



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
Montana State University

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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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CHILD REARING IN THE HUTTERITE CULTURE

by

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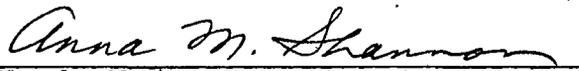
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ABSTRACT

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.

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 Kregar,

1972). 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,

and Africa). 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

