

**CANADIAN FARM WOMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES
RESTRUCTURING, WORK AND DECISION MAKING**

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By

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ABSTRACT

This research addresses the broad research question 'How have Canadian farm families redefined their work roles and relations over the past 20 years to respond to changes affecting the agrifamily household' by examining the changing work and decision making roles, gender relations and gender identities of Canadian farm women and their families. The main argument presented here and illustrated by the Agrifamily Household Response Model is that Canadian farm families are active agents, responding to restructuring in agriculture, using and modifying the rules and resources of the agrifamily household, their local communities and the wider social, economic and political systems as they make decisions to respond to economic, political, environmental and social change.

Data collection involved a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods that were designed to support and inform each other. Initial focus groups were held to assist in research design. These were followed by six workshops across Canada in which farm women were trained as interviewers and the questions were pre-tested. Over a 15 month period in 2002 and 2003, four separate questionnaires and time diaries were completed by up to 479 Canadian farm women, men and youth. The findings were then discussed with the farm women interviewers in four workshops held in various locations across Canada.

The results of this research suggest that during the past 20 years, farm women and their families have responded to increased opportunities and pressures by expanding their work roles both on and off the farm. Farm women and men have chosen a variety of work roles in response to restructuring. These changing work roles signal gradually changing gender identities and gender relationships on the farm. The work role choices of farm women in particular are shown to have a significant impact on the resulting gender relations in the family as women, men and youth redefine and negotiate their work roles in response to structural change. Women are important role models for their children as they learn how to farm and this is especially important for female youth.

Decision making on farms has traditionally been divided on the basis of gender, however, farm women's decision-making roles are expanding to reflect recognition of their contributions to the agrifamily household through labour and capital. Broadening roles and changing gender relations and identities in the agrifamily household have affected decision making for men as well. The research indicates there are many participants in major agrifamily household decisions and many roles that are played in the process of decision making. Nevertheless, female youth play a lesser role than any other household members having potentially repercussions for the future role of women in farming.

It is evident that Canadian farm women play significant roles in providing labour, capital and decision making to Canadian agriculture. However, these contributions have yet to be acknowledged at the macro level of agricultural organizations and government policy consultations.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 Changes in Canadian Agriculture

In Canada, the family farm remains the dominant form of agricultural production and 98 percent of Canadian farms are still classed as family owned and operated (Statistics Canada 2001).¹ Nevertheless, the family farm is undergoing dramatic change; farms are becoming larger and fewer and the number of Canadians engaged in agriculture has declined. Farm family members are increasingly working off the farm; work relations are changing on the farm and transfers to the next generation of farmers are being called into question.

Since the 1980's, agricultural systems have been caught up in the global restructuring of capitalism driven by the concentration and centralization of capital and corporate concentration on an international scale, which have kept commodity prices low and input costs high. Trade agreements have reduced the power of the nation state to support agriculture (Knutilla, 2003; Troughton 2003). This structural transformation of agriculture has meant that in Canada, as in the United States, "most remaining farms are marginal units incapable of fully employing and sustaining farm families" (Lobao and Meyer 2001: 103-104). Farm families who choose to remain on Canadian farms are responding in a variety of ways to the inability of farming to provide a livelihood. However, while this adaptation provides continuity for the farm family, it is not without significant costs to family, farm and community. Governments have also moved to deregulate, cut spending and privatize services. These activities have removed health care, education and social services from rural communities, affecting agriculture and farm families through the loss of local services.

¹ A family farm is defined as a production unit using family labour in which land and capital are in family ownership (O'Hara 1998).

Despite the declines of past decades, “agriculture and rural resource systems retain fundamental significance as contributors to past and continuing human resource development and to a complex set of resource demand, supply and management situations” (Troughton 2004: 234). The agriculture and agrifood industry is one of the largest in Canada, making up 15 percent of employment in all industrial sectors. The agrifood sector accounts for 11.6 percent of this employment leaving 3.4 percent employed in agriculture (Keith 2003). Agriculture is both an important global industry and a major source of Canadian exports.

However, agriculture is more than just an economic sector. Farms and farm families contribute economically and socially to many local rural communities and are responsible for controlling land use on vast areas of land. Agriculture is also the focus of many pressing social issues ranging from food safety and food security to environmental conservation. The family farm is an important part of the rural landscape and a critical part of the survival of small towns in many parts of rural Canada. The changes in agriculture have had significant social and environmental impacts on farm families and rural communities which have extended well beyond the agricultural sector.

