have fun, many dienan in the Schmiedeleut will go to taverns if the opportunity arises, will smoke, own televisions, stereo and musical equipment and will acquire their driver's licence.

It is not unusual to find single men and women of varying ages on colonies, especially within the Schmiedeleut. It is quite common, to find a daughter who remains single in order to take care of her parents until they are deceased. These individuals are not rejected by the colony leadership but rather are treated normally. Peter's claim (1987:94) that the unmarried state is frowned upon, or that a marriage will be arranged if a woman cannot find a mate, is not accurate. A number of dienan realize that they
have more freedom by remaining single. A few single women on liberal Schmiedeleut colonies are even given their own homes. In this case resistance towards Hutterite tradition is being supported.

How the dien view dating and marriage is based on their relationships with their family. For instance, dien are leery of marrying into colonies which are known to have problems with alcohol. They are wary because their own fathers or grandfathers had problems with drinking, making the dien’s life, along with that of other family members, miserable. The relationship a dien has with her parents and other colony members influences her choice of spouse. If a dien or her family do not get along, or she and her family do not fit in on their colony, she will generally marry away, often quite far. If a dien has brothers or sisters gone from the colony, her ideals are often different. There are those dienan who so love the Hutterite way of life that they will marry someone who is very “religious” (old-fashioned) just to prove that she loves colony life. On the other, there are those, who learn new values and ideas from their family on the outside and will look for a partner who can cooperate in a marriage.

Sometimes a dien will marry to a colony far away if her husband is quite open minded or his colony is quite wealthy. For instance, I know of one dien who married a man from South Dakota because he was very liberal. She knew that he would do much of the work around the house. If a colony is very wealthy and will provide the woman with all possible comforts, she will often date men from there, even if it is far away.

If a dien is very close to her family, she will typically marry someone from the same colony if it is possible. When a dien is the only daughter, she finds it difficult to
be separated from her mother. A dien has high expectations for her marriage partner. Most dienan want a marriage which is more egalitarian than those of their parents. Most want fewer children, especially if they are from a large family.

6.6.3 BAPTISM

Baptism is the most important decision in a Hutterite's life. To become baptised generally means a lifetime commitment to the Hutterite way of life. Those who are not baptised are in a transitional state; they have not decided whether to stay or leave the colony. Becoming members of the Hutterite Church through baptism means that individuals must follow all of the rules and regulations of the Hutterite Church more stringently. Although Peter (1987:49) argues that Gelassenheit or submission to the community has been forgotten, this is not so according the dienan I asked. A member of the Hutterite Church must submit her will to the community upon baptism. This is part of the baptism vows.

To remain unbaptised means that one has more freedom and little remorse. Twenty years ago, most women were baptised when they were 18 to 21 years old. Now it is not uncommon in the Schmiedeleut to find women who are 26 to 30 years of age at the time of baptism. The dienan love their freedom and in a sense look with contempt on those who want to marry and be “tied down.” Delaying baptism, and therefore marriage, means that Hutterite women will have fewer children, since the number of childbearing years will be reduced.

Although it has not been discussed by scholars, the oral confession of one's sins is a prerequisite to baptism. The individual must fully submit to the colony and the
preacher. The week before baptism, the candidates meet with their colony’s preachers in order to confess (*obbitten*). The sins of one’s lifetime are confessed in order to cleanse the soul. Every year, prior to palm Sunday, all baptised colony members are expected to confess one’s sins (*obbitten*).

It is generally decided six months prior to the traditional baptism service on Palm Sunday whether an individual will be baptised. Everyone on the colony knows who the prospective candidates are since they often change their attitudes to fellow colony members, become regular Church attenders and often chastise their peers. Generally colonies will only baptize three or more at a time. Hence, if there are less than three candidates on the colony, the candidates will travel to a nearby colony for instruction, generally for six consecutive Sundays prior to Palm Sunday.

6.6.4 HUTTERITE FAMILY SIZE

To examine the changes in family size that have occurred in the past twenty years on Hutterite colonies, I sampled six colonies comprised of 462 individuals from the *Hutterian Brethren Family Record List* (Wipf, 1993). The Lehrerleut family record book is quite out of date in comparison to the Dariusleut records. It is only in 1996 that the Schmiedeleut published its family record book.

Within the Dariusleut, I found the median number of children per family to be 5.00. These findings support Ingoldsby and Stanton’s (1988:140) contention that many Hutterite women are practising birth control. They came to this conclusion by interviewing a physician in rural Alberta who stated that Hutterites “are now using birth control.”
I was told by a Hutterite Minister that there is no need anymore for large families on colonies. He stated that women should no longer have to die during childbirth. Ministers do not advocate the use of birth control, a practise that goes against the teachings of their forefathers and the Bible. They do not, however, voice objection when a couple has a family of two to four children. Having large families is a Hutterite tradition. The diminishing size of families is a trend that has found its way into the Hutterite Brethren. After the birth of her children (usually four to six) a Hutterite woman frequently has a tubal ligation. I have been informed by a Hutterite man (Dariusleut) that he had a vasectomy. The dienan look down on women who have a large number of children. I often heard the comment at Waldnerhof that “she should have her tubes tied,” and that “here is no reason in this day and age to have so many children.” The dienan generally see the ideal family size as two to three children.

6.6.5 DEFECTION

Another aspect of Hutterite life that has not been carefully investigated is the rate of defection. Those who return are known as “temporary defectors.” It is expected by many within the Lehrerleut and Schmiedeleut that young men will leave the colony. It is treated as a right of passage to experience the outside before returning to be baptised. Those who choose not to return to colony life can be termed “ex-Hutterites.” Since Hutterites believe their way of life is the only guaranteed entrance to heaven, those who leave are viewed, especially by the dienan, as traitors who have forsaken their salvation. As a result, Hutterites feel threatened by those individuals who have left the colony. Runaways (vecchlaufn) are viewed as reflecting unfavourably on the colony and its
leadership. The actual number of runaways is greater than officially accounted for by colony leadership. A colony is seen to be in disarray if its young people have not been baptised, or if many of its young people have left. Dienan are unwilling to marry into a colony in which more than half of its population have left the colony. They view defection as a sign of colony disorganization.

