

HUTTERITE DEFECTORS:

A QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT OF EBAUGH'S ROLE-EXIT MODEL

by

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MONA SHARON RICH

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of**

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to test Helen Rose Fuchs Ebaugh's role-exit model on the experience of Hutterite defectors, and to provide an updated, sociological understanding of Hutterite defectors based on a coherent theoretical model.

The analysis was conducted using the 4 stages and 11 variables of Ebaugh's generic role-exit model. In addition, a sociological model of Hutterite society (developed by Boldt and Roberts) was included to carry out the analysis. This model represents Hutterite society as a relatively undifferentiated and structurally tight group.

A qualitative methodological approach was employed to study the role-exit experience of 28 Hutterite defectors from Manitoba colonies. The stages and variables of the role-exit model were translated into semi-structured, open ended interview questions.

In general terms, it was found that Ebaugh's role-exit model fit the experience of Hutterite defectors. However, it was also discovered that several hypotheses regarding the variables of duration and reversibility/irreversibility did not apply to the case of Hutterites. Also, the findings of this study discovered that individuals are abandoning their colonies as a direct result of their religious concerns. The findings also indicated that defection was not limited to young, single males as it was in the past but also included

young, single females as well as entire families. The interchange between the colony and the outside emerged as a crucial factor in exposing and fostering new perspectives and attitudes in Hutterites.

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CHAPTER 1

THE MEANING AND IMPORTANCE OF ROLE-EXIT

This chapter introduces Helen Rose Fuchs Ebaugh's theoretical model of the role-exit process as outlined in Becoming an Ex: The Process of Role-Exit (1988). It includes discussions of the origins of the role-exit concept, its current definition, and a description of its conceptual components and correlates. Specifically, the discussion of the concept's origins includes Merton's initial reference to the notion as well as illustrations of the seeds of this concept in substantive areas such as cult defection and divorce. Following this, Blau's (1973) seminal discussion of the concept is covered. Next Ebaugh's development of the concept is reviewed, culminating in her (1988:23) definition of the term as "the process of disengagement from a role that is central to one's self-identity and the reestablishment of an identity in a new role that takes into account one's "ex-role". Ebaugh's research on this topic has led to a model of role-exit that includes 4 stages: (1) first doubts, (2) seeking alternatives, (3) the turning point, and (4) creating and adapting to the role-exit. Moreover, Ebaugh's investigations suggest that the experience of individuals in each of these stages is influenced by 11 factors including the (1) centrality of the role, (2) voluntariness, (3) reversibility, (4) duration, (5) single versus multiple exits,

(6) individual versus group exits, (7) degree of control, (8) social desirability, (9) degree of institutionalization, (10) degree of awareness, and (11) sequentiality.

This review of the history and current conceptualization of role-exit establishes the theoretical framework for the thesis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Ebaugh's assertion that role-exit represents a generic social process. The argument for the importance of generic concepts to sociology, which describe fundamental processes appropriate to a broad range of situations, is made. Ebaugh's claim that role-exit is a generic social process suggests (1) that a similar process should occur between different kinds of role-exits, and (2) that this hypothesis can be tested through empirical research.

THEORETICAL CONTENT OF EBAUGH'S MODEL

The notion of role change, involving the transition from one role to another by either entering a new role or exiting an old one, has been recognized by sociologists for decades. However, sociologists studying role change have typically focused on role entrance and, in doing so, have made many substantial contributions to the literature on socialization (Ebaugh, 1988:6). By contrast, role-exit is a relatively neglected concept, with a sparse research literature and limited conceptual development. Prior to Ebaugh's recent work, the notion of role-exit was considered by Merton and

Blau. A brief review of how these authors first conceptualized the notion sets the context for understanding Ebaugh's more elaborate examination of the concept.

Influential contributors to Ebaugh's role-exit model included Merton and Kitt's (1950) concept of anticipatory socialization. Anticipatory socialization requires that an individual acquire and learn the proper values, beliefs and norms of a status or group to which he or she aspires. Learning these new rules and expectations helps the individual learn how to act in the new role and thus makes it easier for the person to adjust to a new status. As well, the practice of anticipatory socialization allows the person to be more easily accepted by the new group. The notion of Merton's anticipatory socialization is interpreted by Ebaugh to mean that an individual's adoption of the "values of a group in which one aspired to belong but did not yet belong, suggests a process whereby one begins to make a role change before actually exiting a role" (Ebaugh, 1988:xiv). Although Merton does not specifically focus on role-exit, his notion of anticipatory socialization, as well as his reference to the consequences and dynamics of being an "ex-member" of a group or "former occupant" of a social status, plays a major part in Ebaugh's concept of role-exit. Ebaugh views anticipatory socialization as only one aspect of the role-exit process (since looking forward to a new role is not always a component of the role-exit process).

Blau (1973) introduces the term "role-exit" and suggests a theoretical framework for considering it. She defines role-exit as a process that "occurs whenever any stable pattern of interaction and shared activities between two or more persons ceases" (Blau, 1973:210). Blau used empirical data on the elderly to develop a theory that is generalizable to all types of role-exits and concludes that role-exit is a generic process in social life. Having considered Blau's discussion of role-exit, as well as Merton's idea of anticipatory socialization, Ebaugh further expands the concept of role-exit. She also incorporates Glaser and Strauss' (1971) work on status passage.

EBAUGH'S THEORETICAL MODEL OF ROLE-EXIT

Ebaugh uses role analysis to guide her conceptualization of role-exit. Her model incorporates a synthesis of the structural and interactional perspectives. Using the structural perspective, Ebaugh argues that the role-taking process is inevitable in societies that have culturally prescribed rules, regulations and expectations attached to each role. However, she argues that individuals also engage in a role-making process where they have the flexibility to interpret and adapt the role expectations to specific situations. In addition, her model incorporates the notion of anticipatory socialization, disengagement and one's personal identity as being part of the role-exit process. While

anticipatory socialization may be one aspect of the role-exit process, it is not sufficient to adequately understand role-exit, since looking forward to a new role is not always a component of the role-exit process. Anticipatory socialization and disengagement are two dimensions of the role-exit process. While anticipatory socialization describes the process of learning a new role, disengagement focuses on the process of leaving a role, and does not consider what happens to identity after disengagement.

In considering the role-exit process, Ebaugh defines role-exit as "the process of disengagement from a role that is central to one's self-identity and the reestablishment of an identity in a new role that takes into account one's ex-role" (Ebaugh, 1988:23). Ebaugh's understanding of role-exit has led to a model that unfolds along 4 stages: (1) first doubts, (2) seeking alternatives, (3) the turning point and finally, (4) creating and adapting to the role-exit.

The first step, (i.e., first doubts) of the role-exit process begins when individuals first consciously doubt their commitment to a role and realize that alternatives exist. This process can be gradual and can take many years, or it occurs over a period of a few months. Ebaugh argues that the more control individuals have over their choice to exit and the more aware they are of their dissatisfaction, the shorter the duration period for exiting. Individuals may be motivated to consider leaving a role by organizational changes, burnout,

disappointment and changes in relationships or some other meaningful event. Regardless of the reason for leaving any major role, exiters will emit cues that signal their unhappiness, dissatisfaction, and desire for an alternate role. These cues are often recognized by significant others, and they react with negative or positive reinforcement. Negative reactions may either halt the role-exit process or put it on hold. On the other hand, positive reactions may lead the individual to the second stage of the process, seeking alternative roles.

The conscious decision to leave a role results in a person actively seeking possible alternatives. At this point it is common for individuals to practice selective perception that reinforce their initial doubts and helps them justify their decision. The positive or negative reactions of others are processed in this way and help influence the process of seeking alternatives. At this point, individuals often experience an emotional relief associated with the realization that there is a freedom of choice. Following this realization individuals shift their reference groups. As part of the process of seeking alternatives, individuals often take part in anticipatory socialization. Not only do the individuals study norms, values, and orientations of alternative roles, but they may also engage in imaginary or real role playing. Ebaugh highlights several factors that influence how long the process of seeking alternatives lasts. These include degree of

social support, degree of institutionalization, reversibility of the exit, social desirability of the exit, status as a lone traveller or as part of a group as well as the degree of awareness of the process of leaving.

The third stage of the role-exit process, the turning point, occurs after the individual has made the final decision to leave the existing role. A turning point is a critical specific event in an individual's life that triggers an actual role-exit. Turning points include specific events, the last straw, time-related factors, excuses and either/or alternatives. It is the turning point that gives the exiter the justification and rationalization to leave. In addition, the turning point allows the individual to announce his or her departure to others, which not only reduces cognitive dissonance, but also allows the individual to consider the resources needed to exit.

The final stage of the role-exit involves creating and adapting to the ex-role. Individuals who leave a role carry the residual of their previous with them. Typically, the previous role must be taken into account and incorporated into the new role. This process of transformation is difficult for the individual since significant others usually view the individual in terms of the exiter's previous identity. Ebaugh discovered that there are 6 major areas of adjustment that a role-exiter is confronted with at this stage, presenting oneself in order to cue others of the role change, accepting

positive or negative social reactions to their ex-status, establishing intimate relationships, learning to change friendship networks, relating to members of the former group as well as fellow exes, and dealing with role residual that remains after the exit.

Ebaugh elaborates her theoretical model by demonstrating that the experience of individuals in each of the four stages is influenced by eleven mediating factors. She uses the properties of status passage derived from the work of Glaser and Strauss (1971), as well as her own research in arriving at these factors, as follows:

1. Centrality of the Role, refers to the saliency and importance of an exiting role to an individual's self-identity;
2. Voluntariness, refers to the amount of choice an individual has in whether or not to leave a role;
3. Reversibility, refers to whether or not an individual has the opportunity to return to the role that has been exited;
4. Duration, refers to the length of time it takes an individual to make a decision to leave a role, and to the length of time it takes an individual to adjust to the new role;
5. Single versus multiple exits, refers to the fact that exiting from one role may be related to exits from other roles;

6. Individual versus group exits, refers to the possibility of an individual leaving alone or with other people;
7. Degree of control, refers to the variable degree of cooperation and assistance that exiters receives from other individuals and institutions;
8. Social desirability, refers to the degree of social approval or disapproval of the exit;
9. Degree of Institutionalization, refers to the degree to which society attaches rules, regulations, and expectations to the entire process of leaving a role;
10. Degree of Awareness, refers to the extent that individuals are conscious of leaving a role; and
11. Sequentiality, refers to the degree of specified progression associated with a particular exit.

ROLE-EXIT - A GENERIC SOCIAL PROCESS

Building on the work of Prus (1987), Ebaugh (1988:14) has suggested that any development of a generic social process will help describe human behaviour regardless of the specific circumstances in which it is found. Without focusing on social process, sociologists will have less insight into the experiences of people (Prus,1987:264). Understanding parallel activities across different situations will help to highlight similar processes in diverse settings and expand our knowledge about group life. Without acquiring knowledge from a variety of groups, the focus of understanding becomes too narrow and

scattered and the relationship between segments of society is lost. Based on this reasoning Ebaugh (1988:14) argues that the social sciences have become too specialized into subdivisions and subdisciplines so that there are fewer theories or even theories of the middle range. Generic social processes are important because they focus on group life. According to Ebaugh, one such generic social process is the role-exit.

TABLE 1

EBAUGH'S THEORETICAL MODEL

<u>STAGES</u>	<u>MEDIATING VARIABLES</u>
I FIRST DOUBTS	
Conducive Conditions	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organizational Change 2. Burn Out 3. Disappointments and Changes in Relationships 4. Events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Centrality of Role 2. Voluntariness 3. Reversibility 4. Duration 5. Single versus Multiple Exit 6. Individual versus Group Exit 7. Degree of Control 8. Social Desirability 9. Degree of Institutionalization 10. Degree of Awareness 11. Sequentiality
II SEEKING ALTERNATIVES	
Functions	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Weighing Alternatives 2. Conscious Cuing 3. Role of Social Support 4. Realization of Freedom to Choose 5. Weighing Pros and Cons 6. Shifting Reference Groups 7. Role Rehearsal 	
III TURNING POINT	
Types	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Specific Events 2. Last Straw 3. Time-Related Factors 4. Excuses 5. Either/or Alternatives 	
IV CREATING AND ADAPTING TO EX-ROLE	
Areas of Adjustment	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presentation of Self 2. Social Reactions 3. Establishing Intimate Relationships 4. Changing Friendship Networks 5. Relating to Former Group and Fellow Exes 6. Role Residual 	

CONCLUSION

The Hutterites, being a unique and atypical ethnic group, provide an appropriate community on which to test Ebaugh's role-exit model. Ebaugh claims that role-exit is a generic social process which could apply to any group. The Hutterites have been able to maintain their society for over 400 years and are held up as an example of a highly successful and integrated ethnic community. However, recent evidence indicates that the cohesiveness of Hutterite communities may be declining. Increased rates of defection are one indicator of this reduced solidarity.

The tight social structure of Hutterite communities produces extensive social conformity and commitment by colony members to the collective interest. Accordingly, when an individual defects from the colony, a pronounced instance of role-exit occurs. For these reasons, examining the experience of Hutterite defectors provides an excellent opportunity to test Ebaugh's generic role-exit model.

Table 1, summarizes Ebaugh's theoretical model. The following chapter, Chapter 2, discusses the basis for understanding Hutterite defection. Chapter 3 presents empirical research on Hutterite defection. In Chapter 4, the methodological approach used in the research is presented. Chapter 5 will proceed through each of the 4 stages of the role-exit model and apply each of the stages to the Hutterite case. In Chapter 6, the 11 mediating variables are discussed

and applied to the experience of Hutterite defectors. Chapter 7 presents the implications this research on Hutterite defectors has for contemporary Hutterite society.

CHAPTER 2

UNDERSTANDING THE BASIS FOR HUTTERITE DEFECTION

Ebaugh's role-exit model represents the general case of which Hutterite defectors are a specific instance. This chapter provides the understanding of Hutterite society necessary to interpret the experience of Hutterite defectors. To situate the present conditions of Hutterite society, the chapter opens with a brief history and factual overview of this ethnic group. After this overview, a sociological model of Hutterite society, developed by Boldt and Roberts, is introduced. This model represents Hutterite society as a relatively undifferentiated and structurally tight group. This sociological model provides a context for interpreting the experience of Hutterite defectors. The implications of this sociological model for the Hutterites' ability to resist assimilation and encourage conformity are then developed.

At this point, it is important to identify a number of concepts used throughout this thesis: (1) "Outside" refers to all the symbolic and physical boundaries that are not a part of the Hutterite way of life; (2) "Non-Hutterites" refers to people who have never been Hutterites; (3) "Ex-Hutterites" refers to those colony members who left previously and are no longer living on the colony; and (4) "Defectors" refers to those people who were interviewed for the present study. There are two types of defectors, "temporary" and "permanent".

Temporary defectors are individuals who leave the colony but have no intention of staying away and fully plan on returning. Permanent defectors, on the other hand, leave with no intention of returning. This is not to say that they will never return, but their intention is to remain on the outside. The present study only examines permanent defectors.

BRIEF HISTORY OF HUTTERITES

The Hutterite Brethren are a fundamentalist Christian sect who have organized themselves into a sacred, Gemeinschaft-like society grounded upon religious beliefs. Their origin is largely German and Swiss and dates back to the Protestant Reformation and the Anabaptist Movement in 1528. The Anabaptists were a counterculture group who rejected infant baptism and membership in state churches. As a result of religious persecution, they wandered throughout Europe until 1874 when they migrated to the United States. In 1918, some Hutterite groups migrated to Canada and formed colonies. All Hutterite colonies belong to one of three Leut (people), Lehrerleut, Dariusleut, or Schmiedeleut. Basically, the Leuts are similar since they have the same principles of community. However, there are some differences in marriage patterns, culture traits and rules of order (Hostetler, 1965:9). The Lehrerleut are located in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Montana, Dariusleut are found mainly in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the Schmiedeleut are located in Manitoba, North Dakota, and

South Dakota. The present study focuses on those members from the Schmiedeleut located in Manitoba.

The Hutterites are a modern continuation of the ancient Christian practise of communal withdrawal and collective property rights as set forth in the Book of Acts. Traditionally, they have followed the dress, speech, and the customs of their 16th and 17th century ancestors. Hutterites believe in the "community of goods", that is, they do not personally accumulate, own, or covet property. They aim to accomplish the ideal of a true Christian community by avoiding the corrupt world system. Hutterites turn away from individual pursuits such as selfishness, competitiveness, and regard the pursuit of pleasure and luxury as deplorable (Barkin and Bennett, 1972:460). They view their community as a place where they give up their individuality for a spiritual collective existence. Reinforcement of their ideological concerns takes place through an institutionalized communal system (Hostetler, 1965:24). For example, childhood socialization in the nursery school and later in German school discourages individuality and encourages the doctrine of the community of goods. While an egalitarian ethos is stressed, the system is predicated on submission to a theocratic, patriarchal, authoritarian rule (Hostetler, 1965:26).

According to the most recent census information, in 1991 there were 7,445 Hutterites living in Manitoba. Currently, when a colony reaches between 130-150 people, the community

begins to experience problems of fractiousness and inefficiency. When this occurs, a new tract of land is acquired and developed for a new colony. Hutterite colonies are in relatively isolated rural agricultural areas of the province. Each colony is an autonomous economic unit that uses large-scale, state of the art agricultural technology. Basically all colonies are alike in their social organization. Community organization is headed by a male who is elected by the elders and then ordained as a preacher. He holds preeminent authority over all colony members (Hostetler, 1965:26). Not only is he responsible for the religious and spiritual aspects of the colony, but he also has a strong influence on all colony policies. In addition, each colony has an appointed "boss", or steward, who manages the secular affairs of the colony and oversees the various (male) department managers. For example, there is a field boss, a hog boss, and a dairy boss. One appointed position, head cook, is held by a woman; otherwise, from the age of 15 onward, women work on a rotation basis as cooks, kitchen workers, and gardeners. All able people are required to work in the colony and they are given tasks that suit their abilities.

Mackie (1965:28-29) describes the hierarchy of a Hutterite colony as follows. At the top of the hierarchy of each Leut is the Vorsteher, or bishop, who is elected from the available body of ordained preachers. Under the bishop, is the council that includes all the preachers from all the

colonies in the bishop's leut. It is this body that directs and affirms all the rules and regulations. Each colony is an autonomous economic unit that is controlled by a council of elders that is made up of the preacher, assistant preacher, farm boss, German school teacher, and one other member. The council is responsible for the work organization and spiritual life of the colony.

All colonies are basically alike in their social organization (Hostetler, 1974). Families live together in modest dwellings. When two people marry, they are given a room and, if possible, a separate entrance. Children under the age of 3 spend most of their time in the house, but for all other members it is primarily a place to sleep. The Hutterites practice a degree of separation of family members during the day. Children are raised by the collective, and only return to their parents home at specified times during the day. For example, children return home for an after school snack. The basic reason for this separation is the need to socialize the members in the ideals and behaviour patterns of the Hutterite way of life and to free the women to work.

There is a central kitchen where all food preparation takes place, a central laundry, and a central bath house. All meals are eaten in the colony's communal dining hall. There is an adult dining room where males sit on one side of the room and females on the other. According to their age, the

males as well as the females are assigned a place at their respective tables. Children eat in a separate room from the adults but, they too, are assigned seats according to gender and age. However, all colony members, except young children and their mothers, come together for a daily church service. They gather together to worship, to listen to the preacher's sermon and to "shriek the long, slow hymns" (Hostetler, 1965:46).

Hutterite society is based on religious ideology. Its primary institution is the Hutterian Church. Their religious beliefs have a profound impact on their way of life and view of the world. Traditionally, their attitudes and beliefs about work, education, and family are restricted to the ideology embodied in their religion. The religious tradition of Hutterites is that absolute authority belongs to God. God is viewed as placing everything in a divine and hierarchical order. Hutterite behaviour, thought, speech and feeling are directed by this divine and hierarchical order: "God is Lord over man, man is master of woman, and the older person has authority over the younger" (Hostetler, 1974:36). The ideology of the Hutterites clearly defines the expectations of the colony member. Individuals know what is expected of them with regard to living the Hutterite way of life. In exchange for submitting to the will of the community, colony members are offered social support and security (Hostetler, 1974:45).

A SOCIOLOGICAL MODEL OF HUTTERITE SOCIETY

Boldt and Roberts (1979) have developed a sociological model of Hutterite society. This model represents Hutterite society as a relatively undifferentiated and structurally tight group. A tight structure where normative expectations are imposed and received will have a lower degree of differentiation than a loose structure where normative expectations are proposed and interpreted. A society that is organized around such a model will have organizational and personal consequences.

Boldt and Roberts distinguish between structurally tight and structurally loose societies with respect to their effect on role-relationships. The concept of structural tightness refers to role-relationships that have binding expectations. Structural tightness does not depend upon whether a society is simple or complex; instead it refers to the character of role expectations. In a structurally loose society role expectations are proposed and interpreted, in a structurally tight system such expectations are imposed and received. For example, in a structurally loose society such as a club or a church, membership does not require individuals to feel forced to comply with normative expectations. Individuals, for example, are allowed to leave if they choose. In a structurally loose situation individuals have the opportunity to exercise a degree of choice with respect to their involvement. The expectations of Hutterites, on the other

hand, encourage structural tightness. The Hutterites are a communal group where members are obliged to comply with colony expectations, and where they do not have the opportunity for flexibility with regard to the rules and regulations. Boldt and Roberts' model implies that the more structurally tight a society is, the less opportunity there is for assimilation with the outside world, and the less opportunity there is for defection.

The degree of structural tightness in a community has important implications for boundary maintenance. In a tight society where expectations are imposed and received, the autonomy of the individual is reduced. Under these conditions it becomes easier for the community to determine, rather than just suggest, how the individual should behave. Where expectations are imposed and received, individuals do not possess the flexibility or awareness to choose different forms of role conduct.

A tight society, where role expectations are imposed within a relatively simple role set, is better able to resist external pressures toward assimilation and thus ensure that members remain obedient and loyal. If the alternate ways of the outside world are allowed to penetrate a community, it becomes more difficult to impose role expectations. If community members are permitted to select from among alternative sets of expectations, individual interest will take precedence over the collective interest (Coser,

1975:239). The notion of role-relationships can be examined in terms of the discussion put forth by Coser (1975), and Boldt and Roberts (1979).