Canadian agricultural geographers have studied agricultural restructuring, sustainable agriculture, climate change, alternative agriculture and the impacts of restructuring on rural communities (Troughton 1995). However, much of the research on farm families in North America has focussed on the United States, and only a handful of geographers (Mackenzie 1992;1994; Leckie 1993;1996) and sociologists (e.g. Reimer 1986; Ghorayshi 1989; Shaver 1991; Carbert 1995; Teather 1996; Shortall 1999) have examined farm women or the farm family in Canada. This gap among agricultural and rural geographers is mirrored by a lack of scholarship by feminist geographers, who have focussed attention on relations and identities (across gender, race, class) in urban contexts (e.g. Kobayashi 1994; Mackenzie 1999; Bondi and Rose 2003; Pratt 2004). Consequently, many of the studies of farm women’s work in Canada have been initiated by farm women’s groups (e.g. L’ Association Féminine d’Education et d’Action Sociale

1975;1980; Koskie 1982; Ireland 1983; Watkins 1985; Canadian Farm Women's Network 1995; Martz and Brueckner 2003) and government agencies (Women's Division: Saskatchewan Department of Labour 1977; Council on Rural Development Canada 1979; Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women 1987) rather than academic geographers. As a result of this lack of academic research, there is little information about the work roles and social relations within the Canadian farm family.

1.2 Research Questions

In the face of tremendous change, the farm family remains the foundation of agriculture in large parts of rural Canada. Consequently, it is important to understand how families managing Canadian farms are adapting to low farm incomes, the withdrawal of services from rural areas, the corporatization of the agriculture input and output sectors, and the withdrawal of the governments from domestic agricultural policy. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to address the question 'How have Canadian farm families redefined their work roles and relations over the past 20 years to respond to changes affecting the agrifamily household?'

To answer this question, I will focus on the following sub-questions

- How have the work roles of Canadian farm women and men changed since 1982?
- How have these role changes affected gender relations and gender identities of Canadian farm family members?
- How have Canadian farm families modified their work roles within the farm family?
- What roles have farm family members played in decision making on farms and what factors have been important in determining those roles?

1.3 Approaches to Structural Change in Agriculture

Early research on agriculture focused on the efficiency of farms (agricultural economics), changing land use patterns (geography) and developing community case studies (sociology). However these approaches gave little insight into the broad structural changes that were occurring in agriculture in the 1970's (Page 2000). Political

economy approaches adopted in the 1970's enabled researchers to explain the significant changes taking place in agriculture in the developed world and linked rural places to national and international processes of restructuring (Page 2000; Little 2002a). One of the main themes addressed by rural geographers and others writing from a political economy perspective was the "agrarian question", which questioned when or whether capitalist production would replace the non-capitalist relations in European and American farming. Some of the most enduring work on the role of non-capitalist relations in maintaining the family farm was done by Friedmann (1978).² She suggested that within the farm household, the mobilization of unpaid family labour meant the farm (petty commodity enterprise) was not required to generate a profit, unlike the capitalist enterprise which must generate a profit to more than cover wages and other production costs (Friedmann 1978; see also Lem 1988).³ Thus family farms were unique due to the organization of labour by kinship and the combination of labour and property which allowed the exploitation of family labour (Whatmore 1991a; Shortall 1992).

However, Marsden *et al* (1986) argued that Friedmann put too much emphasis on social organization as the basis for the persistence of the family farm while ignoring the ways in which agriculture was influenced by economic processes beyond the farm. They proposed that persistence was a result of the constraints and opportunities the transformation of labour process provided through the variety of ways the farm family was able to diversify capital and income sources (Marsden *et al* 1986). As the family farm became less able to generate either viable family incomes or sufficient capital for further investment in the farm enterprise, explanations of its persistence needed to move beyond farm labour processes to incorporate the variety of relations of the farm family with external institutions. This perspective marked a move away from theorizing at the level of the farm household toward a "heavy emphasis on the state and policies, and a strong focus on the importance of macro-economic factors in actor decision making"

² Other authors have suggested that agriculture may also be unattractive to corporations because of its inherent risk. Although agricultural profits depend on good management and good production practices, they are also at the mercy of nature, a factor of production that is difficult to control (Rosenfeld 1985).

³ Petty commodity production refers to a "variety of types of small scale production based on family or household labour and property" (Whatmore 1991a:1).

(Wilson 2001:85). These political economy approaches characterized farmers as responding almost entirely to outside forces, with little attention to the agency of farmers or farm families (Wilson 2001; Winter 2003). In his overview of agricultural geography, Page (2000) cites social agency as a major research theme in the political economy of agriculture literature arising out of research into the agrarian question discussed earlier. However, through the 1980's, structuralist perspectives dominated in agricultural geography, and economic and political structures were treated as separate and more powerful than individual agency.