Contrary to the claims of other researchers, those who leave the colony, either permanently or temporarily, are not shunned (Rich, 1995:25) unless they leave the colony after they have been baptised. I have been told frequently that being a Hutterite is the surest way of getting to heaven. Reverend Waldner told me that Hutterites are God's chosen people.

Because of problems with vandalism and theft involving vecchlaufn, ex-Hutterites from the Schmiedeleut must contact the Minister in order to receive permission to return to visit. The dienan did not question why their brothers and sisters had to phone Reverend Waldner for permission to see their parents. I was also told that Lehrerleut and Dariusleut do not require such permission. Those who leave are welcomed back since they are wanted to rejoin the "ark."

There are stronger sanctions against individuals who have left when they are baptised since they have accepted Gelassenheit. They are allowed to visit, but those who return to their colony permanently after breaking their baptismal vows must be segregated from the rest of the colony for two weeks. During this time, they view Church services from afar. After their segregation period is over, they must kneel in front of every baptised member in the community and ask forgiveness. If everyone agrees, they are
allowed to return to colony life. The dienan see nothing wrong with this, or the fact that it is humiliating. It is just part of being baptised.

The rate of Hutterite temporary defections is quite high. On some colonies, especially within the Schmiedeleut and Lehrerleut, it may be as high as fifty percent for young men. My informal investigations suggest that as much as thirty percent of Hutterite women leave the colony. The majority do not return, but a few do. I was told by the dienan about women who had left the colony to experience the world. The dienan informally stated that approximately, seventy percent of Hutterite women who leave do not return. For men, sixty percent do not return. These claims were also supported by George Maendel (pers. comm).

It is not surprising that women leave their Hutterite colonies since they often have more marketable skills than the men. Hutterite women who leave the colony are able to work in the service industry, as daycare workers, cooks, hairdressers, aides to the elderly or to obtain training to become certified nurses. I learned in conversations with the dienan that the major reasons Hutterite women leave the colony are: (A) becoming “born again” Christian; (B) wanting to experience the outside world, (C) feeling depressed and angry with life on the colony and yearning for an education and a satisfying occupation; (D) wanting a relationship with an individual that she cannot marry on the colony; (E) wishing to join a family that has left; and finally (F) because she is pregnant and unmarried.

According to the dienan, Hutterite men typically leave the colony because they want to have personal belongings and want to experience the outside world. Mackie
(1987:301-302) argued that some young men leave because they cannot have prestigious positions within the colony and that many are the sons of colony leaders. I heard of defection for this reason within the Schmiedeleut. A few Hutterite men leave the colony because they disagree with the religious teachings of the Brethren. The majority, however, leave their colonies because they want the freedom to make their own decisions, to own a vehicle and finally, to make choices without always having to ask permission. What I believe is the main reason why most men leave the Schmiedeleut is to earn money in order to purchase possessions. Schmiedeleut only receive a dollar a month allowance on the colony. I learned that most Dariusleut give colony members either ten to twenty dollars if they are adults, while children receive five dollars. In the Lehrerleut, women receive five dollars a month while men receive eight. Lehrerleut children usually get two to three dollars a month.

Many Hutterite young men have jobs waiting for them when they leave the colony. Most begin their life on the outside by working on a farm. Some then move to the oil rigs in Alberta while others work in construction, mechanics, and custom combining operations. There are some ex-Hutterites who own successful businesses, have received a college or university education, and have successfully integrated into Canadian society. Because Hutterites are industrious and are seen as being trustworthy, they have little difficulty finding work, though most of it is manual labour.

Through conversations with ex-Hutterites, I have learned that men who leave the colony, especially temporarily, get in trouble with the law. There is no simple explanation for this, but deviance such as being arrested for traffic violations, driving
under the influence of alcohol, growing or selling of marijuana, poaching, or theft can be understood as responses to growing up on a Hutterite colony. Since personal accumulation of property is prohibited, rules are often disregarded on the colony. There is then, a lack of control once they reach the “outside” world. Since it is an “evil” place, ex-Hutterites have some difficulty functioning as law-abiding citizens. I was told many times while at Waldnerhof that young men leave the colony in order to “go crazy.” It is no surprise then that in response to the scare of AIDS that AIDS/HIV tests are mandatory for returnees, regardless of age or gender. I learned among the Schmiedeleut AIDS/HIV testing has been going on for almost a decade.

Those who return to the colony do so for two reasons. The first is that they find it difficult to live without their families. Those who return to the colony are looked down upon by those who remain on the outside as being weak, because they could not survive without the community. The second is because they want to. It was their plan to return to their families after experiencing the outside world.

As mentioned previously, the majority of Hutterite women who leave their colony do not return. This information is based on informal discussions as family record books tend to “ignore” when people are gone (forr). They have become “worldly” and educated in ways that do not fit the Hutterite model. They find themselves at odds with the fundamental principles of Hutterite life, especially the lack of power that women experience, plus what has been termed the “worship of machinery rather than God” (anonymous, pers.comm). I have also been told that the home colonies of ex-Hutterite women do not want them to return because they are no longer submissive to men and
have become involved with non-Hutterite religion, generally Pentecostal faith. These women have come to realize that there is more to life than living on the colony where there is little for them to do besides domestic communal sphere tasks. The women who defect are viewed with contempt by the dienan since they are considered to have forfeited their chance to go to heaven. In many instances, the dienan are also jealous of the freedom and power that their counterparts have on the outside. Equally disturbing is the fact that there are few eligible bachelors on colonies in Manitoba. Many young women feel they can only find a spouse if they leave the colony.

Women who leave the colony permanently alter their appearance dramatically. They have their long hair cut stylishly short, begin wearing pants and usually return to school in order to upgrade their education. Some female ex-Hutterites begin living in a common law relationship with a male ex-Hutterite.

6.6.6 THE HUTTERITE HOME

One of the most significant modifications that has occurred on Hutterite colonies has been in housing styles. The long house of the past symbolized community, with its maintenance of social order in which four to eight families lived under one roof with minimal privacy. The community came before the individual family. In contrast, the family unit is now more important than the colony. Contemporary housing is remarkably different. The two most common styles of housing are the bungalow and the bi-level.

