

Hutterite Women and Work

by

Patricia Lorene Looney

B.A., University of Victoria, 1983

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department
of
Anthropology

ACCEPTED

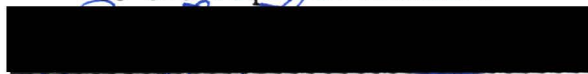
ACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES



DEAN

1986-09-30

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard



(Peter H. Stephenson)



(David S. Moyer)



(Rennie Wharburton)



(Mary J. Gallant)

(c) Patricia Lorene Looney, 1986
University of Victoria
June 1986

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced
in whole or in part, by mimeograph of other means,
without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Professor Peter H. Stephenson

ABSTRACT

This is an ethnographic description of the work roles of women in the communal society of Hutterian Brethren. The Hutterites are a fundamentalist Christian society, which lives in communal farming settlements called colonies in the Canadian and American prairies. Two colonies in Alberta were studied, through a three-month period of participant observation and informal interviewing. The structure of women's work is described, including the structural hierarchy, work roles, work load, work patterns, and work schedules. The work of Hutterian women is compared to that of non-Hutterite farm women, and the value of farm women's labour is discussed in light of different approaches to economic theory.

Examiners:

[REDACTED]

Dr. Peter H. Stephenson

[REDACTED]

Dr. David S. Moyer

[REDACTED]

Dr. Rennie Warburton

[REDACTED]

Dr. Mary J. Gallant

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
Chapter 2 - Review of the Literature	6
Chapter 3 - Background of the Study	12
Chapter 4 - Methods and Procedures	17
Chapter 5 - Organizational Structure of Hutterite Women's Work	25
5.1 Women's formal position and work	25
5.2 Women's structural hierarchy	26
5.3 Work roles	39
5.4 Work roles versus work load	52
5.5 Work patterns	56
5.6 Work schedules	64
5.7 Conclusion	68
Chapter 6 - Comparison of Hutterite and Farm Women's Work	70
Chapter 7 - Issues in Measuring the Value of Farm Women's Work	75
Chapter 8 - Discussion	81
Chapter 9 - Summary and Conclusion	88
Bibliography	92

List of Tables

Table 1	Colony Profile - Darius Colony	19
Table 2	Colony Profile - Lehrer Colony	20
Table 3	Women's Structural Hierarchy	26
Table 4	Example of "Leading Family"	36
Table 5	List of Women, Age Grades, & Positions - Darius Colony	37
Table 6	Hierarchy of Women's Work Tasks	41
Table 7	Women's Tool Kit	42
Table 8	Canning & Preserving Production	46
Table 9	Sewing Inventory	49
Table 10	Darius Colony - Hypothetical Work Rotation Schedule	57
Table 11	Cooking and Baking Schedule - Darius Colony	58
Table 12	Weekly Work Schedule	65
Table 13	Summer Work Schedule	67
Table 14	Estimate of Goods Produced in One Month - Darius Colony	77

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all my Hutterian friends, whose patience and kindness made this study possible. Also special thanks to the Muendel family, whose generosity and hospitality made my field research a pleasure and a success.

1. Introduction

This study has two general purposes, the first ethnographic and the second theoretical. The primary aim has been to provide an ethnographic description of Hutterite women and their lives, focusing on their work roles, in order to provide a basis for the development of testable hypotheses. Stacey (1969: 6) comments on the importance of this descriptive stage: "hypotheses which are worth testing can only be developed in areas about which a good deal is known, i.e. where a great deal of empirical field data has already been collected. Before this stage most research is of an exploratory nature". Recognition of the importance of women's work is still very recent, and studies of farm women's labour in particular are few. Beyond description, I have attempted to evaluate the value of women's labour, and their contribution to the viability of the colony.

Hutterian women's work is generally within the domestic sphere: production and consumption of food and household goods, caring for people, and maintaining households. In other words, women are responsible for the "infrastructure" of day-to-day household production and colony affairs. They tend the garden which provides the colony's produce, and slaughter the poultry which is consumed on the colony. Women are responsible for the colony's needs in a diverse range of products, including everything from bread to sauerkraut, and these commodities are produced or prepared mainly by hand. They plan, organize labour,

cook, serve, and clean up for every meal for the colony. As well as working for the colony as a whole, women have family-oriented duties such as cleaning of family apartments, laundry, sewing and maintenance of clothing and bedding for all family members. Women paint colony buildings, mow lawns, water trees, and may be transported to other colonies which need help. These duties are additional to daily nurturing activities such as caring for small children and new mothers, babysitting, and tending the sick.

In these tasks, which are critical to efficient operation of the colony and good morale, women exhibit a great deal of autonomy. Bennett states that "in their traditional occupations of gardening, painting, food preparation, sewing, laundry, and so on, the women show considerable initiative and consciousness of their economic value. The men sometimes compliment them, but generally do not interfere or give them orders" (Bennett 1967: 203).

While many studies of Hutterian culture already exist, in most cases the emphasis has been on the male's sphere of work and activity. Males control formal decision-making in all colony affairs, and also control the church; social and religious organization is formally patriarchal, as based on the Hutterian interpretation of the Bible. However, women have an informal say in decision-making, and actually control the domestic sphere of activity.

Studies of management of colony production and colony viability have concentrated on large scale cash crops only. These have neglected the economic contribution of women, which is valuable in two ways. Firstly, the goods and services produced by the colony's women have a high market value, and would be very expensive to purchase. Secondly, the diversity of women's labour, and their autonomous management of most tasks, frees the men for cash crop labour, which provides the colony's income. It is this division of labour, plus the fact that all colony labour is unpaid, which allows the Hutterites to be so successful at prairie farming in a highly competitive economy based on surplus production.

Beyond the ethnographic description of Hutterite women's work, I have tried to establish their work roles and the value of their work within the larger context of farm women's labour in general. It is this broader perspective which makes research on women in general, and women's work in particular, so timely. Only recently has the need for such research been recognized, and the gaps in the ethnographic and theoretical literature been addressed. Fassinger and Schwarzweller comment on this problem:

An ideological separation of family activities from economic activities has historical roots which predate this century's research on women. As a consequence, social scientists have not always perceived women's work in the family as an economic contribution... . This separation is particularly awkward in the study of rural farm families whose daily lives are inextricably tied to the dynamics of production on their farms. (Fassinger and Schwarzweller 1982: 5)

The problem of establishing the economic value of women's work is not limited to the labour of Hutterite women, but includes the unpaid labour of all workers. Thus, the analysis must begin with an examination of traditional, or formal, economic theory, which limits the definition of "economy" to include only those goods and services which are exchanged for money. In recent years there has been a growing criticism, based on the work of Karl Polanyi, of formal economic theory. Polanyi and others have developed a broader, more inclusive model of the economy which includes all types of exchange. Polanyi isolated three types of exchange which make up the economy: reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange.

This broader model of the economy more naturally includes women's unpaid work, and is especially appropriate for the description of a communal society such as the Hutterites, where no wages are paid for labour, and market exchange is relatively unimportant.

Once the economic nature of women's work has been recognized, there is the problem of adequate descriptive data on women's work: "Direct observation of the patterns, routines, and content of women's work is sorely lacking..." (Fassinger and Schwarzweller 1982:4). This is the context of my research, which has three central themes that can be outlined as follows:

- 1) a description of the structure of Hutterite women's work. This includes the structural hierarchy, work roles, work load, work patterns, and schedules

- 2) a comparison with non-Hutterite farm women's labour
- 3) a discussion of the value of Hutterite and non-Hutterite women's work, and suggestions for the use of economic theory to account for the value of women's work.

2. Literature Review

Literature pertaining to this research is reviewed within the framework of the three themes described above.

There are many studies of Hutterite culture, history, and current social organization. The most general and thorough are Hostetler (1974), who gives a broad picture of Hutterite life, emphasizing socialization techniques which maintain the group, and Deets (1939), who concentrates on social cohesion within the group. Very thorough discussions of Hutterian history are provided by Gross (1965), Hofer (1955), Horsch (1971), Stephenson (1978) and Peter (1967).

Several studies have been organized within the theoretical framework of cultural change and persistence. These studies have emphasized what the authors perceived as key factors in the Hutterites' ability to withstand change. Eaton (1952) stressed the formal decision-making process in delaying or avoiding acceptance of innovations. Boldt (1967) refers to structural "tightness" and the lack of behavioral alternatives, while Serl (1960) sees socialization and small group size as perpetuating common values and behavioral "standardization". Hostetler (1974), and Hostetler and Huntington (1968) focus on socialization, and Kaplan and Plaut (1956) discuss personality features. All of these studies took as their starting point the Hutterites' success in resisting assimilation into mainstream society. These studies of Hutterian history and traditions are

important because they form the framework of today's adaptation, which includes women's work. Many Hutterian traditions which are important today arose in the early years of Hutterianism, and represent the peasant values of the time as well as customs which are unique to the Hutterites. The division of labour which was established in those years has remained essentially unchanged, and has become a prime organizing factor in Hutterian attitudes towards change. The male sphere is regarded as "productive", while the female domain is seen as "domestic"; Hostetler (1974: 297) comments on the importance of this distinction: "The Hutterites are careful to distinguish between changes that improve the economic viability of the colony and changes that result in personal convenience". Since women's work is viewed as non-economic, their domain is bound to the rules and routines of tradition, while the male sphere of activity has become highly modern and mechanized.

Several authors have studied the Hutterian economy: Bennett (1967) and Ryan (1973) discuss colonies in Canada, and Radtke (1971) focuses on colonies in Montana. Each of these is primarily limited to large scale agricultural production, and the male hierarchy of organization which controls it. The role of women in the economy is not discussed.

Only one author has looked directly at the role of women in Hutterite life. MacKenzie (1978) describes the patterns of organization in women's work groups, and she discusses the

absence of political power blocs among women in one colony. This study focused on political structures, and approached women's work as primarily non-economic.

This paper tries to establish the work of Hutterian women within the larger framework of women and work, especially farm work. Rosemary Firth's pioneering study, Housekeeping Among Malay Peasants, was important in establishing women's lives as a valid area of study, and in incorporating the household into the study of economy. Although she discussed a peasant society, her broad view of "economy" is useful for studies of women's work in capitalist societies as well. Fox (1980), Oakley (1974), Stephenson and Clark (1981), and Luxton (1980) discuss the nature of women's unpaid household labour, a work role performed by almost all women. Fox (1980) challenges the assumption that women's domestic work is "private", and outside the capitalist mode of production. Rather, she asserts that women's unpaid household labour is a central and indispensable part of the modern western economy. Novarra (1980), Wilson (1982), and Oakley describe the tasks within the role of household worker. Novarra (1980: 17-19) describes the six core tasks which all women are responsible for, and which predate capitalism. These are: reproduction, feeding the family, clothing the family, caring for the weak and sick, nurture and education of children and older girls, and maintenance and often construction of the

dwelling. Oakley (1974) and Wilson (1982) extend this list to include the tasks of today's western household.

At the root of these studies, the purpose is to establish women's household work as real, productive labour, although it is unpaid and generally dismissed as being a natural extension of women's innate qualities rather than a "job". Stephenson and Clark take issue with the traditional definition of "work", which serves to exclude women's unpaid labour: "a person gets paid for doing work, and we know it is work because it is being paid for" (Stephenson and Clark 1981: 74). Novarra (1980) also challenges the definition of "work" as being male-biased, and useful only in traditionally male domains.

A number of authors discuss the multiple work roles of the farm wife. All women hold primary responsibility for household operation and caring for the family, and most contribute to the operation of the farm as well. Jones and Rosenfeld (1981), Scholl (1982), and Keating and Doherty (1985) attempt to assess the extent of women's farm labour. Koski (1982), Jones and Rosenfeld (1981), and Fassinger and Schwarzweller (1982) discuss the impact of a third work role, off-farm paid employment, on farm women. In all cases it was found that the amount of women's household work and farm work remains essentially unchanged when a woman takes an outside job.

Time studies of men's and women's farm labour, such as Keating and Doherty (1985) disprove the assumption that farming

is a male preserve. Women make substantial contributions of labour to the farming operation, as well as maintaining responsibility for the household and family members. In addition, women's off-farm work often provides an important source of income for the family. Koski (1982: 21) reports that in the United States, during fourteen of the last twenty-two years, the larger proportion of family farm income was provided by off-farm work.

In trying to place a value on women's unpaid labour, or incorporate women's unpaid labour into models of the "economy", we encounter several schools of thought. The fact that unpaid household labour is not considered part of the economy is amply shown by its exclusion from the calculation of the Gross National Product (G.N.P.), despite the obvious production of goods and services. A study by Statistics Canada showed that household production, if counted, would increase the G.N.P. by 40-50% (cited in Ross and Usher 1983: 9). Ross and Usher (1983, 1985), Hamilton (1985), Nicholls and Dyson (1983), and Badir (1981) use the framework of "informal economy" to include household production and other types of unpaid labour into traditional economic frameworks. In this model, the informal economy essentially mirrors the "formal economy" except that goods and services are not exchanged for cash.