Coser's (1975) notion of the complexity of role set refers to the number of members of a role set and the number of conflicting expectations. It is the variety of expectations that increases the opportunity for individuals to interact with others who may have different perceptions and expectations. Boldt and Roberts (1979), argue that it is not only the number of role-relationships an individual has, but also the nature of the connections of these relationships that is imperative to boundary maintenance. A tight society, where role expectations are imposed and received within a relatively simple role set, will resist the competition from the outside culture and insure that members remain sufficiently motivated to be loyal and obedient. Individuals submerged in this type of society are limited by both the members who influence them and nature of the influence. When alternate ways of modern life are allowed to penetrate the colonies there are no longer restricted role expectations. For example, increased movement off the colony to shop, visit ex-Hutterites or attend doctor appointments no longer restricts Hutterites to a limited set of role expectations but allows Hutterites to be confronted with a variety of conflicting expectations. When there is a less restricted role set, there is more opportunity for intellectual contact. Intellectual contact, in turn, promotes

intellectual flexibility. An individual who has the ability, willingness and opportunity will be able to develop intellectual flexibility. This trait shows that an individual has the ability to consider alternatives.

Coser (1961) discusses 3 types of conformity, ttitudinal, behavioral, and doctrinal conformity. Attitudinal conformity is motivated by internalized norms and values. Social control through the internalization of group norms results in a situation where individuals will comply regardless of being observed or not. Next, behavioral conformity is a social reaction to external pressures in the form of positive or negative sanctions. Finally, doctrinal conformity is a particular type of behavioral conformity (Boldt,1978), described as a "oral or written statement of institutional values and beliefs addressed to others" (Coser,1961:31). It is a "ritualistic drumming" of norms and values and is therefore a learned way of behaving. It takes place in groups where interaction is face-to-face, and under conditions of observability that occurs in a structurally tight situation. The boundaries of Hutterite colonies are not only physically isolated, but the traditional Hutterite doctrine aims to intrude upon the individual and place the person in a restricted social psychological environment.

Maintaining the physical and social boundaries of the community is influenced by the type of conformity that exists in the community. The type of conformity members exhibit with

respect to the norms of the group is affected by the internal dynamics of the community. A loosely structured community, where the normative expectations are proposed and interpreted, encourages the opportunity and flexibility necessary for attitudinal conformity. On the other hand, a tightly structured community where normative expectations are imposed and received, encourages a greater outward conformity to the norms but can result in behavioral or doctrinal conformity. Individuals can be taught to accept norms and values without internalizing the norms and values. When the role expectations are imposed and received in a tight society, there is little opportunity for autonomy, instead the behaviour of the individuals is that of outward conformity to the rules and expectations of that society.

Maintaining tightly structured physical and psychological boundaries helps maintain a distinctive way of life. The physical aspect of boundary maintenance includes the separation and isolation present in the relationship of the community to the larger society. The Hutterites are purposeful in their attempt to be physically separate from the larger society. With tight symbolic and physical boundaries, it is clear who belongs to the group and who does not. An example of a symbolic boundary in Hutterite society is the tradition that members wear sex-specific clothing. Hutterite dress is generally uniform and distinctive from the outside culture. While the design of the fabric may vary, the styles

of female clothing, such as dress, apron and head covering follow the same pattern. Males also wear uniform styles of clothing including black pants, suspenders, dark colored shirts, and black hats. The style of Hutterite clothing is a symbol that identifies individuals as members of the Hutterite community. In addition, physical boundaries exist in that each colony is relatively isolated, self-sufficient, and homogeneous. The physical isolation of Hutterite colonies discourages colony members from having regular, routine contact with the outside world. It is important to note that while there are usually negative sanctions for leaving a colony, such as shunning, Hutterite communities are not what Goffman (1961) calls "total institutions". Goffman's term characterizes communities whose "encompassing character is symbolized by physical barriers that are built right into the physical environment such as locked doors, high walls or barbed wire" (Goffman, 1961:4). Although they use the device of physical isolation, the Hutterite communities tend to rely mainly on non-physical, symbolic structures, to separate themselves, and to avoid assimilation with the outside world.

CONCLUSION

The historical ability of Hutterite society to practice rigorous boundary maintenance and to control its members makes it a unique ethnic group in Canadian society. Historically, the Hutterites have been able to maintain their cultural

boundaries and resist assimilation. If the structural constraints of the Hutterite colony do not compel the individuals to behave according to certain normative standards, then the opportunity to choose defection becomes a viable alternative to remaining in the colony. Loosening of boundaries sets the stage for defection.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH ON HUTTERITE DEFECTION

Historically, although some members of Hutterite colonies have left their communities, it has been decades since any empirical research on Hutterite defectors has been done.* The most recent work was conducted by Mackie (1965, 1975), an exploratory study that was not guided by a strong theoretical framework. Moreover, recent social changes in Hutterite society makes this study dated. A study of Hutterite defectors, guided by Ebaugh's conceptual framework, would address both of these deficiencies in the literature on the Hutterites. Taken together, the atheoretical nature of the previous research, the fact that this earlier study is dated, and the changing nature of Hutterite communities justify the relevance of the present investigation.

MACKIE'S RESEARCH ON HUTTERITE DEFECTION

Mackie's research considers variables within the Hutterite social system that lead people to defect. She identifies conditions within the colony that cause the system to break down and create the possibility of defection. Also,

*The total numbers of permanent and temporary defectors are not known; however, it is clear that defection is a rare occurrence relative to the total Hutterite population.

she identifies 2 types of defectors, acculturated and conservative. A goal of Mackie's research was to discover how the small minority of defectors made the transition from their community to the larger society.

Mackie identifies 2 types of disorganized colonies where the potential for defection is heightened. In one type of colony there is dissension among the leaders and the colony becomes divided into hostile camps. Leaders are not given the legitimacy to carry out their duties. In the other type, leaders are accepted by the members, but the elders quarrel among themselves. The elders promote their own interests and desires as well as the interests of a few chosen families over the welfare of the whole colony. In the first type, leadership that has lost support of its members has the greatest disruptive effect on the community as a whole. The leadership loses its power to motivate the membership to cooperate in the collective work system. The disorganized, unmotivated work force can no longer produce the resources that they need, and the colony becomes weaker financially, physically, and emotionally. In the other type, the colony may not deteriorate as badly as in the first, since the leaders retain power, but those families who are treated with less regard than other families are not motivated to do any more than is required. In both types of colonies, individualistic values begin to replace collective values and weaken the cohesiveness of the colony.

In addition to identifying types of colonies that enhance the possibility for defection, Mackie identifies 2 types of defectors, acculturated and conservative defectors. Both types of defectors are influenced by exposure to the normative and value system of the outside world. The acculturated defectors' focus revolves around owning their own farms or automobiles and acquiring money. On the other hand, the goal of the conservative defector is the freedom to live according to their own religious ideals and not those of the colonies. Through interviews, Mackie identified the social and personal characteristics of those Hutterites who defect from the group and how they adjust to the outside. Adjustment is operationalized as "the extent to which the defector indicated by his answers to the interview schedule that he has accepted key values of our society in preference to those advocated in parallel areas by his society of origin" (Mackie, 1965:90). The defector is questioned regarding areas such as belief in competition, acceptance of education for mobility purposes rather than basic literacy requirements, recent social change and acceptance of civic duties such as voting.

RECENT SOCIAL CHANGE

Since Mackie's research there have been gradual but significant changes in the social structure of the Hutterite colonies. Decades ago it was easier for Hutterite communities to erect and maintain distinct boundaries between themselves

and the surrounding society. In the past, technology needs were lower, economic diversification was minimal and mobility off the colonies was restricted. The changes that have occurred on Hutterite colonies during the past several years have increased their exposure to contemporary society. The traditional conditions were such that the Hutterites could be more insulated from the outside world. Today, Hutterites are not as socially isolated and protected from the outside world. They are faced with more than the traditional values and beliefs of their ancestors. Disruptions to the Hutterite system have occurred in areas of religion, economics, education, and technology. It is changes to their traditional way of life that can decrease solidarity and increase the possibility of defection. The loosening of the Hutterite doctrine promotes the awareness of conflicting Hutterite values.

Historically, the preacher delivers sermons verbatim, as did his forefathers. The sermons were written during periods of persecution during the period when Hutterites were emerging as a distinct group (Hostetler, 1965:46). The sermons do not consider contemporary issues and are not to be questioned or interpreted. However, it has been noted by Peter, et al. (1982:331) that preachers are beginning to express their personal interpretation and opinions regarding the sermons. In addition, Peter et al. (1982:332) have noted that individuals sometimes take their notebooks to services and

record the ideas from the sermons. These practices tend to emphasize individualism, a characteristic that contradicts the Hutterite ideal of a true Christian community. Answers to these rising questions and doubts about the fundamental religious beliefs are often sought from prohibited outside sources. Colony members come to town and are exposed to alternate religious beliefs. They may go as far as seeking out religious meetings, or they may choose to visit the homes of ex-Hutterites where they are exposed to religious programs on radio or television, both of which are prohibited on the colony. In addition to the increased exposure to religious alternatives, there have been changes in the direction of greater education opportunities. In the past Hutterite colonies provided a restricted education for their children which was well suited to socialize members for the Hutterite way of life, but not to prepare its members for opportunities outside of the colony. There is evidence that the traditional education patterns are changing.

Schooling begins at age 3, when the child attends a very carefully supervised kindergarten program that ends at age 5. Following kindergarten, Hutterite children receive German and English schooling in the one-room school on the colony to age 15. It is compulsory under Canadian law to attend school until the age of 15. The teachings involve (in addition to the regular provincial curriculum) indoctrination in the Hutterite ways which include the religious principles of Anabaptism.

The Hutterites also teach the children to farm the land. While the restricted education is enough to inform individuals for the religious ways and the agricultural tasks of the colony, it is too limited for the relatively sophisticated economy and technology of Canadian society. It is known that Hutterite colonies acquire state-of-the-art farm machinery. The Hutterites' acceptance of modern agricultural technology is forcing them to seek additional secular education in order to be more knowledgeable. It has been observed, for example, that some Hutterite students in some instances are attending University classes in Manitoba. In particular they are pursuing education degrees so that they can teach at the schools on the colonies. With Hutterites obtaining education degrees it would no longer be necessary to employ outsiders to teach on the colonies. This increase in movement off the colony no longer restricts Hutterites to a limited set of role expectations, but allows them to be confronted with a variety of expectations which, in turn, exposes them to conflicting influences of the outside culture.

In addition to changes in the traditional aspects of religion and education, there have been changes in dress code and the opportunity to earn money. Today, some young men no longer wear the traditional dark pants and dark shirts but are seen on and off the colonies wearing jeans. For women, the traditional long dull colored dresses are being replaced with shorter, brighter colored dresses that are often decorated

with lace. In addition, there was previously little opportunity to acquire money of one's own. Today, members are given the opportunity to earn money which becomes theirs and is not part of the collective. Money may be earned through helping a neighbouring farmer with chores or selling feathers and quilts. Although it might not be a substantial amount of money, individuals will not be completely integrated and dependent upon the system and they will have the opportunity for some financial independence. Structurally tight societies need to impose the collective will on individuals and, in doing so, they reduce individual autonomy and discretion. The ability to acquire private property (earn money), undermines the ability of authorities to impose their will.

Traditionally, the Hutterites have renounced the outside by turning away and practising communal living. However, the problem of renouncing the outside world has been complicated by the influences of the outside penetrating the Hutterite way of life. For example, increased movement off the colony to visit ex-Hutterite families and friends exposes members to conflicting role expectations.

Moreover, Hutterites have always insisted that their members abstain from personal indulgences. For quite some time now it has been known that radios are "hidden" and used by colony members. Today, other technological intrusions, such as "walkmen", "discmen" and computers, are also present on the colonies. These indulgences also expose the members to

the ways of the outside world.

As Boldt and Roberts (1979) argue, a looser society results in the interpretation and negotiation of rules and regulations rather than the unquestioning acceptance of the written and oral rules of the Hutterite charter. This, in turn, results in individual thoughts and actions and erodes the traditional collective focus of the Hutterite way of life. The creation of a looser structure promotes the psychological flexibility that allows members to develop individual autonomy, and they have the ability and the opportunity to pursue alternate courses of action. This action could include defection from the community.

Furthermore, it has been noted by Siegal (1970) and Boldt (1985) that a group threatened with hostility and persecution often unites and becomes internally more cohesive. Siegal (1970) and Boldt (1985) consider the Hutterites as an example of such a group. Hutterites have a history of persecution. As previously noted they left Europe because of religious persecution and migrated to the United States. After World War I, they were often harassed because of anti-German sentiments in the United States, and some consequently migrated to Canada. After World War II, the returning Canadian veterans discovered that Hutterites, being pacifists, had not participated in the war and they often had opportunities to expand their agricultural land. The expansion of their land was seen as driving out other farmers.

who had been at war. These anti-Hutterite sentiments tended to bind the Hutterite community together. Members accepted the firm leadership on group survival rather than question the Hutterite way of life. Today, however, with Human Rights legislation, as well as a more educated and tolerant society, there is less evidence of hostility and persecution toward Hutterites. The present, less hostile environment creates a more relaxed and looser social structure within the colonies that is less able to deflect the values of the outside world.

CONCLUSION

The limited and dated study on Hutterite defection has left a significant gap in the research literature. This gap is of consequence because, as previously indicated, there have been substantial changes in Hutterite society. The continual loosening of Hutterite society presents contradictions and alternatives to the traditional Hutterite doctrine. The fact that Hutterites are defecting indicates that they are resisting the controlling forces of the colony.

While the previous exploratory study on Hutterite defectors was not guided by a strong theoretical framework, the present study interviewed each defector in terms of Ebaugh's 4 stages and 11 variables. This sociological framework is used to investigate the defection experience. Because role-exit is a generic social process, its application to Hutterite defectors has the potential of yielding insight

into contemporary Hutterite society, and consequently provide a theoretically informed update of our understanding of Hutterite defectors.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Following Ebaugh's role-exit model this chapter describes the qualitative methodology used to study the experience of Hutterite defectors. The snowball sampling technique for compiling a set of 28 defectors is discussed. The topical life history approach (Denzin, 1978), which guides the methodology, is presented. Additionally, the procedure for translating the stages and correlates of the role-exit model into semi-structured interview questions is described.

SAMPLING

The field research was conducted from a qualitative perspective. Since there are no comprehensive lists of Hutterite defectors, it was not possible to draw a representative sample for interviews. Accordingly, snowball sampling was used. For this study, snowball sampling was appropriate because, soon after defection, Hutterites typically establish a network with other defectors. Since Hutterites are not allowed to defect with any possessions, they need to have connections on the outside to help them survive. They either need a job waiting for them or they must have some financial support available. As a result of the constraints on defection, it was likely that a defector would be familiar with others.

Initial contact was made with 3 female defectors who were employed at a garment factory in rural Manitoba. After being introduced, appointments were set up to interview each woman in her respective home. After their interviews, these women were asked to supply the names of other defectors that could be contacted by telephone. It was soon discovered, however, that any attempt to gain interviews in this manner was met with distrust and rejection. One woman said that recently the Hutterites had been exposed in the newspapers and she was reluctant to give any information. One man wondered what the interest was in Hutterite defectors and he wanted to go on with his life. This kind of resistance meant that an alternate approach to enlarging the sample was required.

After exploring some alternatives, it was discovered that being referred to a potential interviewee through a telephone introduction by a previous respondent was a successful way to establish contacts. When another defector established telephone contact with a potential respondent, this person was less suspicious and more willing to set up an appointment for an interview. Using this procedure, 28 Hutterite defectors were interviewed. The data collection was terminated after 28 interviews because the yield from additional interviews was small. With this size of sample the reports of defectors had established a clear pattern, and additional interviews were simply producing variations of the same themes.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Denzin's (1978) topical life history approach guided the methodology of the research. Unlike the complete life history approach which presents a full detailed personal account of an individual's experience including significant feelings, emotions, observations and a general analysis of the self, the topical life history approach considers only one period, phase, or event of an individual's life. Although topical life history information can be gathered from written documents as well as from interviews, there are often constraints and limitations to the material that is available. In the case of Hutterite defectors, diaries, letters, and other documents detailing their experience were not available. Accordingly, personal interviews were the most appropriate procedure for gathering information about the experience these people had as defectors.

To guide the interviews a semi-structured interview schedule was developed. This schedule was structured around Ebaugh's role-exit model which consists of 4 major stages, as well as 11 mediating variables that influence the stages of the role-exit model. The content of the specific questions was informed by previous research on Hutterite defectors as well as through consultation with Hutterite experts. (A copy of the interview schedule is in Appendix A.) The interview was semi-structured so that the interviewer had the freedom to explore relevant and interesting replies. The schedule

consisted of 46 questions and was designed to elicit demographic information as well as information regarding the four stages of the role-exit process (1) First Doubts; (2) Seeking Alternatives; (3) The Turning Point; (4) Creating and Adapting to the Ex-Role. Each interview lasted approximately 40 minutes. The following sections provide the rationale used in the 4 major sections of the interview.

First Doubts

The first stage of the role-exit process is first doubts. This stage was introduced to the interviewee by explaining that first doubts occur when a Hutterite begins to question, and to have, doubts about staying on the colony. It was noted that most Hutterites believe that the "Hutterite Way" is the right way for people to live to ensure salvation, but at some point they must have started questioning and doubting the Hutterite way of life. They were then asked to put themselves back on the colony, in their minds, and to try and remember their first doubts.

The individual was asked at approximately what age they began to have doubts. This question was asked to learn when the defector became conscious of an unacceptable situation on the colony. Asking why they had doubts was intended to help specify what was lacking in their life. In addition, the interview also asked what influenced them to begin questioning the Hutterite ways. Ebaugh suggests that such areas as

organizational changes, burnout, disappointments, drastic changes in relationships and specific events are conditions which influences individuals to begin questioning their current role. She also argues that the positive or negative reactions from significant others influences potential role-exiters. The last question in this stage asked if there was any discussion with others on the colony about their doubts, and if there was discussion, how did others react. This line of questioning was included to discover if positive reactions from significant others were factors in determining whether an individual carried on to the next stage, or whether it mattered if the reactions from significant others were negative or positive.

Seeking Alternatives

Seeking alternatives is the second stage of the role-exit process. When there is a clear and conscious awareness of role dissatisfaction, individuals will seek alternatives to their present unacceptable role. Interviewees were introduced to this stage by explaining to them that at some point their doubts about the Hutterite way of life were strong enough that they actively tried to search for a way to deal with the doubts. It was stressed that this stage referred to the possibility of leaving, and as in the first stage, they were asked to think about how they tried to cope with their doubts about the Hutterite way of life.

As Ebaugh suggests, seeking alternatives is a general decision-making process. Individuals begin to weigh the "pros" and the "cons" of leaving or staying. As their options are considered and narrowed, individuals begin to focus their attention on other reference groups. Also, potential role-exiters begin to take part in anticipatory socialization by considering the norms, values and expectations of those in the desired role. Moreover, individuals who are close to leaving their present role, and as a part of anticipatory socialization, prepare for their new role through role rehearsal. This is either through imaginary role playing or by actually trying out new roles.

To verify Ebaugh's ideas about seeking alternatives, the interviewees were asked what they thought it would be like to live outside the colony. They were encouraged to consider job, income, expenses, housing, clothing, language, loss of family and friends, feelings of not wanting to hurt family and friends as well as religious concerns. Also, to discover if they had taken part in role rehearsal, respondents were asked if they had experimented with non-Hutterite clothing. Respondents were also asked if they discussed the possibility of leaving with anyone and, if so, with whom. This question was asked to discover if there was negative or positive support for the potential defectors and how significant others affected the decision making process.

The Turning Point

The third stage of the role-exit process, the turning point, was introduced to the interviewee as that point in which a conclusion is reached about the good and bad points of colony life, and a choice is made to actually leave the colony. It was explained that, at this stage, leaving the colony was no longer just a possibility but an alternative that was selected.

To determine whether their turning point was gradual or abrupt, respondents were asked when they reached their decision to leave and how long after reaching this decision did they actually leave the colony. Also, they were asked if there was a particular event or incident on the colony that brought them to the conclusion to actually leave. This question was asked in order to identify the type of turning point a potential Hutterite defector would experience. Ebaugh suggests that there are 5 major types of turning points which include: (1) specific events, (2) the last straw, (3) time-related factors, (4) excuses and (5) either/or alternatives. In addition to the types of turning points she suggests that, regardless of what triggers the turning point, it serves 3 basic and positive functions in the role-exit process: announcement of the decision to others, reduction of cognitive dissonance and mobilization of resources. Asking members how they went about leaving the colony would determine if the announcement of the decision to leave would resolve cognitive

dissonance and mobilize the individual, both socially and emotionally, to use available resources necessary to make the exit. Since the rules for defecting from a Hutterite colony are very rigid (in that Hutterites are not allowed to leave with any possessions) they would necessarily need to build "bridges" before leaving the colony. To determine how they actually went about leaving the following questions were asked: Did you leave alone or with others? Did you have a plan? How did you actually leave? What did you take along? Where did you stay? Asking what, if anything, remaining colony members did when the interviewee defected, and how the defector felt about exiting, indicates the defector's emotional state and determines whether they experienced what Ebaugh defines as the "vacuum". She says that the vacuum experience is the most common emotional experience of the role-exiters. It is related to the turning point and typically occurs just before, or just after, the exit. It is a period of feeling anxious, scared, and generally rootless.

Creating the Ex-Role

Creating and adapting to the ex-role is the last stage of the role-exit process. Interviewees were asked questions that, in general, relate to how they have adjusted to life outside the colony and, in particular, how they adapted in terms of Ebaugh's 6 major areas of adjustment. To be identified as an "ex" she suggests that an individual must go through the 6

major areas of adjustment to play down and extricate themselves from the old role and successfully cope with the challenges of a new role. These areas include: (1) presenting the self in order to cue others of the role change; (2) accepting positive or negative social reactions to their ex-status; (3) establishing intimate relationships; (4) learning to change friendship networks; (5) learning to relate to members of the former group as well as relating to other fellow exes and (6) dealing with role residual that remains after the exit.

Previously, under seeking alternatives, individuals were asked what they thought would be the good and bad points about living outside the colony with regard to job, income, housing, clothing, language, loss of family and friends, feelings of not wanting to hurt family and friends, and religion. Now that they had actually lived on the outside they were asked what they thought were the good and bad points about living on the outside with regard to these categories.