Arguing that conventional political economy theory could not deal with a theory of the internal structure of the farm household, Whatmore (1991a) developed a theory of domestic political economy, which posited the unity of the processes of production and reproduction and the interdependence of family and enterprise organized around the social relations of each. In her conceptualization, the gender regime of the family was an integral part of patriarchal gender relations. Although Whatmore (1991a) re-introduced ideas of human agency, the women in her study were portrayed as victims of structural processes with little ability to impact either their own situation or the evolution of the family farm (O'Hara 1998). More recent work has drawn from Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration to illustrate the importance of agency as well as structure in explanations of structural change in agriculture (e.g. Wilson 2001; Burton and Wilson 2005; Winter 2005).

Giddens (1976;1979;1984) argued that people are "purposive agents who have reasons for their activities and are able to elaborate discursively on those reasons" (Giddens 1984: 3). However, as people choose their own actions, they are constrained and enabled by structures defined as "rules and resources organized as properties of social systems" Giddens (1984: 25). Where political economy approaches accentuated the constraints of structure (that structure has primacy over action) and hermeneutic traditions argued that agency (action and meaning) was most significant in explaining human conduct, Giddens proposed that agency and structure were inter-dependent, a duality, each interacting with the other to structure society or social systems.

Structuration theory makes much more explicit the nature of the inter-relationship between structure and agency. In recent years notions of agency have been widely adopted in the literature on agricultural restructuring (eg. Van der Ploeg 1993; Wilson 2001; Johnsen 2003;2004; Burton and Wilson 2005; Winter 2005). These notions are also important in much of the recent literature on farm women in agriculture (O’Hara 1994;1998; Grace and Lennie 1998; Brandth 2001; 2006).

Gidden’s theory informs this research in that members of Canadian farm family households are considered agents whose actions are expressed through social systems (eg. agrifamily households, communities). Canadian farm families are viewed as responding to structures based on rules (eg. trade and agricultural policies, culture, globalization, gender relations) and resources (eg. land, human capital) that influence the decisions, actions and thoughts of farm family members (see also Burton and Wilson 2005).

1.4 The Household as a Focus of Study

This research focuses on the agrifamily household as a place where family members negotiate work roles, social relations and identities and in doing so affect economic, social and political processes at a variety of scales. Household approaches to the study of farm families and family farms have been advocated since the early 1980’s (Hill 1981; Flora 1981; Colman 1981). Colman (1981:395) describes the farm and family as “separate dynamic systems that are integrated in various ways and to various degrees depending on the situation”. Wallace *et al* (1994:505) suggest that farm families engage in a household work strategy in which the household acts as an “interactive economic and social unit” as it is forced to adopt both long-term and short-term strategies for economic survival and expansion. These strategies involve the negotiation of the division of labour among all members of the household both on and off the farm.⁴

⁴ I am using the term negotiation to mean the informal and formal discussions and compromises made by farm families as they decide how to accomplish farm, non-farm, household and community (paid and unpaid) work.

Moen and Wethington (1992:235) explore the use of the concept of family adaptive strategies defined as “what families do to achieve or maintain economic well-being or other objectives” usually in response to economic change or family consumption aspirations. Although family adaptive strategies reflect tacit agreements among family members, it is individuals, and not families, who make decisions. Moen and Wethington’s (1992: 234) discussion of family adaptive strategies focuses on the family as an active agent in society, “responding to, reworking or reframing external constraints and opportunities”. This concept “invokes the role of families and households as flexible, decision making units” actively choosing actions rather than being passive recipients of impacts (Moen and Wethington 1992:234).

Wallace (2002) argues that the household is a useful unit of analysis because the organization and management of the household must involve common understandings among its members. However, it is critical to remember that households are not free of internal conflict and power relations and all members of a household do not benefit equally from decisions or change (Hill 1981; Flora 1988; Lem, 1988). Wallace (2002) cautions that analysis must be flexible enough to include different forms of families, differently related as well as non-related members, different interests and different strategies within the family and not assume that the household strategy is based on consensus. Thus, particular response strategies do not necessarily reflect the wishes of all family members and even the best strategies can impose personal and family costs.