Another approach is used by Polanyi (1959, etc.) and others of the substantivist school. In giving "economy" a broader

definition, women's work is naturally included. While this approach was developed to account for the economies of non-western societies, so too is it useful to describe parts of our own economy.

The central issue behind these different approaches is whether or not the traditional capitalist definition of "economy" can adequately describe our own economy, which the model is based upon; and whether it is possible to meaningfully extend it to describe the economies of non-western, non-market, or communal societies? Proponents of the informal economy say no to the first question, and Polanyi rejects both.

This study will take the approach advocated by Polanyi. The formalist (traditional, capitalist) analysis of economy cannot account for women's unpaid labour and other types of exchange in our own society, thus it is not adequate to describe the economies of other non-western, or non-capitalist societies.

3. Background to the Study

Any study of Hutterian culture must first and foremost be established within the context of Hutterian history and religion. The Hutterites have a strong sense of history and continuity, and much in their present-day culture reflects this deliberate maintenance of continuity. House styles, clothing patterns, colony structure, and religious routines are based on patterns established during the early years of the church.

The Hutterian religion originated in the Tyrol area of Europe in 1525, as a radical religious sect protesting the rule of the Roman Catholic Church. The first members were part of a larger religious movement in Europe, called "Anabaptist" by outsiders, referring to their controversial beliefs on baptism. Anabaptists insisted on "believer's baptism" only, meaning that infants should not be baptized, only adults who fully understand the significance and commitment inherent in the act of baptism. Baptism is viewed as a ritual which establishes a special covenant with God, whereby each person promises to submit to God's will and laws.

The Hutterites took their name from an early martyred leader, Jakob Hutter. They began to diverge from other anabaptist groups when Hutter organized his followers into bruderhofs, or communal settlements. This belief in "christian community" became central within the new religion, and today distinguishes the Hutterites from other similar groups such as

the Mennonites, Swiss Brethren and Amish. This practice was taken from the New Testament, the Book of Acts:

And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common (Acts 4: 32)

This group also adopted among their beliefs: strict pacifism, a separation of church and state, the isolation of themselves from the corrupting influences of the "world", and a simple and humble lifestyle. These rules defined for them the "narrow path", as described in Matthew 7: 13-14:

Enter ye at the strait gate: for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. (Cited in Hutterian Brethren of America 1968: 9)

These views so challenged the existing social and religious/political order that the Anabaptists were branded as heretics and enemies of the Church, thus sanctioning their persecution. This persecution continued in greater and lesser degree until the few survivors of a once large congregation emigrated to South Dakota in 1874-1877. The persecution in

Europe, and the continued hostility experienced in Canada and the United States has been accepted by the Hutterites as the lot of the true Christian: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 5: 10, cited in Hutterian Brethren of Canada 1968: 10).

The early years, although marked by hardship and persecution, produced a great body of Hutterian religious literature - sermons, songs, rules and regulations of conduct, etc., many which are used today. When the first Bruderhofs, or colonies, were established, strict rules of discipline were introduced: all brothers and sisters were expected to be diligent, hard-working, humble, selfless, and completely devoted to God (Friedmann 1961: 77-8). Clothing was to be simple and without vanity (Horsch 1972: 22), and private possessions of any type were forbidden. Even the schooling was entirely communal (in a day when schools were rare in Europe). All children left their mothers at age three and went to live at the boarding school, which was responsible for religious training and general rearing. These schools had a high reputation for educational training, and outsiders sometimes sent their children as well (Friedmann 1961: 80).

During this time the Hutterites became known for their honesty, diligence, and productivity as land tenants, as well as for the high quality of their manufactured goods: watches, carriages, cutlery, pottery, glass, etc. (Horsch 1972: 23). Many

missionaries were sent out to win new converts, or to rescue captured believers.

Today, the Hutterites all live in North America, and they are primarily farmers. The three original colonies in South Dakota have evolved into three distinct leute, or peoples, namely the Lehrerleut, Schmiedeleut, and Dariusleut. These groupings are generally endogamous, and are distinguished by variations in clothing, discipline, and custom. Each leut has its own senior leader. Many of the skills practised in Europe have now been lost, and manufacturing of wood and metal products is limited to home use. The church no longer proselytizes, and the Brethren have become more isolationist. In recent years Hutterite farming operations have become highly complex and mechanized.

Despite these changes, the basic structures of Hutterite life, and especially women's lives, roles, and work, conform to traditional patterns. The Hutterites accept change in the areas of farming and technology, but resist change in the "domestic sphere" (Hostetler 1974). Since women's work is situated primarily within the sphere of domestic production and consumption, tradition is very important. Hutterites have always had a clear division of labour between men and women. Women are responsible for caring for children, old, and sick; preparing and preserving food; maintaining dwellings; production and maintenance of clothing; production of food for home consumption. While some of the work tasks have changed over time the basic roles are the

same. Gross comments on the continuity within the domestic sphere: "Although our forefathers would be astonished at the modern equipment, they would be right at home eating at the communal table in daily fellowship" (Gross 1965: 27).

Today communal organization is still the rule, although a modest amount of private possessions are allowed. "English school", as required by provincial or state law, has been added to the traditional kindergarten and "German school" which provide religious training. Colonies are laid out in the traditional pattern, and except for the modern farming equipment, look as they did a century ago. This is combined with the peasant-style clothing and creates the image of an unchanging society. While Hutterian society is, of course, not totally static, tradition and history are an important part of everyday life.

4. Methods and Procedures

The data for this study was collected during a three-month period of field research in Southern Alberta, Canada (May, June, July, 1985). The general region was chosen because of accessibility, and the offer of accomodation in a small rural town which allowed access to a large number of nearby colonies. On arriving, I arranged to visit eight colonies, where I could be introduced by the school teacher or a friend. These visits were to familiarize myself with general colony patterns, and to look for a colony which would grant permission for me to live on the colony. It soon became clear that the variation between colonies was so great that concentrating on one colony was impractical. Thus, I chose one Dariusleut colony and one Lehrerleut colony (there are no Schmiedeleut in Alberta), which were roughly comparable in degree of modernization. Both colonies are situated in the same climate/soil region, thus their farming operations and gardens are similar. Both the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut "bishops" also live within one hour's drive of the colonies. This is significant because the bishops are known to be a conservative influence, and colonies nearby may feel a degree of constraint due to proximity.

The most important difference between the colonies for this study is the population size and age structure. Darius colony is very small, with only 59 people, while Lehrer colony has almost twice that number, 104. Darius colony has 25 individuals under

age 15 (42.3%) while Lehrer colony has only 26 under 15 (25%). These differences are very important in determining women's work load. For colony profiles, see Tables 1 and 2, pp.19 and 20.

The method of gaining access to the colonies is important. In both Darius colony and Lehrer colony I was introduced by the provincially appointed school teacher, whom I had contacted by telephone. This was preferable to simply arriving unannounced because I was able to get some basic information about the colony before arriving. Most importantly, however, the teacher's endorsement helped to legitimize my position, because both teachers enjoyed a good rapport with the colony. In Lehrer colony I was first introduced to the head cook, and then to the head preacher and his family, thus having "official" sanction when I began visiting regularly. This formality was never entirely lost, however. Clearly this was also affected by colony size; Lehrer colony has 40 women, and 18 unmarried girls, thus making close relations with the whole group impossible. In this colony my most frequent contact was with two families, and was less close with the remaining women.

In Darius colony I first met one of the unmarried women, thus was incorporated into the group on an informal basis. As far as I know, the preacher was not consulted by the women. After being accepted by the small, tightly-knit group of young women, the older women accepted my status as a friend of the

Table 2 Colony Profile - Lehrer Colony

- Lehrerleut, originally settled in 1932
- situated in southern Alberta, in Warner County
- owns 7,000 acres, rents 1,000 acres, approx.
- operates a "mixed farming operation:
 - grain crops
 - hogs
 - beef
 - sheep
 - dairy herd
 - broiler chickens
 - laying hens
 - ducks and geese
 - garden
- population: total 104
 - women 40
 - men 40
 - school children 15
 - kindergarten 5
 - housechildren 6

(these figures do not add up to the correct total because people become adults at age 14, but do not quit school until age 15; thus, there is an overlap of categories.)

- children go to kindergarten at age 2 1/2, become adults at age 14, and women retire at age 45.

girls. The small size of the colony worked to my advantage here, as there are only four unmarried women, and 16 women in total.

The methods of gathering data were participant observation and informal interviewing. I visited one of the colonies each day, operating from my base in a nearby town. Each day I prepared notes of the daily visit, organizing information into categories based on work roles and tasks. Each day I worked alongside the women at any colony work tasks scheduled for that day, or else visited in someone's household, helping with any household work. Thus, over the course of my field research, I participated in and observed most of the women's work roles. This participation, I feel, was very important in my acceptance, since everyone is expected to work according to their ability. The women also clearly expressed their appreciation of my simple and demure clothing, and confided that many people came to visit dressed inappropriately, thus indicating disrespect for their customs.

Limitations with the participant-observer role are several. In a society which is graded according to age, sex, and marital status, as a young, female, unmarried researcher, I had limited access to some domains. The topics of pregnancy and childbirth are rarely discussed among Hutterite women, and never mentioned in front of unmarried women. Also, due to my age, 23, I had more limited contact with the oldest group of women, who had retired from most colony work and spent more time at home. Ideally, this

study could be done by a team of women who varied in age and marital status.

The participant-observer role is also limiting because it is necessary to concentrate on a small number of people or groups, in order to gain the necessary depth of understanding. In the case of the Hutterites, this is a problem, since inter-colony variation cannot be adequately documented. Thus, my study has limited generalizability in some areas. All colonies have similar work roles for women, but the details of work load and work patterns vary between colonies according to size, age pyramid, location, and degree of modernization. Clearly, this study would ideally incorporate a larger number of colonies, over a wider geographical area.

A final limitation of this study is the seasonal variation of women's work. As this research was conducted over the summer months only, I did not directly observe women's work during the remaining seasons. However, it appears that there is a great deal of continuity in work roles over the year; that is, most of women's work roles are performed year round. Outdoor food production and preserving is exchanged for more indoor, household tasks during the winter months, such as sewing, knitting, rugmaking, etc.

My position as participant-observer also had some strengths. As Hutterite society generally separates the domains of men and women, a male researcher would have very limited access to the

women's domain. Women are more formal and careful when men are present, and feel more comfortable in all-female groups. My status as a young, unmarried woman allowed more freedom and informality in relations, as well as access to the women's work domain. The extended and intensive association with only two colonies was important because of the depth of understanding which became available. Although knowledge of women's work tasks would be readily available, the patterns of organization, division of labour, and time schedules which form the framework of women's lives are understandable only after many hours of observation. The complex division of labour and schedules of task rotation ensure total fairness in the sharing of work.

A less intensive research design such as a questionnaire would have been limited in usefulness for several reasons. Firstly, the Hutterites would probably not have responded to a questionnaire. Although they are friendly with strangers, and often give colony tours to tourists, they are cautious about speaking freely with acquaintances. Also, the colonies in southern Alberta have had some recent negative experiences with researchers, thus are cautious about involving the colony.

Secondly, in a society which does not calculate the value of labour, since all labour is unpaid, individuals will have difficulty estimating time and work load, especially from memory. Thus, an accurate picture of work conditions is only possible from observation. While a survey-type study would have

incorporated a greater number of colonies, I feel the quality of data would have suffered.

5. Organizational Structure of Hutterite Women's Work

5.1 Women's formal position

Because it is ordained by God that the husband is the head of the wife, I ask you, do you desire to be obedient in all good things, as a good wife ought to be, so that one can help the other toward godliness? (part of Hutterite marriage vow, cited in Hostetler, undated: 30).

The universe is conceived as hierarchial, with one part always submissive to the other... . God is over man. Males are over females. A husband is over his wife, a father over his son, and man is over animals. (Hostetler 1965: 118).

The position of women according to Hutterite doctrine is clear from the above passages. The women's role is to serve. Even today, where complex technology is a part of everyday Hutterite life, the woman's position and role has remained constant. The roles, tasks, and methods of women's work are traditional; few labour-saving devices are found in the woman's domain. Women still perform tedious and hard physical labour, such as hoeing, weeding, painting, plucking fowl, etc., while most of the most difficult and physically demanding tasks have become mechanized within the male domain. This difference is due

to the Hutterites' distinction between male and female work. Women's work is seen as being domestic, and outside of the productive realm, thus is secondary in terms of status and priority for upgrading. Also, while the male domain interacts with the outside world, the female domain is the heart of the colony - the locus of continuity and tradition. Thus, a high value is placed on the maintenance of tradition within the female sphere of activity.