Hutterites are socialized in a highly integrated religious communal society and, when they defect, face an adjustment to a very different world. Their adjustment to the outside world was examined by asking not only what their life was like on the outside, and about the good and bad points of the outside world, but also by asking questions that focused on their identity. More specifically, they were asked if they, as people had changed since leaving the colony and, if

so, how, and did they think of themselves as Hutterites, ex-Hutterites or non-Hutterites? In addition, they were asked how they related to others, both in and off the colony, since this is an important indicator of adjustment. On this account respondents were asked if they still remained in contact with people on the colony they had left, and if they remained in contact with friends, relatives, and acquaintances from other colonies. Finally, they were asked if they had contact with other ex-Hutterites and if their relationship with non-Hutterites was affected by the possible knowledge that they were known as ex-Hutterites.

CONCLUSION

The interview schedule was designed to explore Ebaugh's 4 stages and 11 mediating variables of the role-exit process. Using this framework, the study gained an updated, coherent understanding of the Hutterite defection experience. To anticipate the findings reported in the next chapter, the methodology outlined here proved successful in extracting information to test Ebaugh's role-exit model, to compare previous data on Hutterite defection and to yield insight into contemporary Hutterite life. The study design was effective in that it allowed for the data to be dealt with in a logical and organized fashion.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA AND ROLE-EXIT STAGES

This chapter will introduce and discuss the 4 stages of the role-exit process: (1) First Doubts; (2) Seeking Alternative; (3) The Turning Point; and (4) Creating and Adapting to the Ex-Role. In addition it will show how these stages apply to the Hutterite case. The project's findings will be organized around the 4 stages and will be illustrated by evidence from the interviews. This evidence will illustrate the consequences between the generic role-exit model and the experience of Hutterite defectors.

FIRST DOUBTS

The first step of the role-exit process begins when individuals consciously doubt their commitment to a role and realize that alternatives exist. This process can be gradual and take many years or it can occur over a period of a few months. Ebaugh argues that the more control individuals have over their choice to exit, and the more aware they are of their dissatisfaction, the shorter the duration period for exiting. There are several conditions that may motivate an individual to consider leaving a role and many variables that influence the doubting process. Regardless of the reason for wanting to leave any major role, exiters will emit cues that signal their unhappiness, dissatisfaction and desire for an

alternate role. These cues are often realized by significant others and are either negatively or positively reinforced. Ebaugh suggests that negative reactions may halt the process altogether or put it on hold. On the other hand, positive reactions will lead the individual to actively seek alternatives.

Ebaugh considers 4 conditions that can influence an individual to begin to doubt their role commitment and to question the costs and benefits connected to their particular commitment. These conditions include: (1) organizational change; (2) burnout; (3) disappointments and changes in relationships; and (4) specific events. The conditions which apply to defectors are (1) organizational changes, (3) disappointments and changes in relationships, and (4) specific events. Burnout does seem to be a problem for Hutterite defectors.

HUTTERITE EXPERIENCE APPLIED TO FIRST DOUBTS

Organizational change was one reason several defectors began doubting their commitment to the Hutterite way of life. In 1978 a new Bishop was chosen by the colonies included in this study. The position of Bishop gives the occupant control of the spiritual and material lives of the Hutterites for the rest of his life. According to those interviewed the new Bishop controls with an excessive degree of authoritarian rule. For example, a new minister was chosen on a colony and

the Bishop refused to accept the colony's choice. He then appointed a minister from a neighbouring colony to be an overseer. As one defector said,

...People really got along well. Then the Bishop, he's in charge of all the colonies in Manitoba, he stepped down on us. "You're not going to be that way, you're going to answer to me and do what I think." He put a new minister in charge of our colony. We had to answer to him instead of the people we were used to, so things got very bad. You couldn't even voice your opinion. If you had your own opinion, you'd be punished. (#3)*

Changes in the structure of the organization also encouraged some defectors to begin questioning. A colony with a loose structure will provide the opportunity to question the traditionally accepted ways. For many of the Hutterites the initial questioning of their commitment began when they were exposed to different religious views. The exposure came about through the influence of such individuals as non-Hutterite friends, neighbours and school teachers, interaction with ex-Hutterite friends, and relatives as well as exposure to religious radio and T.V. programs and religious publications. For many defectors, the penetration of the beliefs of the outside world into the colonies provided an opportunity to begin questioning the Hutterite way of life that they had previously taken for granted.

As Ebaugh suggests, in some cases a particular event will trigger initial doubts about role commitment. In one incident

*Refer to Table 4, page 164 for defector characteristics.

a defector had been dissatisfied with the authoritarian rule on the colony but was really influenced to begin questioning after she had been sexually abused by Hutterite men on her colony. As she explained, "I was sexually molested by 3 different Hutterite men over a period of my life and that basically was what made me question." Another woman did not have any doubts about the Hutterite way of life but her husband, an ex-Hutterite, had left the colony and this caused her to question whether her commitment was to her husband or to the colony. Individuals experienced disappointment not only in regard to their relationship with other individuals but they also experienced disappointment with the community. Hutterites' relationship with their community is stronger than most others because the Hutterite way of life is all-encompassing. All defectors expressed disappointment with some aspect of their community.

Ebaugh suggests that the positive and negative reactions of significant others plays a key role in the exit process. During first doubts others serve several functions which include reality testing, enhancing the rewards of staying, and suggesting alternatives.

When Hutterites first begin to question their commitment to their way of life, they may be involved in reality testing. Either they will interact with others and express their doubts or they will choose not to share their concerns with anyone. While the majority of doubters attempted to share their

doubts, many chose not to voice their concerns. Those that did not share their doubts felt that one should not talk about such things on a colony. Therefore, not all those who doubt the Hutterite way of life are influenced by the positive or negative reactions of significant others, at least in the first stage of the process. On the other hand, when there is interaction with significant others, they may be supportive of the doubts or they may try to dissuade the individual from questioning. In one case the parents of a woman allowed her to have a TV and a stereo. She said,

I had my own TV. I had a nice stereo. My parents knew I had it. They wouldn't take it away. They knew that I wanted to leave and if they let me have that they figured they could have me back that way.
(#9)

The last function of significant others is to offer alternatives. None of the interviewees were offered any advice on how to deal with their doubts except to be told that the Hutterite way of life is the only way to ensure salvation and that there are no alternatives available if the individual remains on the colony.

The majority of the defectors interviewed began to question and experience doubts about the Hutterite way of life between the ages of 15 and 19. At the extremes, one defector had doubts when she was in kindergarten, while another was 43 years old when she began questioning her commitment to her role as a Hutterite. Considering that the teenage years are generally a time of questioning and often frustration, it is

not surprising that the majority of defectors would have their first doubts at that time of their lives. Also at 15 year of age, members are finished their formal schooling and are no longer considered children. After age 15 they are assigned more responsible roles in the community and begin to be regarded as adults. It is also a time to consider requesting baptism. For males, in particular, this is a very important step toward their individual commitment and submission to the Hutterite way of life.

Asking defectors why they had doubts about remaining on the colony produced two frequently mentioned reasons with a few exceptions to these reasons. The main reason for questioning the Hutterite way of life was religious doubts. Individuals of different ages, from various colonies, and both sexes speak, as if they were one when they talk about their religious doubts. This was well illustrated by a defector:

Well, at one point I didn't really have doubts about remaining on the colony...When I was 16 years old, that's when I was born again. I received the Lord Jesus Christ as my personal Saviour and Lord. From then on I grew to read the Bible for myself and I found out it's not religion that saves the person. The colony doesn't save, or any religion cannot save a person. It's only Jesus Christ that saves people, so from there that's when it all started. (#13)

The dislike of Hutterite authoritarian rule was also a frequently mentioned reason for doubting the Hutterite way of life. The rules do not allow for the freedom of choice that many individuals desired. Only one member was tempted by the material choices of the outside world while most were tempted

by the freedom to worship as they pleased, to have the opportunity to travel, to be free to listen and play music, to further their education and, in general, to have the options and choices that life on the outside has to offer.

Two defectors illustrate their doubts concerning authoritarian rule:

Well, you know they thought you had to wear your hair a certain way and...you had to wear darker colors, and your skirt had to be a certain length. I remember I was wearing a very light jacket and she (the minister's wife) took me to the side one time and told me I shouldn't be wearing that jacket. What should I wear? The Bible doesn't warn against wearing certain colors. That's very obvious. The colors we wear don't make the person. Just little incidents like that basically were what turned me off. (#8)

I think my first doubts were probably just doubts of rebellion more than anything else. I was a rebellious teenager. I didn't really think about religion at that time, not really seriously, so it was just rebellion against authority. You have to be subject to that, so I was just rebelling against that. That was my first doubt. I wanted to get away from that. (#18)

Three of the defectors had concerns about favoritism that was shown toward the families of the colony leaders. These defectors questioned the unreasonable superior attitudes that were expressed toward less favored and less privileged families. Two defectors illustrate their doubts about favoritism on their colonies:

...I will do something and the farm bosses or the bosses and the preacher's daughter are right beside (me). I will get picked on and told "you can't do that, you can't wear your hair like that, you can't wear your skirts that short". She sits beside me exactly the same way as me, she gets by, I get punished. (#1)

...the minister and the farm boss were all relatives, like brothers and sons. They were running the colony, so whoever wasn't in power, had little to say of what was happening, and our family just happened to be that family. That was one of the first times I remember wanting to leave, getting out of that situation. (#26)

Falling in love with the English school teacher caused one defector to begin doubting the colony life, while another defector's husband had left the colony and she had doubts about remaining on the colony without him.

Fifteen of those interviewed lived on colonies that they considered to be less strict than most; 8 thought their colonies were liberal; 2 individuals viewed their colonies as strict and 3 did not know. It is interesting to note that the majority of those who had doubts about remaining on the colony lived on less strict or liberal colonies. Such structural looseness allowed for conflicting ideas to penetrate the colonies. Individuals on these colonies were faced with more than the traditional values and beliefs of their ancestors.

Most of those interviewed accepted their work role and enjoyed the work that they were assigned. However, one defector saw her tasks as "woman's work" and another didn't like the "same work all the time." Most defectors got along well with others and of those that had difficulty getting along, it was either viewed as natural to have occasional problems with others or the difficulties with others resulted from a dislike of authoritarian rule.

The following illustrates the two views of getting along

with others:

...Some guys bothered me...you know, just their personality. Nothing serious. (#16)

The people are hard to get along with...they would be like an authority over you. They would sort of use their influence, their power over you. Basically I was just doing something because I was told, not because I wanted to do it. You don't want to be told what to do all your life. (#8)

Many of those doubting the Hutterite way of life experienced unhappiness with their lack of freedom of choice. In particular they wanted freedom to worship as they pleased and, in general, they wanted freedom from traditional Hutterite rules. The opportunity for exposure to conflicting cultural expectations and contradictions was available to them. Most of the influences which penetrated the colonies were presented by non-Hutterites and the mass media. To a lesser degree, ex-Hutterites as well as colony members influenced some individuals to begin questioning the Hutterite way of life.

The most common first doubt experience included involvement with non-Hutterites such as friends, neighbours, and school teachers who introduced alternate religious beliefs and lifestyles. The second most compelling influence was the exposure to mass media, such as radio, television, and print, in particular, its presentation of alternate religious beliefs.

These influences were well expressed by several doubters:

...we had the outside teachers coming in, we didn't have our own teachers...this Mennonite lady who was a born again believer had a lot of Christian books and things which she shared. We would read them and we'd be just hungry for them. This was kind of representing my feelings that I was so hungry for, and it was through that, through all that material that widened our eyes. It was through influences like her. (#14)

...and his grandpa (a non-Hutterite) came every summer and he was a true Christian and I always had this idea if the Hutterites are going to Heaven. I questioned, now this guy is a saint. What's so different about him to go to Heaven?...We talked to a lot of people from the outside who were true born again Christians... (#6)

Referring to the influence of the media 1 responded:

See, like us guys we had our T.V.'s, our radios. We were not supposed to have them...I would say having a T.V. and a radio and hearing other pastors on T.V., that helped a lot. For me anyway, just to see the difference. (#2)

While most defectors were influenced by non-Hutterites and the mass media, only 3 responded that ex-Hutterite friends and family influenced them to begin questioning the Hutterite ways. In addition, 2 typical cases included a young woman who was influenced by her mother, a Hutterite, to begin questioning the beliefs. Unlike most other cases, this first doubt did not have a religious focus. In general, her mother saw no future for her daughter on the colony. The second case involved a young woman who was sexually molested by 3 different Hutterite men over a period of her life on the colony. These incidents influenced her doubts about remaining. In general, whether the influences were specifically from non-Hutterites, ex-Hutterites, Hutterites,

the mass media or a combinations of these, the majority of those who looked to the outside world were influenced by the opportunity to worship as they pleased.

One quarter of those interviewed did not discuss their doubts about the Hutterite way of life with anyone on the colony. One woman said,

No, you don't talk about things like [that], you don't talk to people on the colony about these things. It's just something you don't do. I don't know; you just don't. (#15)

Those who did talk about their concerns were cautious in choosing the individuals with whom to discuss their doubts. If they did not seek out those friends and relatives who would share the same doubts, they were branded as "troublemakers" or "rebels". One couple felt they were ignored after expressing their doubts:

...We're living here with folks who are supposed to love each other. We're supposed to live for each other, which we did. But where is the love? You can't find it anymore. You go to the dinner table and not a word is said. Nobody trusts anybody no more. There was no trust...we used to go to the dinner table and talk. That's where I went for my visits. Everybody goes for dinner and that's when we were sharing everybody's ideas. The last years we went there you ate and you don't talk. You don't talk. (#7)

Several interviewees tried to talk to their parents but their parents would become upset and respond by saying, "the Hutterite way is the only way", or react to their concerns by telling them to "stick it out", or "forget your doubts things will get better."

As one defector said:

She [mother] gave me a 45 minute sermon on how I wouldn't make it. I'm serious, you know, I don't know if all parents do that, but most parents disagree with their kids leaving. They usually try and talk them out of it, and we call it brainwashing out here. I mean, they sit down and say "Oh, you won't make it. This is bad and that's bad". "Look at so and so"...they [parents] are so bound to that idea that the kids are just going to Hell. The parents just can't see it. They've never experienced it. They have no idea. (#9)

Other than discussing the positive or negative arguments about staying or leaving a colony, none of the defectors were offered any advice on how to deal with their doubts.

TABLE 2

REASONS FOR DOUBTING THE HUTTERITE WAY OF LIFE

REASONS FOR DOUBTING	Frequency*
Religious doubts	17
Doubts about authoritarian rule	10
Desire for lifestyle options	6
Doubts about favoritism	3
Desire to marry non-Hutterite or ex-Hutterite	2
Desire for more education	1

* Some respondents indicated more than one reason for doubting the Hutterite way of life. Each time a reason was mentioned it was recorded.

SUMMARY

First doubts occurred for those interviewed when the Hutterites taken for granted way of life became unacceptable. There were organizational and structural conditions, changes in relationships as well as specific events which influenced first doubts. Similar patterns of doubts and desires arose. Individuals were looking to the outside world for freedom of choice concerning religion, in particular, and lifestyle, in general. This initial stage of questioning the Hutterite way of life was followed by the process of seeking out and considering an alternate way of life. For Hutterites there are no viable alternatives within the colony. Either they lived by the colony's rules or they left. Colony life is all-encompassing. However, after they admit dissatisfaction with their present role, they consciously seek alternatives to the Hutterite way of life.

SEEKING ALTERNATIVES

Regardless of the reason for doubting any major role, individuals will emit cues that are recognized by significant others. These cues are either negative or positively reinforced. Negative cues may halt the exit process altogether or put it on hold. On the other hand, positive reactions will lead the individual to the second stage of the process, seeking alternatives. During the first stage of the role-exit process, individuals may have a vague awareness that there are role options available. However, it is when there is a clear

and conscious awareness of role dissatisfaction that individuals will seek alternatives to their existing unsatisfactory role.

Seeking alternatives involves a process of comparing the existing role with any of the desired alternate roles. While the advantages and disadvantages of the individual's existing role are well known to the individual, the advantages and disadvantages of the alternate roles are also considered and weighed. Individuals consider the costs and rewards of their present role to the costs and rewards of the alternate roles. This conscious decision to leave a role may at times be spontaneous, nonrational, and emotional due to certain events or circumstances; however, in most instances the process is systematic, rational, and deliberate. The functions of weighing alternatives, conscious cuing, role of social support, realization of freedom of choice, weighing pros and cons, shifting reference groups and role rehearsal are important variables relating to the process of seeking and weighing alternatives.

With regard to weighing alternatives, Ebaugh considers the framework put forth by Thibaut and Kelley (1959), as well as the notions of "translatability" and "side bets". Thibaut and Kelley suggest that individuals evaluate the consequences of their decisions in terms of costs and rewards. Rewards are any consequences that are pleasurable, enjoyable, or satisfying. Costs are a result of those behaviors that

inhibit any pleasurable, enjoyable, or satisfying actions. Evaluation of an existing role occurs by comparing two internal standards. Thibaut and Kelley refer to these standards as the comparison level (CL) and the comparison level for alternatives (CLalt). The CL measures the degree of satisfaction that an individual once experienced with the individual's present degree of dissatisfaction. While the CL will determine the costs and rewards of a present role, the CLalt will be the standard individuals use to remain in or leave a role. The costs and rewards of each role are determined by individuals as they compare their present situation with past experiences (CL) and possible alternatives (CLalt). For example, one defector began doubting his role commitment because of leadership changes in the Hutterite system. The CL would be the degree of personal satisfaction he experienced before the organizational changes.

It's come to the point that it's now a one man leadership. What he [Bishop] says goes. That's when we said, this is not anymore a Hutterite colony, the members don't have a thing to say. What's the point? There is no point in this. It used to be a vote, a majority vote for anything that you done. Let's say you buy something. The majority would rule. It's all gone out the door.
(#7)

The dissatisfaction with a role leads the individuals to begin seriously considering alternatives.

In addition to comparing one's present situation with alternate roles, the individual also considers their translatability as well as the side bets that have occurred in

a particular role. The choice of viable role alternatives is limited by the individual's perception of his or her abilities, skills and experiences. The transfer of skills is a major factor in determining which alternatives are viable.

The notion of side bets is also taken into account when individuals consider their options. In his discussion of commitment Becker (1960) offers a theory that suggests commitment comes into being when individuals make side bets and therefore stake something of themselves in the organization (time, money, status, etc.). Translatability and side bets constitute central factors in seeking and weighing alternatives. However, after individuals have considered the pros and cons of their present role as well as the pros and cons of alternative roles, several functions become important variables to the process of seeking alternatives: (1) conscious cuing, (2) anticipatory socialization, (3) shifting reference groups, and (4) role rehearsal.

The conscious decision to leave a role results in a person actively seeking out possible alternatives. It is at this point that individuals focus on cuing behavior that will reinforce their initial doubts and help justify the decision. While leaving some roles (such as mothers' giving up custody of their children) carry negative societal sanctions, it is more common that role-exit will be influenced by the positive or negative response of significant others. Significant others may notice changed behaviors and react in a positive or

negative way. In general, societal sanctions and, in particular, the response of significant others have the effect of encouraging the individual to continue seeking alternatives or to give up or delay the search.

After systematically, rationally and intellectually weighing the pros and cons of alternate roles, individuals often experience an emotional sense of freedom when they realize the actual possibility of role choices. By this point individuals narrow their most viable and desirable options. Either they are calm and rational about their decision making or it is a time of emotional upheaval and confusion. In either case, at this point individuals are very close to making a final decision. This is evident in that many role-exiters unconsciously begin identifying with new reference groups.

Potential role-exiters begin to take part in anticipatory socialization by considering the norms, values, attitudes, and expectations of those in the desired role. Individuals can be a part of the reference group to which they aspire but this is not necessary. In either situation the standards and goals of the groups are used as comparative, normative or gate-keeping functions. Comparative functions serve as a framework to allow individuals to evaluate themselves and others. The normative function allows one to internalize the behaviors of the desired reference group. The gate-keeping function provides the individual with others who will help in the decision making process to leave one role for

another. The advantages of anticipatory socialization will allow the individual to eventually enter the group with an ease of adjustment and identification. The psychological anticipation eases the anxiety that the new role might otherwise provoke.

While anticipating the new role, individuals distance themselves from the present role, and in turn, the members of the present group tend to sense the distancing and no longer have the same expectations toward those seeking the alternative role. In addition, the individual no longer receives any rewards from the group, and therefore he or she no longer sees advantages of remaining in the group. At this point, individuals are closer to leaving their present role, and as a part of anticipatory socialization prepare for the new role through role rehearsal. This takes place by imaginary role playing or by actually trying out new roles. Once individuals have tried the new roles and they feel comfortable that they can be successful, the decision to leave the present role will soon occur.

SUMMARY

The process of seeking role alternatives is, in general, a decision making process. This process begins when one reaches a conscious decision to begin the process of leaving one's current role. While negative reactions from others may retard or stop the exit process, the influence of positive

social support will allow the individual to actively begin to seek alternatives. At this point, individuals will experience an emotional response to the realization that they have the freedom to leave an undesirable role. Individuals begin to weigh the pros and cons of their present role as well as considering the costs and rewards of the desired role. As part of the process of seeking alternatives individuals will take part in anticipatory socialization. Not only do individuals examine the norms, values and orientations of another role but they may also engage in real or imaginary role playing. The following section will illustrate the Hutterite experience with regard to weighing and evaluating alternatives to the Hutterite way of life.