The new style Hutterite home is a source of pride. The room in which family members take the most pride is the kitchen. Until twenty years ago, Hutterite homes generally did not have kitchens or modern washrooms. Unless there were special visitors
at home, all meals and snacks were eaten in the dining hall. Eating in the communal dining hall emphasized community as the unit. Eating in the kitchen within the home places more importance on the family as the unit. When kitchens began to be constructed in homes, indoor plumbing was also added. Within the Schmiedeleut, this transition began approximately 20 years ago. According to Reverend Waldner, most Dariusleut and Lehrerleut either built homes with plumbing in the 1970's or had plumbing and kitchens installed in the 1980's. There are only a handful of Dariusleut or Lehrerleut colonies that do not have indoor plumbing. These few are located in Montana (Sam Hofer, pers.comm). This conflicts with Rich's (1995:143) claim that most Schmiedeleut homes are archaic and lack even indoor plumbing and running water.

The Hutterite housing that has been and is being constructed is motivated by the need to compete with other colonies. This means that Hutterite colonies not only compete with one another when it comes to the production of vegetables, grain crops, purchase of farm equipment and transportation vehicles, but also in the building of shops, farm buildings, Church/kitchen complexes.

The dienan are quite proud of their bedrooms. Many compete to have the most ornate drapes, furniture and beds. Most bedrooms in the Schmiedeleut contain a couch so that young people can visit in a bedroom with relative privacy. The Lehrerleut and Dariusleut do not allow bedrooms to be decorated. In fact, the dienan in the Schmiedeleut look down on the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut for not allowing pictures on the walls.
Although Peter (1987:180) claims that women are apt to sell the furniture that the colony gives to them, I have not found a single instance of this. Possessions are prized, especially those given by the colony. Rather than sell furniture, most women sell their handiwork in order to purchase items not provided by the colony. Hutterite women are quite hostile about this as men receive more when they marry then women do. Women must earn money on the “side” in order to purchase items. In a conversation I had with a dien about what furniture the colony gives a man and woman when they marry, she got quite angry. She told me that when she marries she gets “shit” but a man gets a table and two chairs, a couch and other furniture. “I’m from the same colony he is. I probably work harder then he does; yet when he marries he gets a bunch of stuff and I get nothing when I’m married. It isn’t fair. I have to depend on my husband’s colony to provide me stuff that I don’t get as wedding presents. I was born here too! It really pisses me off.”

The dienan are quite aggressive in selling their crafts and handiwork. They use this money to purchase items like shoes, nylons, perfume and makeup that the one dollar a month allowance they receive does not cover.

All but a few Schmiedeleut kitchens have a fridge. Some colonies do not because the leadership does not see it as a necessary item; microwaves are viewed similarly. Because Hutterites are not allowed to wear watches, there are clocks everywhere, especially at Waldnerhof, because it is a strict colony. All the drapes in the house are homemade. Many homes have roller blinds purchased from a colony that manufactures them. Schmiedeleut colonies have phones in each home. The Secretary and Preacher have phones that are for “outside” telephone calls, which can be transferred to the family
home. Cellular phones are also very popular in Manitoba. Almost every secretary and minister from a colony has one. Often, they will give them to the women when they are in town. The women have more freedom when they are in town since they can phone their driver to come pick them up.

6.6.7 OTHER ASPECTS OF CHANGE WITHIN THE HUTTERITE COLONY

Social and cultural changes which have occurred on colonies in the Schmiedeleut must also be addressed. One important change is that Hutterite men over the age of majority in Canada vote in municipal and provincial elections. They vote in municipal elections in order to elect officials who are known to be not only pro-farmer but also pro-Hutterite. The dienan at Waldnerhof simply stated that the colonies men voted. While no reason was ever given as why women were not allowed to vote, voting in municipal and provincial elections without being able to vote on colony decisions would pose a significant threat to the patriarchal colony structure.

The dienan love to read newspapers and magazines. All colonies have subscriptions to Alberta Report, Western Producer, United Grain Growers, Time, Newsweek, Readers Digest. They enjoy reading and learning about what is happening in the world. Often, the dienan and the married women are the sole readers of any printed material that comes into the colony.

Schmiedeleut families are now having family portraits taken. This is a major event for a dien even though it is frowned upon by colony leadership. These portraits are kept away from prying eyes. Until a few years ago, it was only the unmarried dienan who had portraits taken.
Another change deals with alcohol. Many colonies do not make wine anymore since there is a serious problem with alcoholism on colonies within all three Leuts (anonymous, pers.comm). The dienan have a strong dislike for alcohol and drugs. I have been told that there have been Hutterite men from all three Leuts who have been in detoxification clinics. Hutterite leaders often refuse to acknowledge that there is a problem with alcoholism on colonies. This is seen to be a “worldly” problem, and discredits the colony.

The use of motorized vehicles has also increased on Hutterite colonies in the past twenty years. In the past, most colonies had a van that was used to transport members, and two or three trucks of various sizes that were used for field and mechanical work. Vehicles were not “worldly” since they were considered strictly utilitarian. Today it is not surprising to see custom painted Ford Explorers or GMC Yukons owned by colonies. Even grain trucks are custom painted with various styles of pinstriping. A vehicle must be able to hold a number of people, or be large enough size to haul items. Trucks, mini-vans, custom vans, extended cab or crew cab trucks are purchased. The dienan are extremely proud of their colony’s vehicles and love to go for drives to other colonies in the newest vehicle purchased by their colony.

6.7 THE LIFE OF A MARRIED WOMAN

The lives of Hutterite women are based on ritual and tradition. The patterns of their lives fit with the seasons, weather and a religious calender. When a dien marries, she becomes a married women (frau). She no longer has to help the dienan perform their chores. The frau helps in the garden, as well as doing cooking, baking, and clean-up
duty in the kitchen and around the colony. She no longer does the laundry for her family, but now for herself and her husband. The *dienan* see this stage as being quite boring. Although many would love to get married, they only want the romance aspect of it. They do not want to clean up after a man.