5.2 Women's structural hierarchy

Women's positions are less hierarchial than men's, but a clear hierarchy of position, status, and decision-making power does exist. This can be diagrammed as a five-level gradation of occupational status and decision-making power. Level 1 has the highest amount of these variables, and level 5 the least.

1.	Head Cook (elected)	(permanent)
2.	Kindergarten Teachers	Garden Lady
3.	Dairy Lady	Duck Lady
4.	Oldest Women	
5.	All women over 15 (14 Lehrerleut)	

Table 3: Women's Structural Hierarchy

Within this framework, women are empowered to make decisions, supervise and organize others. While many women may hold temporary authority within a particular task, the women who have long-term authority are those in elected or appointed permanent positions.

The most important and powerful position within the women's domain is that of head cook. This is an elected position (she is elected by the men, who consult their wives). The position is held by a woman over the age of thirty, and although election is not formally related to the position of the husband or marital status, it is said that commonly the wife of the colony "Boss", the financial manager of the colony fills the position. When a woman is elected to the head cook position, it is for "life" - until she feels unable to continue due to age or ill health. There is no set age of retirement.

The head cook is responsible for planning, organizing, and supervising each meal for the colony. She also ensures the colony has supplies on hand for all aspects of women's work - everything from cooking staples to thread. Indeed, it is appropriate that she be the wife of the Boss, since she performs the duties of the Boss position that are within the female domain: the decision-making, acquisition, and distribution of material goods, such as food, supplies, fabric, etc.

The head cook is the final authority in all aspects of food preparation, and women defer to her in other areas as well.

Depending on the age and energy of the head cook, a certain amount of authority can be delegated to other women. At Darius colony, the head cook was quite old, and she had delegated most of the weekly planning and organizing of meals to the weekly cooks. They would plan the week's meals, then get approval from the head cook; this approval was mainly a formality since it was rarely withheld. At Lehrer colony, the head cook was younger and more personally in control. She personally decided on the week's meals, and spent more time in the kitchen.

The head cook must be in the kitchen most of the day, seven days a week, as she holds the keys to the pantry and freezer. Her work day begins at 6:15 a.m., when she goes to the kitchen to supervise breakfast (breakfast is at 6:30 in summer, and 7:00 in winter). She eats her meals with the weekly cooks, either after (breakfast) or before (lunch and supper) the rest of the adults. She almost never goes to evening church, since she must supervise the preparation of supper. Beyond meal preparation, she oversees any special projects in the kitchen, such as meat-cutting, making of sauerkraut etc.

The positions held by the kindergarten teachers also have the distinction of being elected. Most colonies have two or three women in this position, who take turns holding kindergarten. These are generally older "retired" women, although not the very old women; this position is not based on marital status. Kindergarten is conducted seven days a week,

from 7:30 or 8:00 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. during the week, and in the morning only on the weekend. Children are served breakfast, lunch, and a snack before going home. In the early afternoon, the children have a nap, after lunch.

Bennett (1967: 144-6) dismisses the kindergarten teachers as "simply spinsters who entertain the pre-school children in the children's house while their mothers are busy with other matters". This is a gross underestimate of the importance of the kindergarten, which extends beyond freeing mothers for colony work. The kindergarten has a very long tradition, as can be seen in the descriptions by Andreas Ehrenpreis (1652) and Peter Rideman (1541). The purpose of the kindergarten is not just "babysitting", but rather the early socialization of children into colony patterns, gender roles, and religious life. Ehrenpreis describes the importance of child socialization: "Principally we should consider with earnestness and zeal the paramount importance of bringing up the children... . Just as iron tends to rust and as the soil will nourish weeds, unless it is kept clean by continuous care, so have the children of man a strong inclination towards injustices, desires, and lusts" (Ehrenpreis 1652, cited in Hostetler no date: 17).

Peter Rideman discusses the role of the kindergarten:

As soon as the mother hath weaned the child she giveth it to the school. Here there are sisters, appointed by the Church to care for them, who have been recognized

to be competent and diligent therein; and, as soon as they can speak, they lay the word of God's testimony in their mouths and teach them to speak with or from the same, tell them of prayer and such things as children can understand. (Rideman 1541, cited in Hostetler no date: 1).

This model is still followed today. Although the children do play, more importantly they learn the necessity of submitting to colony discipline and schedules, and being obedient to elders. The child is taught that individual will must be subjugated to that of the colony. The teachers instruct the children in songs, hymns, and prayers, and recently a small amount of English-language training (such as counting, colours, etc) has been added.

The next grouping of positions in the authority hierarchy are not elected, but are based on the position of the husband. These are permanent positions which carry varying amounts of decision-making power.

The position which carries the most responsibility and authority is the "garden lady"; she is the wife of the gardener/german school teacher. The garden lady makes the decisions about, and supervises, the weeding, hoeing, harvesting (and thus canning, which immediately follows), and the planting of seedlings. Generally, she works with her husband to do the

seeding of the garden. When she decides that work needs to be done in the garden, she rings the colony bell, and all available women must leave what they are doing and go to the garden. (This excludes retired women, and those with weekly cooking or baking duties). At Darius colony, in her capacity as "german mother", she supervises the meals of the children aged 6-15, with help from her husband. At Lehrer colony another older woman is assigned this job. At Darius colony, she also keeps a record of garden produce and canning, and keeps track of all rotating duties among the women. Thus, she is the final authority in regulating the rotation of tasks among individuals and groups. These responsibilities combine to make this position quite powerful, as she exercises control over the women secondary only to the head cook.

The position of "dairy lady" is held by the wife of the dairy boss. This is a permanent position, but carries little decision-making authority, except in matters of operating the separator and making butter. Her job consists of running the separator, for cream and/or skim milk; making butter; assisting in milking; cleaning the milk tank, separator, milking room, milking machine, etc. She must be in the dairy for the twice daily milkings (Darius colony) or for the evening milking only (Lehrer colony). In return, she is excused from cooking, baking, and dishwashing duties, although she participates in all other colony work.

The "duck and goose lady" position varies between colonies in the degree of responsibility, depending on the size and importance of the duck and goose operation. Ducks and geese are important food sources for the colony as well as a source of income. The ducks and geese are bought from a hatchery (although some colonies have incubators) in the spring, and the ducks are slaughtered in September and the geese in December. The duck lady's main responsibility is to ensure the birds get inside during storms, and at night, and she decides when it is time to pluck the birds. Both ducks and geese are plucked of their breast feathers several times before slaughtering, and the feathers are used in pillows and quilts. The plucking occurs approximately every seven weeks, but the timing must be very precise, or the birds bleed and are caused too much pain. The plucking is supervised by the duck lady.

The final group that has more than transitory decision-making authority is that of the eldest women on the colony. In Darius colony, one of these women is assigned the task of selecting and distributing the fabric and sewing supplies among the women. In Lehrer colony the head cook does this. In both cases, she is assisted by the three oldest women. This task is very important, as the Hutterites put a high value on maintaining traditional clothing. In this sense, the oldest women are entrusted with maintaining tradition, and guiding the younger women in the finer points of Hutterite propriety. This group of

eldest women also assist the head cook in the distribution of colony supplies, such as snacks, candy, baked goods, etc., which are for consumption at home. The colony distribution is based on total equality in terms of consumption; each person receives an equal share. Thus, the task of redistribution is very important; the "assistance" of the oldest women ensures total equality by removing responsibility from a single individual.

These women have other tasks which are outside of the advisory role, such as cooking for new mothers and sick people, making noodle dough, etc., and the constant responsibility for caring for small children while their mothers are at work.

In addition to women's job assignments, there are a number of variables which contribute to status and power. A woman's status increases as she possesses more of these variables. These are:

- 1) position or job - this is probably the most important. The positions discussed above give the holder power to make decisions and organize others.
- 2) age - a person's status increases with age. This is the case from kindergarten on, and is shown in age-graded tasks, seating position in church and at meals, etc.
- 3) marital status - although marriage is not required, clearly marriage is the preferred state. A woman is expected to have at least several children.

- 4) spouse's position - this is important, since some of women's job assignments are directly derived from the position of the husband. However, independent of work assignments, being the wife of the preacher or the colony Boss carries some status.
- 5) other kinship connections - being a member of the "leading families" is a source of status within the colony. This is not articulated, since status differences between families are not supposed to exist. See Table 4, p.36 for an example of this.
- 6) access to information - women who have greater access to information, whether of the workings of the colony or the outside world, enjoy higher status.

Theoretically, using this framework, it should be possible to locate the most powerful woman in the colony (independent of personalities) by examining these variables. Thus, the position that women have no hierarchy (Mackenzie 1978:11), I found to be incorrect. Clearly, the variables are more subtle than those in the male hierarchy, and often are not formally recognized. The male hierarchy is formally recognized and bureaucratically manifested, and forms the structural organization of the colony's leadership and large-scale production. This has been amply described elsewhere (i.e. Bennett 1967, Hostetler 1974).

The structural hierarchy described above is overlaid by the age-grade system. For both males and females the age-grade

system is very important, as it organizes work assignments, privileges, and responsibilities within the colony. (see Table 5, p.37, for a list of women, age grades, and positions).

Women have three age grades which organize their work assignments. These are:

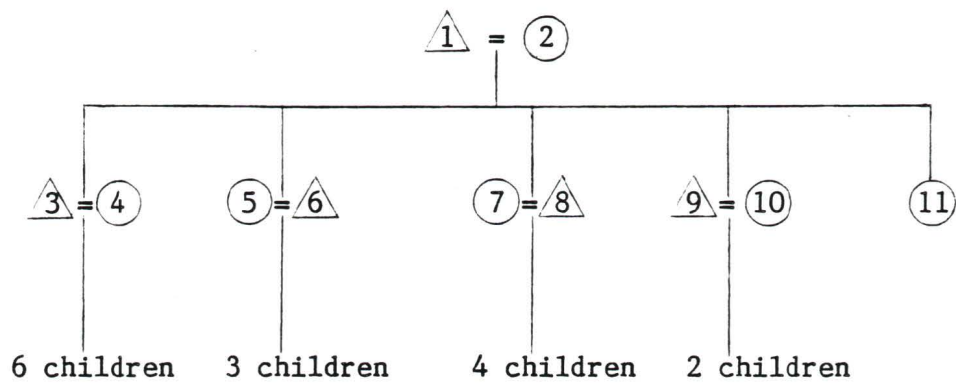
- 1) Age 15 (14 Lehrer) to marriage (or age 30).
- 2) Marriage (or 30) to "retirement".
- 3) Grandmothers - women over age 50 (45 Lehrer).

Age grade one is an interesting category because it combines the worst and most strenuous work assignments (and formally the lowest status) with the highest degree of independence, which is envied by the older women. The youngest Darius women within age grade 1 are assigned the task of waiting on tables in the dining room during meals. When a plate is empty, someone (almost always a man) taps on it with a fork, to indicate that it should be refilled. The youngest women must leave their meals to replenish it. Among the Lehrerleut the cooks do this.

The unmarried girls (in age grade 1) do almost all the painting, stripping and varnishing of furniture, and in large colonies they do all the garden labour except harvesting. Women are assigned a cooking and baking week at age 17. During this age grade women are not eligible for permanent work assignments, although they may fill in for someone else.

When a woman marries or turns 30 (and officially becomes a spinster) she enters the second age grade, and is then eligible

Table 4 Example of "Leading" Family



1 = head preacher	6 = boss
2 = head cook	7 = garden lady
3 = assistant preacher	8 = gardener/german teacher
4 = duck/goose lady	9 = carpenter

This is a "leading" family because its members hold all of the most important positions in the colony, in both the male and female hierarchies.

Table 5 List of Women, Age Grades, and Positions

Darius Colony

<u>Age Grade 1</u>	1. Barbara
15 to marriage (or 30)	2. Rachael
	3. Lena
	4. Katie
 <u>Age Grade 2</u>	5. Esther
marriage (or 30) to	6. Dora
retirement	7. Sarah
	8. Mathilda - dairy lady
	9. Susie
	10. Rachael - german mother & garden
	11. Annie - duck and geese lady
	12. Rachael - Kindergarten teacher
 <u>Age Grade 3</u>	13. Annie - Kindergarten teacher
age 50 or over	14. Katie
	15. Sarah - cooks for sick, buys fabric
	16. Anna - head cook

for permanent work assignments, either elected or derived from the husband's position. Although this age grade involves more status, responsibility, and decision-making power, it also means a curtailing of freedom. While the younger women are allowed to be "foolish", go visiting, go painting at other colonies, and generally have fun, the second age grade requires more seriousness and humility, since they must set an example. Women in this age grade do not usually paint or varnish, nor do they hoe or weed the garden in large colonies. However, their work loads increase as children are born, and requirements for clothing, bedding, laundry, and childcare increase until a daughter is old enough to help.