THE HUTTERITE EXPERIENCE APPLIED TO SEEKING ALTERNATIVES

The response of Hutterite defectors about whether leaving the colony was the only alternative they considered, or if they considered other possibilities, was strikingly similar. Most realized that either one remains on the colony and lives by colony rules or one leaves. Expecting and demanding compliance to the Hutterite way of life does not leave any room for alternate role choices. Traditional Hutterite doctrine tends to intrude upon the individual and place the individual into a restricted set of role expectations. These feelings were well illustrated by several of those interviewed:

Well, the only other way besides leaving the colony is giving in to them. It's letting them control your mind....Like the only other way is to give in to them. Let them control you. Let them tell you what to think. That is the only other way besides leaving.... (#1)

I know there was no other way, because you could not come against the leadership, because there were so many that have tried before me and I guess, how would I put this, a lot of people had fought hard to stay...it was just a strong motive for me to go on and just get out of the system. (#17)

We would have liked to stay there and do what we wanted to do, but, it doesn't work in the colony....You couldn't do that. When you are there you have to do what they do... (#21)

While leaving the colony was the only alternative for most, one young man did try to cope with his doubts through prayer, others said:

Yes, I did consider other ways of doing it. Like, maybe try and change the way I think, and just ignoring it all, or just basically withdrawing into my own little world, or trying to change things like raise a fuss and try and change what was going on. (#20)

...Should I stay home and try and get permission to go to school, get teachers training or something which I knew at that point was beginning to be possible, that would have been a possibility? Should I just try to deal with my curiosity by going on a trip and leaving for a while?... (#28)

Ebaugh suggests that alternative seeking behavior is basically a comparative process in which alternative roles are evaluated in comparison with other roles. Being born a Hutterite, and only living on a colony, presents a restricted scope of comparisons.

Within the colony those individuals who began doubting

their role commitment because of changes in the system were able to compare the degree of satisfaction they experienced before the occurrence of organizational changes. For example, in 1978 a new bishop was chosen by the colonies. According to those interviewed, the new bishop controlled with a more excessive degree of rule than the previous bishop. Those individuals old enough to have experienced life under the previous leadership would have a measure of comparison. In addition, a number of individuals realized their disillusionment when they began comparing other religious perspectives with Hutterite teachings. However, those that had previously left the colony and returned would have a greater scope of exposure and experience to the choices of the outside world.

When seeking and evaluating alternatives, those interviewed realized that they had a narrow scope of viable alternatives. First, members defecting are aware that they are not allowed to remove any property from the colony as everything belongs to the community. Hutterites thinking of leaving are basically destitute. Secondly, they are aware of their narrow role choices due to their limited degree of translatability of skills. As 2 women said:

What did I think about? Well, making a living for one, and we just have grade 9, so you really have to have an education, but I had these other skills, like cooking and gardening and things like that. That's basically what I thought...and will I be happy doing it? This will be a big change for me.
(#22)

...there were a lot of girls that were leaving, and they started out by live-in babysitting, so, you know, you kind of kill two birds with one stone there, and we grew up from the age of 8 to babysit. For us it wasn't a job, it was a pleasure, you know, we felt honoured when somebody asked us to babysit, you know, for that family, so it was something that came natural to us. (#26)

Besides evaluating the alternatives that are available, those interviewed also took into account "side bets". Becker(1960) suggested that individuals will remain committed to a "consistent line of activity" if they place side bets. Side bets are the individual's investments in the system. Side bets are seen as rewarding and valuable. For a person to realize any rewards or gains they must continue to support the system. In considering the current role in relation to an alternative one, individuals consider the side bets that accrued in the present role. A side bet that played a very important part for those interviewed was the emotional investment in the relationships with family and friends. The cost of giving up the daily contact with family and friends on the colony and the consequences of hurting parents was illustrated by several of those interviewed:

Yes, that was a major concern. I didn't want to leave all my friends. I had lots and lots of friends and because the colonies were so interknit...it's you and your friends and that's it. There's no outside friends, they're mostly Hutterites and they's mostly colony people that you can relate to. Everything you talk about they understand because they have been there. Such an integrated system and they all know the system inside out... (#9)

Oh, that's the worst. That's always the worst. That was for me, that was just the most dreaded. (#13)

That was probably the reason that took me so long, like because I had very special friends and my family, it was really hard to do that to them. (#15)

Oh, that was the main thing, like hurting my family, especially my mother, because I knew she was really hurt about it, and that's what held me back for a long time... (#22)

In addition to the high cost of leaving family and friends the fear of negative criticism and stigma from family and friends was also a consideration in evaluating the pros and cons of leaving the colony. One man said, "My mom and dad, what are they going to say? What are my friends going to think and say? How are they going to react?" However, positive social support was an advantage in evaluating whether to stay or leave the colony. As one woman said, "...Well fortunately some (family) had already left, so I had their support on the outside..." A couple with 6 children who were thinking of leaving with their entire family were concerned about the schooling of their children:

...Now where are the kids to go to school. We had very nice neighbours. We began to share these things with them, and well 10 miles from our place there was a couple with a family that had their own children in their own yard in a Christian Academy curriculum. And she says, "okay...I'll just come and get your kids wherever you are living in this area and we put them in our school, see how they like it and give it a try for 6 months, and then go from there." At that time I didn't have a driver's license and that's one area taken care of, at least we have a place for the kids to go to school. (#6)

Considering role alternatives usually involved an

intellectual, rational, and systematic process. For example, one woman said, "I wrote down all the things I would do first. All my goals when I got on the outside and I knew that my first goals were obviously to look for a job and a place to stay and clothes." Along with the rational process of evaluating life on the outside, there was often an emotional response to the possibility of actually leaving. There were feelings of elation, excitement, fascination, freedom and fear. One woman thought "...it would be exciting, fascinating, different, that's what I wanted." Another woman illustrates the fear felt by some:

I was frightened because I knew it was a very different world. I knew the hurt that I would put upon mom and dad, my whole family, in fact, because I was the only one left there from my whole family. I knew it would really hurt them so that really frightened me. I didn't know what my mom's reaction would really be, because she's not too healthy, and stuff, and I was really frightened about that and the possibility, I don't know, if I would be able to get a job, because I didn't have much education. It was all very frightening when I started thinking about it. (#18)

Besides the emotional reaction to the possibility of leaving, individuals begin a period of deliberately anticipating and looking forward to what life would be like on the outside. Anticipatory socialization for those interviewed involved questions and concerns in such areas as family relations, employment, housing, and clothing:

Well if you start thinking about leaving then the other doubts start coming in. Okay, where am I going to live? Who am I going to live with? Where am I going to work? How am I going to find a job, I only have a grade 10 education? How easy is it

going to be for me? (#1)

Yeah, I had a lot of concerns about where I was going to live. I knew I needed a job, I knew I needed to live somewhere, but the only thing was where, where do I go from here. I mean you don't go out into the street. There's a certain amount of pride with this too. I mean you're not just going to go and become a drifter. (#9)

Yes, there were a lot of questions, number one employment, that was a big question. Big question mark, and there's anticipating a change. Its a big contrast from a Hutterite way of life, and a number of things like that. (#16)

What I would do, like the main thing was how would I get started? I mean you just leave with nothing, so my thoughts were the only thing you really think about first of all, is where would I go? What would I do without being a bother to my friends and my family, so I wouldn't burden them with it. (#15)

The colonies offer limited opportunities for work experience. While women are trained to do work in the kitchen, garden, and home, men are trained to do work in the maintenance and management of the colony. A select few are preachers or they teach German to the children. As a result of these limited opportunities it is not feasible for potential defectors to take part in actual role rehearsal involving a variety of work related options. However, religion and appearance are two areas in which actual role rehearsal could be tried out before making a final decision to leave the colony. Secretly watching religious TV programs, listening to religious radio programs and reading religious publications were ways of preparing and easing oneself to enter an alternative religious role. In addition, learning to be comfortable and acceptable to the outside world involved

role rehearsal through experimentation with outside clothing. Several of those interviewed discussed their experience with outside clothes:

...in fact my sister and I once wore jeans inside on sort of a rainy dark day and it was in the evening and my sister and I just decided to do something different, so we dressed in jeans and a jacket and ran around in the dark... (#9)

...well basically what I did more than anything was from the time I was 13 I had a secret box in my closet where I stored clothes that I wanted to take along when I got out so that I'd have things to wear. I was getting ready. (#14)

Oh, yes, I even sewed some things, like for my sister-in-law who had already left. Then I thought, okay I'll keep the pattern for myself, so yeah I did experiment. (#15)

Oh, yeah. Occasionally in the evenings I would just put on pants and see how it feels. (#22)

It is important to note that while those interviewed had major concerns, insecurities, and apprehensions about life on the outside they did not have any religious fears such as the consequences of afterlife. This may be due to the fact that they had the opportunity to take part in religious role rehearsal, and they felt more emotionally prepared to move into a new religious role, and then into a new job and different housing. With the exception of one person, all of those interviewed chose to discuss the possibility of leaving with individuals (Hutterites, ex-Hutterites, non-Hutterites) who they thought would be understanding and supportive. One defector said, "I did talk to the ex-Hutterites. They told me it was easy and...God would take care of me." One woman

discussed her problems with everyone on the colony including the minister. She was hoping to find an alternative way to cope with her religious concerns other than leaving the colony. However, she said, "it didn't help." Since the Hutterite way is considered to be the only true way to gain salvation, and a lack of compliance to the Hutterite way of life is punishable, it is not surprising that potential defectors would be very selective with whom they shared their feelings. Two interviewees expressed their concerns:

The only person I really talked to about it was M. (boyfriend). If you would have talked about it to anybody, they would have watched you constantly. My mom and dad would have watched me constantly. I wouldn't have had no freedom... (#4)

...I did say to my brother once, let's get out of here, let's just leave, and he said yeah why don't we...we didn't want to openly discuss and get somebody finding out about it and it was basically dropping hints here and there and that's all we did. It was not discussed at length, never...even wanting to leave, even talking about it, is a major breaking of rules, never mind actually doing it, so it has to be done secretly. (#9)

SUMMARY

Seeking and weighing alternatives, identifying with new reference groups, and considering the costs and rewards of leaving the colony helped the potential defector focus on the norms of the new role. It is during this stage that the defector had reached a conscious step in the role-exit process. At one point the decision to actually leave occurs. The seeking alternatives stage makes defection a realistic option to dissatisfied Hutterites; however, whether this

possibility becomes an actuality requires a turning point. The point at which the "individual makes a firm and definite decision to exit" (Ebaugh, 1988:123).

THE TURNING POINT

The third stage in the role-exit process is the turning point. It is at this point that individuals make a final decision to actually leave their undesirable role. The decision to leave is usually precipitated by a turning point, that is, a specific event that motivates individuals to leave their role. Awareness that an old role is undesirable, combined with the realization that there is opportunity for change, mobilizes the individual to leave the existing role. In conjunction with leaving a role, individuals often formally indicate that a decision has been finalized by such public procedures as handing in a resignation or filing for divorce.

Ebaugh suggests that there may be several types of turning points, and 5 major types emerged from her data:

1. Specific Events - Specific events refers to those events that are either significant, such as a death, or relatively insignificant but have a symbolic meaning to the individual such as a new organizational rule. Specific events, whether significant or symbolic, tend to emphasize the individual's unhappiness in a current role and at this point the individual makes a definite decision to leave.

2. The Last Straw - This type of turning point occurs when an individual has been evaluating and doubting a current role for a long time. The last straw is usually an insignificant event that occurs as a result of an accumulation of negative feelings towards the current role. The last straw happens when an individual is ripe and in a state of readiness to make the decision to leave the current role.
3. Time-related Factors - Time-related factors refers to turning points in such areas as turning forty or time-limited opportunities such as "side bets" that occur over time to make exiting harder, such as a pension plan.
4. Excuses - Excuses refers to an event that individuals use to justify their need to leave a role. An event (job related injury), the group itself (organizational changes) or authority figure (doctor's orders) makes the individual realize that they must leave a role or that they now have an excuse to justify an exit.
5. Either/Or Alternatives - The either/or alternative refers to the type of turning point that occurs in a particular situation. For example, either people exit bad marriages or they lose their mental well-being. An either/or turning point usually occurs after some dramatic event.

Some individuals go through a gradual and continuous process of exiting while others can discretely identify and pinpoint their turning point. Turning points are either

significant events or insignificant and symbolic of the individual's frustration and dislike with regard to a current role. Regardless of what triggers the turning point it serves 3 basic and positive functions in the role-exit process:

1. Announcement of the decision to others - After experiencing the turning point individuals express their decision to leave to others and by announcing their decision to leave, they, in turn, make a commitment to their decision. Those that are supportive of the decision offer assurances that the decision was a right one and those against the decision make it necessary for the potential exiter to explain and justify the reasons for leaving.
2. Reduction of Cognitive Dissonance - Weighing and evaluating the pros and cons of a role create tension and imbalance for the individual. It is the turning point that serves to reduce the cognitive dissonance experienced by those going through the process of leaving a role. Individuals are able to reduce the dissonance and justify their actions so that attitudes and beliefs are balanced.
3. Mobilization of Resources - Once evaluation and deliberation is over and a decision has been made to exit a role it is time for both emotional and social reasons to carry the exit through. Emotions such as anger, resentment, feelings of relief or freedom trigger the

individual to take whatever actions are necessary to exit. In addition, such formal social actions as handing in a resignation or filing for divorce are necessary to carry out the exit.

Once individuals actually leave their previous role the feelings they experience vary, but they do tend to pattern themselves according to the type of exit. For example, ex-nuns experienced feelings of freedom and independence while mothers without custody experienced feelings of numbness and guilt. However, according to Ebaugh, the most common emotional experience is the "vacuum", which is a period of feeling anxious, scared and generally rootless. The vacuum experience can occur at various points of the role-exit process. It may occur right before the decision to exit or just after the exit. The vacuum experience causes anxiety for exiters since they no longer belong to the previous role and yet are uncertain about the future in their new role. The individuals no longer have the anchors of the social self and the identity of the previous role. The vacuum experience can last for weeks or years; however, the feelings of anxiety can be resolved if individuals can reestablish a social identity successfully and create and adapt to their new role. Successful role adjustment and personal happiness tends to occur if an individual is able to build "bridges" in areas of job options, supportive friends and family as well as interests and habits. In addition, being able to reconcile

one's past identities with the present role helps to resolve the feelings of being anxious, scared, and rootless.

THE HUTTERITE EXPERIENCE APPLIED TO THE TURNING POINT

Twenty-one of the defectors interviewed reached their decision to leave the colony between the ages of 17 and 27. One woman left in her late 30's, 4 people left in their early 40's and 1 couple left in their early 50's. It is not surprising to find that most who leave the colony are young adults. If a Hutterite member chooses to leave they know that the Hutterite rules do not allow them to remove any possessions from the community. Therefore they exit with nothing and must secure employment or financial support on the outside. It is much easier for the young to secure jobs and establish a new life on the outside. In addition, many of those interviewed felt that they had to leave before their age group was to be baptized. Baptism symbolizes a commitment to the Hutterite way of life and considering leaving after the event can be even more stressful for the defector.

After making a decision to leave, 4 defectors left within 1 day. Eleven defectors made their decision to leave and left within 1 or 2 weeks. Seven left the colony within 1 to 4 months after making their decision. Putting into place transportation out of the colony, accommodations and employment determined the length of time it took them to actually leave. A few women felt obligated to complete her

cook week before she left. Those that were able to leave within one day already had their plans in place in anticipation of leaving. It took one woman a year to leave after making her final decision. She decided when she was 17 that she would leave the colony on her 18th birthday and she left one week later. One defector left 2 years after his final decision. He would have left sooner but was looking for a job far from the colony.

He said:

...there's a good chance I probably could have gotten jobs really close around here, but I didn't want that. I was looking ahead. When I left I didn't want to come back, so the only way is go quite a distance away so they can't find you. They try to find you and they want to bring you back. I wanted to make sure that I wouldn't be close. In a few weeks I would let them know where I had gone because I didn't want them to worry... (#2)

While Ebaugh's types of turning points do apply to the Hutterite experience they are not all-encompassing. In the Hutterite experience it is seldom a single turning point but rather a combination of turning points. There are some examples in the interviews which illustrate only one type of turning point, but there are many more which illustrate an overlapping of turning points.

Two types of turning points, the last straw and a time-related factor, influenced one man's decision to exit. He had always felt that there was favoritism towards certain families and that being the "underdog" resulted in unfair treatment. The last straw occurred on a wet and windy fall day. He was

working in the field and his equipment kept getting stuck. The farm boss just kept pushing him and blaming him for the situation:

...I got fed up. It was a wet fall and we were doing field work at the time. Everybody got stuck and still they kept on blaming me and some of the other guys. The farm boss would just keep on jumping you "you're not doing enough" Everybody kept on getting stuck...they couldn't get anywhere with rain, rain, rain, and they were pushing you to do everything and nobody could do anything... (#2)

His turning point was also time-related as he was approaching the age of baptism:

I left in the fall. They were talking that they were going to get baptized in the winter time. They were going to do it a year ahead...so I figured, well, either go now or it'll be too late...so I figured I'd better make my move before it's too late in God's eyes. I know that much. Once you are baptized and you leave it's worse yet. (#2)

Two types of turning points, the last straw and excuses, were evident in the experience of 2 female defectors. The last straw occurred because both women experienced a gradual build up of depression and frustration as a result of the expectation to take part in the routine chores of house cleaning and cooking. In addition, they prayed to God, and it was made clear to them that an exit was necessary for their mental and spiritual well-being. The incident of praying to God provided them with the justification to leave their role:

...I do my devotions in the morning. This particular morning I prayed and I went and I sought God and I worshipped him, standing with such a feeling, wondering what do I do with my life? Is this all, is this all Lord?...I didn't have any parents. I was a single person. I had a lot of

time on my hands, this was sort of it was still cold outside, not much to do. Springtime was usually beautiful, you had a whole garden, you had flower beds, we could keep busy, I was tired of keeping busy with hobbies. My week of cooking and baking, which is no challenge to anybody when you've done it for so long. It sort of comes easy. This particular morning I said, Lord I've had all I can take. I need an answer and I took my Bible, held it close to my breast, and said, God this is your promise, this is your word...What do I do? Where do I go? He shared a scripture with me...What do I do next? To go on for you Lord I have to leave this place because there are certain limitations in our praise and worship in the colony and I know of something far better...nobody can say, you don't lift up your hands, and you don't do this and this... (#17)

I can remember very, very vividly, and again, for me it centered around my relationship with God...we would sneak away on the sly and...there were these charismatic meetings going on in Winnipeg here at the time. That for me was like heavenly because there were people you know, who were Christians as well. They were singing and praising the Lord, you know, and that was a high, but when I came back home it would last for a while and then it was sort of down. I was really depressed and I'm not a person given to depression. I really am not. I don't know what depression. Then one Saturday morning, we had been in the kitchen and I was, like I was really having a hard time that morning. I remembered Saturdays I scrubbed, that's when you clean your house, Saturday morning, and I was at home by myself, and I knew that it was my job to clean up the house and tidy up, but I just did not have any energy...so I thought that I would pray, maybe that would help...I was just so depressed, but then I sat up on my knees and I cried, and cried, and cried and I just prayed, Lord I don't like to feel this way, but please you have to give me an answer. I was seeking him, I was halfway in and out. My heart was out of the colony and I was still there, because I wasn't sure. That morning I just poured out every feeling that I had, whether it was little or great...I just remember sort of laying on the bed. Now that I bawled my heart out, I don't feel like getting up and doing my work. I took my Bible. It was Matthew 6 and 7...it was as if a bomb had exploded inside of me...and it was so exquisite. I can't tell you how that felt, but I

had my answer, I got up, I was ready to paint the town red. (#24)

Another example of the combination of the types of turning points involves time-related as well as the either/or alternative. One defector encouraged her fiancée to leave the colony even though a colony wedding date had been set. In addition to the time-related turning point of a wedding date she also experienced an either/or type of turning point. She felt that once she married on the colony it would be harder for them to leave. They were faced with the choice of remaining on the colony and being unhappy with the situation or leaving to marry. She said:

I guess when I really reached the decision was when M. said he was leaving. He really wanted to leave and I know that he wasn't very happy there and I pushed him to leave. He probably might not have left because we were supposed to get married there, so he had resigned himself to staying because our wedding date was set for us to get married. I told him if he wants to leave, he'd better do it, because once you're married it would be a lot harder yet. That was one of the things, too, I didn't want to get married yet. Not really. It wasn't that I didn't want to get married, it was just that I didn't want to get married in the colony, because I knew we wouldn't have a home. We would have to live with my mom and dad. I just didn't want to be married there. I didn't want to get married and have a whole bunch of kids... (#4)

The turning points for another defector involved a specific event and an excuse. She knew that something "major" would have to occur to influence her to make the decision to actually leave. One turning point for her was an incident that occurred during her cooking week. She disliked cooking and as well did not get along with the head cook. Adding to

this was the fact that her regular cooking partner was unavailable to cook with her that week and she would be assigned a different partner every day. Being assigned a different partner every day for a week would put more responsibility on her and she could not handle the stress as she already had an ulcer. The specific event of the unusual cooking week combined with the excuse of the medical problem were the turning points for this woman. She said:

I knew that something major would have to happen before I finally, got my act together and actually made the big move. So it came somewhere in the summer of '88. I hated cooking. It was one of the things I truly detested...usually you cooked with a partner and there was also a head cook. The head cook was very hard to get along with..When my week was coming up, my turn, something happened to my partner. Maybe she was sick or something, I can't remember. That would mean I would have to have a different partner every day of that week to help me, because my partner wasn't available. I would sort of have a lot of responsibility that week and I was also sort of sickly, because I had an ulcer, and I knew they would put a lot of stress on me and then I wouldn't carry my responsibility. Basically I just didn't want to do it. I found out about 2 weeks before my cook week that I would have to cook with different people, so I had about a week and a half to plan... (#8)

For another young woman the turning point included a time-related factor as well as excuses. Her aunt, an ex-Hutterite approached her with a job offer that was available immediately. She had to make a decision whether to remain or leave the colony and turned to God for her answer:

My aunt had said she needed to know. I needed to make a decision if I want to leave at that time. I wanted to leave, but I didn't know exactly when, and then she said she wanted this decision about this job...I guess for a week, I was really praying

about it. I couldn't stop thinking about it, too, and then all of a sudden, it just came to me. I just had to do it, and after I made that decision I felt much better. I just got up and got out and went for a walk, and I felt really relieved. (#22)

While the above examples illustrate combinations of turning points, some cases are more clear cut and can be categorized under one of the types of turning points. For example, the last straw occurred for 2 women, and 1 of them could no longer do as she was told and refused to go berry picking, another made her decision to leave in the summer because she could no longer tolerate garden work. The last straw was also a turning for one man who felt that he was not being treated as fairly as others:

...I kind of felt at times that I wasn't getting treated as good as the other boys sometimes...we'd be in the field and, same field as the other guys and they would get treats sent up to them and we wouldn't...things like that would build up and they would bug you. It seemed that the people that were involved in harvesting got treated better than the ones that were generally just on the tractor and we didn't think that was very fair. They thought it was. Sometimes the manager will favor their siblings and grandchildren. It happens a lot. A lot of politics there. A lot of favoritism and everybody sees it. (#11)

Several defectors experienced a specific event when they ended a romantic relationship, or their boyfriends, girlfriends or spouses left the colony. These significant events triggered their decision to leave. As one interviewee responded:

It was a guy okay, I might as well tell it. I was in love with him and I knew there was no future in it. We broke up. That was the only thing I had there anyways. That was the only reason that I was

staying in the first place for the past 2 years...I didn't want to stay for any other reason, so I left after we broke up. (#18)

I guess I would have to say I left when my girlfriend, who is now my wife, left before me. When she left, that's when I made the decision to leave. (#11)

With regard to the Hutterite experience, the catalyst for the turning points is the system itself. In all cases, except one where a woman left because her husband had previously defected, there is a disenchantment with the system and a breakdown of commitment or compliance so that the relatively unknown outside world holds more promise and hope than the Hutterite way of life.

