Abstract:
There are over 23,000 Hutterites settled in the rural plains of North America; however, health professionals are largely unaware of the cultural aspects of the Hutterite society. In order to provide holistic care to this unique society, more concrete health and illness information must be made available.

The study is descriptive and ethnographic, examining the raising of children in the Hutterite colonies in central Montana. The research question addressed is "What are the major characteristics of child rearing practices in the Hutterite culture?" In the process of describing child rearing practices, many health and illness aspects of the Hutterite culture were explored. Thus, the purpose of the study is to aid health professionals in gaining insight into caring for persons of the Hutterite culture.

The main characteristics, of child rearing examined were: affection, discipline, toilet training, feeding" and weaning. A sample of 13 women from three Hutterite colonies were interviewed and observed regarding the raising of their 83 children. The method was of participant observation with interviews regarding children from birth to eight years of age.

The findings indicated that Hutterite child rearing practices are very consistent and controlled. The child must adapt to the strict colony structure and learn to put his needs secondary to the needs and work schedule of the colony. Nursing implications of the study include the need for the nurse to take time with sensitivity in caring for Hutterites and other cultural groups. The Hutterites have a high success rate with breast feeding, a very low rate of allergies and asthma in children, and few eating problems with their children. Finally, the study demonstrates the need for education of nurses on the health and illness concepts of the Hutterite culture.
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Marjorie R. Arky

Date  

May 6, 1981
CHILD REARING IN THE HUTTERITE CULTURE
by
MARJORIE CAROL HICKEY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF NURSING

Approved:

Chairperson, Graduate Committee

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION: THE BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSE OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTHROPOLOGY AND MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH OF HUTTERITES</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILD DEVELOPMENT THEORIES</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILD REARING RESEARCH</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH DESIGN</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEFINITION OF TERMS</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAMPLE AND SETTING</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATA COLLECTION METHODS</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VALIDITY</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIABILITY</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATA ANALYSIS</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. DATA ANALYSIS

PART I: HUTTERITE HISTORY & COLONY LIFE 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISTORY</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGION AND COLONY LIFE</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY LIFE</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART II: CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILD REARING PRACTICE 39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARE OF THE NEW MOTHER AND BABY</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEEDING</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOILET TRAINING</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISCIPLINE</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFECTION</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUSE CHILDREN</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINDERGARTEN: THREE TO FIVE YEARS</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOL CHILDREN: SIX TO THIRTEEN YEARS</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUTTERITE CHILD REARING PRACTICES</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Adaptation to Colony Environment</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeding</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toilet Training</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Children</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Children</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPLICATIONS FOR NURSING</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: THE BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

There is a steady growth of interest in the transcultural nursing field. Nurses are finding that in order to care for the whole person, or to give holistic care, cultural aspects must be addressed (Leininger, 1979). Therefore, many nurses are eager to make transcultural nursing a vital part of their practice but need substantive content about the various cultures to guide them. The problem, for many nurses, is that little is known about the specific cultures they interact with during the course of their nursing practice. Nurses in the rural plains of North America come into contact with several cultures: the various Indian tribes, the newly arrived "boat peoples" from Vietnam, the Mexican-American migrant workers, and the Hutterite people. Of particular interest to this researcher is the Hutterite culture.

With over 23,000 Hutterites settled in the rural plains of North America (Hostetler, 1974, p. 292), nurses and other health professionals should be knowledgeable about the cultural aspects of the Hutterite people in
order to give them holistic care. Although some general information is known about the Hutterites relative to their farming habits and general colony lifestyles, there is little known about their family relationships, health and illness concepts, and child rearing practices. For many nurses of the northern plains, this lack of knowledge about the specifics of the Hutterite culture results in a problem in the delivery of true holistic care.

One method of learning about a culture is to observe the children or child rearing practices of that culture. For childhood in all cultures is the period in which the developing individual learns the rules of that society. This study will begin to explore this important area of human endeavor: the raising of children. More specifically, the study will examine the raising of children in the Hutterite culture, with an ethnographic approach.

The ethnographic interview is an approach to anthropological research. Ethnography "is the work of describing a culture, learning from the people or allowing to be taught by them" (Spradley, 1979, p. 3). As a result, the researcher will explore and learn about the culture, and from the data will identify the major
characteristics of Hutterite child rearing.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The specific research question of the study is "What are the major characteristics of child rearing practices in the Hutterite culture?" The Hutterites are an agrarian, communal, and financially successful people, sharing a folk culture with common language and four centuries of common history (Hostetler, 1974, p. 3).

It has been stated, from early infancy the parents and colony members are engaged in a conscious effort to "break the child's will" so the child can grow up into a "good and religious Hutterite." (Eaton, 1955, p. 106). The Hutterites believe to honor God properly they must live in a commune or colony and be devout pacifists. In place of self-fulfillment there must be self-denial for the good of the colony (Hostetler, 1974, p. 18). Based on these statements and observations, it is apparent that the basis of their culture may well be established during the early years of the Hutterite's life. Therefore, to understand and gain an appreciation of the Hutterite culture, it is important to examine the characteristics of child rearing practices.
PURPOSE OF STUDY

In the process of describing child rearing practices, many aspects of the Hutterite culture were explored. The purpose of the study was to aid the researcher and other health professionals to gain insight into caring for the Hutterite culture, more specifically to gain information relative to child rearing practices.

To provide holistic care the cultural aspects cannot be neglected. Professional nurses are hindered in providing therapeutic care to clients unless they are knowledgeable about the cultural values, beliefs, and practices of those they are attempting to serve. Nurses should be as knowledgeable about the cultural aspects of clients as they are the physiological, emotional, and social needs.

SUMMARY

The problem health professionals in the rural plains of North America have is the lack of knowledge about the specifics of the Hutterite culture. Little information is available and this causes problems for nurses in delivering holistic nursing care.

In an attempt to learn more about the Hutterite
culture, it is appropriate to focus on how the Hutterite is raised by examining child rearing practices. For childhood in all societies is the period in which the developing individual learns the rules of the society. Thus, the research focused on the major characteristics of child rearing in the Hutterite culture.

The study encompasses: review of the literature, including Hutterite anthropology, mental health research on Hutterites, child development and rearing theories; description of the ethnography design of the study; the examination of population of Hutterites living in central Montana regarding their culture in general, and child rearing practices in particular; and development of implications for health care professionals desiring to deliver holistic care to the Hutterites.
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

PREFACE

To gain information which would be helpful for the examination of Hutterite child rearing practices, three pertinent bodies of literature were identified and reviewed. The first area to be reviewed describes Hutterite anthropology and mental health research. The second area reviews the major child development theories. The third area describes theories in child rearing research. These areas were selected because all areas are important background in examining the environment in which the child is reared.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH OF HUTTERITES

The review of the literature first addresses the description of the Hutterite culture and history. A knowledge of the history of the Hutterites and how they incorporate the past into the present is central to understanding the Hutterite society.

There are several sources of anthropological studies on the culture. Many of the sources give a detailed history of the Hutterites, from Europe to their
immigration to America (Bennett, 1967; Conklin, 1964; Flint, 1973; Gross, 1965; and Peters, 1964). However, these authors give very little information on child rearing. Most discussions of family life center around the adult and communal authority patterns. Several authors — Allard (1970), Lee (1967), and Leiby (1976) — lived in close proximity to the Hutterites and observed them for a year or longer. These sources give in-depth information about the Hutterite religion and colony life. However, none focused on the child rearing practices.

The most valuable sources on family life of the Hutterites provide observations which explain their primary focus as a community of workers (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967; and Hostetler, 1974). The authors refer to "breaking the child's will"; however, they do not describe how this is accomplished or give examples of discipline.

The Hutterite culture provides no immunity to the stress of mental disorders (Eaton and Weil, 1955). Comprehensive research has shown that Hutterites have a recurring, persistent illness known as "anfechtung" or a manic depressive disorder. Their symptoms are
predominantly depressive. There is much evidence of irrational guilt feelings, self-blame, withdrawal from social relations, and marked slowing of mental and motor activities (Eaton and Weil, 1955, p. 84). Fortunately, the colony demonstrates support and love for the depressed member (Kaplan, 1956). Many of the manic depressive members improve with little medical intervention. However, depressive psychoses ordinarily have a good prognosis for recovery. English and Hutterite teachers of 415 children of school age rated the children having a tendency towards depression as the most common problem (Kaplan, 1956).

Other research has shown little difference in intelligence tests when comparing colony and noncolony children (Ludeman, 1930). However, the Hutterite children exhibited non-differentiation in a study of social role perceptions (Schluderman and Schluderman, 1969). Within the female or male roles, the children see little differentiation or status.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

To give an accurate description of Hutterite child rearing, it is important to examine the theories in child development. The major theories of child development have
been proposed by Freud, Erikson, and Piaget.