The third age grade, which the women call "grandmothers" is made up of the women over age 50 (45 Lehrer), who are "retired". At this age, they give up having their own cook and bake weeks, working in the garden, any permanent work assignments except head cook and kindergarten teacher, and any strenuous colony work, such as scrubbing floors. During this age set work gradually decreases. They continue working as head cook, and kindergarten teacher, and continue with colony work tasks such as dishwashing, peeling potatoes, helping with baking and cooking, plucking and slaughtering fowl, and canning, until they feel unable to keep up. However, women pride themselves on working up to a ripe old age.

Thus, women's structural hierarchy is made up of several factors: work assignment, age, and other variables of status, all which give the bearer the authority to make decisions and organize others. This hierarchy forms the framework of organization for all colony work; only home work is excluded, as it is within the private, individual domain.

5.3 Women's work roles

A man will work from sun to sun,
but a woman's work is never done.

(Hutterite saying).

Women's work can be divided into two broad categories: colony work, and home work. Just as the needs and welfare of the colony take precedence over those of the individual, so too does colony work come before home work. Tasks which benefit the colony as a whole, such as cooking, canning, garden work, slaughtering of fowl, etc. always have priority over home tasks, such as sewing, knitting, or cleaning of family apartments. Within the colony work sphere, there is an internal hierarchy of priority (see Table 6, p.41). Within this scheme, tasks in type 1 are undertaken first, and only when an individual has no assignment of type 1 can tasks within type 2 be undertaken, and so on down the priority list. This is a prime organizer within women's work. The amount of time available for home work and

private time depends on the season and the number of women available for colony work.

Women's work can be divided into five primary work roles: kitchen work, caring for people, cleaning, production and maintenance of dwellings. I will describe these roles as distinct categories for the purposes of clarification, although some tasks cross the boundaries between categories. (See Table 7, p.42, for a list of tools used in women's work roles.) Within each role, all tasks are very clearly delineated; women's work is not cooperative in the sense that everyone simply pitches in until the work is done. Rather, there is a complex division of labour, whereby the requirements of each task are highly specific and are known by all. The concept of fairness is shown in the rotation of tasks rather than equal participation on a daily basis. Thus, labour is not "cooperative" so much as a complex and specific task delineation.

The role of kitchen worker is the most important and time consuming on a daily basis. This includes: planning, organization, and preparation of meals; serving of meals; clearing and resetting of tables; washing dishes, pots, and kitchen equipment. As all colony meals are taken in the communal dining room, this process occurs three times a day. The head cook and weekly cooks prepare three meals a day, seven days a week, for fifty-nine people (Darius colony) or one hundred and four (Lehrer colony). The remaining women take turns cleaning

Table 6 Hierarchy of Women's Work Tasks

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

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

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

4. Regular home tasks:
 - cleaning
 - laundry

5. "Spare time" home tasks:
 - sewing
 - rugmaking
 - knitting
 - mending
 - hobbies

Women's work tasks are organized according to this hierarchy, whereby tasks in category 1 are always highest priority, and those in category 5 are lowest priority. an individual may undertake work in a particular category only if there is no higher priority work required at that time.

(Hooney 1986)

Table 7 Women's Tool Kit

1. received at age 15 (Lehrer 15):
 - scraper
 - window scraper
 - paint brushes
 - rubber gloves
 - butcher knife
 - paring knife
 - rolling pin
 - wooden stool
 - rubber boots
 - rubber apron

2. received at age 17:
(when she begins cooking
and baking)
 - pail
 - broom
 - dishcloths - from home
 - rag - from home

3. received at marriage:
 - apartment with basic furnishings
 - bed and linens
 - table and 2 chairs
 - sewing machine and cabinet
 - iron
 - stainless steel pot and lid
 - 2 glasses, cups, plates
 - sewing scissors
 - laundry cart
 - melamine bowl
 - crib (when first child is born)
 - 25 lbs of feathers, then 8 lb.
for each child.

4. other supplies distributed
at regular intervals:
 - cloth
 - needles
 - buttons
 - hooks & eyes
 - thread
 - towels
 - laundry and washing soap
 - etc.

up. Each week the bakers bake bread, pies or other treats, and buns for the weekend. Also they clean all the baking equipment, ovens, and the baking room. On a less regular basis the role of kitchen worker involves meat cutting, peeling potatoes, making noodles, perogies or dumplings, making sauerkraut and jam, etc. Also included within this category is the distribution of food, snacks, soft drinks etc. for home consumption.

The role of care-giver is the next most important, as it is always ongoing. This includes feeding and caring for infants and house children, supervising school children's meals, teaching kindergarten, caring for the old, the sick and new mothers, babysitting, midwifery, and day-to-day nurturing of family members. Although men are very loving with small children, women are almost always close at hand during the day, thus have much more contact and interaction with children. Children must wait while the adults take their meals, but all other colony work is interrupted while mothers go home to feed small children. Older children often sit by their mothers as they go about their colony work tasks, or play nearby.

Next is the role of cleaner. Hutterian women have the saying "cleanliness is next to Godliness", and as a result insist that everything within their domain be kept spotless. The communal areas of the colony are cleaned by individuals or groups of women in rotation (kitchen, dining room, bakery, laundry room, school, church, kindergarten, milk house). The family apartments

are cleaned by each woman alone, or assisted by any daughters. In addition to the regular daily and weekly cleaning, a thorough and intensive "spring cleaning" is done in both the spring and the fall. All communal areas are scrubbed from floor to ceiling, and the freezers, coolers, pantries, and storage areas are emptied and cleaned. In the spring, all canning jars and equipment are washed and prepared for use, and any full jars are cleaned on the outside. Equipment is dismantled and cleaned thoroughly, windows and curtains are washed, light fixtures removed and cleaned, etc. This intensive cleaning is done individually in the family apartments twice a year.

Laundry is a regular and demanding task, as few colonies have automatic washing machines, and none have dryers. Clothing is first scrubbed by hand if it is very dirty, then washed in the washing machine (which must be constantly attended to fill and drain, etc.) The clothes are removed and put into a spinner to take out excess water, then the clothes are hung to dry, sorted, folded, ironed, and put away. For a family of eight, this takes all morning, twice a week.

Women's tasks which are categorized as "production" are more seasonal than those tasks described above, which take place regularly all year. In the summer there is garden work, preserving, canning, and helping at the farmer's market, plucking and slaughtering ducks and geese (this extends into the fall). In the winter women concentrate on sewing, quilting, knitting,

rugmaking, etc., since they have more time for home work. Soap is made twice a year, and all year long the dairy lady works in the dairy, and the women slaughter chickens.

Garden labour is primarily of two types: weeding and hoeing, and harvesting. After the gardener and garden lady have done the initial seeding, the women do any planting of seedlings, such as cabbage, onions, and tomatoes. After most of the plants have sprouted, the garden is weeded and hoed three times in succession. As the gardens are very large (12 acres plus 4 acres of potatoes in Lehrer colony, and somewhat less for Darius colony), this is very time consuming. The first hoeing at Darius colony took seven or eight women six full days to complete. Harvesting begins early, with radishes, lettuce, and rhubarb in early June. When harvesting of vegetables begins, the women work very intensively in order to get the canning done as soon as possible. On such a day, the women begin very early, and harvest the produce to be canned, and then proceed immediately to the "canning kitchen" (also the slaughter-house) where they work continuously, stopping only for meals, until the canning is finished. Often they work until late at night. The women can and preserve enough vegetables to last all year. For details of canning and preserving production, see Table 8, p.46.

Women help care for ducks and geese, and these are plucked regularly of the breast feathers, to be used for quilts and pillows. Darius colony has 750 ducks and 250 geese, which are

Table 8 Canning and Preserving Production

(in 2-quart jars unless otherwise specified)

<u>Product</u>	<u>Darius Colony</u>	<u>Lehrer Colony</u>
Apricots	240	100
Apricot sauce	27	-
Cherries	155	100
Crabapples	108	200
Gooseberries	-	100+
Peaches	169	200
Pears	176	100
Plums	78	-
Rhubarb	77 +64 qt.frozen	150
Saskatoon berries	39	-
Strawberries	240 qt.	-
Beans	23	40 meals
Beets	59	100
Beets (pickled)	37	-
Beets (tops)	?	-
Carrots	174	40 meals frozen + in root cellar
Corn	111 +10 meals frozen	40 meals
Peas	121 +10 meals frozen	120 +20 meals frozen
Pickles (dill)	37	135
Pickles (sweet)	37	-
Pork & Beans	23	-
Relish	30 x 1qt.	-
Sauerkraut	150 gallons	-
String beans	35	80
String beans (sour)	6	-
Tomatoes	143 +11 x 1qt.	200
Tomato juice	250 qts.	-
Tomato soup	100	-
Vegetables (mixed)	39	-

plucked at seven weeks old, and then every seven weeks thereafter until they are slaughtered (ducks in September, and geese in December). To pluck the birds, they are first washed in the pond to clean the feathers, then they are driven into the pen. Each woman takes a low stool with her, which she sits on when plucking. Each bird is caught, held upside down by the feet with the head clamped between the woman's knees, and quickly plucked of the breast feathers. Generally, it requires one to two days for twelve women to pluck one thousand birds. The slaughter of the ducks and geese is similar to that of chickens, described below, except there is one additional task. Often the pinfeathers of the ducks must be waxed in order to be removed; this is very time consuming, and the women take turns doing this task.

Women provide the bulk of the labour in the slaughter and dressing of chickens for market and home use. This is done every 8 weeks, in 2 batches of 600 roasters (at Darius colony), and some laying hens for home use as well. The routine differs slightly when the chickens are for the market, because the government inspector must be there. The only tasks which women do not perform, between taking chickens from the barn and shipping them to market, is the actual killing of the birds, and bringing them with the tractor to the slaughter house. The women then scald the birds, pluck them (using a plucking machine), cut off the feet (which are kept to eat), clean them, and cool them in cold water, before packaging them into bags (to be shipped out

for market, or frozen for home use). The entrails are then sorted, and the liver, heart, and kidney are kept for eating, the fatty portions are rendered for soap, and the remainder is thrown out. Then, of course, the women clean the slaughter house from top to bottom and scrub all the equipment, tables etc.

This activity is productive in several ways. Poultry is sold, thus contributing to colony income, and some is kept for colony use. Also the organs and feet are kept for meals, as are the partially formed eggs from laying hens. Even the fat is utilized to make soap. Chickens are slaughtered every eight weeks (broilers) or on a less regular basis (laying hens).

Women make an all-purpose soap from lard and lye twice a year. This soap is used for laundry, dishes, floors, and general washing and cleaning. Fat is rendered and stored each time animals or poultry are butchered, and in the spring and fall it is used to make soap. This takes several days, and the soap is "cooked" in large outside tubs, made by the colony men for the purpose. The cooked soap is turned into containers to cool and solidify, then it is cut into blocks and dried, before being divided between families and the kitchen.

During the less hectic winter months women must catch up on their sewing and knitting, and anticipate the family's needs for clothing and bedding for the upcoming busy season. (For a complete list of women's sewing, see Table 9, p.49). Women sew all clothing for family members, until a daughter is old enough

Table 9 Sewing Inventory

The "basic outfit" is the everyday dress of all individuals. The same pattern, but different fabric is used for women's "Saturday afternoon" dresses, and men's and women's "Sunday Best".

1. Women's and girls' clothing:

Basic outfit: blouse, vest, jacket, skirt, apron.

Other: underwear, slip, cap, head scarf, work apron, sun bonnet, work gloves, nightgown, bathrobe.

2. Men's and boys' clothing:

Basic outfit: shirt, pants, jacket, suspenders (purchased)

Other: underwear, socks, hats, handkerchieves

3. Children's clothing

(before wearing adult-style clothing):

Basic outfit: dress, cap, diapers

4. Other household sewing:

mattress covers, sheets, pillowcases

blankets, quilts

curtains

teatowels and rags

furniture covers

rugs

5. Knitting:

slippers, men's and children's socks

"slippers" for chair legs

decorative covers for chests, toilets, etc.

to help. They sew sheets, blankets, mattress covers, pillows, quilts, and other household linens. In some colonies women pull the wool from freshly slaughtered sheep skins (or else get it sheared), wash it, card it, and use it inside blankets. Women also make several types of rugs for their homes.

Sewing is the only role among women's work which Bennett (1967: 164) classified as "economically significant", adding that, in any case, Hutterian clothing could not be purchased. While the economic value of this work cannot be so easily discounted, the colony puts a greater value on the ability to maintain a distinctive dress: "as a soldier in a national army is distinguished by his uniform, so are we distinguished as soldiers of Christ" (Gross 1965: 163).