As Ebaugh suggests, the announcement of the decision to leave and the resolution of cognitive dissonance mobilizes the individual to use any resources necessary to make the exit. Asking defectors how they went about leaving the colony produced a similar pattern of explanations.

Out of 28 cases, 20 left alone (that is, no other colony members defected with them), 3 left with their immediate families, 1 left with her niece, 1 left with a cousin and 1 left with a friend. The reason most defectors leave alone was well expressed by a 1 man:

...I'd have to be very quiet. I mean if my parents found out or somebody, there'd be a lot of pressure for me to stay. (#9)

Except for one woman who left spontaneously to live with ex-Hutterite friends, all the other cases had an exit plan.

Everyone made arrangements for transportation out of the colony, lodging, employment or outside financial support. Out of 28 cases, 22 went according to plan, 5 had minor changes and 1 did not go according to the original plan. While each set of arrangements is individually unique, the following excerpts are typical of lone exiters whose arrangements went according to plan:

Describe for me, in detail, exactly how you went about leaving the colony?

Okay, I made my decision. First priority was employment, preferably I wanted employment that would give me food and lodging. That was my preference at the time. It's a lot easier that way. It had to be a farm job, that's basically all I knew at the time. I consulted the Western Producer and the Free Press and any other farm paper I could come up with. I couldn't come up with anything, my uncle didn't come with anything, so finally I came up with this one ad in the Western Producer. It was out of Souris, Manitoba. I walked the 2 miles to the neighbour, to make a phone call. I phoned this guy up, talked to him. This was a Thursday, he says I can start Monday, so that was taken care of. I said I'd be there. I had my job. That was my main concern, now my second concern was somebody's got to take me away from here. I was contemplating, how am I going to reach my uncle. I wanted him to give me a ride to Portage. It just so happened that he was there visiting, so that took care of step two. Because of my grandfather and my dad being in Brandon the next evening we decided that would be the opportune time and my uncle would come pick me up and whisk me out of there.

Your uncle would pick you up?

Yes. They probably would have tried to convince me to stop if they'd been home and they would have had the greatest influence. It would just be a little easier if they're not around. The next day it rained. Boy did it rain...it was just one slop. All I took was an apple box full of clothes. I had to walk 2 miles across the dirt road. I was just a

mess by the time I got there. My uncle picked me up...

You left alone?

Yes. I left alone. Went to Portage, I spent two evenings and two days at my uncle's place. He drove me to Souris. It was my new boss's place. The next morning I started work. (#11)

Describe for me in detail, exactly how you went about leaving the colony?

It's such a long story.

That's okay. Did you leave alone?

Yes, well someone picked me up. I would have to get a job before anything else. I didn't want to take a chance leaving without one. You don't know where your money is going to come from. So, there were 3 phones on the colony, and they were all connected, so at all times there could have been someone listening. People had a bad habit of listening in to other people's phone calls, but for some reason there was a phone in the teacher's room. The room was usually locked, and the school was usually locked. That week the school was open and I found a little pick key that got into the teacher's room lock, so I got a hold of that phone and I phoned to the city. I was looking through the paper for jobs. Nobody listened in that whole week. It was still connected to the other phones, but it was a little more private than the one in the kitchen and in the minister's house. Nobody listened in which is quite amazing, and getting in was quite amazing, too. I believe now that it was a supernatural act of God.

Then I had to think of how I would get to the city and where I would stay. There was this lady on the colony who knew I wanted to leave. She had actually left the colony, with her boyfriend, and had married outside of the colony and after they had their first child they came back. She knew all about what I was going through and she offered her help. She said, that she had a sister in the City of Winnipeg who would be happy to take me in until

I found a job, so she gave me her number and I called. Her name is M. and I called her up and she said, sure she'll make sure that she's home when I get there. I made plans for the Sunday which was actually the Sunday before the Monday of my cook week. I said, you know, I'll try to be there Sunday, and then, well how am I going to get to the city? I knew this fellow who worked maybe 5 minutes from the colony on a dairy farm. I called S. and I said, you know, are you working next Sunday, and he said, "no I'm not". That was the day I'd have to leave. I told him where to pick me up, at 4:00 in the afternoon, which would be the time when everybody was taking their afternoon naps. Sunday is sort of a lazy day. And then you have got to think about your clothes. You're not going to wear your Hutterite clothes. So, I called the lady who I had cleaned her house for, and told her that I'm coming and she said she was going to get her daughter to phone all her friends and get some clothes together and then she said her daughter would bring the clothes over to the colony. After I hung up the phone, I said oh, wait a minute what if someone sees this. But she only lived maybe a short distance from the colony, so what I did is, I got this little girl's 3 wheeler. It wasn't licensed and I didn't have a licence, but I took it, I phoned her [neighbour]. I said, you know, I'll come and pick it up. I don't want her to come to the colony, it's taking too big of a chance, so I went and picked up the clothes myself...

You brought the clothes back, and where did you put them?

I hid them. I had this little office that I used, this vacant old house...and so I hid it in that house. Then one night they were threshing. They were on the fields, and it was pretty dark. There were no stars out, so I used that opportunity to pack up my stuff. My twin sister helped me get my stuff out, pass it out the window to me and I then put it in this little play house...I hid it in there.

Sunday morning I was supposed to get up and wash dishes at the kitchen but my mom knew that I had a hard time getting up on Sundays, so the day before she offered to wash dishes for me. So then all I did in the morning is watched until I saw my parents leave the house and go to the kitchen. After everyone was gone I picked up my clothes, took them back into a field of corn, hid them in

the corn and came back. Then went for a shower and went to church for the last time. I remember church was over in a flash because my mind wasn't there. [I] went for lunch and after lunch at 1:00 my twin sister and my friend went for a walk back to the corn. When we were rounding the trees to get to the corn we could see, on the dirt road a car coming. We could just see the dust, and it was like such perfect timing, just as we were rounding the corner.

Did they know you were leaving?

Yeah, I told these 2 people. So they walked me back and we said our good-byes and then I remember getting into the car and we were on our way...

Where did you stay?

To M's. I stayed at her house. I still didn't have a job, but I was very confident that I would find one. Maybe the first or second day of staying at M's. house, a family invited me to come to their house and babysit for them. I wouldn't have to start until a week later, so I still had a week to get used to going around before I started working... (#8)

The minor changes in plan included such things as being driven to a destination instead of taking the bus, or one individual getting caught while a colony member was driving him to a non-Hutterite neighbour or making arrangements to secretly phone someone at a specified time in order to clarify the time of departure and finding that the person had already snuck onto the colony. These changes are so minor that these cases may be considered to have gone according to plan. However, in one instance the defector did not leave according to plan. She had made arrangements for an ex-Hutterite friend to pick her up, had a job waiting for her, and had planned to stay at her friend's home in Winnipeg. When she told her dad

that she was leaving he told her to cancel her plans and he would make alternate arrangements:

...when I told my dad that I was leaving he told me to change those plans. He said if you are leaving, then we will help you. We will take you somewhere. So they took me to my uncle's place and I lived there for 3 months and I got a babysitting job and that's where I lived until I moved to Winnipeg in March. (#18)

Although it was not made easy by colony members, 2 families who left from separate colonies were able to take most of their possessions, which included clothing, personal items, linens, and furniture. One woman whose family helped her leave packed her a suitcase with clothes, linens, cloth, and other necessities. However, all others left with few clothes, some personal belongings and necessities which were packed in suitcases, small bags, boxes, or plastic bags. Some left with amounts of money ranging from \$5.00 to \$100.00. One woman said, "We'd sell quilts, my mom and I would go to town, my mom would give me a couple of dollars. It added up after a while." In response to asking what they took along, several defectors had similar replies:

Well, like most any other person that's leaving from a Hutterite colony, I guess just the bare necessities and clothes, shoes. As little as you can, and as much as you can...I had \$5.00. (#16)

Well, I took the kind of clothes that I knew I could wear. I had been slowly putting away a few clothes that I knew I would be wearing. And, I guess, just other necessities that I knew I would need, like cosmetics and stuff like that, just the necessities. (#18)

Not too much. Just a little box of clothes and a few shirts and few pants and socks. Just a little box, that's it. Of my own, I had \$11.00 and I borrowed \$30.00 or \$40.00 from my brother. (#2)

...I was lucky. Normally you walked off there with the clothes you're wearing on your back. I was lucky. I knew I was going, so I had this overnight case where I packed a few articles like underwear... (#4)

Fourteen defectors made arrangements to stay at the homes of ex-Hutterite family or friends. Seven found accommodation with non-Hutterite friends. One family moved into an apartment while 1 man slept on a bus until he arrived at his employment in Ontario. Most of those interviewed waited a couple of days to a few months before moving out of their original accommodation and into different accommodations which often included live-in jobs such as babysitting, farm hand, or nursing aid.

Out of 28 cases, 17 did not experience any negative reactions from ex or non-Hutterite family or friends. Several felt that "basically there wasn't much they could do." The well thought out plans of most to "leave on the sly" or "when it's dark", protected them from encountering family or friends who might try to persuade them not to leave. One woman was warned by other ex-Hutterites not to tell anyone where she was staying so that no one would be able to contact her and persuade her to come back. The following descriptions illustrate the emotional reactions of a few colony members:

There was shock and surprise. They didn't think I would go, even though this had been going over in

my head for years. I'd been turning it over, I'd been thinking about this. It never occurred to anybody else that I was going to go because I seemed too happy there. I seemed content. I had a brand new tractor, I had a brand new swather, and I had a brand new seeder. All these things, to a young Hutterite are very important things. Their life revolves around the farm and the implements, and they didn't think I'd leave because I had all this stuff. In their eyes, I had it made. (#11)

They were all very shocked. They thought I was the last person that would go, because I was always so quiet and not talking, like not outgoing or anything like that... (#22)

They probably thought "I told you so" because they expected me to leave. Most everybody expected it. They were not too surprised at all. (#15)

Well, basically I imagine there was a few days of silence. Nobody said much about it, everybody was just stunned saying "hey another one". After that, they gradually get used to it and start talking about it, and get used to whatever has taken place. (#16)

The remaining 11 defectors experienced some form of persuasive reactions from colony members. The following excerpts illustrate these reactions:

...we were hounded [by] our friends. There was always somebody there from the Hutterite colony... (#7)

...I was just getting established in my job [when] my favourite uncle, an old conservative Hutterite and his wife, came to visit me in Winkler. I was overjoyed to see them, I was so happy. He can't help himself, he scolds and scolds, but when he's through scolding for the first 15 or 20 minutes he settles down...he was very hurt, there was genuine hurt there, and he said "tell us what do you want in this wicked world?" I tried to explain but they didn't understand my experience, and they left disappointed... (#24)

They found out somehow. I told one too many people, and they found out the day before that I

was going to leave. They were watching. Because it's such a close knit family there, they always know where you are at every moment of every day. If you go off the property you have to tell somebody so they always know where you are. If you're not at the dinner table in the kitchen, they know you're gone. They're always, always, always looking out for each other. It's very difficult to sneak away for a couple of hours without being noticed, so I figured I'd be smart and make it really easy and just go to town with one of my friends. He was going to go to town to do some business and I was going to go along with him, bring my suitcase and just go on the bus. They found out. They were watching me, and I didn't know it. We were going to go to town the next day. We made an excuse to get parts and we went. He took a colony vehicle, you see, you have to ask for a vehicle from the boss. It happened to be that the colony boss is his dad. He was watching us all day to see what we were doing, and when I got into the pick-up truck he was parked behind a clump of trees sitting and waiting in the van watching us go. I took my suitcase and I put it on the back of the truck and that was his key that I was leaving. He knew that, because you don't go away for a couple of hours with a suitcase and so he came after me, stopped us about 2 miles from the colony and he came up to my door. He opened the door and grabbed me, roughly by the shirt collar and dragged me out of the vehicle and said, "you're staying here" and I said, "no I'm not." I was, at that point, very determined and very angry. No way am I staying. He said, "if you're going to leave, you're going to walk." Because it was his dad, he told his son to just go. He said, "leave him here, you go to town and do your business, he's staying here." So he did and 2 seconds before he left, my friend and his dad went back to his van, I told him, "phone the neighbours, I'll be at the neighbours." I told him which neighbour it was and that to phone. If I'm not there in 20 minutes, then forget about me, and I said to him, buy a bus ticket. I carried [my bag] home. This is about half a mile. I had left a note on my bed and told my mom that I was leaving. I came home and the whole family is gathered in my bedroom crying. I walked in on this and they go, "what happened?" I didn't tell them. I didn't. So luckily it was coffee time. My brother was home with the tractor from field work, so after coffee I just told my mom, I said, "I'm leaving today." I took my

suitcase and my brother took me to the neighbour.
(#9)

The kinds of feelings that followed the final decision to exit did not follow a particular pattern among the interviewees but covered a wide range of emotions including guilt, apprehension, loss, determination, excitement, and relief:

Very nervous, and in a way sad too, thinking of my folks, I'm hurting them most. I was always thinking, how was I ever going to face my dad again? I always got along much better with my dad than I did with my mom. I don't know why? I was a tomboy, I guess, and I always [went] down to the blacksmith with my dad and I kept thinking, how am I ever going to face my dad again? That was the hardest part, was my dad, because I was never really close to my sisters, not as close as I was to my brothers. I don't know why that was, but I kept thinking, dad, is he ever going to talk to me again? I felt sorry that I was hurting mom and dad. I knew it hurt them. They're so used to that kind of life. I guess you could say it's sort of a shame to parents when their kids leave. They [see] how all the other parents feel when theirs are all there and you sort of feel ashamed that some of theirs are gone. I guess the worst part about leaving was hurting mom and dad. But, I guess [I have] to live my own life... (#1)

It didn't bother my conscience at all...I was excited about leaving, about the challenge... (#11)

I felt relieved. It had been on my mind for so many years and I didn't know how I was going to do it and when and how and where, so obviously it is a relief...so I felt free. I felt relieved. (#15)

...I was calm in my heart and I knew I was doing the right thing. I was a little apprehensive, but sort of wondering how things were going to go from here, but I was no longer frightened. (#24)

I felt guilty, I mean I felt guilty not in a sense that I would go to hell, but I felt like I was betraying some people. I also felt like there were

people in the system who wanted to change it and make it more open. I had a strong sense of betraying those people. But some of my best friends did stay and are staying, and are working for positive changes internally. I definitely felt that I was betraying them. I felt like I was betraying, sort of, my brothers and sisters who had young children and who could have used the help. As role models, we were important to them... (#28)

In the course of interviewing defectors, it was discovered that 2 of them had previously left the colony and returned. One was a man who was a conscientious objector during World War II. The Hutterites, being pacifists, were allowed to take part in alternate war work on a government farm 30 miles from his home colony. He would visit his colony every 3 weeks but on those Sundays when he was away from his colony he would attend outside churches and listen to religious programs on the radio. He listened to Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong and he ordered religious literature as well taking the Armstrong correspondence course in religious studies. He returned to his colony after the war and remained there until 1966 when he left because of religious doubts. He has been away from the colony for 26 years and has no intention of returning.

The other serial defector, a woman, left the colony when she was approximately 18 years old. Her family was friendly with non-Hutterite Christians and she was influenced by their religious beliefs. However, her parents pressured her to return to the colony. After 3 years on the outside she

returned to the colony along with her siblings who had also defected. She remained on the colony for 3 years until she was pressured to become baptized. She said:

...when I was gone for 3 years I was baptized in a Baptist Church. When I returned they wanted me to be baptized. I was 24 at the time, so they wanted me to be baptized. There was pressure on, and getting baptized in the colony, you became a member of the colony, and at that time I wasn't ready to become a member. I was still questioning the tradition, a lot of the traditions, and I wasn't prepared, or wasn't ready, or hadn't quite accepted it yet. I didn't feel that I should have to be rebaptized, just to become a member. (#26)

She has lived on the outside for over 15 years and has no intention of returning to the colony.

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF TYPES OF TURNING POINTS

TYPES	FREQUENCY*
Specific events **	10
Last straw	12
Time related factors	6
Excuses	4
Either/or alternatives	5

* Some respondents indicated more than one type of turning point. Each time a turning point was mentioned it was recorded.

** Ebaugh suggests there are two types of specific events: significant and symbolic. She refers to symbolic events as those that are "relatively insignificant events". (Ebaugh, 1988:125) In this study respondents experienced only significant events. No one experienced a symbolic event.

SUMMARY

In considering the third stage of the role-exit process, the turning point, Ebaugh's model generally fits the Hutterite experience. There seems to be a ripe time to make the final decision to exit. In all cases, this ripe time was accompanied by turning points which were triggered by some situation or event. While Ebaugh's 5 types of turning points, specific events, the last straw, time-related factors, excuses, and either/or alternative, can be applied to the Hutterite experience, they are not all inclusive and more than one can be identified in many of the turning point experiences.

The actual decision to leave the colony occurred during a time when the member was ripe to leave. An event such as the decision to be baptized or a personality conflict with an authoritarian Hutterite leader took place and motivated the member to mobilize his or her resources. Individuals needed transportation off the colony, housing, and financial support. After leaving the colony and going through some initial transitions, a Hutterite defector is faced with the task of making permanent changes to adjust to the defector role. This adjustment occurs during the final stage of the role-exit process, creating and adapting to the ex-role.

CREATING AND ADAPTING TO THE EX-ROLE

The final stage of the role-exit process involves

creating and adapting to the new role. Creating and adapting to a new role identity involves a struggle between the normative expectations and obligations from the previous role and those for the current role. One's previous identity becomes incorporated into the present identity. Individuals who exit carry the "baggage" from the previous role. Moreover, the process of transformation is difficult for the individual since significant others usually view the individual in terms of the exiter's previous identity. Exiters experience a lot of tension as they try to play down and detach themselves from their old role. A goal of the exiter is not to be thought of as an "ex" and in order not to be identified as one, Ebaugh suggests that there are 6 major areas of adjustment:

1. Presentation of Self: Cuing Behavior

In order to signal to others that a change has taken place, exiters present outward symbolic cues to indicate a new identity. Cues such as different dress, habits or manners are presented to others so that they will hopefully be aware of and react to the new identity.

2. Social Reaction

As individuals present themselves as members of a new role, people begin to react to them differently than before the exit. There are 2 types of exits. Those that carry stigma and those that are institutionalized in terms of expected behaviour. Institutionalized exits, such as

widowhood, follow a pattern of guidelines, procedures, or models, to help the transformation from one role to another, while some exits, such as a sex change, are created and developed as the individual moves along without clear guidelines, models, and precedents to follow. In addition, there are also those role-exits that are socially desirable, such as prostitute to ex-prostitute, and those which are undesirable, such as a sex change, and carry a stigma and associated negative social sanctions. The exiter's presentation of self together with society's reaction to the creation and adaptation of the new role makes it easy or difficult for the individual. Positive or negative social reactions from others determines how well the individual will cope with the new role. In addition, labelling an exiter can conjure up positive or negative social reactions. For example, an ex-con conjures up images of being dangerous, untrustworthy, and mean. Labels tend to stereotype individuals, and exiters have to cope and deal with these images of their previous role.

3. Intimacies

Intimate relationships in the area of friendships and sexuality is often a social challenge for individuals in a new role. For example, divorcees and ex-nuns may be faced with a set of changed or unfamiliar social expectations, norms, and values with regard to dating or friendship.

4. Shifting Friendship Networks

Exiting a role often results in leaving behind previous friends and establishing new friendship patterns. Exiters most often experience a role exit that involves some changes in the people they value and with whom they associate as friends.

5. Relating to Group Members and Other Exes

According to Ebaugh, exiters have a unique characteristic in that they once shared a role identity with others who are still part of the previous role as well as sharing a role identity with cohorts or aggregates of other exes who have left the previous group. Therefore, exes are placed in the position of relating to both groups.

6. Role Residual

Role residual is also known as "hangover identity", that is, some aspects of self-identity from a previous role may remain with the individual. Some individuals are better able to "shake off" their identification from a previous role than others and are able to leave the role with little "continued identity", while others experience difficulty detaching themselves from previous roles.

According to Ebaugh's analysis, those exiting semi-professional or professional roles tend to have more role residual than non-professionals. Moreover, individuals who leave a role central to their identity experience some role residual. Those individuals are not only aware of their

former role but carry aspects of that role with their new role identity. Ebaugh suggests that the more personal involvement, commitment, and self-identity an individual had in a former role, the more residual will exhibit itself in the current identity. Role residual can be a constant attribute as in the case of ex-alcoholics, or it can be expressed in particular circumstances that may trigger a memory of a previous role such as an ex-football coach watching a game, or it may manifest itself in dreams. In her analysis, Ebaugh discovered that exiters, who successfully coped with these above 6 challenges, were better able to adjust to the new role.

THE HUTTERITE EXPERIENCE APPLIED TO CREATING AND ADAPTING TO THE EX-ROLE

As noted above, Ebaugh suggests that there are 6 major areas that exes must adjust to in order to deemphasize their previous role. Four of them, presentation of self, social reactions, relating to group members and other exes, and role residual, proved to be readily applicable to Hutterite defectors, but the remaining 2 required some modification, as will be demonstrated below.