For much of society, “work and family occupy separate sites with distinct rules of interaction” Brush (2000:161). For many people, work takes place in enterprises which have been characterized as masculine sites of production where making things and making things happen counts historically and financially. The family is most closely associated with the household which is conceptualized as a feminine site of caring and reproduction. Work that takes place in the household has not counted historically and financially. “Women’s productive activity yields at best, private and non-pecuniary rewards; at worst, exploitation from business, intrusive scrutiny from church and state and abuse from individual men” (Brush 2000:161). The lack of visibility of women’s

work in the household inspired the early work of feminist scholars and was the focus of work on farm women. However, on farms, neither women's work in the household nor women's work on the farm have counted as productive work in conventional statistics (e.g. Statistics Canada various years).⁵

Recently, researchers have noted the importance of the household as a site of micro-level social processes which involves relations of social reproduction, biological reproduction, consumption and increasingly, relations of economic production (Gibson-Graham 1996; Marston 2000; Blunt 2005; Buzar 2005). This has always been the case in agriculture. Brush (2000) states that enterprises and households are not separate actors, but mutually constitutive sites of gender (and race and class) struggles over the tasks, meaning and value of work. Cameron and Gibson-Graham (2003) and Gibson-Graham (1996) have also identified the household as an important site for non-market production in an attempt to recognize the value of productive work in the household that has been excluded from the capitalist economy.

In the current restructuring of contemporary capitalism, households are deeply interconnected with communities, labour markets and the welfare state in a process that is simultaneously transforming jobs and families (McDowell 2004). As Page (2000:253) notes, "industrial restructuring is always a contested process, one shaped in vital ways by the exercise of power in the micro-politics of everyday life". Buzar *et al* (2005) conclude that the household scale operates as a vibrant nexus for wider developments in the economic, cultural, demographic and spatial realm. Although their analysis is focussed on urban change, this comment is particularly meaningful for the agrifamily household which is responding to significant economic, political, social and environmental change. Consequently, a focus at the household level must also be attentive to social relations at community and societal levels that both shape and are influenced by household decisions and actions.

⁵ Prior to 1991, the Canadian Census of Agriculture only allowed one operator to be listed per farm. Most farms listed the male operators, thus excluding women and ignoring their contribution to the farm operation.

1.5 The Agrifamily Household Response Model

I argue that agrifamily households respond to changing conditions in agriculture and society through a range of strategies that are influenced by dynamic social relations of gender and generation. Focusing my analysis at the household scale and drawing on structuration theory notions of agency and structure, I view the members of agrifamily households as active, knowledgeable agents who make decisions to respond to economic, political, social and environmental change at various scales. In responding, farm families use and modify the rules and resources associated with the structural properties of social systems (eg. the agrifamily household, their local communities, and the wider social, economic and political systems). Women, men and youth within farm families actively negotiate their roles and have varying levels of influence on household responses. Nevertheless, these actions of agrifamily household members in responding to structural change impact the sources of that change by altering or reinforcing social roles and political, economic and environmental policy.

In Figure 1.1, I illustrate the relationship of the agrifamily household to prevailing structures at global, national, regional and local scales. At the macro (global and national) level, structural change has been political, economic, social and environmental. Political and economic change is linked to international and national trade policies which have supported globalization and corporatization in agriculture. Canadian government policies have reduced transfers of resources to rural communities and farms.

Environmental change is linked to emerging concerns about the ability of the natural environment to continue to support agriculture due to degradation of soils, water quality, intensity of production, climate change and changing technologies which affect the potential environmental impact of agriculture. New policy environments are also creating new systems of environmental regulations. Social change is linked to changing gender roles and relations, and to rural - urban demographic shifts which have resulted in declining farm populations.