The final work role assigned to women is the maintenance of dwellings. Although men do the construction of buildings and furniture, women do the finishing to prepare them for use. Women comment that all colony tasks have a woman's hand involved. The men build a piece of furniture, and consider it finished, when there are many more hours of women's labour before it is ready for use.

Women do the stripping, sanding, and varnishing of furniture and doors; most receive eight to ten coats of varnish. Women, especially unmarried girls, do all the painting of colony buildings, both inside and out. In a relatively new colony, or one whose houses have been rebuilt, the apartments will remain

unfinished on the inside until needed. Engaged couples will be assigned these unfinished apartments, which must be ready for use by the time of the wedding. The bride chooses five to seven unmarried female friends or relatives to paint the apartment. Most of these young women usually come from a different colony, and they stay at the groom's colony for two weeks while painting. During this time, they paint the entire inside of the apartment, and varnish the doors, working from early in the morning until late at night. The walls and ceilings on the main floor and any downstairs bedrooms are painted with seven coats of paint, with each coat being washed and sanded before the next is applied. The basement storage areas get three coats of paint, and the doors, eight to ten coats of varnish. During this painting period, the mother of the groom is assigned to supervise the girls, and ensure that they are supplied with ample food and beverages.

When the colony divides to form a daughter colony there is a great need for women's labour at both the parent and daughter colonies. Generally, all families must pack and prepare to move before lots are drawn to determine which group leaves. The group that moves to the new colony must recruit relatives to paint the new homes and help unpack and get settled. Usually the family will move into a spare unit or the basement until the painting is finished. The group that stays at the parent colony calls on relatives to help them unpack and get resettled, or move to

another unit if necessary. Both groups like to strip and revarnish all the furniture so it is "like new again" - a symbol of a new beginning.

Beyond maintaining the physical structures, women plant flowers and trees, do the watering, and mow the lawns to keep the grounds attractive.

Thus, while women's work is situated within the domestic sphere to a large extent, clearly it is not restricted to this domain. Those activities classified as "production" are part of the market economy. This blurring of boundaries affects most colony activities: there is no clear separation between "economic" and non-economic, or domestic, domains. Both female and male work roles simultaneously fall into both categories. This probably applies to farms in general, although the communal nature of the Hutterite colony serves to further complicate the picture.

5.4 Work roles versus work load

Women in all colonies have generally the same work roles, but the work load varies considerably. The variables of colony size and age pyramid are important in determining the work load of women.

Darius colony has only sixteen women, and of these, only eight had their own cooking weeks. Since every cook has a helper, each of these women was required to be in the kitchen two weeks out of eight (1/4) as either cook or helper. In addition,

each woman would be baker or assistant baker two out of ten weeks (1/5), and would be on dishes or tables every week (1/1). In contrast, Lehrer colony has forty women, of which twenty cook and bake (working in ten pairs). At this colony women cook and bake one out of ten weeks (1/10), and have dishes or table duty one week of five (1/5).

The number of young adults and children is also an important factor in work load. While Darius colony has four unmarried girls, Lehrer colony, while only twice as large, has eighteen unmarried girls. This unusually high number of young adults, and low number of children, means that women's work load is considerably decreased. The young women comprise a formidable labour forces, which can make short work of most tasks without even involving the married women. In addition, these girls are expected to do their own sewing, as well as sewing for the rest of the family. They assume the family's laundry chores and household cleaning. This relieves the older married women of much of their work load. Clearly, any colony work task is much more manageable when distributed between many hands.

Bennett (1967: 202) commented that within the women's domain, women in the fifteen to marriage age grade constituted "the only true labour force as far as manual labour was concerned". Certainly this is not the case today. While Hutterite men's work has become very mechanized, eliminating most difficult manual labour, women's work has not been so affected.

In accepting innovations, the Hutterites distinguish between necessity (the "productive", "business" realm) and comfort (the domestic realm). Since women's work is classified as domestic, time or labour-saving devices are seen as unnecessary, and possibly even threatening. Women's work and the women's domain are truly the "heart" of the colony, and therefore tradition is valued and change is not readily accepted.

The degree of mechanization is regarded by both men and women in the colonies studied as a central difference between the male and female domains of work. And indeed, this is an important difference when discussing the work load of men and women, and the difficulty of their work. For example, while men are driving air-conditioned tractors in the fields, women are hoeing the garden by hand, often on hands and knees, in 100°F weather. This type of grueling labour is performed by all women except for those in age grade 3.

The work of both men and women is now more extensive than in the past. Through the use of complex machinery and tools, men can now manage a much larger and more productive farming operation. Women's work has also become more extensive in the last century. As part of "modernization", increases in consumption and standard of living have increased the demand for women's labour and the products of their labour. Today, family apartments are larger and more comfortable, thus requiring more time and effort to maintain. Family members have greater

requirements for clothing, and standards of cleanliness have increased. In food consumption, the range of items produced is much greater than in the past, as the number of products regarded as "necessities" has increased.

In the colonies studied, these increased demands on women's labour have not been offset by the use of "labour-saving devices" (that is, tools which decrease the amount of labour required for any particular task). Many older women commented on the fact that their work load has increased over time, despite the fact that some of the farm-related tasks, such as field work, and milking by hand, have been eliminated from women's work.

The effects of "modernization" have meant a decrease in the degree of physical difficulty in men's work, although their overall work load may not have changed. Within the women's domain, "modernization" has involved an increase in the overall work load, without the benefit of tools to decrease the physical difficulty.

Thus, women's work load is affected by two major factors. As the size of the colony increases, the total amount of colony work also increases, but the work load of any individual decreases, due to the presence of more workers. If a woman is required to cook one out of ten weeks, rather than one out of four, she has much more time for home work and private time. The degree of modernization has increased women's work load over time, without substantially decreasing the difficulty.

5.5 Work Patterns: Formation of Work Teams

All colony work has specific rules for the formation of work groups. Few colony work tasks are performed alone; generally women work in pairs or groups (except for home work). Most tasks are organized on a rotation schedule to ensure fairness for all individuals. (see Table 10, p.57)

Work such as garden labour, slaughtering or plucking poultry, canning, etc. is done by all the women working together. The organizer of the task rings the bell, and all women must go to help. Only those with permanent or weekly work assignments, which have higher priority, or retired women, if that particular job has been dropped, are excused. Many of women's work tasks are not done in such a large group, however, but by smaller groups of women.

The most important organizational structures for organizing women's work are the "permanent" work groups: cooking and baking partners, and "dish teams". Each woman over age seventeen cooks and bakes with a partner, who is preferably a close relative, (see Table 11, p.58) A woman will be paired with her mother or sister, or if that is not possible, then with a sister-in-law or cousin. Every woman between the ages of seventeen and fifty (forty-five Lehrer) has a place in the regular cooking and baking schedule. This excludes women whose job assignments interfere with these duties. The placement of individuals is random,

Table 11 Hypothetical Cooking and Baking Schedule

<u>Darius Colony</u>						
	Cook	Helper	Relationship to Cook	Baker	Helper	Relationship to Baker
Week 1	Rachael	Sarah	B W	Susie	Katie	H Z
Week 2	Annie	Esther	H B W	Rachael	Sarah	B W
Week 3	Lena	Barbara	Z	Dora	(take turns) Lena Rachael Sarah Barbara	H Z
Week 4	Susie	Katie	H Z	Rachael (take turns) (garden)	Katie Susie Esther Annie	H Z
Week 5	Barbara	Lena	Z	Sarah	Rachael	H Z
Week 6	Sarah	Rachael	H Z	Katie	Susie	B W
Week 7	Katie	Susie	B W	Esther	Annie	H B W
Week 8	Esther	Annie	H B W	Lena	Barbara	Z
Week 9				Barbara	Lena	Z
Week 10				Annie	Esther	H B W

rather than ordered by age or family membership, etc. Each pair cooks or bakes for one full week, which begins on Monday morning and ends on Sunday evening.

The dish teams are permanent groups of women, who are over fifteen (fourteen Lehrer) yet not too old to keep up. Every woman belongs to one of these teams, except the head cook. The dairy lady, and the german mother, if she supervises the children's meals, do not do dishes, but participate in all other tasks. These teams are formed so that every team has an equal number of women for each age grade. It is desirable for sisters or other close relatives to be on different teams, so that a woman who is away (usually gone into town or visiting) can be replaced by her relative.

Darius colony has two teams, of seven and eight women, respectively. Lehrer colony has five teams, of about seven each. Each week in Darius colony, one team washes and dries the dishes, peels potatoes, and helps with the baking, if necessary. The other team clears and washes the tables, serves the food, and resets the tables with clean dishes. Within each team, women rotate in the various duties, so that every person performs every task within the work role regularly. If a woman washes dishes one week, the next time her team is on duty she will rinse or dry, for example.

These basic teams are also used in other colony work. Within the domain of kitchen work, these groups take turns doing

tasks which are performed irregularly, such as making perogies, dumplings, or noodles. The jobs of filling jars during canning, or preparing the fruit and vegetables for putting into jars, rotate between teams, as do the tasks of packing poultry into bags, making soap or jam, or cleaning the church.

The other important organizer for colony work is age. Many tasks rotate on the basis of age; this applies to both individuals and groups. Individual tasks which are ordered by age are: laundry, baking of molasses bread and "melba toast" (these are specialty items), baking christmas cookies, cleaning the meat slicer, helping the dairy lady make butter, waxing ducks to remove pin feathers, scalding chickens for butchering, cleaning kettles after slaughtering chickens and after canning, and cleaning the laundry room. The fact that laundry, an individual and home work task, is included among this group of colony work tasks, is important. Since laundry facilities are limited, women must take turns; in order to be completely fair, and ensure that no one monopolizes the most desirable time slots, washing times are assigned according to the age of the mother of each nuclear family. Each washing day, the first woman to wash is one position lower on the age hierarchy.

Some tasks are performed by groups which are formed on the basis of age rotation. The weekly washing of the dining room, kitchen, and bakery floors is done in this way. At Darius colony, five women form a group each week to wash floors. The

group is made up of five women in descending order of age from the youngest woman on last week's group. For example, on week one, the five oldest women (excluding grandmothers) would form a group. The next week, the next five younger women would work together, and cycle would continue, with the composition of the group varying each week. Similarly, each week three women assist the dairy lady in cleaning the milking room, and when meat cutting is done, two women work with the colony Boss (Darius colony; at Lehrer colony all women work together).

The age-grade system overlays this pattern of task assignment, making it more complex. If a task is not performed by all the women, then the population eligible for that task varies according to the age grade(s) assigned to it.

Work groups may also be arranged informally, as in the case of assistance and work exchange among women. Women prefer to be on different dish teams from their closest relatives, so if they are away from the colony their work can be informally replaced. If a woman is ill for a short period of time, her work is not replaced, unless she has a permanent work assignment. If she does have a permanent work assignment, she will be replaced informally by her close kin. In the same manner, if a woman needs help with her sewing, or cleaning her home, for example, she will call on her closest relatives. This type of assistance is reciprocal, and is freely given and not kept track of.

Mackenzie (1978: 47-9) discusses these informal work arrangements among women. She reports that women call on consanguineal kin for home work, and affinal kin for colony work. My observations were that women prefer to call on consanguineal kin whenever possible, for both home and colony work. However, as many women have no consanguineal kin within the colony, they rely on their next closest kin - their affines. A woman does not ask favors of unrelated women.

Women may form work groups informally for certain tasks. An example of this is as follows: Annie, as the acting german mother, was assigned the task of cleaning the correspondence room of the school. Usually she calls upon the unmarried girls of the colony for help, but on this day only one of the four, Katie, was available. Since more labour was needed, Annie called on her sister for help, and Katie called on myself, as her friend, to help. Thus, a work group was formed informally through kinship and affectional ties.

Women may also exchange labour on a somewhat more formal basis. If an individual realizes that she will have conflicting work responsibilities one particular week, she will arrange to exchange labour with one of her kin. In this way her kin will work for her one week in exchange for an equal amount of work at a later date. This is often used for cooking and baking weeks, or for daily tasks if a woman must go into town for the day.

If a woman's labour must be replaced for more than a few days, then formal structure takes over again. When a woman delivers a baby, or enters the hospital for an operation, her work is formally replaced. If she has a permanent work assignment, one or more women are assigned by the head cook or preacher to replace her. This is not based on kin relationship. If she does not have a permanent work assignment, her close kin will take turns taking over her cooking and baking responsibilities, laundry, housecleaning, etc. At other colony work, such as garden work, canning, butchering fowl, she is simply not replaced, as all available women are already employed.