Sigmund Freud (1949) was one of the first to offer a systemized picture of personality development with the three components of the personality — the id, the ego, and the superego. The aspect of the personality which begins control of the id is the ego in which children learn consequences of their behavior. The superego or conscience, is a very important component when examining child training and religion.

In 1950 Erikson presented the eight psychological ages of man or stages in the life cycle of man. In the first period of infancy (birth to one year), the core problem or crisis is basic trust versus distrust. Accomplishment of the developmental task is demonstrated as a growing sense of confidence in one's own powers. In early childhood (the toddler age, one to three), the task or problem is autonomy versus shame. The play age or preschool age task (from three to six years) is initiative versus confusion and guilt. In later childhood, or school age (ages six to thirteen), the core problem is industry versus inferiority (Erikson, 1950).

Piaget (1952) primarily studied children's
development of intelligence and the sequences of physical
development. He also studied the genetic structure of
growth and cognitive organization. Piaget introduced the
concepts of reasoning and abstract thinking into the child
development theories. Freud, Erikson, and Piaget all
suggest the first ten years of a child's life are the most
important as far as influencing, training, and rearing the
child.

Recent cumulative findings about how children develop
the ability to learn and to relate to people and things in
their environment represent important epidemiological
knowledge which has not yet been applied to the care system.
Although cognitive development, usually measured by
intelligence tests has been a subject of study for many
years, only recently has it been recognized that children
exhibit different ways of adapting to and responding to
the environment as early as birth (Bolbey, 1958;
Brazelton, 1973; and Caldwell, 1967). Immediately after
birth babies start the acquaintance process with others;
of particular importance is the way they attach to the
care-taking parents (Kennedy, 1973; Kennell, Jerauld, and
Wolfe, 1974; Kimball, 1967; and Klaus, Jerauld, and Kreger,
In the first weeks of life, infants establish ways of behaving reciprocally with their mothers (Bolbey, 1958, and Thoman, 1975).

The quality of the infants' interaction with their animate and inanimate environments as they continue the learning, growing, developmental process from birth to 3 years of age correlates with later learning behaviors and cognitive skills (Elardo, Bradley, and Caldwell, 1975; Yarrow, Rubenstein, and Pederson, 1971).

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the work of Yarrow et al (1971) made a strong contribution to understanding cognitive and motivational development in early childhood. A framework he has suggested for the influence on child development is quoted here because of its congruence with other contemporary findings and its useful perspective on child rearing.

"...early influences operate through a sequential chain of mutual interactions between the child and the environment. If the early environment encourages motivation to interact actively with people and to explore objects, it may set in motion a sequence of interactions which may be self-reinforcing and thus self-perpetuating. Inherent in this interpretation is the view that the child's intellectual and personal-social development occurs in a field of reciprocal interactions with people and objects in his environment. The infant affects his environment, not simply by selectively filtering stimulation
through his individual sensitivities, but also by reaching out and acting on the environment" (Yarrow, Klein, Lomoraco, and Morgan, 1974, p. 14).

Only recently have techniques become available to define and quantify the qualities of infant environment such as maternal perception of the newborn (Broussard and Hartner, 1971). There is the developmental stimulation which objects and persons present (Elardo, Bradley, and Caldwell, 1975; Yarrow, Rubenstein, and Pedersen, 1975), and the ways in which infants and parents interact (Bronson, 1974, and Thoman, 1975). These observational techniques enabled studies which have increased the knowledge about the early epidemiology of the child's physical, cognitive, social, and emotional development. It is interesting to note, however, that none of the child development theorists have addressed the possible differences in cultures and the effect on child development.

CHILD REARING RESEARCH

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. One of the first studies was a comparison of American mothers and their children, Patterns of Child
Rearing (Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957). The book explores information about methods of controlling sex exploration and several facts about the influence of disciplinary methods on the development of conscience. They also found that most of the dimensions of child rearing were an extension of the mothers' personalities. Maternal coldness or lack of affection was associated with the development of feeding problems and persistent bed-wetting. The mothers chosen for this study lived in two suburbs of a large metropolitan area of New England and were all American born. Thus, this study did not really examine different cultures.

The most helpful literary resources in child rearing are Six Culture-Studies of Child Rearing (Whiting, 1963); and Mothers of Six Cultures (Minturn and Lambert, 1964). The two books resulted from the collaboration of individuals from three universities — Cornell, Harvard, and Yale.

In 1953 Whiting started the ten-year project of studying child rearing. Her books give ethnographic descriptions of the life of children in six countries (New England, Mexico, the Philippines, Okinawa, India,
The sequel to Whiting's book was *Mothers of Six Cultures*. The results of the books showed significant relationships in the following areas: that mothers spend less time with children when other women are available to help, and that children are severely punished for fighting with each other when many people must share cramped living quarters and still maintain their friendships. Further results show that mothers who live in multiple family houses are less warm, and tend to be less affectionate. Also maternal instability does decrease when the burden of child care is eased either by the presence of additional caretakers or there is a smaller number of children (less than five children).

From these previous research studies, it is evident that cramped quarters, the number of children, and the availability of additional caretakers all have an effect on the affection and discipline a child receives.

**SUMMARY**

The literature search revealed valuable insight into the areas which must be addressed regarding the Hutterite child rearing practices. The anthropology research gave detailed information on the history, religion, and colony
life of the Hutterites. The theorists and researchers in child development, child rearing, and mental health also had similar conclusions. They all concluded that the child's environment, rearing practices, parents, and other care givers are very important in the child's physical, cognitive, social, and emotional development. The findings of the studies cited formed the basis of this researcher's examinations of the child rearing activities of: feeding, toilet training, affection, and discipline in the Hutterite culture.
Chapter 3
METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH DESIGN

The plan of the investigation was to obtain information on cultural practices of child rearing by means of ethnographic interviews with the mothers and nonparental care givers of Hutterite children. Also there was direct observation of the children and care givers.

The observation method was of participant observation with ethnographic interviews. The ethnographic analysis has two main parts: the first is a description of the adult world into which the child is born – the ethnographic background; the second is an account of how the child is reared or trained – the ethnographic description of child rearing.

The first part starts with the history and immigration to America, the description of the environment and local setting, followed by the description of the daily routine and social structure of the Hutterite colony. The second part is organized chronologically beginning with childbirth and continuing through school age.

In order to find out what the culture's practices
really are, it was necessary to explore all possibilities. By listening attentively, by asking open-ended questions, and by being prepared to shift the focus of the interview, the researcher was able to learn more about the culture. It was necessary to actively observe all activity and to describe what was seen. The research design had to remain flexible.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Characteristics of child rearing - the descriptive factors of child training, the nurturing practices, or the policies and practices of the parents and extended family in fostering development in children. The following terms were used in this research as in previous research in child rearing (Minturn and Lambert, 1964; Sears, Rau, and Albert, 1965).

   a. Affection - the act of showing or expressing tender attachment or love by smiling, caressing, kissing, and praising another person, child.

   b. Discipline - the mental and moral training, obedience to rules and training by parents or superiors by verbally commanding,
restricting activity, or physical punishment. The enforcing of prescribed and proscribed behavior.

c. Punishment - to impose a penalty for a fault or crime, to inflict pain or hurt someone (with a resulting loss).

d. Toilet training - the bowel and bladder training a child is taught, or the control of body functions.

e. Weaning - to accustom a child to taking foods and liquids other than by nursing or bottle feeding.

f. Play - the spontaneous activity of children in games and recreation with various toys or without specific toys.

g. Aggression - acting out or attacking with hostile behavior, verbal, or physical.

2. Culture - the state of a civilization, the customs of a group of people or society, or the rules for behavior. (Goodenough, 1972).

SAMPLE AND SETTING

The population was primarily a Hutterite colony in
central Montana. The sample was a convenience sample of women, children, and child care givers. The rural community is isolated from surrounding towns. The colony has its own school, church, and day care and provided all the necessities for the people. After intensive investigation at the first colony, the researcher did similar research at two other surrounding colonies in order to try to establish validity of the interviews.

Both women and men were informants for the history of the colony. For the interviews on child rearing, basically women (mothers and child rearers) were interviewed. Selection of only women subjects for this portion of this study was supported by previous research. Child rearing and child care is primarily the female's role (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967, p. 120).

The children observed were from birth to eight years of age. According to child development theorists such as Freud and Erikson, the first ten years of a child's life are the most important as far as influencing, training, or rearing the child. From birth to six years old the Hutterite children primarily speak German. Observations of the younger children were aided by the use
of an interpreter to clarify questions about verbal interaction and language development. It was very helpful to include older children in the study so that the children could be observed directly without the bias of an interpreter.