Most couples have a child within the first year of marriage. Tradition dictates that even though they are pregnant, Hutterite women work alongside other colony women until they give birth. It is only after the birth of her child that a woman receives special treatment. After the birth of the child, the mother must stay at home for six weeks. This time is extended to nine weeks if she has twins. During this time, her meals are provided by the special needs cook who feeds the women high protein meals. She is looked after by her mother, or a sister for two weeks (this also occurs during major illnesses). The *dienan* see this as a special time and see childbirth in romantic terms. Even when the husband is home, the wife will do much of the labour associated with looking after their children, unless she has a liberal minded husband.

A few Hutterite husbands are beginning to help their wives around the home by cleaning up after meals or lunches, and keeping their home tidy. Such behaviour instills in the wife a great deal of pride in her spouse since the majority of Hutterite men expect to be waited on by their wives. The most demanding are men who had left the colony for one to fifteen years. The generally have returned because they wanted a Hutterite wife. The *dienan* immensely dislike these men because they are “show offs.”
A woman must not only worry about her colony duties outside the home, but the expectations that surround all the work she does within her home. A colony home that is not continuously tidy is held in contempt by other colonists, especially women. The dienan all talk about who is a poor housekeeper or sewer.

It is the norm for all women on the colony to “scrub” on Saturday. This includes thoroughly dusting the home, vacuuming, and washing the floors. Every third week, the house is more thoroughly cleaned as the windows, drapes, and rugs are washed. Those who do not do these tasks are continually criticized by the other women of the colony. Hutterite homes have always been renowned for their cleanliness. The use of modern cleaning equipment corresponds with the importance placed by the “outside” on clean homes. Thus Hutterite homes are equipped with the most modern of cleaning implements and solutions.

The lack of non-domestic communal sphere activities for women leaves them with few choices other than housework. Many women crochet, knit, make moccasins, quilt and embroider, but the supplies to do this cost money. Most Schmiedeleut women receive an allowance of a dollar a month to purchase “luxury” items. The crafts the Hutterite women produce is generally sold to others, especially non-Hutterites, since the allowance that families receive is quite minimal in comparison to needs. This selling of handiwork is not frowned upon by colony leadership. Some Hutterite women will clean the homes of neighbouring non-Hutterites for more spending money. Few Hutterite women sell wool or down quilts any more since their home colonies do not raise sheep, ducks or geese. The dienan in the Schmiedeleut look down on the quilts, socks and
pillows made by the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut. They feel that their handiwork is far superior. Often, they make slippers, wedding albums, picture frames, wheat weaving and other decorations.

6.8 OLD AGE AND DEATH

When a Hutterite women reaches the age of 45 in the Schmiedeleut, she retires. For the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut, the age is 50. Because of this, the dienan think that the “Alberta” Hutterites work their women far too hard. When a Hutterite woman retires, she must still help with the weekly kitchen cleanup and food processing. Regardless of age, Hutterite women help out whenever possible for they are used to labouring and feel useless unless they are working. Retired Hutterite women are expected to still help around the colony, until work is no longer possible. Often, these women help younger mothers with sewing.

Hutterite women's lives are secure and without worry at this age. The only anxiety in the life of a frau would be if one or more of her children would leave the colony. She would worry about their salvation. She believes that hers is guaranteed by living on a Hutterite colony. The dienan look forward to this age because they know that they will be looked after and that their lives will always be secure.

When a woman is older and has difficulty cleaning and maintaining her home, a daughter-in-law, a daughter or a granddaughter will do the necessary work. They will look after the material and emotional needs of the woman and her husband. The life of an elderly Hutterite is one of contentment.
Often, one daughter may remain single in order to look after parents if they are older. A Hutterite grandmother is never lonely as her grandchildren will always be over visiting, even staying the night. If a couple has no children, nieces and nephews, even great-nieces and nephews will fill the void of being childless. There is someone staying with them at all times. Even when the older individuals develops major illnesses, or suffers from serious ailments, they are nursed by either daughters, granddaughters, nieces, great-nieces or daughter-in-laws.

In old age, death is always anticipated. Elderly Hutterites, male or female, believe that they have followed the gospel of Jesus Christ, hence are ready to be with him in heaven. Tragedies, such as the accidental death of a young person, help bind the community together. Colonies and Leuts unite collectively to mourn the deceased. Hutterites do not have the same response to dying and the elderly that characterizes western society. Death is, rather, looked forward to. This is another aspect of Hutterite life that has remained untouched. It is difficult to predict if, in the future, this will change.

6.9 CONCLUSION

Hutterite women's lives exist within the enclosure of the domestic communal sphere of a Hutterite colony. The introduction and the acceptance of technology in a patriarchal structure has a number of consequences. First, women have been relegated to the communal kitchen, garden or home. Second, women have no control over the introduction of the technology, either which technology is introduced or for what tasks. Third, the imposed introduction of technology has resulted in the loss of defining work
roles for women, leaving them with no new roles and much unoccupied time. Fourth, women have shifted their attention to private homes and kitchens rather than work in the communal kitchen. The consequence is that the loss of work roles has also undermined relationships between women. Fifth, loss of work roles through the introduction of technology has undermined the traditional religious meaning of work for women. Finally, the sixth consequence is that Hutterite women have sought to find new meaning in their individual private homes, kitchens and families.

This chapter has presented a description of the lives of Hutterite women through the vantage point of the dienan. It must be remembered that the expectations that surround Hutterite women, formulated centuries ago, are based on a religious world view and ritual. In the past Hutterite women have found meaning within the family, the communal kitchen, and the wash house, and in the activities had with other women processing food, sewing and other domestic communal sphere activities. This is what separated and distinguished them from non-Hutterite women. This traditional way of life has been undermined by the extension of technology into the communal domestic sphere.
CHAPTER SEVEN
APPLICATION OF TYPOLOGY TO
SCHMIEDELEUT HUTTERITE COLONIES

The Hutterite Brethren has been a traditional, or what Habermas termed, a pre-modern society. A pre-modern society is a cultic community in which religion and kinship within a context of kinship and patriarchy are organizing principles. Social control is exercised through a patriarchal structure that is religiously anchored. Hutterite colonies as pre-modern society surrounded by modern society, however, are coming into more and more contact with the “outside.” Such contact is eroding the way of life the Hutterites. Hutterite colonies and their inhabitants are caught between their traditional religious ways of a pre-modern society and those of the surrounding modern secular society. This tension is evidenced in the feelings of ambivalence which Hutterite women display towards their lives on colonies.