After a baby or other operation, the woman is cared for at home by a relative, usually mother, sister, or daughter, for four weeks (baby) or two weeks (operation). During this time, all meals are brought to her home, and she is relieved of all household chores. At four weeks, her helper goes home and she begins taking meals in the main dining room. At six weeks she begins washing dishes. At eight weeks she returns to all colony work except cooking, baking, and garden work. At ten weeks she begins baking and gardening and at thirteen weeks, cooking.

This system of formal work replacement is designed to ensure that a woman is not pressured to return to work. Since all women will eventually benefit, the labour is freely given, and is not expected to be "repaid".

5.6 Work Schedules: Time Structures

Much of women's labour is highly routinized, and is organized with daily, weekly, monthly, seasonal, and yearly cycles of activity.

Each day, every day of the year, women's activities are scheduled around meals. At Darius colony breakfast is served at 6:30 a.m. (7:00 in winter), then women return home to feed house children and prepare for kindergarten children to leave at 7:30 or 8:00 a.m. At 10:00 a.m. house children and kindergarten children are served lunch, and at 11:00 a.m. school children and any sick people are given their lunch. At 11:30 the adults have their meal. At 5:30 p.m. is evening church, and supper is served immediately afterwards. (At Lehrer colony the schedule is slightly different). For each of these meals women must be on hand to serve the tables, then clean up, wash dishes, and leave the dining room and kitchen ready for the next meal. Around this primary activity women have weekly schedules of work which continue all year (see Table 12 p.65). The weekly cooks spend most of their time in the kitchen during their week, and are excused from other colony work. The weekly bakers bake bread on Monday, treats on Tuesday (Darius colony), pies on Thursday (Lehrer colony), and buns on Friday. Laundry is done twice a week, on Monday and Thursday, and women take turns cleaning the laundry room, in order of age. Housecleaning is done twice a

Table 12

Weekly Work Schedule for All Year-Darius Colony

<u>Task</u>	<u>Mon.</u>	<u>Tues.</u>	<u>Wed.</u>	<u>Thurs.</u>	<u>Fri.</u>	<u>Sat.</u>	<u>Sun.</u>
Cooking - Head Cook	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cooking - First and Second Cook	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Baking	x	x			x		
Laundry	x			x			
Minor housecleaning	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Major housecleaning (floors etc.)	x				x		
Dishes or Tables	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Kindergarten	x	x	x	x	x	½ day	½ day
Clean Kindergarten					x		
Supervising school kids' meals	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Caring for house children	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Assisting in milking-dairy lady	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Separating milk-dairy lady	x						
Making butter (summer only)			x				
Washing kitchen floors					x		
Cleaning milking room-dairy lady	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cleaning milking room - team						x	
Clean Church and School						x	
Clean washhouse	x						

week, on Monday and Friday. On these days, the floors are washed and polished, and the house is thoroughly cleaned.

Once a week the kindergarten is cleaned, the church is cleaned, and every Saturday the dairy is cleaned by the dairy lady and three helpers. At Lehrer colony, one dish team makes noodles once a week.

Much of the weekly cycle is in anticipation of Sunday, the religious peak of the week. House cleaning and church cleaning are done near the end of the week so all is clean for Sunday. Buns are baked, and noodles are made for Sunday's meals. Since little work is done on the weekend, especially Sunday, all the preparations must be completed during the week.

Beyond weekly schedules, women have certain tasks which are regularly, but less frequently, scheduled (see Table 13, p67). Every eight weeks chickens are slaughtered, and every seven weeks in the summer and fall the ducks and geese are plucked. In Darius colony noodles are made every two months, and perogies, dumplings, etc. are made more regularly. Twice a year the baking ovens are cleaned, soap is made, and a major spring or fall cleaning is done. In the summer, butter is made when there is an excess of cream (Darius colony), and the schedule of garden labour, canning and painting comes into effect.

Once each year, in the spring, all canning jars and equipment are cleaned and in the fall the ducks and geese are butchered. Every second year the ceilings of the kitchen,

Table 13 Summer Work Schedule - Darius Colony

Week	May				June				July				August				Sept.			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Butcher Chickens	X								X											X
Pluck ducks and geese		X							X											X
Hoe and Weed					X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
Harvest						X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Canning						X	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		
Planting	X	X	X	X																
Make Butter					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								
Noodles	X								X											X
Farmer's Market											X		X	X	X	X	X	X		
Butcher Ducks																				X

church, school, and dining room are washed. Thus, women's work is highly routinized on a daily basis as well as on a yearly rotation of tasks. By observing women's work, one could often deduce the time of day, day of the week and season.

5.7 Conclusion

In summary, women's work is highly structured and routinized. There is a clear structural hierarchy of occupational decision-making power which allows certain individuals to organize and supervise others. In colony work, tasks are not performed communally, in the sense of everyone helping until the job is done. Rather there is a highly complex and precise division of labour which delineates each task, and assigns individuals to each of these tasks on a regular basis. The concept of total equality is manifested in the rotation of most tasks and work roles, so that every person participates equally. Task rotation is organized on the basis of age grades, age of individuals, and permanent work teams. On an informal basis, women call on their kin for assistance in their work, or exchange work for an equal amount of labour at a later date. Work is replaced on short-term and long-term bases. For short-term work replacement, women call on their kin, but for long-term replacement (after a baby or an operation), a woman's labour is formally replaced by the colony; this is not based on kin relationship.

Women's work can be classified into five work roles: kitchen work, caring for people, cleaning, production, and maintenance of dwellings. Within these roles there is a hierarchy of priority, which places colony work before home work, permanent and weekly work assignments before less regular colony work, and weekly home tasks before less regular home tasks.

Women's work roles are relatively constant between colonies, and over time, but women's work load is much more variable, affected by colony size, age pyramid, and "standard of living".

The separation between the male "productive" domain and the female "domestic" domain is not tenable due to the blurring of boundaries. A clear separation between these areas is not possible, as most male and female activities affect both spheres.

6. Comparison of Hutterite and Farm Women's Work

Studies of women's farm labour are few, but several recent studies have reported on women's contribution to the operation of a family farm. These studies questioned the assumption that farming is a male preserve, and sought to clarify the roles of both women and men in farm work and household work.

A recent major study classified work into five categories: farm work, household work, off-farm paid work, volunteer community work, and unpaid "cooperative" work (Keating and Doherty 1985). The category of farm work refers to all aspects of the farm operation: field work, farm and animal chores, equipment maintenance, record-keeping, building and property maintenance, and running errands for farm business. Although these are generally perceived as male tasks, women make significant contributions to all parts of the farm operation, but especially in record-keeping (including taxes, correspondence, banking, bookkeeping, etc.), management (supervising farm help, making decisions, marketing products), running errands. Fassinger and Schwarzweller (1982: 11-12) found that women contributed approximately 25% of the total farm labour. Koski (1982: 31) found this to be 16% of the total farm labour. Keating and Doherty (1985) reported that women work, on the average, 25% of the hours worked by their husbands at farm work.

The category of household labour includes: taking care of children and others, buying supplies, cleaning and maintaining

the home and grounds, cooking, laundry, gardening, sewing, and preserving food. Although women are working many hours on the farm, the operation of the household is still a female preserve. Keating and Doherty (1985) report that women do approximately 90% of the household labour, while Koski (1982: 31) reports 86%.

Beyond these two traditional roles, many farm women also hold off-farm paid work, to supplement the family income. Keating and Doherty (1985) found that 50% of their sample held off-farm paid jobs. Fassinger and Schwarzweller (1982: 4) report 39%, while Jones and Rosenfeld (1981: 41) found 31%, plus an additional 15% working at a family business other than the farm. The amount of women's household and farm labour remains basically stable, whether or not they hold off-farm paid employment. Thus, women who work off the farm are adding a third major work role, while maintaining the traditional roles of household worker and farm worker (Scholl 1983: 13, Fassinger and Schwarzweller 1982: 4, Jones and Rosenfeld 1981: 46, Koski 1982: 27).

The economic contribution of off-farm work can be very significant. In the United States, during fourteen of the last twenty-two years, the larger proportion of family farm income has been from off-farm work (Koski 1982: 21).

Within the categories of volunteer community work (Church, farm and community organizations) and unpaid cooperative work (such as helping neighbours, babysitting, etc.) women also do

substantial amounts of work each year, exceeding that of farm men.

Yearly totals of hours within the five work categories were compiled from the Keating and Doherty study. These totals show that farm women worked, on the average, 25% more hours than their male counterparts, a ratio of 5/4.

We see from these studies that the two most important roles in terms of time spent are those of household worker and farm worker. These roles have been consistent over time, and are shared by most farm women, including Hutterite women. The third major work role of non-Hutterite farm women, off-farm employment, is a relatively recent addition to farm women's work. This third role is not shared by Hutterite women; no Hutterite women work off the colony for wages except in unusual cases (in one case colony women worked cleaning a neighbour's house in return for a deferral in a loan payment on a package of land purchased from the neighbour).

Within the sphere of household work, Hutterian women have a larger number and variety of tasks. The goal of self-sufficiency means that Hutterite women produce many more types of goods than do farm women. Also, the larger number of women available allows larger-scale projects to be undertaken with ease.

Hutterite women's work cannot easily be divided into the categories used above. Due to the communal organization of the colony, "household", and "community", and "cooperative" work are

often fused, creating the single category of "colony work". The colony is effectively the community, yet it functions as an extended family in some cases, such as meals which are taken as a group, and the central source of supplies. Thus, there is no clear distinction between working for oneself and one's own family, and working for the community as a whole.

Both groups of women make important contributions to the operation of the farming enterprise, although the tasks differ between groups. Hutterian women work in the dairy, slaughter poultry, etc., but do not participate in management, or in recent years, field work. Farm women contribute more in the area of management, record-keeping, running errands, and animal chores. Beyond labour input, women contribute directly to the financial well-being of the farm through off-farm income and reduction of expenditures.

The work load of both Hutterite and non-Hutterite women has not decreased with increased modernization. A study by Stephenson and Clark (1981: 77) found that women have not decreased the number of hours spent in housework between 1920 and 1970, since levels of consumption and standards of cleanliness have increased. The introduction of "labour-saving" devices such as dishwashers, automatic washing machines, etc., and the availability of packaged prepared food may have offset the increased standards for farm women. Hutterite women have not been affected by this labour-saving technology, thus they

actually spend more hours on domestic production and consumption than in the past.

The addition of off-farm employment to the traditional work roles of farm women in recent years has probably increased their overall work load substantially. Koski reports that women who are employed off the farm do not decrease the amount of time spent on household work, but have less time available for farm work, volunteer work, and leisure (Koski 1982: 29). Jones and Rosenfeld (1981: 46) and Fassinger and Schwarzweller (1982: 4) show no decrease in household or farm work, thus indicating a significant decrease in leisure time.

Thus, while Hutterite and non-Hutterite farm women share the basic work roles of household worker and farm worker, the tasks within those roles differ somewhat. The work load of both groups is essentially comparable, with the exception of women who are employed off the farm, who work more hours each day and have less time for leisure. Both groups also share a lack of recognition for both farm and household work. Many Hutterite women commented that the men did not appreciate the women's hard work, instead claiming that the men did all the work on the colony. The attitudes toward farm women's work in general are summed up by Koski (1982: 5): "the significant contribution to agriculture is vastly underrecognized and undervalued by tradition, social bias, and legal and political institutions". This appears to be shared within both societies.

7. Issues in Measuring the Value of Farm Women's Work

The discussion of the value of women's work has two general themes: the contribution to the "economy" as it has been traditionally defined and the contribution to colony viability. The contribution to the economy of the colony is of three types: the actual cash value of the products of women's labour, the reduction in colony expenditures allowed by women's work, and the fact that males are relieved of most duties except those enterprises which generate the bulk of colony income.

Since the colony is a communal organization, no wages are paid for any labour, and the value of products is generally not calculated unless the products are for sale. Thus, placing a money value on women's labour and the goods produced presents some difficulties. Some data is available for products sold on the market.

Radtke (1971), in his study of the economy of Montana Hutterite colonies, measured both sources of income and expenditures in a sample of colonies. For the years 1966-68, in colonies with a mean size of 87 people, the average income for geese and feathers was \$1585, from poultry sales \$2904, from cream \$3872, and from vegetables \$3237, although one colony reported \$11,173 for vegetable sales. Most of the labour in these enterprises is provided by women. Most Alberta colonies now sell milk as well as cream to local milk companies and neighbours. Traditionally women did the milking, until electric

milking machines were adopted, and today women assist with the milking and run the separator to produce cream. As these figures are almost 20 years old, clearly the dollar value of these activities has increased. As well, these figures do not represent the total production, as the bulk of vegetables, feathers, ducks and geese, and a significant amount of chickens, milk, and cream are kept for colony use; only the surplus is sold.

Bennett (1967: 165) estimated the value of garden and other home produced food, calculated at 1967 retail prices, at \$10,000. He went on to note that \$10,000 is the average amount of savings needed for a colony to be able to fission in twenty years.