The first and main colony interviewed had a population of 70 people, with 6 women. The average Hutterite family has 8 to 9 children. It was planned that 10 women from the 3 colonies would be interviewed and 20 children under 8 years of age would be observed. When the study was completed, 13 women had been interviewed, and they reported on the raising of their 83 children. As a result, 23 children were observed in the study.

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The plan of collection was to obtain information on child rearing by means of ethnographic interviews with the women of the colony. It was found, as had been assumed, that men were not the primary care givers with the children. Therefore, the sample did not have to be changed. The interviews solicited information with elaboration from the women's past and present child rearing experiences.
The questions were descriptive and open ended. (See sample of instrument in Appendix A.) The informants were asked to give examples. At times, some of the terms had to be translated into terms that were more meaningful for the Hutterite culture. For example, the Hutterite term for discipline was "making the child mind". Therefore, the informants were asked to give examples of "making the child mind".

There was observation of the children and child tenders: (1) at their homes, (2) at the day care center, (3) at school, and (4) at other times when the children were eating, playing, etc. The researcher followed children through the routine of the average day. Since the design was exploratory and descriptive, it was necessary to remain flexible to have an opportunity to examine all aspects of child rearing in the culture. Therefore, the researcher took notes verbatim of informants' replies. Notes also were taken as the various observations were made.

VALIDITY

Face validity - "On the assumption that all members of a culture are carriers of the culture, any person who
belongs to the group under study is a possible informant."
The researcher as an observer also was assumed to have face validity (Spradley, 1979, p. 123).

Construct validity — Validation of the major characteristics of child rearing was accomplished by questioning someone other than a colony member or relative of the informant (Spradley, 1979, p. 123). This was accomplished by validation with the school teacher as she was not a member of the colony.

Content validity — This was the cross-checking of informants within and across groups to help verify the norms. Two other smaller studies in other colonies were done in addition to the main study at the first colony.

RELIABILITY

The same researcher gave the same questionnaire to all the women informants. The method of administering the questionnaire was uniform (no change of words or omission of instructions). The researcher also limited the length of the sessions in order to facilitate alert and careful observations.

The ethnographic interview or questionnaire was examined by experts for the identification of limitations
of the tool. These experts were Montana State University nursing instructors. The three instructors have specialties in the areas of research, pediatrics, and anthropology. Two instructors also are mothers who have had the experience of child rearing.

To further test reliability, every informant was subjected to repetition of some of the questions. Responses to questions were tested with observation. By repeated observation, the researcher established a measure of reliability as an observer.

**DATA ANALYSIS**

In ethnographic descriptive studies, the data are somewhat unstructured. The verbatim recordings of conversation or reports of observation were categorized, summarized, and tabulated. The results were reported in percentages in narrative form, with resulting implications for nursing practice.

To implement the ethnography and aid in the analysis, the study had two major parts. First, the ethnographic report and descriptions of the culture as a whole were compiled. Secondly, the data on the major characteristics of child rearing were compiled.
The interviews and/or observations centered on the previously identified child rearing characteristics of: care of the new mother and baby; feeding; toilet training; affection; discipline; house children, kindergarten children, and school children. However, since the major purpose of the study was to identify child rearing practices of the Hutterite culture, not all categories of the interviews and observations could be preplanned. Rather, the researcher used this as a basis and expanded her observations and interviews as needed.

PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

There are three major factors involved with the protection of human rights: the informed consent, the confidentiality of data collected, and the protection of the individuals from harm (Brink and Wood, 1978). Since the "boss" or manager of the Hutterite colony must give approval for any studies, his permission was sought. First a verbal explanation of the study was given and approval was obtained. Secondly, an abstract of the study was given to the "boss" to read, and time was allowed for questions and further explanation. A consent form was given to the boss to sign. (See Appendix B.)
Each informant received an individual explanation of the purpose and nature of the study. Subjects were reassured about their anonymity, and also reassured that they did not have to answer a question if they did not choose to do so. In addition, requirements for the Montana State University Human Subjects Committee were also met.

SUMMARY

The plan of the investigation was to obtain information on cultural practices of child rearing by means of ethnographic interviews with the mothers and nonparental care givers. The method was of participant observation with ethnographic interviews and observation of the children and care givers. The population was primarily one Hutterite colony in central Montana. The sample was a convenience sample of women, children, and child care givers. After intensive study at the first colony, the researcher did further interviews at two other colonies as a check for validity. The children were observed from birth to eight years of age. Twenty-three children were observed and thirteen women interviewed. The researcher took notes verbatim of informant replies. Notes also were taken on the various observations of the daily routines.
and colony life. The next chapter will give the specifics on data analysis.
Chapter 4
DATA ANALYSIS

PART I: HUTTERITE HISTORY AND COLONY LIFE

INTRODUCTION

The analysis of child rearing findings will be preceded by an introduction of cultural information from the literature and general ethnographic information the researcher learned during interviews regarding Hutterite history and colony life. The cultural information is given to assist the reader in understanding the world into which the Hutterite child is born. "Background information may be essential in writing an ethnography" (Spradley, 1979, p. 214). Therefore, the first portion of data analysis will give general background information regarding Hutterite history, religion, colony and family life. The second portion of the data analysis will focus on how the Hutterite child is reared or trained — the ethnographic description of child rearing.

HISTORY

The Hutterites are an agrarian, communal, and financially successful people, sharing a folk culture with common religious and cultural traditions. A knowledge of the history of the Hutterites and of how they incorporate
the past into the present is central to understanding the Hutterite society. The Hutterites originated in the sixteenth century and are one of the three surviving Anabaptist groups. The other two are the Mennonites and the Swiss Anabaptists, including the Old Order Amish (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967, p. 1.). The Anabaptists are nonconformist groups who reject infant baptism.

The Hutterites regard 1528 as their founding date after Hans Hut. The followers or "Brethren" introduced the practice of "community of goods." Each person heaped all of his possessions on cloaks that had been spread on the ground. The leaders were then selected to disperse the material goods (Hostetler, 1974, p.8).

The Hutterites could not receive exemption from military duty and free practice of their trades in Europe, and thus started their immigration to North America in 1872 (Hostetler, 1974, p.8). All Hutterites, numbering nearly 800 persons, relocated in South Dakota. The Hutterites founded three colonies, each immigrating at slightly different times. Hutterites today acknowledge three distinct people or "Leut." Taking their names from their first leaders in the United States, they are
Schmiedeleut, Dariusleut, and Lehrerleut (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967, p. 3). The three share a common body of doctrine, language and social patterns, but each has its own senior elder and its own discipline.

The colonies prospered in the James River Valley of South Dakota until World War I when they became the target of local anti-German prejudice. At this juncture they were invited by the Canadian government to settle in Alberta and Manitoba. Both the government and the Canadian Pacific Railway were anxious to bring hard-working settlers to the parts of Alberta and Manitoba that had remained empty because of lack of resources or unfavorable climate. Assured that their pacifistic principles would be respected, the Brethren accepted the invitation. The Schmieden colonies went to Manitoba and the Darius and Lehrer went to Alberta (Bennett, 1967, p. 32). In the late 1920's the Darius and Lehrer sent branch colonies to Washington, Montana, North Dakota, and Saskatchewan. The colonies in central Montana are of the Dariusleut grouping.

Today there are over 23,000 Hutterites in North America (Hostetler, 1974, p. 76). They are organized into agricultural villages called "colonies." The next portion
will discuss the colony life and the way their religion pervades their whole way of life.

RELIGION AND COLONY LIFE

The Hutterites are attempting to establish a colony of heaven on earth. Their social patterns have acquired utopian characteristics. Through communal effort they work toward economy of human effort and elimination of extremely poor or wealthy members. They have a system of "distribution of goods" that minimizes privileged position, motivates without incentive of private gain, and gives a high degree of security for each individual (Conklin, 1964, p. 7). Their way of life is intended to satisfy both spiritual and material needs.

By living on large acreages of communally owned land, the Hutterites maintain a degree of geographic isolation. Each colony is a separate economic unit composed of a large farm and related ranching enterprises. Their German dialect and eighteenth century dress reinforce social isolation from their neighbors. Religious belief dictates that Hutterites must live communally to properly honor God. They are also devout pacifists and observe rigid religious practices. They regard their sufferings as
inevitable, as well as the misunderstandings which result with the outside world (of modern times). Nevertheless, the Hutterites are the largest and most financially successful type of communal group in the western world (Hostetler, 1974, p. 16).

The Hutterites believe in living a life with few luxuries. "Man was made to worship God, the Creator, and not to worship the creation or things made by God." (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967, p. 7). Anything owned by the Hutterite colony is considered a necessity, such as food, clothing, and shelter.