Much of what Habermas theorizes regarding the contrast between pre-modern and modern society is applicable to the current situation of Hutterite colonies within the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba. Until twenty years ago, Hutterite colonies were organized as a whole. Members worked together for the benefit of the community. Every individual, regardless of age, contributed to the colony. This sense of unity of belonging now shows signs of weakening. Although men still have roles and tasks they are assigned to do, but
over which they have had some say in defining power, the work Hutterite women did has often been replaced by machines, over which they had no say eliminating their traditional work roles and undermining their sense of religious meaning and identity. For instance, women used to milk cows twice a day. With the introduction of mechanized milking machines by male Hutterite leadership, women no longer have to do this chore. Not only is milk itself viewed as a commodity based on production quotas in the market, women’s work in the dairy has been replaced with modern milking equipment. Mechanization not only affected women’s work roles in the farm but also altered the roles of women in the communal domestic sphere of the colony.

The elimination of many of the tasks Hutterite women once did angers them since they were not allowed to participate in the decision to purchase new equipment, machinery and appliances. Men make the decisions, although these decisions have significant impact on the work roles of Hutterite women. Expressions of anger are subtle, however. Women, especially the dienan are resentful that men get to use computers in the barns while they do not, because men make the decisions, not women. They also resent men having radios and air conditioning in tractors, while women must still hoe in the hot sun in the garden. Hutterite dienan view these differences as hypocrisy in Hutterite society. Although many of the jobs they once did have been eliminated by machines, others, some of which are especially time consuming and labour intensive, still exist. The women feel powerlessness in that some technology is embraced by the male colony leaders while others are not without considering the effect on women.
Dishwashing is drudgery, yet the task has not been replaced. Tractors are often used in the garden, but women are still expected to hoe. In the kitchen, making noodles is a relatively easy task even when done manually. While all colonies now have industrial sized noodle-makers, women still do dishes in the communal kitchen three times a day. The dienan know that a noodle machine cost thousands of dollars, yet male colony leaders refuse to buy the women a dishwasher whose cost is less than one thousand dollars. To the dienan this is a continual demonstration of male dominance. Through technology and the infiltration of secular values, women are learning about gender equality, yet they experience none in their day to day lives. Although they experience the effects of labour saving devices, they experience it as arbitrary, imposed and patronizing.

How do Hutterite women and dienan deal with their feelings of resentment and anger? Often the result is depression, boredom and fits of anger. I, too experienced feelings of anger about the way Hutterite women experience loss of meaning with little or no sense of accomplishment. My reaction was twofold: to sleep much more than needed and to eat more than I normally would. Many of the women and dienan of the colony do not like each other and are prone to gossip about each other. In the Schmiedeleut, especially within Manitoba, many women are leaving colonies. There is little they can anticipate for their future on the colony as they cannot make decisions regarding their lives. At the same time, they have a sense that they will be able to achieve something if they leave the colony.
Within a pre-modern society, such as the Hutterites, labour is closely ascribed with kinship. Work is seen as the physical manifestation of the individual’s assent to the group purpose as well as providing a sense of solidarity (Bennett, 1967:201). Work means that one is contributing to the whole in order for the colony to prosper, and is the basis for defining oneself as a good Christian. In modern society, however, individuals compete with each other in the labour market. Labour power is defined as a commodity. Competition defines power and exchange relations which in turn guide social cooperation. On the colony, one’s labour alone is insignificant unless it is combined with other’s labour for the benefit of the colony.

In recent years, however, labour is becoming uncoupled from kinship. Daughters used to help out their fathers in the chicken barn grading eggs. Since machines now grade eggs, women and dienan no longer grade eggs. Although norms based on kinship still guide Hutterite society, such norms are being replaced by exchange relations based on what benefits the finances of the colony rather then what strengthens the community as a whole.

Equally important within pre-modern society is how one is located socially. Hutterite society is not based on class. Each individual has a specific place based on traditional roles within the community. One’s status is ascribed, based on gender and age. Within modern society, however, individuals are located according to their class, status and education. Some of these achieved criteri are slowly finding their way into the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba. Individuals with more possessions on the colony are viewed with higher esteem than those who refrain from purchasing items. Education is seen to
increase a person’s worth. Individuals with their grade twelve diploma are seen to be “better” than their fellow colonists with a grade eight education. Hutterites are now evaluating and treating each other using a combination of both pre-modern and modern criteria. I found this to be the case when it came to women and the number of children they had. A woman with only two children was viewed more positively by the *dienan* than a woman who had six to eight children. On the other hand, a *dien* who had a child out of wedlock was viewed sympathetically and not treated harshly by her peers. Hutterite society remains torn between largely ascribed status and some achieved status. This transition has given rise to ambivalence among colony members, particularly the *dienan*, who face a double standard while attempting to resolve major life decisions of colony membership and marriage.

I found this to be the case when it came to the defections (either temporary or permanent) of *dienan*. On the one hand, most *dienan* dream of leaving the colony and experiencing the world, particularly getting an education and making money. I was told many times at Waldnerhof how a number of *dienan* were going to leave the colony. Yet the same *dienan* would talk about a *dien* from a nearby colony who had left. She was viewed as a woman with low morals.

Some aspects of Hutterite society have not changed. Hutterite colonies are still practising the same traditions of childrearing that their foremothers and forefathers did. Childrearing is still done by colony women, often by cousins or by other female relatives. There are, however, some changes that are altering the family unit. In the past, Hutterite families were large, often composed of ten to twelve children. Mothers often required
the help of their sisters, in-laws and other relatives because they could not alone look after their children, work, sew, clean, cook and garden. Today, within the Schmiedeleut, it is not uncommon to find families which have two to four children. In the Schmiedeleut, the extended family has increasingly been replaced by the nuclear family.

It is up to married women and men to decide the number of children they will have. Colony elders at least tolerate small families, and fail to protest young couples’ use of contraception. Kinship is no longer the major focus of women’s lives. At the same time, however, individual families have emerged as distinct units or factions that are of more importance than the colony.