While it is difficult to estimate actual cash value of products, clearly the range and diversity of commodities produced by women significantly reduce the colony's expenditures (see Table 14, p.77). Women produce all the clothing, bedding, quilts, blankets, pillows, rugs, and curtains for their homes. Also they produce and preserve the vegetables, fruit, and poultry consumed on the colony. The range of food items routinely made on the colony allows the colony to purchase only staple products such as flour, sugar, yeast, salt, etc. All other commodities such as lard, tomato sauce, ketchup, juices, noodles, jam, and even soap are home-made.

The savings allowed by the work of colony women can be seen in a comparison of household expenditures between Hutterite

Table 14 Estimate of Goods Produced in One Month - Darius Colony

1.	Cooking:	177 meals/day x 30 days	= 5310 meals
2.	Baking:	46 loaves bread/week x 4 weeks	= 184 loaves
		800 buns/week x 4 weeks	= 3200 buns
		800 cookies/week x 4 weeks	= 3200 cookies
3.	Poultry:	1200 chickens butchered	= 1200 dressed birds
			1200 each of giblets
			2400 feet fat for lard and soap
4.	Noodles (batch uses 120 eggs)		= noodles for 472 meals
5.	Butter:	approx. 30 lbs/week x 4 weeks	= 120 lbs butter
6.	Sewing:	average of 1 outfit made by each woman (see Table 9, p.49 for definition)	= 16 outfits
		2 quilts	= 2 quilts
		2 pillows	= 2 pillows
		2 rugs	= 2 rugs
7.	Plucking ducks and geese		= 2 potato sacs full of feathers
8.	Garden Produce		= unknown amount
9.	Canning (during harvest season)		= see Table 8

colonies (average 87 people) and non-Hutterite farm families (average 4 people). This is a population ratio of almost 22:1. In 1966-1968, the colonies in Montana spent a yearly average of \$5893 on clothing and shoes, and \$7563 on groceries (Radtke 1971). The average spending for farm families for 1969 was \$770 for clothing and shoes, and \$1469 for groceries (Statistics Canada 1969). The ratio for clothing and shoes is 7.65:1, and for groceries 5.15:1. Thus, although the Hutterite colonies are on average over 20 times the size of an average farm family, they spend only seven times the amount on clothing and shoes, and five times the amount on groceries. This is a good indicator of the value of expenditures reduction allowed by women's work.

Women's management of a range of productive tasks plus all the daily service tasks means that men are free to devote their energies to large-scale production. During the busy summer season, the men spend their days in the fields, needing only to come in for meals (these are often delivered to the fields as well to save the trip home). During this season, women's work load drastically increases, as additional seasonal tasks are added, plus the preparation of extra meals and snacks for the men, and the assumption of some male tasks in order to free the men for field work. This ability to mobilize large numbers of people surely contributes to the Hutterites' success at farming.

The eclectic contribution to the colony economy has largely been overlooked in studies of the Hutterites. Bennett (1967:

146) states that "the only consistent role for women in Hutterian society is that of wife and mother". McKenzie is more explicit in describing her view of women's role in the economy: "...Their work does not contribute to the colony economy, it supports it. Consequently, women are not only outside the creation of the ideological structures, they are outside of the cash economy as well". (McKenzie 1978: 9).

It is clear that women's work is located within the domestic, non-monetary sphere to a greater extent than men's work, but their participation in the cash economy should not be underestimated. "Colony viability" is much more inclusive in that one recognizes that viability involves much more than money. The success of Hutterite farming operations, and their ability to survive and continue to branch out, has attracted a substantial amount of research. Much of this research, I feel, was aimed at explaining colony viability, yet missed its target by looking only at the "economy" - that is, the acquisition and distribution of money and property. In order to understand colony viability, one must take a wholistic point of view, including social organization, division of labour, and religious doctrine, as these are integral in the Hutterites' success. As such, an ability to maintain the traditional organization is crucial; a colony could not survive without the services of producing and socializing children, feeding, clothing, and nurturing of members, and the creation of a satisfying home environment. In

maintaining control over the home or domestic sphere, women serve to maintain colony values, standards, and traditions. Although formal religious leadership and authority are male-dominated, women are the day-to-day bearers of tradition. This is augmented by the fact that the male sphere is less stable than the female; a significant number of men leave the colony (defect) either temporarily or permanently, while the defection rate among females is practically zero. In this way, women form a base of stability and tradition within an increasingly intrusive and disruptive outside world.

In summary, the value of women's roles to the colony can be viewed in two ways, as they participate in colony viability both financially and socially. Their work contributes to the colony economy through productive activities which allow a surplus to be sold, and which reduce colony expenditures considerably. Women's domestic role, in the creation of a home, maintenance of tradition, and caring for people, provides the basic fabric of Hutterite life.

8. Discussion

The exclusion of women's work as a work role is not limited to studies of Hutterites, but extends through the social sciences as a whole. Only very recently has "housework", or unpaid domestic work, been examined as a work role rather than a gender role. Talcott Parsons was instrumental in the popularization of the view of housework as a "natural" part of women's role, rather than a job. Galbraith comments on the justification of this attitude:

The convenient social virtue ascribes merit to any pattern of behavior, however uncomfortable or unnatural for the individual involved, that serves the comfort or well-being of ... the more powerful members of the community. The moral commendation of the community ... then serves as a substitute for pecuniary compensation. (cited in Stephenson and Clark 1981: 77).

The equation of gender roles and work roles in western society was first discussed in detail by Betty Friedan (1963). The fact that household labour is traditionally unpaid if performed by family members is used in the circular definition of domestic labour as not real work: "Housework is not real work because it isn't paid; on the other hand, it's not paid because it is private, family, non-work" (Stephenson and Clark 1981: 74), or, in the words of Meg Luxton, a "labour of love" (Luxton 1980). The concept of work being paid labour only is shown by the fact that the "Gross National Product" (G.N.P.), the prime indicator of the Canadian economy, does not include domestic work, despite

the production of goods and services (Stephenson and Clark 1981: 76, Burling 1962: 806). Ross and Usher (1983: 9) expand on this: "a family meal at McDonald's is accounted for by the G.N.P., but the meal at home is not".

Samuelson (1976: 112) comments that despite this omission, women's contribution to the economy has always been significant:

From the dawn of recorded history, we find that women have played an important role in producing the G.N.P. ... Indeed, in many societies that anthropologists have studied, it has been women who have produced virtually all of the G.N.P. ... Particularly in self-sufficient agriculture, whether of Old World peasantry or New World frontier, it has been quite impossible to differentiate between the cooperative roles of men and women in producing the G.N.P.

In a farming operation, the distinction between male "productive" labour and female "consumptive" labour is less defined than in a non-farming context where the male works for wages and the female works in the home without wages. Fassinger and Schwarzweller (1982: 5) comment on this: "An ideological separation of family activities has historical roots which predate this century's research on women... This separation is particularly awkward in the study of rural farm families whose daily lives are inextricably tied to the dynamics of production on their farms".

Discomfort with the omission of women's labour and other types of activity from the definition of "economy" has led to criticism of the economic theory these indicators, such as the

G.N.P., are based upon. Ross and Usher (1983: 9-10) comment on the limitations of formal economic theory:

There are emerging forms of cooperative, collective, community enterprise, and unconventional small business activity that fit uncomfortably within the traditional economic frameworks, analyses, and measuring devices. We are all aware of these non-market activities, but we don't ordinarily think of them as economic. Yet obviously they produce goods and services which are of value to people".

They term this domain of non-market activity the "informal economy", in contrast to the "formal economy": "The production of such essentials as food, clothing, shelter, and heat for one's own use or for exchange within one's family or community; childrearing, housework and home maintenance and renovations ... All of this activity ... is referred to as the informal economy in contrast to the formal or market economy" (Ross and Usher 1983: 9-10).

This is an attempt to expand the concept of "economy" to include goods and services which are not exchanged for cash. This arises in response to the fact that although formal economics defines its area of inquiry as the "boundless field of 'economizing'" (rational decision-making about scarce resources) (Cook 1973: 796), in reality this is generally limited to the domain of market exchange. Indeed, Polanyi comments that the concepts of economy and market exchange have become synonymous in western thought (Polanyi 1959).

In the late 1940's Polanyi also attempted to expand the concept of "economy" beyond the realm of market exchange, in order to analyze non-western economies. This involved the development of a model which included three types of exchange found in varying degrees of importance in human economies. These were termed reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange. This framework has been criticized for analyzing modes of distribution without questioning the content; that is, those goods which are priced in our own society are regarded as inherently economic (Burling 1962: 807). Burling exemplifies this by the fact that western observers do not consider brides to be economic although in many cultures their transfer involves exchanges of wealth, while land and labour are considered economic, even if not exchanged for wealth.

Despite these criticisms, Polanyi made a relevant observation -- that formal economic theory fails to account for aspects of our own economy, and cannot be extended to non-western societies. Although Hutterite colonies exist within a western milieu, and interact with that environment to a certain extent, their economies cannot be analyzed in terms of market exchange alone.

In order to make any meaningful statements about Hutterite economics, it is necessary to go beyond the inclusion of women's labour in the traditionally defined economy. For within Hutterian society market exchange is only one aspect of the

exchange of goods and services, and its use is restricted to interaction with the outside world. Within the colony, money is not used in exchange between colony members. Reciprocity is an important form of exchange, for labour, goods, and services. In this way the colony operates similarly to an extended family.

The most important form of exchange in Hutterian society is redistribution. All money and property, except for purchases made with small individual allowances, are distributed from a central source. All food comes from the communal kitchen, and all supplies needed to run households, make clothing, or do any tasks related to production must be obtained from the central source. In this distribution, of course, money never changes hands.

The realm of market exchange is viewed as a compromise, a necessary evil, required to survive in North America. The Hutterites realize that they must sell the products of their labour in order to meet requirements for land (as colonies branch out approximately every 16-20 years), manufactured goods, and food staples. However, participation in the market economy is restricted to the levels deemed necessary, and is subject to close scrutiny and supervision, as it is considered to be a corrupting influence. The Hutterites would prefer to be entirely self-sufficient, so that contact with the non-Hutterite population would not be necessary, and exchange could be limited to the preferred methods: reciprocity and redistribution.

Thus, a study of the Hutterian economy which focuses on the market economy alone is inappropriate. It is also inappropriate to attribute to Hutterites the same motivations as other Western populations. The concept of "maximization" is central to formal economic theory, and generally refers to the maximization of profit and the motivations associated with it. In a society such as the Hutterites, which is bound by strict rules of austerity, egalitarianism, and piety, exchange cannot be characterized by the "principle" of maximization unless the concept is expanded so far as to be meaningless.

A study which does not focus exclusively on the domain of market exchange is suitable in the Hutterian context for several reasons. Most importantly, it reflects the social reality of the society; market exchange is restricted to contact with the non-Hutterite world, and it is subjugated to more important ideals and patterns of organization. Secondly, the realm of women's work is more naturally included within a broad analysis of economy. In Hutterian society, as in traditional Western society, participation in the market is dominated by men. Hutterite women generally participate only indirectly except when they work selling produce at farmer's markets. Although the products of women's labour may be sold on the market, the actual transactions are usually handled by men.

In any type of self-sufficient farming, as the Hutterites are in part, it is impossible to characterize the economy of the

farm or colony by market exchange alone. This is because the needs of the unit are met by the products of the farm, and only a surplus is sold.

Herskovits (1965: 7) comments on the need to begin an economic analysis at the lowest level:

An exchange of goods and services may not occur between households. Yet from the fact that no human society exists wherein at least the division of labor along sex lines is absent, it follows that within the smallest, most self-sufficient households some kind of exchange of services, and of the goods produced by these services, must be postulated. For there can be no division of labour without a resulting economic exchange (emphasis added).

Thus, an analysis of economy must begin with the exchange of goods and services between individuals within a household. This exclusion has led to the artificial and arbitrary distinction between economic (male, productive) labour and non-economic (female, domestic) labour.

While a true economic analysis is not within the scope of this project, it is clear that a meaningful analysis of the Hutterian economy is possible only if one uses a framework which includes the cooperative roles of men and women, and is not limited to the domain of market exchange.

9. Conclusion

This study has had two general purposes, the first ethnographic, and the second theoretical. The primary aim has been to provide an ethnographic description of Hutterite women and their work. Beyond this, I have attempted to show why previous economic studies of Hutterite colonies have been incomplete, and how formal economic theory fails to account for women's labour outside the realm of market exchange.