All colonies are rural and most are in sparsely populated areas. The average colony has a population of about 100 persons (Conklin, 1964, p. 8). All have at least four or five one-story apartment buildings for family living quarters, although some colonies have individual dwellings. Apartments range in size from two to five rooms, depending on family size. One room is generally a sitting room and the rest are bedrooms. The apartments have small kitchenette areas; however, little cooking is done in the apartment. Most meals are prepared in the communal kitchen. The apartments may or may not have
indoor plumbing. Every colony has a large central dining hall and kitchen, which may be equipped with the most modern baking facilities. Each building is furnished very simply. They usually have wooden or tile floors, simple straight backed chairs and tables, and old fashioned beds. There are very few pictures or decorations in the homes. Televisions and radios are not permitted.

Today's colonies are dependent on agriculture. The Hutterite religion condemns independent commercial pursuit. Although at one time many Hutterites were skilled craftsmen, much of this ability is vanishing in this technological age. Women seldom weave anymore, since factories can make material which is more efficient to buy and men seldom make shoes, since they are now more economical to buy. Those skills related to farming are the main surviving skills.

The colonies have remained relatively self-sufficient. They are able to produce large proportions of their food stuffs. In addition to raising their own poultry, pork, and beef, they also have their own milk, vegetables, and do all their own baking. Staples, such as salt and sugar, are purchased in bulk. At one time, colonies milled their
own flour. This practice has been abandoned, just as weaving has been, since it is more profitable to purchase flour. Since farming is the backbone of the colonies' economics, most of the earnings go toward purchasing and maintaining livestock, farm equipment, and additional land. Unlike the Amish, the Hutterites utilize the most advanced farming equipment available.

In the daily round of meals and work, the Hutterites are keenly aware of the passage of time. The day is broken into small units of time that form a tight, rigid schedule. This severe patterning means that the individual members of the colony have little free choice and few decisions to make with regard to time. The colony bell is rung to announce rising time and most of the meals. It is rung to call the women to work, to summon the members to help put out a fire or cope with an emergency. The bell is located in the central area of the colony, close to the communal kitchen. Although there is no Hutterite style of architecture, there is a characteristic colony layout. The center of the colony is the kitchen complex surrounded by the long living houses, with their associated sheds and the kindergarten. The family units run due north
and south (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967, p. 19).

The colony bell also rings to announce council meetings. Five to seven of the baptized men are elected to form the council. The council members hold the key positions in the colony, including the preacher and the manager or "boss." My informant reported the council receives direction from the elders in Canada. The elders elect the preacher, but the colony church or "Gemein" elect the manager. The boss or manager makes practical day-to-day decisions, grants permission for travel, and helps the colony run with financial efficiency. The council makes all major decisions as in colony branching. Other departmental positions in the colony are "cattleman", "pigman", "dairyman", and "gardener". Each man and his family have an area of work specialization. The only female position is the "head cook."

The Hutterite colony is a community of work. All of the members are required to work according to their ability. Lack of work could mean the breakdown of a smoothly running colony. An older woman reported: "We must divide to keep work for our young. When we get too big, there's not enough land and not enough work."
Generally, the colony members get up at 5:30 or 6:00 a.m. They put in a long, hard day with little or no free time. The Hutterites attend church each evening and also on Sunday. Contrary to other religions, they often continue working on Sunday with harvest or haying. "Since goods and time all belong to God, no individual is benefiting from Sunday work and God is still being honored" (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967, p. 27).

**FAMILY LIFE**

The Hutterite family unit is very unlike a "typical" American family unit. Besides being a member of his own immediate family, every individual is also a member of the larger colonial family. This is most apparent in the care of children. Child care is not merely the concern of the biological parents, but of the entire colony. This will be discussed further in the next portion of the paper.

Respect for order and authority pervades Hutterite thought and practice. "God is Lord over man, man is over woman, and the elder over the younger" (Hostetler and Huntington, 1967, p. 7). In the Hutterite view, the individual will must be broken. This is achieved early, primarily during the kindergarten age, and is reinforced
throughout life. In place of self-fulfillment there must be self-denial. The individual must be humble and submissive. After years of religious training, the individual is expected to accept voluntarily the teachings of the colony. Usually the young adults receive baptism at the age of nineteen.

Women do not have a vote in formal decisions. Physical attractiveness is a secondary consideration in marriage. The primary factors are those which benefit the colony as a whole, namely, whether the woman is a good housekeeper, likes children, and is obedient to the colony. My informant reports: "We have no divorce in the colony. We don't try to match up the young for marriage anymore, either. The 18 and 19 year olds meet at weddings and other events with the other colonies. That's where they start courting."

When the baptized youth reaches his twenties, he is considered old enough for marriage. There are definite Hutterite rules to guide him. The marriage partner generally must come from a different colony. They cannot marry in blood lines closer than a second cousin. Upon marriage the new wife will leave her colony to become a
member of her husband's colony. Marriage, therefore, is a time of adjustment for the bride. She must leave her own colony and family, as well as assume work patterns of which she is unfamiliar. For the husband, this is not as difficult a time. He will continue on as he always has, except that now he will be considered more responsible. The roles of the husband and wife are very traditional and well defined. The husband will be dominant, and the wife must support her husband and acknowledge her own dependency. Hutterites seem to fit well into their marriage roles. There is little incidence of divorce or separation (Eaton and Mayer, 1975, p. 38).

The Hutterite dress is virtually unchanged since the sixteenth century. The females must wear ankle length skirts, a bodice and jacket, and a kerchief or sunbonnet, all handmade in dark colored cottons. Females are not permitted to wear pants. The men must wear long, dark pants, shirts and coats, and black, broad-brimmed hats or caps. Both sexes wear dark, low shoes. The children wear slightly brighter cottons.

The woman's role includes homemaking tasks and child rearing. The man's role is in colony work and leadership.
There are few family outings, although occasionally children accompany their parents to town for limited shopping. The Hutterite attitude toward childbearing is also determined by their religion. Children are considered the gifts of God, and large families are held in high regard. There is strong opposition to any form of birth control (Hostetler, 1974, p. 58). Nearly all women marry and begin families by the time they are 22 (Eaton and Mayer, 1975, p. 56). To the Hutterite woman, pregnancy is a "normal" state. The women bear children regularly throughout their fertile years, and the mature nuclear family units are quite large, with a mean of about nine children (Bennett, 1967, p. 127). There is little recognition of pregnancy. No special maternity clothing is worn, and women are expected to carry out their work duties until the birth of the baby. The women reported "the harder we work, the healthier the babies will be."

In the 1960's nearly all babies were born at the colony with assistance from the colony midwife. Today, nearly 90% of the babies are born in hospitals (Hostetler, 1974, p. 60). With childbirth, this brings us to the childrearing practices. The next portion of the paper
will focus on the ethnographic interviews of child rearing practices with the Hutterites.

PART II: CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILD-REARING PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

Childhood in all societies is a period in which the developing individual learns the rules of the society. Hutterite child rearing is a consistent and continuous process to train the child to identify with the colony. The patterns of child rearing are remarkably consistent from one individual to another, from one family to another, and from one colony to another.

Ethnographic interviews were done with Hutterite women from three different central Montana colonies. The women had been raised in Hutterite colonies in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana. Therefore, even though the women interviewed were located in central Montana, their child rearing practices reflect Hutterite practices and norms from all colony regions in North America. Thirteen women were interviewed with ages ranging from twenty-three to sixty
years old. The average age was forty-three. These thirteen women had raised eighty-three children, the average being six children per woman. One woman had fourteen children and two young women had only one child each. Of the eighty-three children, forty-three were boys and forty were girls. None of the women interviewed stated a preference for female children. Seven of the thirteen women stated a definite preference for the male sex. The remaining six women stated no preference.

None of the mothers reported trying to space or plan their children. None used any form of birth control. One mother apologized for having "only four children, due to kidney problems." Another woman reported "man is not to interfere with the giving or taking of life, as children are gifts from God."

**CARE OF THE NEW MOTHER AND BABY**

By using an ethnographic "grand tour" question (Spradley, 1979, p. 87), the women were each asked to describe "how they cared for the new baby." Again, every informant reported a very similar routine. Seventy percent of the women had given birth to their babies at the colony with assistance from the colony midwife. There
are still midwives available at the colonies, however over 90% of the women now go to hospitals to have their babies. The older women had little or no prenatal care and the younger women had limited prenatal doctor visits. None of the women had attended Lamaze prepared childbirth classes or prenatal classes.

Although there is little attention to pregnancy, there is much attention to the postpartum period. Hutterite mothers receive a great deal of assistance and care. For six weeks after delivery, the mother is relieved of all colony responsibilities and is allowed to remain with her baby. All of the mothers interviewed had their mother or a sister come to assist them for four weeks. Eighty percent of the women had their mothers come and help them. If the woman's mother was too old or dead, an older sister was the second choice.