Until twenty years ago, the Hutterite house did not emphasize privacy. Homes were very austere, without any display of comfort. Most did not have eating quarters, comfortable furniture, decorations, mirrors or washroom facilities. Starting in the 1970’s with growing prosperity, colonies in the Schmiedeleut and Dariusleut began building washrooms in their homes. Kitchen facilities soon followed. This shift from the public communal to the private individual can at least, in part, be attributed to the financial success of Hutterite farming operations. With financial success came not only “worldly” comforts but also through technology, the reduction in the amount of work required of an individual and the undermining and even loss of women’s traditional work roles. This shift from the pre-modern communal kinship group to the modern private nuclear family has been drastic. Many colonies now have only one meal daily in the communal kitchen; other meals are eaten in individual homes.
People take pride in their homes, often decorating and furnishing them lavishly. Most Schmiedeleut colonies in Manitoba buy presents for colony households such as microwaves and living room suites. This is to compensate for the fact that each adult or child in the Schmiedeleut is only given an allowance of one dollar a month. This dollar a month causes resentment. Although the dienan have elaborate and lavishly decorated bedrooms, they still cannot afford to purchase any special dress fabric since they would have to save for a year and a half to acquire eighteen dollars. Even though it is forbidden, most Schmiedeleut feel that have to find ways to earn money "on the side." The dienan, even those who are baptised and have taken a vow of poverty, are most eager to try to earn pocket money.

Just as kinship is integral to pre-modern society, so is religion. Patriarchy is also tied to religion. Thus, religion/patriarchy is all encompassing within a pre-modern society such as the Hutterites. Hutterite identity means that one must live in community, one that is guided and ruled by men. For over four hundred years, Hutterite religious traditions have remained relatively unchanged, the only Hutterite institution that has escaped significant change in the course of their turbulent history. This is why Hutterite society is now in tension between pre-modern society and modern society. In the Hutterite view, if religion remains the same, Hutterite society will survive. Ironically, this very resistance of the Hutterite religion to change has been a major reason given by defectors who indicate they are seeking an individual rather than a communal relationship with God.

Religion is the foundation of Hutterite life. The Hutterite Brethren is a cultic community that uses five articles of faith to guide and guarantee its way of life. Living
in community means that Hutterites generally thinks of themselves as being part of the colony, not as an individual. According to Hutterites, one must live in community to go to Heaven. Community living is, in fact, a condition for going to heaven. It is difficult for non-Hutterites to join a colony. I have been told that one must be born a Hutterite to live in community. It is not a matter of choice.

Social control on the colony is necessary because the Hutterite belief system justifies the rules necessary to make colony life successful. According to Habermas, social control in a pre-modern society has religious grounding. In modern society, the state and the family guide social interaction and control.

Gender plays an important role within pre-modern society and modern society. A pre-modern society is typically a patriarchal one. Within the pre-modern type, women do not take leadership roles. In contrast, within modern society equality is an ideal. It has been argued throughout this thesis that Hutterite society is patriarchal. Recently, however, Hutterite women, particularly the dienan, are struggling for greater equality with men. The dienan feel ambivalence and anger about the gender inequality on colonies. Many wish to obtain their driver's licences, to make decisions regarding colony purchases, and to take on leadership roles. Such goals are in direct defiance of Hutterite patriarchal tradition. Such aspirations must be attributed to the influence of modern society on Hutterite colonies. The colonization of the lifeworld by technology has meant that technology is supplanting kinship or myth. Peter (1987:xv) maintains that:

The acquisition of the most sophisticated agricultural equipment, calling into play new skills which, in turn, modify the old hierarchical colony structure, and ultimately contribute to a complete revision of the gender-based division of labour.
Hutterite women learn about gender equality through discussions with non-Hutterites, in reading magazines, newspapers and through observing “English.” How women view their position within colonies strongly contrasts with that put forward by colony leaders. This is already leading towards tensions within the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba, including a number of defections by women, particularly dien. An example was given of the young dien who was upset about the amount of furniture given to a man when he marries in comparison to what she would receive. Such resentment is becoming more clearly evident on colonies.

Following Habermas’ writings, one can see that increasing colonization of the Hutterite women’s lifeworld had been taking place because of the economic success of Hutterite production. The acceptance of outside world values including technology, has given rise to a state of unrest. Until twenty years ago, Hutterites life followed from an adherence to the five articles of faith. The religious foundation and the kinship system of Hutterite life, ascribed status and outside threats bonded Hutterites together. Many non-Hutterite or modern values are appearing within the lifeworld of Hutterite women. As such they are challenging the Hutterite way of life.

This research has documented social and cultural change that has been occurring on Hutterite colonies. It has also demonstrated that these changes are affecting the lives of Hutterite women. Their relationships with each other, their families, spouses and fellow colonists have been altered through the subtle but pervasive intrusion of modern values and technology into Hutterite society. Such non-Hutterite values cannot co-exist within the peasant, kinship based system that is the Hutterite way of life.
Solidarity amongst Hutterite women is weakening. The colonization of Hutterite women's lifeworld has meant that women no longer feel themselves as intimate companions with each other, almost to some extent, as rivals. Such tension usually occurs within modern society when individuals compete when selling their labour. Prior to the widespread use of technology, life on colonies approximated life in a peasant village. Technology has infiltrated the lifeworld of Hutterite women, eroding the kinship/communal basis of the Hutterite way of life.

Women find themselves resorting to covert actions to protest and resist domination. Examples of these resistances are: name calling, verbal disagreements, competition between women over the dress of their children and the cleanliness of their homes. Their resistance is less visible. It can be seen in such actions as refusing sexual relations with their husbands, altering their Hutterite dress, secretly acquiring property, stealing items that are not theirs and gossiping about colony leadership. These are extreme cases, I was told about when at Waldnerhof and visiting other Schmiedeleut colonies in Manitoba.