1. Presentation of Self: Cuing Behavior

For the defectors in this sample, the issue of the presentation of the self by means of external cues such as clothing, make-up or hair is not as dramatic as in Ebaugh's examples of ex-nuns and transsexuals who were anxious and

concerned about how they were going to present themselves to other people. This lack of interest may be due to their socialization process of deemphasizing material goods. However, for women, taking off their head cover, for example, did have a symbolic importance as a way of cuing their defector status. A woman described her departure from the colony:

...So they walked me back and we said our good-byes and then I remember getting in the car and we were on our way and I remembered oh, I still have my scarf. I should have given it to my twin sister. We weren't gone very far, so I told S. to back up and I gave my scarf to K. because I wouldn't need it. (#8)

Three of the women interviewed feel more comfortable and prefer their Hutterite style of clothing (e.g., full skirts and dresses, etc.). Moreover, they do not have the extra money to spend on clothing. This is well illustrated by one woman:

...I'm having a hard time moving away from the Hutterite clothes, two reasons, they're very comfortable, and as a student I just simply don't have the money to go out and buy clothes... (#24)

Money is also a concern for those women who liked to wear outside clothing, such as skirts, T-shirts, or pants. One woman was especially happy with outside clothing since she "hated that outfit." Another woman said:

I buy the clothes when they are on sale. I never buy expensive clothes, and I wear pants. I don't always wear a dress. Always on the colony you had to wear a dress. (#10)

The women interviewed do not seem to be concerned about

cuing to others that they were no longer Hutterites, rather their goal is to adjust to, and learn about, outside appearance. One woman said:

I was happy with the city clothing but your money goes very fast and you can't afford to buy what you want. At first I didn't know how I wanted to dress. I went on just sort of a jeans and t-shirts type...I didn't know how to dress and the problem of coordinating your clothes and how to style your hair, all that. You have to learn that, like a baby. You have to learn that all over again. (#8)

Unlike the females who all left colonies where the traditional female costume was mandatory, the males came from colonies where it was not necessary to wear the traditional male dress of black pants and black hat since blue jeans were an option. As a result, the men's transition with clothing is not as dramatic. However, as one man indicated, there is a difference in the type of clothing he wears on the outside, namely, he could wear anything, even t-shirts with writing and pictures.

Being socialized on the colony to believe that material things are not important may be the reason that outward appearance with clothing and hairstyle is not a major factor in the presentation of self to others. Changes in religious habits, on the other hand, is an important area of cuing to others that a role change has been made. Studying a different bible, attending different churches, and attending services once a week rather than everyday as they did on the colony are ways of indicating to others that a change has been made from

Hutterite to outside religious beliefs.

2. Social Reaction

a) Colony Members

As Ebaugh suggests, the social reactions of others is an important dynamic for an ex to move into an ex-role. From the point of view of colony members, it is not considered socially desirable to leave the colony. Not only is it the expectation that one remain on the colony for life, but those that leave are considered a threat to the communal way of life. As a result, the rules and regulations that apply to those that have left, and those who wish to visit the colony are quite specific. One must call and obtain advance permission to visit the colony from the pastor:

Yeah, I have to phone, make an appointment, the pastor has the option of saying no. He can say no if he wants to...he's never said no and I've never given him a reason to say no...they put that rule in because a lot of young people that leave the colony just go haywire. They take the total opposite life of what they've been taught and trained. They go to bars, they start drinking, they start smoking, all sorts of things that the colony looks at that they were taught and trained is wrong. They just let themselves go and indulge in whatever they feel like and that's one of the reasons they made that rule because the kids would bring stuff home. They'd bring home their cigarettes and their ex-girlfriends, and their girlfriends and their TV's and their VCR's. They'd bring a lot of stuff home to the colony that the colony does not approve of and smoke in their parents' houses. It's something that you don't do on the colony. And then they made a rule and said well, if guys are going to come home with all this stuff you have to let the pastor know if you're here so he can rule, govern, watch and just see that things don't get out of hand. (#9)

Another man expressed his difficulty in calling for permission to visit his colony:

...We go there, but the men higher up they make it harder every time you have to phone. They want to know who's coming and how many and how long. You know you have to answer those questions. I told the family I'm not phoning anymore. If you guys want to go, you phone yourself and I'll go, I'll come along. That's it. (#2)

This difficult and uncomfortable procedure of seeking permission to visit a colony may make it easier for defectors to be more successful in deemphasizing their past identity. Being able to visit a colony as often and for as long as an ex wishes could prolong the adjustment process. However, only 3 defectors do not visit their own colony other colonies. One has no time but would like to visit, one has no desire to visit any colony, and the third is in contact with colony members by phone. While very few do not visit colonies, most others visit "very rarely", once per year, or "occasionally", every few months. However, defectors are often in contact with their family by phone or through visits in the city. Colony visits are often a result of a special occasion such as a wedding or a funeral. Contact with colony members centers around parents, in-laws, and siblings and thus reflects the specific desire to maintain family ties rather than general colony ties. One woman who has not been to her "home place" for over a year said:

...In fact I don't have much of a desire to go there because your thinking has changed, your

interests have changed. Theirs are different from yours. How can you even communicate? (#7)

b) Non-Hutterites

Nineteen of those interviewed did not experience any negative social reactions from non-Hutterites who know that they are ex-Hutterites. It does not change their relationships and in fact, they feel accepted:

Well, first of all I've tried with my work ethics and to be myself, to show that I'm not any different from them. That works out fine. So far I've been accepted 100%. (#16)

One woman said she does not know any non-Hutterites and another said non-Hutterites do not know that she is a defector. Four interviewees feel that non-Hutterites who know that they are defectors negatively affects their relationships. This was well-illustrated by the following responses:

Lots of people don't have a very good opinion of the Hutterites. So, you don't really try and make it a known factor when you meet somebody new, you don't tell them that you're a Hutterite because you can see a change in their attitude pretty well right away. They seem to think you're dumb, like you don't know anything, and that's not right. When you don't tell them you're a Hutterite, you're okay. (#1)

Some people will be snotty about it, and it's not worth it. Most people will be quite respectful. Most people will be just curious, and ask questions which I don't mind. It's just different for them. I've been treated bad because I might have mentioned being an ex-Hutterite... "you don't have an education so why not just go in the kitchen you dumb Hut" and things like that. It's just rude. There's a few insensitive people but most of them are really nice. (#14)

...I've never had any intention of hiding it, and I know that's a big one for Hutterites. I know some Hutterites who have lived for years with people and they've never mentioned that, but I have always been extremely proud of it. Not that it's to my credit, I mean, I didn't choose to be born there. I've never hidden it and I've had a few negative responses..."Oh, I bet you must be glad you escaped". They're just ignorant remarks like that. This assumption that everybody sleeps with everybody on the colony, just stuff like that...but overall I think I feel like I've been treated with respect. (#28)

One man, a carpenter, feels that non-Hutterites who know that he is a defector positively affects his relationships with them. To him, being raised on a Hutterite colony conjures up images to others of a "good worker" and a "versatile worker."

Other than from the point of view of religious groups, who may encourage those individuals who secretly attend outside religious gatherings to leave the colony, there does not appear to be any interest from the point of view of non-Hutterites whether individuals leave or remain on the colonies.

In addition to the reactions of non-Hutterite individuals, a major consideration for defectors from Hutterite colonies is their adjustment to a cultural experience that is very different from the Hutterite way of life. They have been previously trained to live in a communal society based on 16th century Anabaptist traditions. They then enter a world that has a new and different set of rules and expectations. Questioning defectors on their likes,

dislikes, difficulties, and their general attitudes towards themselves and life on the outside gives insight into how they have adjusted to living in a society where they must learn to direct their own lives.

Learning to interact with outside people, handle money and adjust to a new and different routine were the most difficult adjustments for 14 of those interviewed. The following examples illustrate the difficulties in adjusting to a new and different culture:

Well, just little things that I found strange at first. I would find it strange when neighbours who live together on the same street, and their houses can be really close together and they would be sharing a lawn, you know, and one neighbour would cut his grass on his side of the lawn. Even though there was no fence or anything, he would still not cross that invisible line. It's only a few more feet, do your neighbour a favor. I find that really strange. Maybe it's just because they are city people. When I meet someone and talk to them, the next time I see them they wouldn't know me. Maybe they're just used to meeting new people all the time, or maybe they're just shy. I don't know what it was but I notice quite a bit that you'd have to see them quite often and talk to them quite often before they would acknowledge you. With me, I would see someone and talk to them one time and the next time I see them I'd go up and say "hi how are you?" (#8)

The most difficult adjustment was to adjust to the social scene. I knew how to work, that's no problem. Give me something to do, and I'll do it. I guess taking care of myself is not a big deal, cooking and doing laundry. Any guy that moves away from his parents has to adjust a certain amount. I think the biggest one was the social aspect and just the getting used to the social life of people out here versus colony people. I guess sitting down and having a conversation with somebody without being clued out as to what they're talking about. That was a big thing for me. I was clued out to a lot of stuff, like what's going on, who

are the movie stars. These are things that people talk about. I had no idea of television shows, everyday stuff that people just take for granted. I had no problem with work at all. The social adjustment was basically how to act. How to behave and interact with people which was vastly different from colony life. I mean it's like a big family. Imagine yourself in your own family, you bicker with each other or you're not real nice to each other all the time. You get to know a person so intimately that you just forget to be nice. I guess that was a major adjustment, I learned all these new and different things. I think I've done well in 4 years... (#9)

There was a lot to know. I didn't know [anything] about how to write a cheque and how to deal with money and I had language problems...my spelling was not good either. (#10).

The most difficult adjustment, well, to tell you the truth, in the colony it was kind of the system where men do the field work and the work in the barns and then went home and sat down and relaxed. You didn't make the beds, you didn't have anything to do with washing dishes, that's considered women's work, you didn't touch it. I was kind of a spoiled brat. I came out of a system where basically everything was done for me. When the bell rang, I went to eat. When I got up in the morning to go to breakfast, my sisters would make my bed. I'd come home to coffee and the sandwiches would be ready. I left and all of a sudden who was going to do my cooking, who was going to make my bed, who was going to vacuum the floor. My place was a mess most of the time. That was sort of the biggest adjustment, my cooking and all that stuff. I had to learn. I had to learn the hard way. (#11)

Adjusting to living in a society where they can no longer depend on the colony for financial security and emotional support is the most difficult adjustment for 10 defectors. This is how they expressed these concerns:

...I know that my kids are by themselves sometimes. They're alone sometimes and I know if we were at home they wouldn't be. I keep thinking with the plant closing down and P. getting laid off at times. I keep thinking what are we going to do?

You have it in the back of your mind that you know there is an alternative. I keep thinking if I was at home, I wouldn't worry where's my next meal going to come from. Are we going to be able to hang onto the house and things like that. You don't have to worry about money or about eating. Your food is placed before you and you always have a warm bed. Those are things I know I'll have to worry about with my kids. Whereas, if I would have them at home [i.e. on the colony] I wouldn't have to worry. I can take care of myself. It doesn't bother me. But, for my kids, especially if you have one that has special needs. If you have a handicapped child that you know will always be dependent on you. At home I wouldn't have any worry about it...yet, it would be so hard to go back, even knowing all of that. It would be so hard for me to go back and try to readjust to all that. Being told you've got to dress like this, you've got to wear your hair one way... (#1)

The most difficult adjustment was having to be my own person. Having not have somebody there, like not have 30 people around you that do things for you. You have to make your own decisions and communicate with other people. Having to make up my own mind, am I going to do this today? Am I going to go out and look for a job? Am I going to talk to this person?... (#4)

One defector who would return to the colony if her husband, an ex-Hutterite, would return with her, has difficulty adjusting to all aspects of life on the outside while another defector has not found any difficulties in adjusting to the outside. One woman's most difficult adjustment is her lack of education but she hopes to become a teacher. However, with the exception of one defector who would like to return to the colony, all others are reasonably secure and comfortable living on the outside. Their security depends on maintaining their job, their friendship networks, and their religious faith. While they do not express any desire to

return to live on their colony, they do reflect on the financial and emotional security that a colony provides:

...the insecurities, plans for retirement, get up and work each day, five days a week. The insecurity of not knowing whether I'll have a job and stuff like that. The colony is very secure...you're one of their own and they make sure you're taken care of as far as your physical needs are concerned. Food and clothing and your basic needs are basically taken care of. There's no questions asked. You always have a job, you always have a good time... (#9)

When asked to describe what their life is like on the outside, many expressed similar interests. Both sexes enjoy attending church at least once per week, listening to music, reading religious publications, watching TV, and taking part in recreational sports, such as walking, biking, miniature golf, rollerskating, and bowling. The males enjoy playing hockey and baseball. The women enjoy hobbies, such as knitting, crocheting, sewing and baking, while the men spend their time on such things as cars and carpentry. One man is a stamp collector. Other than church affiliations, they do not belong to any other organizations. The best and most positive part of their life on the outside is, in general, the freedom of choice and, in particular, the freedom to practise a religion of their choice. After all, it was the lack of this freedom of choice that motivated them to leave the colony in the first place. The following excerpts are illustrations of the large majority of defectors who enjoy living on the outside because of their freedom of choice:

The good points, well it is basic freedom of

choice. You aren't given much choice and much freedom, which to me is the greatest thing you have here. You're not going to realize the benefit until you are actually locked into a situation like that. The freedom of just going to church here or not going to church here, you want to work here, you work here, if you don't like this job you get another job, you don't like this car, you don't have to drive that car, you don't have to go to church every day. (#11)

Well, the good is the freedom you have. Freedom to practice the religion that I believe in. I am going to a Pentecostal church now, and I guess that's the best part, is the freedom I feel to live the kind of religion that I believe in, that the Bible teaches me. That is probably the best part of it all... (#18)

What's good about living outside the colony is the freedom to make your own decisions, is the freedom to choose which church you want to go to, which social events you can attend and cannot... (#14)

...to come to a church where I can open myself up and praise God and praise God to the fullest. There is no law of how I can do it. Just as the joy wells up inside me I can spread it out to my God and there's nobody to say you can't lift your head, you can't do this, you can't do that. (#17)

...like the religion I used to have was more a bondage type thing, it was based on rules and tradition, now outside it's more beautiful, it's more free. (#20)

For defectors, living and adjusting to a new and different culture resulted in personality changes which were specifically related to becoming more independent and self-reliant individuals. Most of those interviewed felt that they had become more confident and decisive and less shy and timid since living on the outside. In addition, 2 interviewees said they had become more tolerant and accepting toward the "outside world." One man felt that his attitude toward the

outside changed. He was taught to believe that a Hutterite should "be not of the world, or in the world" since the outside world is considered to be evil. He did, however, begin "to realize that there are good people outside the colony." These changes in beliefs may have occurred out of the necessity to acquire the skills to cope in the outside world, the opportunity to feel free to express themselves as well as the inner strength derived from a commitment to religion. One person said he hopes he has changed, and another, a woman, said she does not think she has changed, and except for the woman who was depressed because she would like to return to the colony, all others experienced what they seem to view as positive personality changes. They have the following to say about how they have changed as a person since leaving the colony:

I'm a lot more outgoing. I'm not scared to talk to people. I'm not scared to tell people how I feel. I've just become a lot stronger. I'm able to stand up for myself now and that to me means a lot. (#14)

I think I've opened up more. I've learned to communicate more. I think I've got a long way to go but that's the right direction. I guess I'm not as withdrawn, I guess because I'm happier. (#22)

...Yes I've learned to stand on my own two feet. I'm still dependent on a few people for my ride but I've become more independent. Not as much as I want to be but as time goes I'm gonna get there. Nothing is done overnight. Yes, I think I've changed, very much. I'm not always happy to follow somebody else in order to make something of life. Step up and do something of your own and be yourself. (#17)

The biggest change, I was not a true Christian on the colony and now I am. I accept Jesus as my saviour and he's changing me every day. (#16)

When asked specifically if they had any second thoughts, doubts, or regrets about leaving the colony 23 responded that they do not. The other 5 respondents expressed a variety of reservations. Two individuals felt that when "times are tough", both emotionally and financially, they think about colony life, but they would never go back. One man who has been gone from the colony for 6 years had second thoughts for 2 years after he left but he is now adjusted to life on the outside. One woman said she does not have doubts but if her family needed her she would return to the colony; however she feels they want what is best for her and would not ask her to return. The woman who would return if her husband would return with her has many regrets about leaving and feels that she should never have left. She misses everything about colony life, including people, work, food, and financial security. Another woman regrets that she cannot give her daughter the opportunity to be raised in a communal setting where "children can be children a lot longer" and where they "learn how to work in the community setting" and "belong by working." There is no indication that any of those interviewed will return to the colony, and all but one seems to be adjusting well to the outside. However, an emotional overtone throughout the interviews suggests that they have a longing for the financial and emotional benefits of colony

living but are not willing to compromise their chosen religious beliefs for the security of the colony.

3. Intimacies

Ebaugh discovered that a primary area of social adjustment for exes has to do with sexuality and intimate relationships (Ebaugh, 1988:163). This adjustment may be relevant for ex-nuns and ex-priests, whose association with the sexes was influenced by the nature of their religious roles. While the socialization of Hutterites includes restrictions on their sexual conduct (e.g., no sexual contact before marriage), those defectors interviewed did not reveal any problems of adjustment to intimate relationships. Defectors, who are available for dating, tend to socialize with other defectors and ex-Hutterites who have the same sexual expectations.

4. Shifting Friendship Networks

Ebaugh suggests that exiters usually experience a change in the people they value and with whom they associate as friends (Ebaugh, 1988:168). In the present study, defectors interviewed tend to associate with other ex-colony members. While they do have contact with non-Hutterites, through church groups and the work place, the majority of their socializing centres around other defectors and ex-Hutterites. Of those interviewed, no one indicated why they did not regularly socialize with non-Hutterites. This may be a result of their socialization process where they are taught not to trust

outsiders. However, all those interviewed are socially involved with a network of other defectors and ex-Hutterites and they often get together at least once per week. The following illustrates a typical example of their pattern of socializing:

We get together many times because I have a lot of friends. We get together at Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners, summer potluck, picnics in the park, barbecues. We have a lot of fun playing games. The boys get together and play hockey and then we go to watch them. Also, we go to church, I always see them there. There's actually a lot of them going. I have a lot of friends and nieces... (#17)

Not only do defectors and ex-Hutterites from different geographical areas of the city socialize but one woman, a bakery owner, implied that a sub-group of exes have basically recolonized in a neighbourhood:

My life is still very communal. I think that's something I carry and will always carry...like in the morning when I go to the bakery there's something that is such an old pattern I know. In a way I feel like I've set up my life so it is very communal. My mom lives with us so I have the extended family. R.(her sister) is close by. I'm in very strong connection, two of my nieces have now grown up and left, so they're in and out of my life and I'm in and out of theirs. My best friend, L., is my cousin, who lives right over there. Also, I'm part of an intentional church community. One of the things we strongly encourage people to do is to move into the area, so there's a person over there, and a person over there. All are part of my church life. (#28)

5. Relating to Group Members and Other Exes

The defectors' relationship toward those colony members who intend to defect and need financial, employment, accommodation, and transportation assistance is very

supportive. Concern and support is illustrated by the following excerpts:

I basically just took them away from there (colony) and gave them a ride to wherever they wanted to go...just one guy I helped financially a little bit...like when you want to leave the colony, you kind of get anybody who will possibly come to get you to come and get you. "Oh, yeah I know this guy, I'll phone him, maybe he'll come", things like that. You know, you help them... (#11)

Some of them I didn't know personally before but when I heard they wanted to leave, well, I always wanted to help someone. I don't think that kind of life is good. I would just sooner help them live here than in the colony because I know they could be happier out here. (#8)

...sure I support them, I mean especially if they were like myself and were reaching out for a closer walk with God. If they're just interested in coming and having a good time and whooping it up, if their values are completely different or I know that they wouldn't really serve the Lord, I wouldn't bother, I wouldn't encourage them very much... (#24)

I picked up one cousin from her colony and helped her leave. She phoned me and asked me if I would pick her up near Stonewall, there's a colony there, and I helped her. She had a place to stay and I drove her into Winnipeg and took her for coffee and gave her a bit of counselling. Yeah, it's a long process for people to adjust. You need a lot of support just to get rid of the insecurities, to find jobs, to get a licence, learn how to open bank accounts. I did their income tax. I took a course a while ago, last year and helped them do their income tax. Just giving them little hints about how to do things. Like how to apply for a job, get a resume, get a reference, get a referral. All these things I had to learn. I've helped a lot of ex-Hutterites. These general things that they need to get used to. Take them to a bank and say go up to the teller and say you'd like to open a bank account and deposit your cheque. I mean there's so many things that they need to learn. You're bombarded. Your first year is difficult. Come February and getting your licence oh man there's just so much stuff to remember. I had to learn it

by hook or crook and I asked my friends to help when I first came. How to do all this stuff and things like RRSP's and planning ahead and budgeting and handling money and just general everyday things. (#9)

6. Role Residual: Hangover Identity

Ebaugh suggests that a major area in adapting to the outside world involves the degree of "hangover identity", that is, continued identity an individual carries from a previous role. Analysis of those interviewed shows that 22 think of themselves as ex-Hutterites. As one defector said:

Tough question. I think I will always be an ex-Hutterite, no matter what. It's like being an ex-con. You never, ever escape. It's there, and I struggle with it. I'm not insecure about it. I realize the value of things that I've learned about reality and life in general and how I've made it so far and how people have responded to just the person that I am and the person that I was raised to be. I think that it's a quality being an ex-Hutterite. It is not a bad thing and I look at it as being a good experience... (#9)

The exceptions to identifying themselves as ex-Hutterites are 2 women who view themselves as Hutterites. One woman who thinks of herself as Hutterite would like to return to the colony if she could convince her husband to return. The other woman is not sure whether she will remain on the outside or return. Role residual was evident for the latter woman. Whenever she had to pick up her paycheque she was reminded of her previous role.