During the postpartum period, the new mother is cared for and mothered at the same time that she cares for and mothers her baby. Often the new mother does not leave her apartment. Her helper feeds and cares for her, does all the family work and even sleeps with her at night, helping her twenty-four hours a day. All the mothers reported it
is their tradition that "the husband slept in another room and the grandmother or helper moved into the bedroom and slept on a cot." The new mother is considered "unclean for four weeks after the birth of the child." She cannot have sexual contact with her husband or even go to church until after the fourth week." During this period, the colony members and relatives from neighboring colonies come to visit the mother and to see the new baby. The visitors are given delicious sweet dough bread that is baked for the new mother.

During the first five weeks, the mother is served the sweet bread, omelets, rich chicken soups, milk puddings, and chicken roasted in butter. These foods are considered "essential for a healthy mother." Often the new mother would eat up to six meals a day, with several servings of milk. One woman reported gaining twenty pounds in one month.

Traditionally, all Hutterite women nurse their children unless there are complications. Therefore, with the restricted activity and larger consumption of liquids, many women reported they had an ample milk supply while nursing.
By the fourth week postpartum, the new mother returns to church. At the fifth week, the new mother eats at the communal kitchen with the rest of the colony. Most mothers are anxious to return to colony participation. On the first Monday after the baby is six weeks old, the mother starts helping wash the dishes in the kitchen. On the Monday after the baby is eight weeks old, she may help with peeling potatoes, sewing, or canning, but no heavy tasks. When the baby is ten weeks old, she bakes for the colony and hoes in the garden if it is that season of the year. When the baby is thirteen weeks old, she can cook for the colony and is now back into the regular work routine.

During the first four weeks of the new baby's life, the mother is able to devote herself exclusively to the infant's care. Because infants are believed to be extremely vulnerable to cold and evil, they are wrapped in blankets and wear caps for warmth, and wear a red ribbon for general protection. One mother reported "The baby slept at the foot of my bed for one week; then we put him in a cradle in the bedroom". This was done so if the baby made a sound I was right there". In a few short
weeks, the baby's schedule becomes adjusted to that of the colony. The work pattern of the colony life determines the time of feeding, playing, sleeping, and being left alone.

All of the mothers interviewed were asked to give an example of the average day when the baby was three months old. All of the mothers reported a very similar schedule, which is as follows:

five a.m. - get up and "tend to the baby," first bathe the baby in a small tub, dress, nurse, feed, and "put the baby down" wrapped in blankets (in the cradle or crib).

six thirty a.m. - the mother washes and dresses herself and gets the other children up and dressed.

seven a.m. - the mother leaves the sleeping baby and goes and eats at the communal dining hall.

eight a.m. - the work bell rings and the women start the colony work (dishes, gardening, or canning).

ten a.m. - the mother checks the baby and nurses it, and changes the diapers.

ten thirty a.m. - the mother goes back to work, leaving the baby alone.
twelve noon - the mother eats lunch and checks on the baby.

one p.m. - the bell rings again, and the mother goes back to work.

two p.m. - the mother goes and checks on the baby, nurses the baby, and changes the diapers.

three p.m. - the mother returns to work.

five p.m. - the bell rings for the evening church service and the mother attends.

six p.m. - the colony and mother eats the evening meal.

seven p.m. - the family is together in the apartment. The mother nurses and feeds the baby. The family holds and plays with the baby for about an hour.

eight p.m. - the young children go to bed.

nine p.m. - the baby is put to bed.

ten p.m. - the adults go to bed.

eleven or twelve p.m. - the mother nurses the baby and puts it to bed. Generally, the baby sleeps then, until five a.m.

The Hutterite mother talks to and holds the baby when nursing or bathing, but when it is time for her to return to work, she places the baby in the crib and leaves for
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Conformity and deviance: the Hutterites of Alberta
Boldt, Edward D.
copies: 1 (SPECIAL)
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#11  BX8129.H8G7
The Hutterite way; the inside story of the life, customs, religion, and traditions of the Hutterites
Gross, Paul S.
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#12  HX656.H85P45
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copies: 1 (STACKS)
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#13  BX8129.H8S487 1964
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Serl, Vernon Claude, 1924-
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Hutterite studies; essays
copies: 1 (STACKS)
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#16  BX8129.H8K3
Personality in a communal society; an analysis of the mental health of the Hutterites
Kaplan, Bert, 1919-
copies: 1 (STACKS)
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#17  BX8129.H8E2
Culture and mental disorders; a comparative study of the Hutterites and other populations
Eaton, Joseph W., 1919-
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pubyear: 1955

#18  BX8129.H8T48
A survey of the Hutterite groups in Montana and Canada
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pubyear: 1949

#19  BX8129.H8H66
The Hutterites: puzzle for patriots
copies: 1 (SPECIAL)
at: BOZEMAN
pubyear: 1948
work. The "good baby" is the baby that "sleeps a lot, does not cry" and "is cheerful and will go to anyone." In other words, the baby does not disrupt the colony's time schedule, and the baby accepts all colony members.

FEEDING

Nursing is accepted as a matter of fact by Hutterite mothers. Of the mothers interviewed, all had attempted to nurse their babies. One child of the eighty-three could not be nursed because of a milk allergy. The remainder were able to be successfully nursed. The mothers reported "no difficulty" in nursing. Several women reported their mothers had assisted them in positioning and feeding techniques. All mothers reported that nursing was the "best and most natural way."

The average mother nursed for five and one-half months, with the range from two weeks to one year. The babies' nursing periods were adjusted to the mothers' work schedule, and there was little concern over whether the babies should be fed on demand. Generally, the babies were nursed on an "every four hour schedule." All of the mothers started their babies on cereal when they were two to four weeks old. They were started with a tablespoon
or two of cereal along with nursing morning and evening. Fruits, fruit juices, and vegetables were also started at two to four weeks.

Religious training began with the introduction of solid food into the baby's diet (cereal, fruits, and vegetables). The mother folded the baby's hands in hers and prayed with him before and after feeding. The child was expected to do this by himself by the time he was one year old. At night, when the baby was put into the crib, the parents also said a prayer aloud.

Several women reported a practice their mothers had taught them. The practice was used for a "fussy or crying baby." This was to soak a one inch piece or "chunk" of bread in milk and have the child swallow it. This practice appeared to quiet the child. Another mother reported "a crying baby is a hungry baby." The mothers interviewed did not support the new trend of waiting until an infant is six months old to introduce solid foods.

After the mothers quit nursing, the babies were allowed to drink cow's milk from a bottle. All of the children had drunk from bottles to the average age of
three years old. The range of age before weaning was eighteen months to five years old. A majority of the women allowed their children to have the bottle "as long as they wanted it." Several of the women reported "the babies need their bottle for sucking, it's their security." None of the children used pacifiers or had the habit of thumb and finger sucking. The children were not allowed to go to bed with a bottle. Therefore, cavities were not a big problem with the young Hutterite children.

Many mothers reported making their own baby food by straining, grinding, and mashing the adult food. By the age of one year, most of the children ate the adult foods along with their bottle. Until the children enter kindergarten at the age of two-and-a-half or three years old, the children are fed in the apartments. Food is brought to the apartments from the communal kitchen.

TOILET TRAINING

Toilet training begins early, frequently by three months, always by the time the child can sit alone. Many children do not wear diapers after they are six months old. Of the mothers interviewed, the average age of the child fully toilet trained was one year. The range of ages that
the children were trained was from six months to two years old. The methods used were very similar. A majority used a small "potty chair after meals and before bedtime." One mother reported "the younger you train them, the better." Many mothers reported the very young infant from three to six months old can understand "wet, dry, and potty." Over seventy percent of the mothers reported "the older child can teach the younger ones." All the mothers agreed that "boys seemed more difficult to potty train than girls."

All of the colonies used cloth diapers and small training pants or underwear. No disposable diapers were used. Whether the child was a boy or a girl, the father was not involved in toilet training. Toilet training was still considered the women's or older sister's responsibility. Both indoor and outdoor toilets were utilized. By the time the child is in kindergarten, he must take himself to the toilet.

**DISCIPLINE**

A child is believed to be fairly innocent until he is observed "hitting back or picks up a comb and tries to comb his hair." Therefore, when he hits back, or knows what a comb is for, his level of comprehension is believed
to be sufficiently high enough that he can be disciplined. Over ninety percent of the mothers used the "comb rule" to determine when to start disciplining.

Discipline usually starts when the child is less than a year old. The mothers referred to discipline as "making them (the children) mind" or obey. All of the mothers reported that they, the mothers, were in charge of disciplining the young children. The fathers generally only disciplined the school age and teenage boys. The young child was told "no, no" and his hands were slapped when he touched objects that were off limits. The young Hutterite quickly learned not to touch his mother's sewing or knitting. Touching a hot stove or pot was not a problem, because young Hutterite children were generally not allowed in the communal kitchen where the cooking was done.