Women's work roles were discussed in relation to formal position, structural hierarchy, different work roles, work roles versus work load, work patterns, and work schedules. Hutterian society has a clear hierarchy of age, sex, and position, and this serves to organize women's work. The work expectations are very clear for each individual on the colony, and the ideal is for total fairness. As a result there are formalized patterns for scheduling tasks, and for rotation of duties and work replacement. While the work performed varies at any one time between members of the colony according to age and sex, each person adheres to the same pattern of role assumption and relinquishment throughout the life cycle.

Women's work roles are divided into two broad categories within Hutterite life: colony work, and home work. Just as the needs and welfare of the colony take precedence over those of the individual, so too does colony work take precedence over home

work. All tasks are ordered within a hierarchy of priority, and this scheme is used to organize women's work.

Women's work can be divided into five basic work roles. These are: kitchen work, caring for people, cleaning, production, and maintenance of dwelling. Within these roles each task is very clearly delineated; tasks are generally not "communal" in the sense that everyone pitches in until the work is done. Rather, there is a complex division of labour, whereby the requirements of each task are highly specific and are known by all. The concept of fairness is shown in the rotation of tasks rather than sharing equally on a daily basis.

The category of "production" consists of tasks which directly produce goods for home use or for sale. These tasks are garden work, preserving, canning; plucking and slaughtering poultry; sewing, quilting, knitting, rugmaking; and making soap. The term "production" is not meant, of course, to imply that other women's tasks are not productive.

Women's work roles are essentially standard between colonies, although particular tasks within work roles may vary. The actual work load of women varies considerably between colonies, according to colony size, the age pyramid (how many children and unmarried women), and the degree of mechanization on the colony. A few conservative colonies still have outdoor toilets, and this degree of conservativeness is also shown in the lack of labour-saving devices for women's work.

Many tasks are age-graded, in that only those women in a particular age grade are expected to perform certain tasks. In these duties, the task rotation schedule is followed, omitting any ineligible women. Beyond the formal schedule of work rotation, there is also an informal system of assistance and work exchange. Here women will call on close kin to help them in their work, or to replace them in certain tasks if they must be absent. Women are very conscientious, and take pride in working hard and well, and thus prefer to have a relative take over their work rather than appear to be avoiding work.

If a woman's work must be replaced for more than a day or two, due to childbirth or illness, formal structure is used rather than informal arrangements. If the replaced woman has a permanent work assignment, such as head cook, dairy lady, etc., another woman in a suitable age grade will be assigned by the colony to assume her work for the necessary period of time. If the replaced woman does not have a permanent work assignment, several of her close kin will take turns assuming her duties for cooking, baking, etc. during the time of her absence.

In all work roles women work very independently of the men, and are aware of the value of their work. In the final sections of this paper I have attempted to show the value of women's work within the economy, as traditionally defined. Women contribute in three ways: through the actual cash value of goods produced for sale; through the savings in expenditures allowed by the

wide range of goods and services produced at home; and by allowing the men to concentrate on large-scale farm production. I have attempted to show how women's labour has been excluded from economic studies, and how the value of women's labour is difficult to evaluate using a formal economic framework. Several other economic frameworks are available which are more appropriate for an economic study of the Hutterites. In particular Polanyi suggests a "substantive" economic model which looks at three types of exchange: reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange. Within Hutterian history and current social organization, reciprocity and redistribution are the more important means of exchange, both ideally and in practice. Although Hutterite colonies today rely on selling farm produce on the market, a study which focuses on this exchange alone does no justice to their system of communal organization, which is central to their society.

As such, a suggestion for future research is a study of the Hutterian economy which includes all types of exchange. Another topic is the conflict between religious dogma and economic rationality which Hutterites experience in their participation in the market.

Bibliography

- Alberta Select Committee of the Assembly
1972 Report on Communal Property 1972
- Baden, John A.
1969 The Management of Social Stability: A Political Ethnography of the Hutterites of N. America Ph.D. - dissertation, Indiana University.
- Badir, Doris R.
1981 "Informal economy: A new economics?" Canadian Home Economics Journal 31: 67-70.
- Bender, Harold S.
1931 "A Hutterite School Discipline of 1578 and Peter Scherer's Address of 1568 to the Schoolmasters, Mennonite Quarterly Review 5 (Oct): 231-44.
- Bennett, John W.
1967 Hutterian Brethren: The Agricultural Economy and Social Organization of a Communal People. Stanford University Press.
- Bohannon, Paul
1955 "Some Principles of exchange and investment among the Tiv" American Anthropologist 57: 60-70.
- Boldt, E.D.
1976 "Acquiescence and Conventionality in a Communal Society" Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 7(1): 21-36.
- Burling, Robbins
1962 "Maximization Theories and the Study of Economic Anthropology" American Anthropologist 64: 802-821.
- Cook, S.
1973 "Economic Anthropology: Problems in Theory, Method and Analysis" pp.795-860 in Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology, J.J. Honigmann (ed.) Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Dalton, G.
1961 "Economic Theory and Primitive Society" American Anthropologist 63: 1-25.
- Dean, Kay
1983 Household Cost Survey for six Rural Farm Families. Stettler, Alberta: Alberta Agriculture.

- Deets, Lee E.
1939 The Hutterites: A Study of Social Cohesion. Gettysberg,
Penn: Time and News Publishing.
- Dyson, William A.
1981 "Seeing the whole economy - People first and foremost"
The Canadian Business Review 9: 39-42.
- Eaton, Joseph
1952 "Controlled Acculturation" American Sociological Review,
XVII: 331-40.
- Eaton, Joseph W. and R.J. Weil
1955 Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the
Hutterites and Other Populations, Glencoe, Illinois:
Free Press.
- Fassinger, Polly and H.K. Schwarzweller
1982 Work Patterns of Farm Wives in Mid-Michigan. Michigan:
Research Report from Michigan State University, East
Lansing Agricultural Experimental Station.
- Firth, Raymond (ed.)
1967 Themes in Economic Anthropology London: Tavistock.
- Firth, Rosemary
1966 Housekeeping Among Malay Peasants. London: Athlone
Press.
- Fox, Bonnie (ed.)
1980 Hidden in the Household. Toronto: Women's Educational
Press.
- Friedan, Betty
1963 The Feminine Mystique. New York: W.W. Norton
- Friedmann, Robert
1961 Hutterite Studies. Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite
Historical Society.
- Gross, Paul S.
1965 The Hutterite Way, Saskatoon: Freeman Publishing.
- Hamilton, Seymour
1985 "Illegal, informal, and underground economies" Transition
(June 1985): 9-11.
- Herskovits, Melville J.
1965 Economic Anthropology: The Economic Life of Primitive
Peoples. New York: W.W. Norton

- Hofer, Peter
1955 The Hutterian Brethren and Their Beliefs. Starbuck,
Manitoba: The Hutterian Brethren of Manitoba.
- Homans, George C.
1958 "Social Behavior as Exchange" American Journal of
Sociology 63: 597-606.
- Horsch, John
1931 The Hutterian Brethren 1528-1931: A story of Martyrdom
and Loyalty. Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical
Society.
- Horsch, John
1971 The Hutterite Brethren 1528-1931 and the Principle of
Nonresistance as Held by the Mennonite Church. New York:
Garland Publishing.
- Hostetler, John A.
No date Child Rearing Sources: The Hutterian Brethren (Working
document).
- Hostetler, John A.
1965 Education and Marginality in the Communal Society of the
Hutterites. University Park, Penn: The Pennsylvania
State University.
- Hostetler, John A.
1970 "Total Socialization: Modern Hutterite Educational
Practices" Mennonite Quarterly Review, XLIV (Jan, 1970):
72-84.
- Hostetler, John A.
1974 Hutterite Society. Baltimore: John Hopkins University
Press.
- Hutterian Brethren of America
1968 The Hutterian Brethren of America. Lethbridge, Alberta.
- Johnson, Janice (ed.)
1972 The Hutterites and Social Policy. Edmonton: Alberta
Dept. of Agriculture.
- Jones, C. and R.A Rosenfeld
1981 American Farm Women: Findings from a National Survey.
Chicago: National Opinion Research Centre. (NORC report
#130).

- Kaplan, Bert (ed.)
1961 Studying Personality Cross-Culturally. New York: Harper and Row.
- Kaplan, Bert and Thomas F. Plaut
1956 Personality in a Communal Society: An Analysis of the Mental Health of the Hutterites. Lawrence, Kansas: U. of Kansas Publications.
- Keating, Norah, and Maryanne Doherty
1985 Final Report: A Study of Alberta Farmers. Family Studies Department, University of Alberta.
- Kohl, Seena
1976 Working Together: Women and Family in Southern Saskatchewan Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Wilson.
- Koski, Susan E.
1982 The Employment Practices of Farm Women. National Farmer's Union, Canada.
- Laing, L.M.
1980 "Declining Fertility in a Religious Isolate..." Human Biology, 52(2): 288-310.
- Lobb, H.O. and N.M. Agnew
1952 Hutterites and Saskatchewan: A Study of Intergroup Relations. Regina: Canadian Mental Health Association.
- MacKenzie, Susan
1978 Hutterite Women: Work and Assistance Patterns. MA thesis University of Calgary.
- McClelland, D.C. (ed.)
1955 Studies in Motivation. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Luxton, Meg
1980 More than a Labour of Love Toronto: Women's Press.
- Nicholls, W.M. and W.A. Dyson
1983 The Informal Economy: Where People Are the Bottom Line. Ottawa: Vanier Institute of the Family.
- Novarra, V.
1980 Women's Work, Men's Work. London: Marion Boyars.
- Oakley, Anna
1974 The Sociology of Housework. England: Martin Robertson.

- Peter, Karl
 1963 "The Hutterites: Values, Status, and Organizational Systems" Variables: The Journal of the Sociology Club (University of Alberta) Vol. 2 pp.55-9, Vol. 3 pp.7-8.
- Peters, Victor J.
 1965 All Things Common - the Hutterian Way of Life. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Polanyi, Karl
 1947 "Our Obsolete Market Mentality" Commentary 3: 109-117.
- Polanyi, Karl
 1959 "Anthropology and Economic Theory", pp. 161-184 in Readings in Anthropology, M.H. Fried (ed.) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.
- Polanyi, Karl
 1964 The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Polanyi, Karl
 1977 The Livelihood of Man. New York: Academic Press.
- Polanyi, Karl, C.M. Arensberg and H.W. Pearson (eds.)
 1957 Trade and Market in the Early Empires. Glencoe, The Free Press
- Radtke, Hans D.
 1971 The Hutterites in Montana: An Economic Description. Bozeman Montana: Montana Agricultural Experiment Station.
- Ross, David and Peter Usher
 1983 "The Informal Economy: Has Public Policy Neglected It?" Transition (March 1983): 9-12.
- Ross, David and Peter Usher
 1985 From the Roots Up: Economic Development as if Community Mattered. Ottawa: Vanier Institute of the Family.
- Ryan, John
 1973 The Agricultural Operations of Manitoba Hutterite Colonies. Ph.D. dissertation McGill University.
- Samuelson, Paul A.
 1976 Economics (10th ed.) New York: McGraw Hill.

- Schnieder, H.K.
1974 Economic Man: The Anthropology of Economics. New York: Free Press.
- Scholl, K.K.
1982 "Household and Farm Task Participation of Women", Family Economics Review 3: 3-10.
- Scholl, K.K.
1982 "Farm Women's Triad of Roles", Family Economics Review 1: 10-15.
- Serl, Vernon C.
1958 Final Report of the Saskatchewan Hutterite Program. Report to the Sask. Gov't Committee on Minority Groups, Regina.
- Serl, Vernon
1964 Stability and change in Hutterite Society Ph.D. dissertation University of Oregon.
- Stacey, Margaret
1969 Methods of Social Research. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Statistics Canada
1969 Family Expenditures. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Stephenson, M. and S. Clark
1981 "Housework as Real Work", pp. 73-92 in Work in the Canadian Context: Continuity Despite Change (K.L.P. Lundy and B.D. Warne, eds). Toronto: Butterworths.
- Stephenson, Peter
1978 A Dying of the Old Man and A Putting on of the New: The Cybernetics of Ritual Metanoia in the Life of the Hutterian Commune. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto.
- Wilson, S.V.
1982 Women, the family and the economy. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

VITA

Surname: LOONEY Given Names: Patricia Lorene

Place of Birth: Tacoma, Washington, U.S.A.

Date of Birth: September 24, 1961

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

University of Victoria 1979-1983

University of Victoria 1983-1986

Degrees Held:

B.A. 1983 University of Victoria

Honours and Awards:

President's Award, University of Victoria, 1982-83

Credit Union Foundation Award, 1982-83

Native Sons of British Columbia Award 1982-83

University of Victoria Fellowship 1983-84

University of Victoria Fellowship 1984-85

Partial Copyright License

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis

Hutterite Women and Work

Author



(Signature)

Patricia L. Looney

(Name in block letters)

June 18, 1986

(Date)