She commented:

...actually the hardest part for me was and still is to pick up a paycheque. Every time I pick up a paycheque I feel I shouldn't have to do it. It's

hard for me to do it because I'm so used to having work and not getting paid for it. I always wish I could reach in somewhere and pick it up so nobody sees me. Yeah, I still feel strange asking for my paycheque every week. Even after 11 years, I think of it every time I have to pick it up. (#25)

Two men identified themselves as Christian. One man who called himself a rebel tried in conjunction with his family to practise evangelical Christianity on the colony. However, he and his family were told to either live by the Hutterite way of life or to leave the colony. The other man who identified himself as a Christian left the colony with his family when he was 3 years old. The family returned to the colony when he was 10. He said:

I don't feel a real affiliation of closeness. I never felt part of them, put it that way. Maybe because of the fact that I just joined them when I was 10, that might have something to do with it. Because I kind of felt like I was just there for a short while, and going to leave some day, you know. (#11)

Two others thought of themselves as non-Hutterite. However, whether they thought of themselves as ex-Hutterites, Hutterites, Christians, or non-Hutterites an overwhelming positive response to colony life was expressed. Even those that have left and do not have any intention of returning still continue to look upon their previous colony life with nostalgia. It is these remnants of continued identity that indicate that role residual exists. This response to their previous life could be due to their previous socialization, or the realization, gained from life outside the colony, that there is much about colony life that is positive. One man, who

identified himself as a Christian said:

You will get thoughts of going back because you are so used to it. Let's say 2 years or so after you have left, you'll know it was not a good way to live but still you have these thoughts...going back there I wouldn't have to do that, I wouldn't have to worry about that car payment. I could just go fill up gas over at the tank, I wouldn't have to pay for it but those thoughts go away... (#16)

A woman, who thinks of herself as a non-Hutterite, said "...I try to forget that I've been a Hutterite." However, this same woman had the following to say about colony life:

It's not so bad anymore. Like in the beginning when I first left it's hard to adjust because you're used to having your family around. When you get a job then you're busy making new friends and then you don't miss them as much. When I left I could come home and visit pretty well any time I wanted to. They weren't that strict as they are now...the hardest time for me that I can remember was when the kids were born. Like I know if I was at home I'd have my mom there. She would take care of me for 6 weeks. I wouldn't have to worry and here I come home with my first baby, there's nobody there to help me. I can hardly move and what do I do with it? Mom isn't there, the sisters aren't there to help. You keep thinking why did I ever get myself into this...if I think about K.(her son) being handicapped I think at home I'd never have to worry. He'd always have somebody there to take care of him. I know that at home I'd never have to worry about that... (#1)

A woman, who identified herself as an ex-Hutterite, expressed her fondness for colony life when she said:

...one of the things I miss the most is the lack of community. I really miss community and the doing things together in large groups. I mean in one instance I'm working out in a garden where I spend hours and hours alone. Whereas in a colony it would be a group of 15 or 20 people they would wipe out that field in no time, like that sort of thing, the socializing, the cooking together, the working together, the playing together. (#24)

In summary, 4 of Ebaugh's 6 major areas that defectors must adjust to in order to deemphasize their previous identity apply to the experience of Hutterites: presentation of self, social reactions, relating to group members and other exes, and role residual. The remaining 2 areas, intimacies and shifting friendship networks, require modification.

In presenting the self to the outside world, symbolic cuing in religious habits is evident among those interviewed. For example, attending church less often than on the colony is one of the symbolic cues that a change in religious beliefs has occurred. Regarding social reactions, defectors experience negative reactions from colony members, positive reactions from ex-Hutterites and generally indifference from non-Hutterites, other than positive reactions from fellow non-Hutterite church members. In the area of relating to group members and other exes, Hutterite defectors, like Ebaugh's sample, share an identity with both those of the previous role and those in the new role. Defectors relate to both potential defectors and those that have already left the colony. With regard to role residual most defectors identified themselves as "ex-Hutterites" which fits with Ebaugh's argument that when a role is central to an individual's identity exes will experience role residual. Concerning intimacies, defectors tend to socialize with other defectors and ex-Hutterites, and unlike Ebaugh's sample, do not indicate any difficulties in establishing intimate relationships. Again, unlike Ebaugh's

study, defectors do not shift friendship networks, but tend to associate with other defectors and ex-Hutterites. In general, defectors indicate that they have found successful solutions to the challenges of adjustment. However, their challenges involve not only deemphasizing their previous identity but they have learned a very different lifestyle compared to life on a colony.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE FOUR STAGES

In considering the first step of the role-exit process, first doubts, Ebaugh's model generally fits the Hutterite experience. There were organizational and structural conditions, changes in relationships as well as specific events which influenced the first doubts of those interviewed. While there were some exceptions, the majority of those interviewed had doubts about the restrictive Hutterite religion. Individuals were looking to the outside world for freedom of choice concerning religion and general lifestyle.

With regard to the second stage of the role-exit process, seeking alternatives, Ebaugh's model generally fits the Hutterite experience. Those considering leaving do take part in a deliberate and systematic preparation for life on the outside. They consider housing, employment, and religion as well as the loss of family and friends who are on the inside. However, role alternatives for Hutterites are limited compared to Ebaugh's sample of physicians, nuns, teachers, and other

exes. Because of the restricted expectations of colony life, there really is no flexibility of choice if one remains in the colony: either the traditional Hutterite rules are followed or one leaves. Those that did try to find alternate ways to cope with their doubts and remain on the colony realized it was not possible to have any options within the Hutterite system. Also, unlike individuals on the outside who seek alternate roles, the Hutterites have a narrower scope of viable role alternatives because of the lack of opportunity to further their education and expand their job skills beyond what is expected in the colony. Social and financial support on the outside is a major constraint when weighing and evaluating life off the colony. In the stage of seeking alternatives, Hutterites in the process of leaving not only experience a rational and intellectual process but they also experience the emotional process of possible disengagement. The prospect of leaving the colony and entering the outside world was well summarized by the defector who said, "Pretty scary. I mean, scary and exciting both, I mean ecstasy and agony."

In considering the third stage of the role-exit process, the turning point, Ebaugh's model generally fits the Hutterite experience. There seems to be a "ripe time" to make the final decision to exit. In all cases, this ripe time was accompanied by turning points which were triggered by some situation or event. While Ebaugh's 5 types of turning points, specific events, the last straw, time-related factors, excuses

excuses and either/or alternatives, can be applied to the Hutterite experience, they are not all inclusive and more than one can be identified in many of the turning point experiences.

The last stage of the role-exit process, creating and adapting to the ex-role, applies to the Hutterite experience in most instances. Like Ebaugh's sample of ex-nuns, and ex-policemen, the Hutterite defector struggles with a number of social and psychological processes. For example, they must learn to deal with social reactions to their new status, relate to members that are still part of a former group, as well as relate to other exes and to shifting networks of friends. There is, however, a fundamental difference between Ebaugh's sample of exes and ex-Hutterites. Unlike Ebaugh's sample, defectors have no previous experience other than that of being a Hutterite. They have never experienced a previous role. The exes in Ebaugh's sample can return to self-identifiers that were intact before their exit. For example, before being a nun, policeman or physician an individual was not a nun, policeman or a physician. A nun or policeman enters into his or her role change with more experience, while Hutterites approach the role change with less experience. This, however, does not suggest that finding successful solutions to any ex-role is not a challenge in terms of establishing the role change.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA AND MEDIATING ROLE-EXIT VARIABLES

This chapter will discuss the mediating variables of the role-exit process and how these variables apply to the Hutterite experience. According to Ebaugh, the experience of individuals in each stage of the role-exit process can be influenced by 11 variables. In chapter 1, the 4 stages and 11 variables of the role-exit process were outlined. In chapter 5 the 4 stages were applied to Hutterite defection. What remains is to consider to what extent Ebaugh's 11 mediating variables are applicable in the Hutterite context.

CENTRALITY OF THE ROLE

Centrality of the role refers to the saliency and importance of a given role to an individual's self-identity (Ebaugh, 1988:203). According to Ebaugh:

"Some roles serve to organize and prioritize a sense of self. They are what we call "master roles". Other roles that we have play a relatively minor part in defining who we are. It is possible to move in and out of these minor roles with little shift in our identity. On the other hand, when individuals exit a master role, they usually experience a radical transformation in self identity, a fact that makes the exit process a major decision in life with repercussions in terms of adjustment and adaptation to a new self" (Ebaugh, 1988:203).

Ebaugh goes on to state that while her study of role-exit was limited to roles which the individuals considered central

to their identity, she hypothesizes that the process "characterizes all role exits...and that the same variables will describe the process regardless of how central the role is to the exiter" (Ebaugh, 1988:203).

The present study does not provide a test of this hypothesis because the role of being a colony Hutterite is certainly what Ebaugh refers to as a "master role" in that it plays a very major role in defining who they are.

VOLUNTARINESS

Voluntariness refers to the amount of choice an individual has in whether or not to leave a role (Ebaugh, 1988:203). Like the subjects in Ebaugh's study, Hutterite defectors are largely voluntary exiters even though some of the respondents did report that they experienced pressures to leave. Dissident Hutterites are occasionally excommunicated and forced to leave their colonies, but this did not apply to any of the defectors in our sample.

REVERSIBILITY

Reversibility refers to whether or not an individual has the opportunity to return to the role he or she has left. Ebaugh suggests that reversibility affects the role-exit process in 7 ways:

1. "Irreversible roles tend to be central to an individual's identity, that is, to be master roles that organize and order other roles, while reversible role-exits are more commonly exits from roles less central to identity that are not all-encompassing" (Ebaugh, 1988:187).

Ebaugh's basic hypothesis on the effects of reversibility

do not apply in the case of Hutterite defection. Although this hypothesis may be true for the irreversible role of an ex-male, ex-female, ex-nun or ex-priest and the reversible role of a divorced or widowed person, it does not apply to defectors. Being a Hutterite is indeed central to an individual's identity, but a defector nevertheless has the opportunity to return to the colony. The members are socialized to understand their group as a "Gemeinschaft" - this implies a community of place, mind and spirit. When first doubts arise about their commitment to the Hutterite way of life, individuals would be aware of the consequences of leaving and then returning to the colony. Similarly, when colony members weigh the pros and cons of leaving the colony they would be aware of the rewards and costs of their present situation. Although subject to specific rules and expectations, a defector may return to the colony. If a Hutterite member wants to come back, he or she will have to confess that what he or she has done is wrong, will have to apologize to all members, and in addition, will have to give to the colony all worldly possessions acquired on the outside.

2. "Because irreversible role-exits tend to involve central identities and master roles tend to be the organizing factor for multiple roles, irreversible role-exits tend to upset and initiate change for an array of roles. Reversible role-exits tend more frequently to be single exits that are more easily isolated from other aspects of an individual's life" (Ebaugh, 1988:187).

The above hypothesis does not apply to the case of potential

Hutterite defectors. Since being a Hutterite is central to an individual's identity, it is the master role which organizes and orders other roles. The a defector role is reversible but it does not involve a single exit, in that it does not seem possible to isolate the role of being a Hutterite from other aspects of the individual's life. When doubting or considering options to the Hutterite way of life the potential defector will be aware that they will withdraw from the physical environment as well as from the rights and obligations, rules and regulations of belonging to a colony. Withdrawing commitment to the Hutterite way of life encompasses many roles for the potential defector. It is not a single role-exit but rather a multiple role-exit. Defectors leave religious, family, and work roles. Leaving a colony will result in many role changes.

3. "Individuals making irreversible role-exits tend to take longer to deliberate and weigh all the alternatives because they realize that their decision is irrevocable" (Ebaugh, 1988:187).

Again, the above hypothesis relating to irreversible role-exits is contradictory to the reversible role-exit of a Hutterite. No one interviewed left the colony impulsively or spontaneously and, on the average, deliberated for several years.

4. "Because of the far-reaching consequences of irreversible role-exits, individuals making irreversible role-exits tend to be highly aware and conscious of the exiting whereas individuals making reversible role-exits tend to be less aware and less deliberate about the process" (Ebaugh, 1988:187).

The above hypothesis on the effects of reversibility contradicts the awareness of leaving the colony during the seeking alternatives stage of the role-exit process. When seeking alternatives to the Hutterite way of life a Hutterite would be acutely aware of the consequences of leaving the colony and then returning. Not only do defectors know that they have the opportunity to return to the colony under certain conditions, they are also aware that if they leave they will in most cases be encouraged to return. Therefore, Ebaugh's hypothesis does not apply to those colony members that are evaluating the possibility of defecting. She argues that reversible roles are less central to an individual's identity than irreversible roles; reversible roles are not as encompassing as irreversible roles and the decision to leave a reversible role takes less time than the decision to leave an irrevocable irreversible role. Ebaugh views irreversible roles as being a master role for the individual. However, her hypothesis does not apply to the case of Hutterites. Being a member of a Hutterite colony is all-encompassing and central to an individual's identity, but leaving the colony is nevertheless reversible.

5. "Individuals making irreversible role exits tend to participate in more role rehearsal and anticipatory socialization than individuals making reversible role exits" (Ebaugh 1988:187).

Those individuals considering alternatives to the Hutterite way of life do take part in role rehearsal and anticipatory socialization. They are able to privately try on

outside clothes or secretly prepare for a new religion by reading religious literature or listening to religious radio programs. However, their participation in role rehearsal and anticipatory socialization is influenced by the restrictive opportunities of colony life and not by the reversibility or irreversibility of their role.

6. "Individuals making irreversible role exits are more likely to actively set about reestablishing a new identity, on exit, than individuals making reversible role exits who tend to be less active in reestablishing their identity" (Ebaugh, 1988:188).

The present study supports the above hypothesis. All the defectors interviewed maintained affiliations with other defectors and ex-Hutterites. All but one female defector did not want to be identified as an ex-Hutterite, however, even she still maintained close associations with other ex-Hutterites and defectors. No one interviewed revealed they would actually or purposefully seek to reestablish their identity.

7. "Individuals who have made irreversible role exits tend to have fewer regrets and doubts about the exit. This is due to the fact that such individuals have tended to be involved in a longer, more deliberate process prior to the exit and also to the fact that cognitive dissonance operates after the exit in such a way that these individuals feel a greater need to justify the irrevocable decision" (Ebaugh, 1988:188).

The above hypothesis does not apply to the case of defectors from Hutterite colonies. As previously stated, the role of a defector is reversible. Only one woman regrets leaving and would return if her husband, an ex-Hutterite,

would also return. The others, are adjusting to life on the outside even though they are aware that they may return to the colony at any time.

DURATION

Duration refers to the length of time it takes an individual to make a decision to leave a role. Ebaugh outlines 7 relationships and characteristics that are related to duration.

1. "Irreversible role exits are characterized by longer time spent in the deliberative stage" (Ebaugh, 1988:188).

The above hypothesis is not applicable to the case of Hutterites since their role exit is reversible.

2. "Positive social support facilitates the process of role-exiting, whereas negative reactions halt or retard the process. Positive support functions in three ways to facilitate role-exit. First there is reality testing, whereby significant others provide assurance that there are problems in the current role and that doubting concerning one's commitment is justified. Second, significant others suggest alternatives which the individual can begin to consider seriously as possible opportunities. Third, making a private problem public can change social dynamics for the individual and provide different definitions of events" (Ebaugh, 1988:188).

Most Hutterite doubters who did not receive positive and supportive reactions from others sought out those friends and relatives who had the same doubts. As a result of seeking out only like minded significant others, few alternatives are suggested. The Hutterite way of life does not allow for any alternatives or choices. Either

members abide by the rules and expectations, or they can leave. Ebaugh's basic notion that positive public support facilitates the process of role-exiting may apply to Hutterites. However, her reverse notion that negative social reactions halt or retard the role-exit process does not necessarily apply to the Hutterite experience. Negative reactions from others can also reinforce the doubting process and not always halt it. For example, one couple who publicly voiced their doubts about the Hutterite way of life were soon ignored and shunned by colony members. This negative response to their opinions served to reinforce, rather than retard, their doubts and they began their plans to leave the colony.

Making the public announcement to leave a role may speed up the process of actually leaving. For example, telling an ex-Hutterite of plans to leave the colony may result in securing a job in less time than it would take to do from the colony. On the other hand, announcing the decision to the wrong individuals may result in persuasive measures to remain on the colony and consequently retard the actual exit.

3. "Exits in which individuals are aware and conscious of alternatives and consequences tend to extend over longer periods than those in which individuals are less deliberate" (Ebaugh 1988:188).

The above hypothesis applies to Hutterite defectors. As a result of the outside world penetrating the colonies, individuals begin to realize there are alternatives to the

Hutterite way of life. Defectors are aware of the consequences of leaving. They abandon an emotionally and financially secure lifestyle. Therefore, they do not leave impulsively but deliberate for several years on their exit.

4. "Exiters who weigh alternatives carefully and go through a self-conscious process of decision making (a process that usually takes time) tend to have fewer regrets after leaving and to adjust to an ex-status more easily" (Ebaugh, 1988:188).

The above hypothesis applies to the case of Hutterite defectors. All those interviewed took part in a thorough and self-conscious decision making process. With the exception of one woman who would return to the colony if her husband would also return, all others are successfully adjusting to their ex-status.

5. "Up to a point, the longer the exit process, the easier the adjustment after exiting because length of time is positively associated with a degree of deliberation; however, when deliberation extends over many years, it is as though the same material is reviewed and no new insights result. There seems to be a "ripe" time for exiting after all known alternatives and pros and cons are weighed. Frequently this "ripeness" corresponds to some situation or event that triggers the decision and serves as a turning point" (Ebaugh, 1988:189).

All those interviewed seemed to be experiencing an ongoing process of adjusting. There was no indication that the length of time from first doubt to actually exiting affected the adjustment process. In addition, Ebaugh suggests there is a "ripe" time to exit and usually this "ripe" time corresponds to some situation or event that triggers the turning point. All the defectors interviewed were able to

identify particular events or situations that triggered their decision to leave. Moreover, once the decision was final, the duration between the decision and the actual exit was rapidly moved along.

SINGLE VERSUS MULTIPLE EXITS

Single versus multiple exits refers to the fact that the nature of one exit may be related to another exit.

"When an individual begins doubting one role, especially if that role is central to his or her identity, these doubts often spread to other role involvements" (Ebaugh, 1988:189).

In the case of the Hutterites, this hypothesis is supported by the data. When members begin doubting their religious role, a role central to their identity, they also reject a commitment to other aspects of the Hutterite way of life. The rejection of Hutterite religious beliefs is also a rejection of the group life itself. Being a Hutterite encompasses a dedication to all the role involvements of colony life. When seeking alternatives to the Hutterite way of life, individuals took into account the advantages and disadvantages of several roles simultaneously. Part of the deliberation process includes the awareness of the interrelatedness of leaving several roles. Those interviewed were preparing to leave their religion, work, home, family and friends, as well as emotional and financial security.

INDIVIDUAL VERSUS GROUP EXITS

Individual versus group exit refers to the notion that individuals can leave a particular role alone or simultaneously with others. With respect to the Hutterite experience, this variable affects first doubts, seeking alternatives, and creating the ex-role.

Many of those interviewed discussed their doubts about the Hutterite way of life with others who also had doubts about colony life. In these discussions individuals provided understanding and support for each other. In addition, being aware of the success and experience of ex-Hutterites influenced some to begin doubting the Hutterite way of life. When asked if other ex-Hutterites were an impetus to begin doubting, one woman said,

I'm sure, yeah, you can't escape that. A lot of my cousins had left, ...there's people who did these things...I think one of my regrets is that I am an influence whether I want to be or not for my nieces. You can't help it. (#28)

With regard to seeking alternatives, those that experience the role-exit process along with others have the opportunity to share ideas on the pros and cons of leaving the colony, and this might well facilitate the deliberation process. In the case of those colony members who are considering leaving the colony, the opportunity to see how ex-Hutterites are coping helps in evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of leaving colony life. When asked if she discussed the possibility of leaving with anyone else, one

woman said, "I did talk to the ex-Hutterites. They told me it was easy, and things would be okay, God would take care of me." In addition, those that are considering leaving at approximately the same time know that they will have companionship and support on the outside.

Ebaugh suggests that as groups of individuals leave a given role it becomes easier for society to accept such an exit. With regard to the defectors' experience it is not easier for Hutterite society to accept a single defection than it is to accept a group defection. While the outside society may be very accepting or indifferent to whether an individual or a group leave the colony or not, this is not true of the colony.

DEGREE OF CONTROL

Degree of control refers to the idea that individuals wanting to leave a role do not operate in isolation but are dependent on other institutions or people to facilitate the process. This variable has an impact on first doubts and seeking alternatives.

Most colony members expect to remain on the colony until they die. It is expected that they will never doubt the Hutterite way of life. However, those interviewed were exposed to alternate ways of living as a result of loosening colony structures which allowed the outside world to penetrate. A tight colony structure would not allow for

freedom of choice and there would be less room for conscious consideration of alternatives. Becoming aware of other options through non-Hutterites, ex-Hutterites, and the mass media allows individuals to realize that they do have some control over their situation. Even though there is an awareness of the possibility of leaving, there are some restrictions which do not allow for complete control over the process. For example, while some of those interviewed were conscious of their doubts and aware of the possibility of leaving, their young age made them dependent on their families. One defector said, "I wanted to leave the colony when I was 15 years, and my mom had to hold me back because I was too young." Hutterites have a degree of control over their commitment to the colony by delaying baptism. Once they become baptized their commitment to remain on the colony becomes stronger. As one man said,

I probably would have stayed another year or so but it was the time...my certain age was ready to get baptized and when you leave being baptized...it's harder yet... (#2)

During the stage of seeking and weighing alternatives, potential defectors are dependent on supportive Hutterites, ex-Hutterites, and often non-Hutterites in the decision making process. Hutterites who leave would be basically destitute without such support. Not only are they prohibited from removing anything from the colony, but everything belongs to the community. Potential defectors are very dependent on others and, therefore, have a relatively low degree of control

over several aspects of the decision making process.

It is in the third stage of the role-exit process, the turning point, that individuals make a plan to leave their existing role. As previously stated, Hutterites making a plan to leave a colony are basically destitute and consequently depend on others to help them with transportation, housing, employment or financial support. While they have a high degree of control over the final decision to leave, their dependency on others for the necessities of survival results in a relatively low degree of control over the final exit.