All of the mothers interviewed reported using physical punishment to discipline their children. All of them spanked the children, either with a hand, strap, or stick. The children learned to obey parents' orders, and no "sassing" or disrespectful replies were allowed. One mother reported her children learned at a very early age
to "ask before doing anything." An older mother of ten children reported "Children need a set schedule. Then they are easy to care for and make mind. If they're hungry or tired, it's hard to make them mind."

The Hutterite life style is very strict and regimented. For example, all of the children under twelve have to go to bed at eight o'clock. Only seven percent of the mothers had difficulty getting their children to bed. One mother reported "My girls fussed a little (crying) but soon they all went together (older and younger), and there were no more problems." Another mother reported "The older children would read stories to the younger children and that would settle them down." An experienced mother of fourteen children reported "We had no trouble if there was only two kids per bed (double bed)." Generally, most of the mothers reported "The children were tired and ready to go to bed." The older sisters and brothers would help the younger children undress, put on their pajamas, and take them to bed.

When young children quarrelled over an object, the object was usually removed. It was reported that a two-year-old would be spanked for refusing to go to someone
other than his parents, for refusing to share food, or for being noisy and disturbing adults. Although the two-year-old was disciplined quickly and frequently, the two-year-old also was considered entertaining and would be petted and played with. With older children, discipline was very firm. The child would be turned over a bench and spanked with the strap. For telling a lie or a mild misbehavior, the child was shamed in front of his peers. Work was never used as a punishment, for no colony work was categorized as unpleasant. Nor was the child ever punished by being deprived of food.

In general, all the mothers agreed they raised their children in a way similar to the way they had been raised. However, they did report they were not as strict. Several mothers voiced concern about not being strict enough with the children. Two women indicated that the children had too much free time and that the children might be in danger when strangers came to the colony. The mothers wanted to protect the children from the outside world.

AFFECTION

Both affection and punishment are given out freely at the Hutterite colony. Everyone in the colony gives much
attention to a baby. Children of both sexes crowd around a baby, play with him and ask to hold the baby. In the evening the men hold one or two babies on their laps. A baby is spoken to frequently, sung to, picked up and held, tickled, and played with. All of the mothers interviewed reported giving frequent hugs and kisses to children or "loving them up." All of the mothers also reported they would frequently praise the children with "good girl or boy," or "you're a big girl."

The children rarely received gifts, usually only at Christmas. One mother reported she liked to give treats of special food or candy at Christmas time. However, the children were not allowed to have candy as a regular treat. The children rarely received new clothes as a sign of affection. Most of the children's clothes were passed down from older children. One mother reported it was important to "go over school papers and save them, to show the child he had done a good job." All of the mothers reported that teaching the children life skills was an important part of loving and affection.

HOUSE CHILDREN

The Hutterite children from birth to two years are
called "house children." The house children stay at home under the care of their mother, other colony mothers, or may be left alone for two to three hour periods. Hutterite mothers almost never take their children with them when they are doing colony work. The children interfere with the work process. Eighty percent of the mothers reported "leaving the baby in the crib or play pen for a few (two to three) hours a day." Often older siblings or other colony children would check every two hours on the young children.

The mothers would leave soft, safe toys in the crib or play pen. These toys included teething rings, soft, stuffed animals, etc. No toys that could be disassembled and swallowed are left with the child. When the child was old enough to climb out of the crib or play pen, occasionally a grandmother, aunt, or grandfather would babysit the child a portion of the day. It was not unusual to have a five or six-year-old watch two younger children. A child as young as two would be rewarded by being allowed to hold a young baby.

Only one mother indicated having a problem arise when the house children were left alone. This mother
reported an older child liked to play with matches and had started two fires. However, nothing was burned and no one was hurt. All the mothers reported "putting harmful objects up and out of the toddlers reach."

In the summer time, it was observed that the house children would be allowed to wander about the colony, in company of the older children. There is a united effort on the part of the colony, in which the parents actively cooperate, to start weaning the two-year-old child away from the parents. The child starts to learn the colony takes precedence over the individual. When the colony bell rings, the mother leaves the child and goes to work. The child learns to go from one person to another without complaint. He must learn to deal with the whole colony as his family.

The house children were fed in their homes before the adults ate. Usually, an older sister would bring portions of food to the apartment for the house children. The house children were urged to eat large quantities quickly, so the adult could go eat. No specific food likes or dislikes were allowed. Everyone must eat the same colony food.
KINDERGARTEN: THREE TO FIVE YEARS

The kindergarten helps wean the child from his family. It introduces him to his peer group and teaches him how to function within the group. For the Hutterite child, kindergarten begins at the young age of three. Instead of developing individuality, he will develop a group identity. The child learns that the authority of the colony takes precedence over the individual or family.

Only one colony had kindergarten in session at the time interviews were done. The kindergarten children arrived before breakfast; led by the teacher, they recited prayers before and after the meal. During their kindergarten years, the children learn by memory twenty prayers and twenty-five hymns. However, at this age, there is little effort made to explain the meaning of what is memorized.

The kindergarten mother or teacher is usually a grandmother retired from colony work. The kindergarten mother was strict, with frequent directions and scoldings dictated. The kitchen delivered breakfast, lunch, and an afternoon snack to the kindergarten. Table manners were not enforced, and the children ate very quickly.
The children were allowed short play periods. They brought small toys from home; for example, dolls, trucks, puzzles, and books. Very few toys were seen in the individual apartments. One mother reported "Each child can have only a few toys (one to three)." They shared with each other and were careful not to break a toy. When playing outdoors, the children had little playground equipment. Only one swing was provided, so the girls took turns. The boys played with the dogs and were more rough and active.

The children at all ages often mimicked the adults. The boys played with trucks and talked about being the "cattlemen." The girls played with dolls and pretended they were cooking and sewing. The girls can often knit by the time they are five or six-years-old.

The kindergarten children napped in the afternoon on little padded blankets. The children would go home at four in the afternoon. An older sister or brother would babysit with them until after supper.

The kindergarten teaches the child to respect the authority of the colony in addition to that of his parents and babysitters. One mother reported "The kindergarten
helps free the mother to do colony work. Also it helps the child learn everyone has a job for the colony. " In other words, colony work takes precedence over the family. The kindergarten also teaches the child to tolerate the limited, restricted colony environment and rewards him for cooperative, docile responses to correction and frustration.

SCHOOL CHILDREN: SIX TO THIRTEEN YEARS

School children are taught unquestioning obedience to Hutterite authority: to parents, teachers, adults, and to Hutterite traditions and teachings. The child's day is very structured and most of the day is spent under close supervision by someone in a position of authority. They are taught to accept their discipline or punishment meekly. When the children are not in school, they are expected to check with their mother and see if there is a chore or babysitting to be done. They also have brief periods for play with their peers.

The school age children attend three schools: German school, English or public school, and Sunday school. The child's day is very full and planned. The children start German school about six months before they enter English
school. They attend German school for about an hour, before and after English school and also on Saturday. At German school they learn to read German, recite passages from Hutterite hymns and the Bible from memory, and practice writing in German script. The German teacher is usually a man from the colony council. He is very strict and teaches the children to accept punishment without resistance or anger.

Material is assigned in terms of a child's ability. Instead of grades, there is a sequence of material to be learned. All children from the ages of six attend the colony English school and complete the elementary grades. English school is considered important. The colonies visited had made arrangements with the county to be involved with the public school system. Previously, the Hutterite schools were private. The schools still only serve colony children.

The colony schools prohibit the use of projected audio-visual materials, radios, phonographs, and tape recorders. Since the school building in most colonies becomes the church every evening, the walls must be bare.

Sunday school is essentially an extension of the
German school. It is taught by the German school teacher and continues with the content of their religion. The school age child learns to accept colony teachings and rules, and he also learns to interact with siblings and peers. Learning to get along with peers is very important because often these patterns of interaction continue into adulthood. This is especially true for the boys, for they and their peers will assume patterns of interaction and leadership positions in the colony.

In summary, the Hutterites are very concerned with influencing and having control over their children. The child's life is structured with learning the Hutterite way of life.
Chapter 5
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Hutterite Child Rearing Practices

Hutterite child rearing is a consistent and continuous process of training the child to identify with the colony. The patterns of child rearing are remarkably consistent from one individual to another, one family to another, and from one colony to another. Many of the rules, prayers, and songs the children must learn are unchanged since the sixteenth century. The Hutterite child rearing practices have not changed as they have in other societies.

It would appear Hutterite life gives more power and prestige to the male sex. Only men can make colony decisions or hold the position of colony preacher or boss. None of the women interviewed stated a preference for female children. However, over half of the women stated a definite preference for male children.