7.1 CONCLUSION

Hutterite women are angry about the lack of control that they experience. Women do not have choices even when it comes to the size of the dots on their shawl, the cut and style of their clothing, the type of decorations within their homes, and the furniture that they are given. Although the way of life within which they have been raised is changing, religion, ritual and belief remain unchanged. Religion has become compartmentalized, segregated into the time of services. Religion no longer informs their way of life. This split between everyday activities of women and religion creates feelings of confusion and ambivalence.
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The research has raised, pointed to and examined a number of important issues. First, Hutterite colonies within the Schmiedeleut of Manitoba have undergone significant change in the past twenty years. Second, this change has dramatically altered the lives of Hutterite women. Third, the use of Habermas' writings on pre-modern society and modern society as types provides a useful way to understand the change and its consequences, particularly for Hutterite women.

The concluding chapter is organized as follows: an overview of the research, an outline of the findings, a discussion of limitations of this study, and the discussions of strengths and contributions of this research.

8.2 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

The research documents a number of important issues surrounding the Hutterite Brethren, especially the Schmiedeleut in the province of Manitoba.

Chapter one is an overview of the thesis as a whole. Starting in the mid-1970's, Hutterite colonies began to compete economically with their non-Hutterite farm neighbours. This competition involved the adoption of technological innovation, not only
in farming, but also in other activities in the colonies. The result was the structure of Hutterite society began to change. The focus of this study has been to examine the effects of these changes for Hutterite women, particularly the *dienan*, since their location in the life cycle places them in a vulnerable state of transition.

Chapter two presents an historical overview of the Hutterite Brethren, as a background to this study. It is organized into two parts. The first section deals with the formation of the Anabaptist movement and development of the group that became known as the Hutterite Brethren. Since their origins in 1528, the Hutterites have faced restrictive, even violent opposition. The intolerance which the Hutterites experienced resulted in their continuing migration across Eastern Europe into Russia and finally to North America. The second section surveys the contemporary situation of Hutterites, their reasons for settling in Canada, their locations, and the population of Hutterites in Canada. The organization of colonies in Canada is discussed, particularly within the context of the Schmiedeleut Hutterites of Manitoba.

Chapter three reviews the literature on the Hutterite Brethren. The first part examines the literature on women found within Hutterite society, the work that they do and a portrayal of Hutterite women within scholarly writings. The are two concerns regarding writings on Hutterite women. First, Hutterite women’s work is stereotyped in such a way that actual women are invisible. Furthermore, the patriarchal structure of Hutterite society from which researchers have received their information about Hutterite women goes unquestioned.
The second concern is that writings on the Hutterite Brethren are generally outdated. According to Melland (1985) and Peter (1987), significant change has been taking place on Hutterite colonies in Canada. Since there are few writings on change, this raises concerns about the effects on Hutterite women and their work roles. The second part deals with other aspects of Hutterite life. These include: housing types on colonies, ownership of private possessions, clothing styles, religion, baptism, courtship and marriage. Two of the most studied aspects of Hutterite life are discussed in detail: family size along with health, and defection from Hutterite colonies. This second part provides a summary of writings that not only deal with Hutterite women directly, but with those aspects of colony life which greatly effect women.

Chapter four presents Habermas’s writing on pre-modern society versus modern society as types. Habermas’s theory on the colonization of the lifeworld by system rationality provides a framework for understanding a number of issues confronting Hutterites and their traditional way of life. This chapter focusses on cultic community and kinship as the basis for pre-modern society. Modern society is contrasted with pre-modern society to demonstrate the very different organizing principles of the two types.

Chapter five presents the methodology for this study. This chapter presents how I, the daughter of an ethnic Hutterite, gained access to and conducted research at Waldnerhof, a Schmiedeleut colony in Manitoba. How I experienced my location in the colony and the relationships I had with those I studied is discussed in great detail. The chapter is organized into the following sections: genesis of a question: research problem and project, family roots as a connection, attempting to gain access/entrance to the field,
contact, entrance into the field, participant observation: outside-insider, my life as a dien, the work of the dienan, consequences of being an outside-insider, research strategies: an overview, perceptions of an outside-insider, outsider again: debriefing, and reflection on emotions and knowing.

I discovered that technological change is being introduced into the daily lives of Hutterite women through the decisions of male colony leaders. Hutterite women have had no say in what types of technology are introduced on the colony, particularly in the communal domestic sphere. This has affected Hutterite women in several ways. First, women have experienced a loss of significant work roles by which they had defined themselves. Second, women have experienced the loss of religious meaning of work, a belief and practise central to living in community. Third, they express growing resentment about their lack of control over the introduction of technology and the consequent changes.

Chapter six, my research data presents the life experiences of a Hutterite woman. This chapter is organized according to how a dien views the life of a Hutterite women in stages and topics: the birth of the girl, life as a toddler, kleinashule, German school, attending Church, life in English school, work as a dindla, becoming a dien, work in the communal kitchen and on the colony, dress, possessions, Hutterite housing, dating and marriage, baptism, family size, defection, life as a frau, and old age and death. The chapter describes the experiences of Hutterite women, particularly the dienan, based on observations during my fieldwork. I learned that Hutterite women and dien are experiencing ambivalence and anger over the lack of power in their lives.
Chapter seven draws on Habermas' writings on pre-modern and modern society to construct types through which locate those aspects of Hutterite life which are in a transition. Examples are presented to illustrate that Hutterite women experience, just as I did while at Waldnerhof, ambivalence and anger about their lives and colony participation. This ambivalence and anger represents a reaction to the sense of powerlessness Hutterite women feel about their place within the overall organization of Hutterite life. The acceptance of technology by male colony leaders and the arbitrary nature of its introduction through patriarchal decision has weakened women's work roles and resulted in lack of meaningful activity, disharmony among women and growing resentment toward male domination.

8.3 FINDINGS

The writings of Melland (1985) and Peter (1987) pointed out that profound change has been occurring on Hutterite colonies, regardless of Leut. The amount of change that has occurred on colonies, especially in the Schmiedeleut, where I conducted my field work, is quite surprising. My field work has documented the fact of this change and its extensiveness. The adoption of technology has resulted in Hutterite women's confinement to the domestic sphere, the loss of their traditional concomitant religious meaning of work roles, and a growing sense over lack of control over their lives. Given the patriarchal structure of the Hutterite Brethren, Hutterite women have had no choice in the introduction of technology since all decisions are made by male colony members. Separation of male-female tasks has isolated them within the communal domestic sphere.
There is a great deal of tension among Hutterite women, particularly the dienan, as many aspects of their lives have been infiltrated by modern beliefs about family size, housing style, work roles, personal appearance and the organization of the colony farm operation as a business enterprise. Women, including the dienan, have reacted to these changes and their lack of decision making in anger, depression, resentment and resistance. In extreme cases, Hutterite women have resorted to leaving the colony, either temporarily or permanently.