SOCIAL DESIRABILITY

Social Desirability refers to the degree of social approval or disapproval of the exit. When seeking and weighing alternatives to the Hutterite way of life, social desirability enters into the decision making process. From the point of view of the outside world, there does not seem to be any cost to the potential defector with regard to social desirability. However, it is from within the colony that it is not desirable for Hutterites to leave. It is expected that a Hutterite will remain on the colony from birth to death. In this sample, approval for seeking alternatives most often came from those that were also considering defecting. On the other hand, disapproval toward potential defectors could be expected from those members who believed the Hutterite way is the only way. In order to avoid disapproval from some colony members,

those weighing the pros and cons of colony life tended to discuss the possibility of leaving only with those that had the same intentions of defection. For example, one man said, "...I did say to my brother once, let's get out of here...and he said yeah why don't we...even wanting to leave, even talking about it, is a major breaking of the rules, never mind actually doing it, so it has to be done secretly." Social desirability from within the colony was a major concern for those members evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of leaving.

DEGREE OF AWARENESS

Degree of Awareness refers to the extent that individuals are conscious of leaving a role. Those individuals considering alternatives to colony life were very aware of the rules and regulations of defecting, as well as what they would leave behind. Potential defectors knew that they could not leave with any possessions, they would need emotional and financial support on the outside and that they would leave behind their family and friends.

SEQUENTIALITY

Ebaugh (1988:201) defines sequentiality as "the specified progression of some exits". As Ebaugh suggests, sequential roles often create doubts in individuals and sometimes trigger the turning point as individuals realize that they must

continue to the next stage of their present role or "drop out of the role progressions". Baptism is a very important process in this sequence for Hutterites. Once they are baptized they feel a strong role commitment to the Hutterite way of life and it becomes more difficult for them to consider leaving the colony.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE MEDIATING VARIABLES

In general, the mediating variables were applicable to the Hutterite experience. However, as previously discussed there are contradictions concerning Ebaugh's concept of irreversible and reversible role-exits. Ebaugh argues that irreversible roles are central to an individual's identity whereas reversible roles are not as encompassing, but this does not apply in the present study. This discrepancy is the result of the difference between Ebaugh's sample of such individuals as ex-policemen, widowers, ex-nuns, ex-physicians and the unique situation of the Hutterite. Hutterites are socialized from birth in a sacred communal society with physical and symbolic boundaries. Ebaugh's sample did not capture groups that were comparable to the Hutterites in this respect. Colony life is all encompassing and does not allow for any alternatives. The choice is to live with the rules, regulations and expectations of colony life or to leave. For example, members must follow the dress code, moral code and religious teachings of the Hutterite way of life.

Reversibility was also found not to apply to the second stage of the process, seeking alternatives. It is interesting to note that with the exception of social desirability and degree of awareness, those variables that impact on first doubts are the same variables that affect seeking alternatives. This is due to the overlap of the doubting process and seeking and weighing alternatives. During the doubting process individuals will begin to consider the pros and cons of leaving the colony.

The variables associated with the third stage of the role-exit process, the turning point are duration, sequentiality and degree of control. Once individuals made the decision to actually leave the colony the time between the decision and the exit was usually not very long. Baptism, being an important sequential point in a Hutterite's life, affected the potential defectors decision to leave. Either individuals move to the next step of the role-exit process or commit themselves to the Hutterite way of life through baptism. It is during this time of baptism that individuals can exercise a degree of control over their decision to remain and be baptised or to leave before this time-related event. The final exit for a Hutterite depends on outside help and support. Dependency on others results in a low degree of control over the final exit.

With regard to creating the ex-role, none of the mediating variables affected this final stage of the process.

Ebaugh defines the variable of duration as the length of time it takes an individual to adjust to the new role. The duration of the ex-Hutterite adjustment was not directly measured, but based on the responses of defectors the adjustment to outside life is ongoing. With the exception of one individual interviewed, the respondents were generally successfully adjusting to the outside world and expressed satisfaction with their decision to leave.

CHAPTER 7

HUTTERITE DEFECTION: THEN AND NOW

One goal of this study of defectors from Hutterite colonies was to update the work on Hutterite defectors conducted by Mackie (1965). There are many similarities between the two studies and a few differences. Both studies employed similar methodologies including semi-structured interviews, snowball sampling, and a topical life history approach. In both studies similar sample sizes were used. Mackie interviewed 37 defectors, and the present study interviewed 28. In addition, both studies involved only permanent defectors as opposed to temporary defectors. There are also some differences in the studies. Mackie's study involved defectors from the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut colonies in Alberta and the present study interviewed only those defectors from Schmiedeleut colonies in Manitoba. While these groups are similar in their traditions, language, and in-colony schools, they differ somewhat in their cultural traits, marriage patterns, and rules of order (Hostetler, 1965:9). Another difference was that, unlike Mackie's exploratory study, the present study was guided by an explicit theoretical framework. By examining similar types of data from two different decades, the 1960's and 1990's, an analysis of the dynamics of defection over this period of time.

RELATIONSHIP WITH COLONIES

Many defectors still remain in touch with their family on their colony of origin, but have no desire or interest in visiting other colonies. Visiting colonies has more to do with maintaining personal relationships than with a desire to remain connected to the Hutterite colony. Most defectors are successfully adapting to life on the outside and only one defector feels negative reactions from non-Hutterites. On the contrary, most feel that the Hutterite work ethic was admired. They are more likely to experience negative reactions from colony members (with the exception of family members) than from non-Hutterites. Mackie states that the colony "rarely slams the door behind defectors" (1965:124). According to her findings, the colony hopes that it is only curiosity that influences a member to leave and eventually the defector will return. In Mackie's study, only 4 defectors do not regularly visit their own or other colonies (Mackie, 1965:122). However, in the present study most defectors rarely visit their home colony. Although the defector knows that the door is always open and he or she can return to the colony, the uncomfortable feelings and hostile attitude they experience when visiting a colony operates against the colony's hope for members to return, and emotionally "slams the door" for defectors. One woman does not like to visit the colony because of the "hypocrisy and self-righteousness" of members. Several of those interviewed felt that it was too difficult to

obtain permission from the preacher to visit the colony. One man said, "the preacher, he used to give me such a rough time that I got tired of phoning and trying to visit." However, the Hutterite ideology concerning deviance (including defection) has remained the same. Since all of mankind are born sinners, forgiveness and compassion are shown (Hostetler, 1965:20-21).

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER DEFECTORS

While defectors are in contact with non-Hutterites at work and at church, their close associations are with other defectors and ex-Hutterites. All those interviewed live with one or more defectors or ex-Hutterites. It is often groups of friends and relatives from the same colony that live in close proximity to each other. They see each other at least once a week at church. They also spend time with family and friends doing errands, rollerskating, biking, walking, and gathering at each other's homes. This is very similiar to the situation described by Mackie where the majority of the relationships are with family and friends who tend to originate from the same colony (Mackie, 1965:119). The trend in this study, as well as Mackie's, is for family and friends to maintain ties rather than exhibit a concerted effort to form distinctive sub-groupings with other ex-Hutterites (Mackie, 1965:119).

ADJUSTMENT TO LIFE OUTSIDE THE COLONY

None of the defectors are associated with any outside group beyond a church, a work organization, or an educational institute. In general, this is similar to Mackie's findings. She argues that "this disinclination to join clubs, service organizations, or lodges, appears to reflect more the affiliative patterns prevalent in the social class to which they belong than their lack of adjustment to the broader society" (Mackie, 1965:106). In addition, this disinterest in joining such groups as clubs or service organizations may be a result of the socialization practises of the Hutterites. Hutterite living restricts the range of individual expression and abilities. Defectors tend to be involved in activities that were a part of their colony life. For example, the males enjoy carpentry and auto mechanics and the women do crafts and enjoy baking and cooking. Both genders are involved in such activities as listening to music, bowling, playing miniature golf, and walking.

In both studies those that left the colony have religious, education, and work interests that the colony can not meet. However, they feel an emotional bond to their family and friends on the colony. The transition from a colony to the outside is not without its problems of learning and adjusting to a new and different culture as well as being responsible for their own well-being.

Mackie's (1965) study of Hutterite defectors found that

the development of new economic patterns, the desire for personal property, disorganized colonies and a curiosity for life on the outside lead to defection in the present study was a young, single male. Unlike MacKie's study, the main reason given for defection in the present study was a desire to practise a religion of choice. Also, defectors interviewed in this study were more often young single, females than males. In addition, 2 cases included married couples who left with their children as a family unit. According to Mackie (1965:84) "desertion is rarely considered by those past their 20's". The data from the present study discovered that not only were those in their 20's defecting, but the sample also includes 1 individual over 30, 3 over 40, and 1 person over 50.

CONCLUSION REGARDING DEFECTION

Until recent decades, the Manitoba Hutterites, like Hutterites in the rest of North America, were insulated geographically, linguistically, religiously, and socially from the outside world. Insultion from the "evil" outside coupled with a structurally tight society produced in Hutterites a restricted way of living. One of the main characteristics of their insulated culture is that their traditions, as well as their environment, keep the members on the "narrow path" to salvation. This limited opportunity for alternate paths has allowed the Hutterites to successfully resist assimilation, even in the midst of a materialistic and individualistic host

society. However, this ideal Hutterite desire for an insulated and protected life from the outside world is no longer applicable to Hutterite society today. Technological adaptations and cultural evolution have altered the Hutterite society. Channels of communication, linking Hutterite society to the outside world, have opened up to an extent that was probably unforeseen. The link with the outside world has become a crucial factor in fostering new perspectives and attitudes in the younger Hutterites which increasingly lead to defection.

As was true decades ago, the Hutterites cannot maintain their present colonies without being involved in the competitive market economy. They have become dependent on mechanized farm equipment and other material goods. Material changes on Hutterite colonies tend to be particularly noticeable: milking machines, state of the art trucks and tractors; and more elaborate and expensive kitchen and food storage and preparation facilities. In the past these technological changes had mainly been mechanical ones, helping the members improve their farming methods. Now, they are affecting lifestyles. It has been observed that cars, trucks, and tractors are frequently equipped with two way radios. Walkmen, telephones and computers are also becoming a part of colony life. Not only do these items expose members to the ways of the outside world, but outside education is required to understand and apply the technology of such items as

computers. The development of a more open and looser Hutterite society leads to increasing individualism and personal decision making (Peter et al., 1982:336). In addition to exposing members to the outside, technological changes also affect leisure time. Leisure time poses difficulties for the Hutterites. They equate leisure time with idleness and idleness with sin. It is a common saying among Hutterites that, "the devil will find work for the idle to do." Too much leisure time will tend to encourage individualism which erodes the traditional goal of collectivism. While Mackie's findings show that a less insular society is open to outside influences, the main reasons for leaving a colony are no longer to explore the world and "sow their wild oats". These defectors, usually young single males, would most often return and become committed and conformed members of the colony (Peter et al., 1982:328). The results of the present study discovered a more serious form of defection motivated by religious concerns (a development first described by Peter et al. 1982) and not limited to young males.

Hutterites have been taught that in order to obtain a place in heaven they must turn away from the evil outside world. In the past, in a closed society, this belief was easy to maintain as the members had little contact with the outside world other than through the English school teacher. In today's more open milieu, the interchange between the colony and the outside world has become more common and familiar.

Members have contact with business associates, non-Hutterite neighbours, and ex-Hutterites off the colony. Males and females, young and old, are more involved in the outside world. They are at doctors' offices, restaurants and department stores. This familiarity would lessen the fear of the once unknown outside. This continued contact with the outside suggests that the Hutterites no longer find the outside world to be entirely evil. One defector said:

...she (mother) carried a strong awareness of other people out there and always had a desire to reconnect with her kindred spirits beyond the Hutterite world. She carried on correspondence with friends from other Christian community movements that she had heard about and read about, and these people would visit us...I had an awareness that there was another world out there and there were people in that world that were okay. (#28)

Being taught that the outside is evil but then discovering that it is not necessarily true, undermines and weakens basic beliefs of the Hutterite religion.

The more open structure of the colonies may also affect a basic tenet of the Hutterite way of life, that is, the position of women. Hostetler explains:

"The position of the sexes in the social and spiritual hierarchy of the Hutterite Brethren is very important in the charter. It is believed that God has set each sex in it's right place in the divine order in relationship to the other. Man as contrasted to women, is made in the image of God and reflects some of God's glory. He has been put in a superordinate place in the divine order in relation to woman who was taken from man and put in a subordinate place in relation to him." (Hostetler 1965:18)

There is no question that women in Hutterite society are

subservient and that Hutterites are aware that women on the outside have a higher status. This was well illustrated by one man who had been away from the colony for 4 years and returned for a visit:

...you need salt, girls jump and get the salt, you need a cup, girls jump, you need coffee, girls jump. I couldn't get used to that. I've been away for 4 years and I couldn't get used to that...I guess the females are expected to be servants. They do all the work, the men eat and go home. What they do, they do well. They're not given any options to do anything else. Some resent it and those that do usually leave. (#9)

What has happened is that the women are now in a position to compare their options and opportunities with values and lifestyles of those on the outside. This comparative frame of reference has an impact on their present situation. Hutterite women are not allowed to have a driver's license, they have no direct say in the financial matters of the colony, they have no vote on policy matters, and in general they are excluded from decision making. They are expected to marry early and have children. As mentioned, earlier, Mackie found it was young, single males who left the colonies to experience the outside world. In the present study, however, 20 of the defectors interviewed were female, and the sample included married couples. Until further studies are done it is difficult to know whether these findings are an anomaly or a trend. However, it is inevitable that Hutterite women, as well as men, are aware of the status of women in the surrounding outside world. Even though Hutterite women may not

choose defection, they may begin to assert themselves within the Hutterite system. They may demand the right to vote, the right to practise birth control, or the opportunity to be involved in the decision making process of the colony. It will be important for sociologists to observe what will happen to the relationship between males and females if the boundaries that separate the outside world continue to break down.

Hutterites cannot maintain the same closed society that was possible a century ago, when a horse and plough was all they needed to help them farm. Gradually, they have adopted the changes that have occurred in all western societies. If the Hutterite religion and way of life is based on isolation, then the Hutterite system may be in jeopardy. So far they have managed to maintain their boundaries in the face of these new threats, but whether they can continue to do so remains to be seen.

The original purpose of this thesis was to test Ebaugh's claim that role-exit is a generic social process. Applying Ebaugh's model to the case of Hutterite defectors confirmed her claim, in general terms. However, her theory did not adequately explain the phenomenon of reversibility/irreversibility as applied to the case of Hutterites. Ebaugh views irreversible roles as being the master role of the individual and reversible roles as being less central to the individual's identity. This is not true for Hutterites since

being a Hutterite is an all-encompassing role and a role that is central to their identity. Moreover, being a defector and then returning to the colony is an option for the voluntary defector.

In order to test the reversibility/irreversibility variable it would be necessary to study other communities that are similar to the Hutterites. This concept of reversibility/irreversibility may not be unique to Hutterites but may apply to all communities that strive for insularity. A population that would be similar to the Hutterites in their intention to maintain their unique identity are the Lubavitchers. The Lubavitchers are an ultra-orthodox religious Jewish sect who are similar to Hutterites in that they have an all-encompassing "way of life". Being a Labavitzer is central to the individual's identity. Like the Hutterites, they not only experience defection from their group but welcome back the "baal tsvcha" (those that return). Applying Ebaugh's model to the case of the Lubavitchers and comparing the results to the case of the Hutterites would provide a further test of Ebaugh's model.

TABLE 4

DEFECTOR PROFILE

<u>DEFECTOR #</u>	<u>GENDER</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>YEARS SINCE DEFECTION*</u>
1.	F	38	9
2.	M	43	23
3.	F	28	10
4.	F	35	14
5.	F	26	4
6.	F	52	4
7.	M	55	4
8.	F	22	2.5
9.	M	26	4
10.	F	25	5
11.	M	25	6
12.	F	43	3
13.	M	29	5
14.	F	20	2
15.	F	27	5
16.	M	22	2.5
17.	F	48	5
18.	F	22	3
19.	F	29	2
20.	M	22	12 Days
21.	F	22	1.5
22.	F	63	26
23.	F	82	59
24.	F	44	19
25.	F	35	13
26.	F	36	12
27.	M	43	16
28.	F	69	26

* For serial defectors the most recent defection was considered when recording the years since defection.

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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction:

To begin I would like to thank you for meeting with me. In order to help me remember our talk, I am going to use a tape recorder. If I have to write everything down it would take too long. I want you to know that all of this information is confidential and no one except myself will connect your name with your answers. I need your name in case I have to be in touch with you at a later date. Not only will this talk help me with my work on Hutterites who have left the colony, but most people find that by answering these questions they learn a lot about themselves.

Objective Events:

First, I would like to get some background information.

1. What is your name?
2. What is your present address?
3. What is your telephone number?
4. What is your birth date?
5. Where were you born? (Colony)
7. What grade did you complete (on the colony, off the colony)?
8. What occupation did you have on the colony?
9. What occupations have you had since leaving the colony (from first to most recent)?

10. What was your father's occupation (on the colony)?
11. What is your marital status?
12. Is your spouse an ex-Hutterite?
If yes, how did you meet?
If no, how did you meet?
13. Do you have any children? If yes, what ages are they?
14. Did you ever previously leave and return to the colony?
15. How long is it now since you left the colony for the first time?

First Doubts:

Now, I would like to talk about something called "first doubts". First doubts happen when a person begins to question and have doubts about staying on the colony. Most Hutterites, of course, believe that the "Hutterite Way" is the right way for people to live and to ensure salvation. At some point you must have started questioning and having doubts about his. Now these first doubts, of course, happened before you ever left (for the first time) and so what I would like you to do is to try to put yourself back on the colony and try to remember your first doubts. Let's talk about them.

16. When were your first doubts (approximate age)?
17. Why did you have doubts about remaining on the colony?

Probe:

 - a) Were you tempted by the outside world?
 - b) Was your colony well run by the council?
Was it more strict or less strict than other colonies?
 - c) Were you happy with the work you were given to do on the colony?

d) Did you get along well with the other members of the colony?

e) Did you have doubts about religion?

18. How did it come about that you were influenced to begin questioning the Hutterite ways?

Probe: a) Was it the mass media?

b) Was it other ex-Hutterites?

c) Was it non-Hutterite friends?

d) Was it a non-Hutterite school teacher?

19. Did you discuss these doubts with others on the colony?

Probe: a) If so, with whom and how did they react?

b) Were you offered any advice or suggestions on how to deal with your doubts?

Seeking Alternative (Thoughts about the possibility of leaving)

At some point your doubts about the Hutterite way must have become strong or serious enough that you decided to try to do something about them - to actively search for a way to deal with your doubts - that is what we mean by "seeking alternatives". Now one obvious alternative is to leave the colony, as you eventually did, but before we get to that try again to think back to when you first decided to think about ways to cope with your doubts about the Hutterite way.

20. When (at what point) did this happen to you?

Probe: a) How long after doubts first arose, etc.?

21. Was leaving the colony the only alternative that you thought about, or did you consider other possible ways of coping with your doubts? (probe for details if other solutions were considered.)
22. Now, you obviously did start to think about the possibility of leaving the colony because of your doubts about the Hutterite way. Let's talk about that. At what point did you actively begin to think about the possibility of leaving? (Later on we'll talk about your decision to actually leave.)
23. You must have had many questions and concerns about the possibility of leaving. You must have thought about what it would be like to live on the outside if you did decide to leave. What were your thoughts at that point? (Allow subject to respond but make certain the following are covered.)

- Probe:
- a) Job/income
 - b) Housing/expenses
 - c) Clothing/dress (Did you experiment with different clothes?)
 - d) Language/accent
 - e) Loss of family/friends (loneliness)
 - f) Feelings of not wanting to hurt family and friends
 - g) Religious fears (the consequences for "after-life")

24. Did you discuss the possibility of leaving with anyone else? Who - colony members, ex-Hutterites, non-Hutterites?

Turning Point (Decision to actually leave)

Now, at some point you reached a conclusion about these good and bad points about the possibility of leaving and actually decided to leave. This is what we call the "Turning Point" - the point at which leaving is no longer just a possibility, but an alternative that you have thought about and decided to take. You have made a choice.

25. When, exactly, did you reach this decision?
26. How soon after making this choice did you actually leave?
27. Was there a specific event or incident on the colony that brought you to the conclusion to actually leave?
28. Describe for me, in detail, exactly how you went about leaving the colony?

- Probe:
- a) Did you leave alone or with others?
 - b) Did you have a plan?
 - c) How did you actually leave?
 - d) What did you take along?
 - e) Where did you stay?
 - f) What, if anything, did people on the colony do?
 - g) How did you feel about what you were doing?

Serial Defectors (Applies to multiple defectors only)

29. Describe what happened after you left the colony the first time.
30. Why did you decide to return to the colony?
31. When did you decide to return to colony?
32. What happened when you returned to the colony?
33. Why didn't your return work out?

(Repeat as necessary - then move on to Creating the 'Ex-Role' with respect to final defection.)

Creating the Ex-Role

Finally, I would like to talk to you about how you have adjusted to life outside the colony.

34. How long has it been since you left?
35. Earlier you talked about what you thought would be the good and bad points about living outside the colony. Now that you have actually lived outside, could you tell me again - but this time based on your actual experience - what are the good and bad points? (Allow subject to respond but make certain the following are covered.)

- Probe:
- a) Job/income
 - b) Housing/expenses
 - c) Clothing/dress
 - d) Language/accent
 - e) Loss of family/friends (loneliness)
 - f) Feelings of not wanting to hurt family and friends

g) Religious fears (the consequences for "after-life")

36. Overall, what was the most difficult adjustment that you had to make?

37. What do you like best about living outside?

38. Describe for me what your life is like now.

Probe: (re home, friends, organization, recreation, hobbies, religion, job other?)

a) Are you happy with your present job salary?

b) How would you describe your religion?

c) Which church do you attend?

d) How often do you attend?

39. Overall, do you now feel reasonably comfortable and secure living away from the colony (If "no" - probe).

40. Have you, as a person, changed since leaving? If so, how?

41. Do you think of yourself as a Hutterite, ex-Hutterite or non-Hutterite?

42. Do you still remain in contact with people on the colony you left? How about other colonies?

43. Do you have contact with other ex-Hutterites? If yes,

a) How often?

b) How do you get together?

c) Do you help other ex-Hutterites? How many?

d) Do they help you?

- e) Are they your friends?
44. Do you have contact with other ex-Hutterites?
45. Do the non-Hutterites whom you have contact with know that you are an ex-Hutterite? If so, does this affect your relationship with them? If so, how?
46. Do you have any second thoughts, doubts, or regrets about your decision to leave?

Interview Facts:

Place of interview:

Time of interview: Beginning

End

Date