The function of the nuclear family is to produce new souls, support the communal way of life, and establish a "colony of heaven on earth." Therefore, none of the mothers try to space or plan their children. No form of
birth control is permitted. Since the Hutterites believe so strongly in large families, the colony is very supportive of the new mother. The mother is excused from colony work for six weeks after delivery. She is given twenty-four hour care for four weeks. As a result, during the first four difficult weeks of motherhood, the mother is relieved of much responsibility and anxiety by knowing she will have an experienced helper.

The colony is not supportive of outside influences in child rearing. None of the mothers attend prepared childbirth classes or prenatal classes. In the last ten years, however, the elders have allowed women to have their babies in the hospital. The Hutterites did not follow the trend of other Americans in the 1950's of bottle feeding instead of nursing. Though the mothers interviewed ranged in ages from 23 to 60, their responses were very similar. Each mother raised her children as she was raised.

The Hutterite methods for caring for the mother and infant are very structured. The mother must stay continuously with the infant during the first six weeks. The baby's care is the mother's main responsibility. The
conditions and rules are very advantageous to mother and infant bonding. Nursing is the accepted practice and assists in creating a close mother-child relationship.

Infant Adaptation to Colony Environment

The child adapts very quickly to the environment. For example, the mothers report the babies do not cry when left alone. It is also not unusual to find two or three toddlers left alone in one apartment. In comparison, in the average American home, the mother tries to adapt to the new baby, changing the home environment. Another contrast is in leaving young children unattended. Presently, in the social services agencies of America, the practice of leaving young children under the age of six unattended constitutes child neglect. Whereas, in the Hutterite colony, this practice is very common and not considered neglectful.

The baby is expected to be willing to go to anyone and gain acquaintance with the whole colony. Therefore, fear of strangers is not accepted. The child also learns to adapt to the colony work schedule. As a result, the baby learns to treat his needs secondary to those of the colony. One of the main goals of child rearing is to
"break the child's will" so the child will learn to be a cooperative, passive member. The child learns to develop a group identity with self-denial as a basic mechanism for comfortable inclusion in colony life. The institutionalization of practices designed to break the child's will may interfere with the development of trust in the infant, autonomy in the toddler, and independence in the adolescent (Erikson, 1950). The combination of self-denial and subordination of individuality in colony life may be the reason the Hutterites' rate of defection is so low. Fear of being left alone may also create tension and anxiety in the infant (Freud, 1949). In addition, from one year to three-and-a-half years, a child starts to learn that certain actions have a specific effect on the environment so that he can start to have some control over his environment (Piaget, 1952). However, in the Hutterite culture, the child learns he has very little power over his environment, and he must not try to be independent. This may be the reason the Hutterites' rate of defection is less than 1%. The children are reared to develop a group identity and not to develop independence. Everything is provided for the members: their food,
clothing, and shelter are supplied by the colony. The member does not independently seek any necessities.

Feeding

Nursing is the accepted norm of feeding the Hutterite infant. All of the mothers interviewed had attempted to nurse their children. The strong colony support for nursing may relate to the high success rate in nursing children. Eighty-two of the 83 children in the sample were successfully nursed.

Supplementary feeding was initiated early. All of the mothers interviewed started their infants on cereal at two to four weeks of age. The mothers also reported giving their children a great deal of affection during feeding time. Feeding problems were rare in colony life. This relationship between nursing, providing affection at mealtimes, and the absence of feeding problems supports previous research by Sears, Macoby, and Levin (1965, p. 110) which demonstrated the opposite that "maternal coldness or lack of affection" was associated with the development of feeding problems.

Hutterite child rearing practices in general are quite controlled and strict. For example, the mothers
may only nurse before work and on designated breaks. Therefore, the colony work schedule takes precedence over child feeding schedules, and breast feeding is planned in "off duty" time. However, the Hutterites are quite lenient in regards to feeding practices. Several mothers reported "a crying baby is a hungry baby". Therefore, children are allowed to eat frequently and continue to use their bottles until toddler age. The average age for weaning the child from the bottle is three years old. Some children are allowed to have the bottle until five years old, or until they are ready to give it up.

None of the children suck their thumbs or fingers. As a result, it may be concluded the bottle satisfies the children's need for sucking.

The children have few cavities, a fact which is believed to be related to the practice of removing the bottle when children are ready to go to sleep. This information supports the theory that sleeping with a bottle, not the milk itself, causes cavities in the teeth of children (Kagen, 1980, p. 161).

Children must learn to eat the same food the whole colony eats. Various food dislikes are not allowed.
Children also have few food allergies. Only one child out of 83 had a milk allergy. There are few allergies to pollens and weeds even though the colonies are in rural areas and members are exposed to many allergens in the environment.

Toilet Training

Toilet training practices are quite strict in the Hutterite society. Training begins early, frequently by the age of three months, always by the time the child can sit alone. Many infants do not wear diapers after they are six months old.

Of the mothers interviewed, the average age of the child fully toilet trained was one year. Many mothers reported, "The younger you train them the better". However, research shows infants do not have bowel or bladder sphincter control until approximately eighteen to twenty-four months of age (Hofling, Leininger, and Bregg, 1967).

With rigid, forced toilet training, children often cannot develop autonomy or a sense of independence. However, in the Hutterite society, one of the goals of child rearing is to break the child's will and make the
child passive and conforming. Early training may result in excessive conformity and a highly developed super ego or conscience (Hofling, Leininger, and Bregg, 1967, p. 420). The child's initiative is, so to speak, driven underground. In conclusion, with rigid, early toilet training the child's will or sense of independence may be broken.

**Discipline**

The Hutterite life style is strict, controlled, and restricting in many ways. Enforcement of a rigidly controlled way of life is believed to be due to strict discipline which is a crucial aspect of Hutterite child rearing. Physical punishment with spanking is an accepted practice and a common occurrence. Discipline was observed to be enforced consistently. Children learned very early in life they must be passive and accepting of discipline. According to Hofling, Leininger, and Bregg (1967, p. 426), overcontrol or excessive strictness often results in excessive conformity. In some children excessive strictness results in repressed anger and passivity. Other manifestations of overcontrol of children include compulsivity and obsessive preoccupation with rituals.
The Hutterite life is filled with schedules and religious rituals. Strict discipline and early, rigidly enforced toilet training may contribute to the development of personality characteristics which are predisposing to manic depressive disorder. Eaton (1955) has explored the problem of mental illness among the Hutterites and described a high incidence of Hutterites exhibiting manic depressive mental illness.

Previous research in child rearing demonstrated that strict child rearing practices frequently occurred in cultures or societies in which many people shared a limited area of living space. Minturn and Lambert (1964) pointed out that children are often severely punished or disciplined when living in crowded conditions. Family living space is limited for Hutterites, and strict discipline was observed as well as reported.

Affection

While rigid discipline is one outstanding characteristic of child rearing, another is that children are generally treated with affection. The children are spoken to frequently, sung to, picked up and held, tickled and played with. Several of the mothers interviewed reported
giving frequent hugs and kisses to children or "loving them up". The children appear to enjoy affection from all colony members. The adults reinforce mature behavior in the children of all ages. They often praise the children with "You're such a good, big girl/boy". All of the mothers reported that teaching the children life skills is an important part of giving affection. For example, very young children (four or five years old) learn to dress, feed, and care for younger brothers and sisters. Young girls at the age of six learn to sew and knit. Boys at the age of five and six years old are expected to feed and water livestock.

House Children

Although children are considered "gifts from God", they are left alone a great deal of time. Eighty percent of the mothers reported leaving the baby in the crib or playpen for two to three hour periods during the day. Therefore, the child is probably not getting much attention or stimulation during these periods.

Toys and play things are limited; however, the toddler does have the security of his bottle. The child learns to go from one person to another without complaint, as if the
whole colony is his family. Thus, from the time the baby is just seven weeks old (when his mother returns to work), he learns to alternate between being in a socially stimulating environment with several colony members to being completely alone in his crib.

**Kindergarten**

The kindergarten helps wean the child from his home and family. For example, from the time of entering kindergarten, the child does not eat with the family. Kindergarten introduces the child to his peer group and teaches him how to function within this group. Instead of developing individuality, he develops a group identity. The child learns to tolerate a strict, limited environment.

**School Children**

The school child's day is very busy and structured with over nine hours at German and public school. The busy schedule leaves little free time for the child to explore and learn on his own. The child learns to be cooperative and passive, to accept punishment without anger.

In summary, Hutterite child rearing is a consistent and continuous process of training the child to identify
with the colony. Child rearing is remarkably consistent between individuals and consistent with rules that have not changed since the sixteenth century. The colony has a patriarchal structure of decision making, and new trends in child rearing are not accepted. Nursing is the accepted norm, and child rearing is exclusively the woman's responsibility.

Although children receive much affection, the overall child rearing is very strict and structured. Based on research in child development, it would appear Hutterite children are apt to experience difficulty in the development of trust, autonomy, and independence. The child learns to put the needs of the colony before his own and becomes passive and conforming.