8.4 LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

This thesis is limited by a number of factors. First, the amount of time I spent at Waldnerhof conducting my research was relatively short. It would have been impossible for me to learn everything about the life of a dien and Hutterite women with the two months during which I conducted my research at Waldnerhof. Second, language and cultural barriers meant that a great deal of what was occurring around me I did not notice or understand. I did not speak hutrish except for a few works or phrases. Rather, my Prairieleut heritage did give me a basic understanding and sympathy to the Hutterite way of life. Third, many of Waldnerhof's residents were on their best behaviour with me. In retrospect I know now that I did not learn about some problems facing colonies. Discussions with ex-Hutterites after I had concluded my field work revealed matters I had not learned about.

There were also some limitations related to participant-observation. Because I was so warmly welcomed at Waldnerhof, I quickly began to experience life as a dien. This created a great deal of turmoil as I was caught between a great deal of admiration for
Waldnerhof residents and feelings of anger and frustration regarding the lack of meaningful work activities available to women and dien. Within participant observation, the interplay of emotions and knowledge production/acquisition are often downplayed, but my feelings affected how I perceived, learned and experienced Hutterite life. I believe that I took on, to a considerable extent, the role of a dien for the two months I lived at Waldnerhof.

8.5 CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESEARCH

This study contributes significantly to what is known about Hutterite colonies, and more particularly, about the lives of Hutterite women, especially the dien. Most sociological studies do not focus on young women, particularly teenagers. Further work can be built on this documentation. My family heritage enabled me to live on a Hutterite colony. The fact that I could live on a Hutterite colony for two months and experience first hand the life of a dien is unusual. No other researcher has done this. My common Hutterite heritage allowed me an "insider" view of the world of unmarried Hutterite women. I participated in daily conversations with the dien. They allowed me to observe all that they did.

A number of findings are documented within this research. First, the effects of technology on Hutterite women and the erosion of their way of life has been documented. Hutterite colonies have generally allowed Hutterite men within a patriarchal structure to compete successfully in the increasingly competitive business of farming or agribusinesses, as it is known. The introduction of technology into the communal domestic sphere of women, directly controlled by men in the patriarchal communal
structure, has resulted in loss of meaningful work roles for women, erosion of the religion meaning and a growing sense of the loss of control over their lives. These consequences have led to increasing resentment on the part of Hutterite women to the patriarchal structure of the colony. Women are now seeking some avenues of control by involvement in the private, personal domestic sphere of their homes, through greater involvement through greater attention to their nuclear families, and by increased demands on the impersonal relationships with their husbands. The result is increasing individualism for Hutterite women.

Second, the writings of Habermas were valuable in understanding how the lifeworld of Hutterite women has been colonized by system rationality in the vehicle of technological change and its concommitment impact on work roles and values. The cultic community, which is the basis of traditional Hutterite society, has been fragmented, compartmentalized and marginalized in response to the colonization of Hutterite life, particularly the lives of Hutterite women.

Third, there is a significant resistance to change on Hutterite colonies particularly among Hutterite women. Their resistance is not only against the patriarchal decision making structure, but also against the intrusion of technology into women’s everyday lifeworld and the concommitment disorganizing effects on their traditional work roles. This resistance is, however paradoxical, both male and females enjoy watching television, listening to stereos and having new vehicles, although these are “officially” sinful.
Fourth, the Hutterite way of life is threatened. No longer is the opposition coming from non-Hutterites and government legislation. Rather the intrusion of technology and its concomitant values into the pre-modern Hutterite way of life has undermined its cultic community and kinship basis. Unyielding patriarchal hierarchy anchored in a traditional world view has itself become an obstacle to reorganization and the creative renewal of Hutterite life. Such a patriarchal hierarchy prevents the growing aspirations of Hutterite women from receiving any serious hearing.

It is difficult to say what the future holds for the Hutterite Brethren, particularly the Schmiedeleut. Because of the growing, though ambivalent aspirations of Hutterite women, without some accommodation by the patriarchal hierarchy, the present alienation and disillusionment of Hutterite women are likely to grow. In this context, evangelical protestantism can appeal to Hutterite women and offer them choice within a religious world view. Evangelical protestantism will move into colonies in the Schmiedeleut challenging what there is left of a pre-modern societal structure and belief system. Women’s tasks will become more and more replaced by mechanization. If no truly meaningful tasks are created to replace eliminated work roles, Hutterite women will be forced to do work for outsiders, such as cleaning houses, cooking for commercial and private enterprises. The Hutterite communal way of life will diminish and will become replaced by individual families earning wages outside of the colony and paying rent and living expenses to the colony boss.

To combat these challenges, Hutterite leaders of all three Leuts will need to revitalize colony sermons in order to make religion relevant and realistic. In order to
revitalize the religious base of Hutterite life, the patriarchal organization of colony life must be mitigated. Women must be allowed to participate in some colony decisions, particularly those that effect the communal domestic sphere and given some opportunity for meeting their educational aspirations. I believe that the Hutterite Brethren can deal with these problems since they have been resilient in combatting such threats to their way of life in the past.

8.6 SUMMARY

There are a number of studies that could further this work. This research demonstrates that there is a great deal to be learned about Hutterite colonies and their inhabitants, particularly women. A Habermasian perspective helps to organize the processes at work: how the Hutterites have maintained their religious system and way of life for so long and how recent technological change have undermined the Hutterite way of life and its religious foundations. Further work needs to be done regarding how the Hutterite Brethren are responding to the onslaught of modern values and the threat these pose to their continued existence as a religious communal way of life in the context of modern individualistic society characterized by a growing sense of powerlessness and anomie.
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