IMPLICATIONS FOR NURSING

This study supports the holistic approach in nursing that a knowledge of cultural values, beliefs, and practices is vital in providing therapeutic nursing care. The American Nurses Association Standards of Community Health Nursing Practice also addresses the need for holistic care as follows: "Nursing directed to individuals, families or groups contributes to the health of the total
population, health promotion, health maintenance, health education, and coordination and continuity of care must be utilized for a holistic approach" (American Nurses Association, 1980, p. 1).

To complete a nursing assessment of the Hutterite patient will require time and sensitivity from the nurse. The following areas have been identified from this study as crucial approaches to working with the Hutterite patient:

1. It is paramount to understand the Hutterite patterns of child rearing as deliberate attempts to socialize children so that they will become adults who conform easily to the colony standards. Understanding this concept will prevent nurses from inflicting their own values into the Hutterites. If the nurse respects the colony's methods of disciplining, she/he will not try to force the mother to change to contemporary methods.

2. Community health nurses will be viewed as outsiders and members of the carnal world. The nurse's "worldliness" is apparent in many ways, in dress and manner. Accordingly, consideration of appearance and a willingness to dress conservatively may be essential to
acceptance.

3. Respect of their culture requires recognition of the colony's authority system. Entry into the colony requires the permission of the colony boss. The boss must agree before colony members are contacted, and he is the key person to contact regarding infection control. With the Hutterites there is an increased likelihood of infectious diseases reaching epidemic proportions. Therefore, effective communication with the boss and colony leaders is essential.

4. Nurses can anticipate seeing various states of depression, especially among women. Eaton (1955) found that depression was the Hutterites most common reaction to stress. However, since depression is viewed as a colony matter, it is often difficult for an outsider to intervene. The nurse can assist in promoting development of a support system composed of family and colony members.

5. Culture shock is a common experience for Hutterites entering a hospital or clinic. Because Hutterites are accustomed to being with their own people within the confines of the colony, hospitalization may be very traumatic. Keeping the patient and family informed of the plan of care is good nursing care for any patient. However, because of
the language barrier and structured Hutterite day, communication with the Hutterite becomes even more important.

6. Children are considered "gifts of God"; fear of mistreatment of a sick child will lead to conflict and miscommunication. Teaching information on treatments and the reasons for a given treatment are essential for both children and families.

7. The contrast between the structured environment of the colony and the technically oriented environment of the hospital with its schedules and routines requires interpretation. The hospital imposes a variety of indignities such as the typical hospital gown which is insufficient in providing for some degree of modesty. Embarrassment, anxiety, and discomfort could be avoided by suggesting someone from the colony bring Hutterite sleepwear to the patient.

8. Children who are admitted to the hospital require accompaniment by an adult because of the language difference. Many Hutterite children do not learn English before the age of six. Support of the Hutterite individual can easily be provided by allowing the colony
support system or members frequent visitation.

9. The Hutterite diet is rather plain and bland. Therefore, many of the hospital meals may be unappealing and foreign, such as various casseroles, spicy foods, and even the language of the hospital menu may be difficult to understand. It may be beneficial to have colony members bring food from the colony, or select hospital foods that are plain and bland.

10. Hutterite women are viewed as inferior to men, and they have little decision making power. As a result, health concerns directed to both mother and father are more effective regarding treatment of a sick child. The father’s assistance is needed for decision making, and the mother’s involvement is needed for implementation of the treatment. If the patient is the wife, it is important to have the husband there for signing of a surgical permit. This consideration will reduce both patient and staff stress. Although the nurse frequently is female, she is seen as independent of the Hutterite social system and her professional advice is accepted.

In conclusion, Hutterite parents need opportunities to share their feelings and express how their culture
dictates that children should be reared. It is equally important for health care providers to create an atmosphere that fosters trust, respect, and the sharing of information so that mutual goals can be identified and achieved. Sensitivity of the nurse to cultural needs of the Hutterite patient can be enhanced by listening to the patient and anticipating questions. One crucial factor to be considered is that there must be recognition of the sex role differences in decision making. Since Hutterites believe they must remain docile and unaggressive, they will be reluctant to ask questions or change procedures. Failure to ask questions often results in poor communication, noncompliance, and fragmented health care.

This study stresses the need and importance of education programs for health professionals in dealing with the Hutterite culture.

During the course of study, this researcher taught nurses and other health professionals basic information regarding the Hutterites' health and illness concepts. Inservice programs were made available to health providers in several rural towns in Montana. In addition, classes
on Hutterites' health and illness concepts were taught to student nurses attending Montana State University. The health professionals were most eager to receive this information and have since reported it was helpful in working with the Hutterites. Hopefully, these health professionals will in turn teach their co-workers to be more sensitive to the Hutterites and other cultural groups.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In studies that use participant observation as the method of data collection, the researcher becomes part of the group being studied and moves from stranger to familiar. Since strangers cannot distinguish leaders from the followers, it is necessary to become familiar with the group in order to learn what cultural rules guide behavior. However, because the researcher remains basically a stranger, all data are subject to bias, distortion, and gross error. The difficulty lies in the fact that the participant observer is the major research instrument, and the major source of data is the informant, both of whom are human beings – notoriously unreliable, sometimes unethical, and always biased (Spradley, 1979).

In descriptive studies, the "Hawthorne effect is
created when the presence of an observer affects the behavior of the subjects" (Brink and Wood, 1978, p. 91). However, if the observer is quite unobtrusive, this behavior does not last, and the subjects resume normal behavior after a period of time.

Another limitation of the study was the language barrier. The researcher was not able to understand all activity since the Hutterites primarily speak German. Also, with the younger children, the researcher had to depend on an interpreter.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

A recommendation of this study is that replication in a different state or in Canada be done to verify the findings of this study and determine whether or not geographic location affects cultural rules, norms, and behaviors. Although the focus of the study was on child rearing, it became apparent during the study that other health care concerns should be addressed in future studies. One area for further study might be related to breast feeding or nursing in the Hutterite culture. Hutterite women are highly successful in nursing their children. Perhaps their methods of teaching and
supporting each other could be utilized when nurses work with new mothers of other cultures.

Because this study covered a broad area of interest, it was not possible to study certain characteristics in depth. Further study could investigate the areas of teething and toilet training. It would also be interesting to initiate a comparative study of the incidence of allergies between Hutterites and one or more other groups such as Anglos or native Americans. It was noted in this study that only one child out of 83 was reported to have a lactose (milk) allergy, and asthma and other allergies were practically nonexistent.

Through this study valuable information pertinent to Hutterite child rearing was discovered. Nurses now could have a better foundation for giving holistic and humanistic care to Hutterites. With further study and understanding of the Hutterite culture, nurses could increase their ability to provide comprehensive care to people of different cultures.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDICES
1. I am interested in knowing what you think about raising children. First of all, could you tell me about your children? (Number of children in family, ordinal position, preference for sex? Spacing?)

2. I will be most interested in the raising of children from birth to eight years old. To begin with, could you tell me how you care (or cared) for the new baby?

3. Do you get help in caring for the baby? (Other women, husband, older children?)

4. Can you explain what the baby eats and drinks?

5. How long does the baby nurse or bottle feed? (Holding, rocking also?)

6. What is an average day like for the two-year-old?

7. Could you explain how you toilet train? (When, who helps?)

8. When do the children go to the kindergarten or nursery school?

9. What is the average day like for the four-year-old? (Schedules?)

10. Do (or did) you have any problems that you can remember in caring for the children? (Fussy, feeding problems?)

11. Do you have any problems in getting the children to bed?

12. How do you discipline or control the children?

13. What are some examples of discipline? (Who, with what, when?)
14. Who is in charge of disciplining the children?

15. How do you show praise or affection to the children?

16. When are you (or the father) with the children? (Amount of time?)

17. What is your job in the colony? (Role of father and mother in the colony?)

18. Who usually watches the children and when? (Amount of time with nonparental caretaker?)

19. Do you live closely with other families that help with the children? (Multifamily unit? Living space?)

20. What all do the caretakers do in caring for the children?

21. What are some of the things or toys your children like to play with? What would be some examples of their play? (Toddler, preschool, and school age?)

22. How would you compare the way you were raised and how you raise your children? (As strict, etc.?)

23. Can you tell me of one thing that stands out in your mind about your baby? Your toddler?
APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

I ______________________________, Boss of the ______________________________ Colony, give permission for Marjorie Hickey, RN, to interview consenting colony members on health and child rearing practices. At no time will colony names or individual names be used; nor will the information be used in newspapers, television, or radio. Information may be used for educational purposes in Mrs. Hickey's schooling. Information may also be used for inservices and medical journals to aid health professionals gain insight into the health needs of the Hutterite people.

Signature ______________________ Date __________

Witness ______________________ Date __________