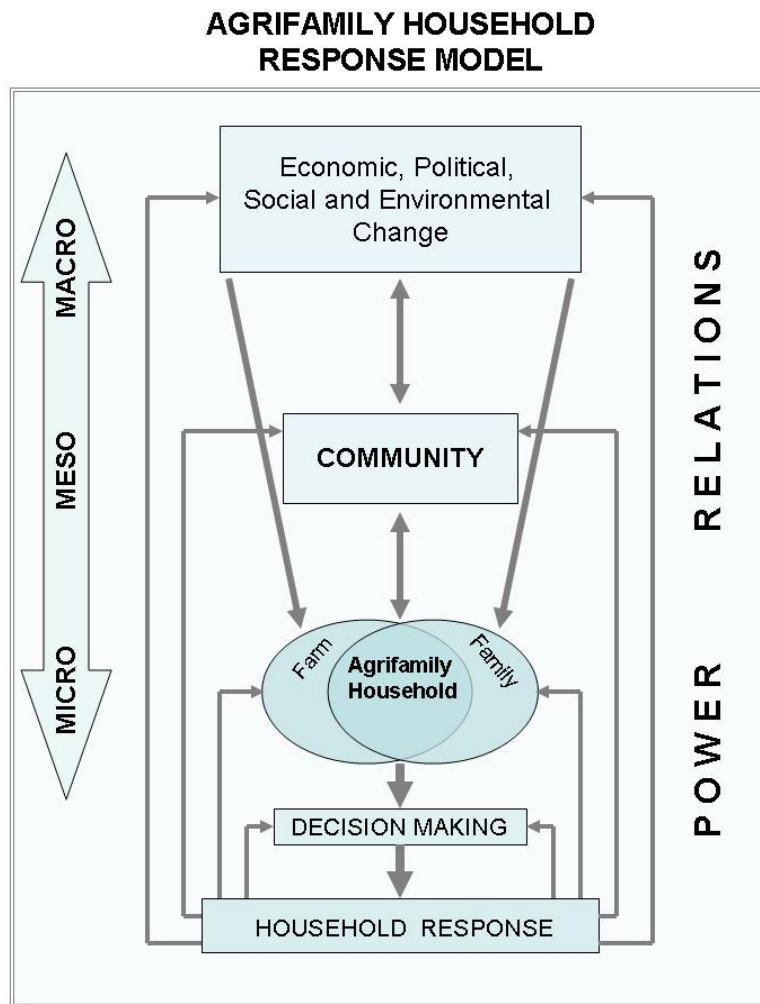


Figure 1.1 The Agrifamily Household Response Model

At the meso scale, agrifamily households are embedded in their local communities in many ways including community and caring work, off-farm work, farm and non-farm business enterprises. In rural communities, changes in population have affected the viability of non-farm businesses and the opportunities for off-farm work. Changes in governance and governmental service provision have increased the demands on rural people as agrifamily households respond to the decline in health, recreation, social and education services that were provided by the state in the past.

Agrifamily households are not passive recipients of these changes. Through decision making processes, members of Canadian agrifamily households have responded in a variety of ways: by varying farm, non-farm, community and household work roles; by modifying gender and generational relations; and by diversifying economic activities both on and off farm, including adjusting land holdings or leaving farming. These actions or responses of agrifamily household members may challenge or reinforce social roles and political, economic, and environmental policy.

Power relations are an integral part of this model. Giddens (1984:257) defined power “as the capacity to achieve outcomes”. Thus human agency implies power and power flows through all levels in the model, constraining and enabling human agency. Power relations impact roles and decision making at all levels through relations of patriarchy which work to subordinate women. The positions of farmer and farmer’s wife are both social locations and power relations (Brandth 2001). Power operates at the meso and macro levels through power relations among groups, classes and institutions. Power also operates between levels as rules and resources held at one level may constrain or enable human agency at another level. Shortall (1999) suggested that in Irish farm households, women’s lack of property ownership often resulted in their subordinate position in power relations. This subordinate position in turn shaped women’s lack of influence at a variety of scales. Shortall (1999) maintained women lacked influence over the labour process, lacked representation in agricultural organizations and had little political power.

The next section discusses the characteristics and structural conditions operating at the macro and meso scales in Canadian agriculture and society that impact the Canadian agrifamily household. These structural conditions provide the context within which the Canadian agrifamily household makes decisions. The discussion begins by illustrating changing macro-structural conditions as portrayed in the agrifamily household response model.

1.5.1 Macro-structural Conditions

1.5.1.1 Economic and Political Change

In the 1980's governments in the industrialized countries of the world moved to deregulate, cut public spending and privatize previously public services. The signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by the Canadian government in 1994 brought a commitment to reduce government spending on trade distorting supports for agriculture. Between 1988 and 2001, seven major programs supporting Canadian agriculture were cut as the Canadian government reduced spending on agricultural supports by 48%. These programs included; the Special Canadian Grain Program, the Tripartite Stabilization Program, the Western Grain Stabilization Program, the Crow Benefit, the Feed Freight Assistance Program and the Dairy Subsidy (Qualman and Wiebe 2002). The loss of these programs had a disproportionate impact on grain and oilseed producers who are concentrated on the Canadian prairies.

Over the past two decades, Canadian agricultural policy has focussed on expanding exports as it strives "to be a world leader in food safety, innovation and environmentally-responsible production" (AAFC 2003: 1) . This goal has met with considerable success as agricultural exports have increased by 700% since 1975 and have tripled since the signing of NAFTA (Roppel, Desmarais and Martz 2006). However, the high exposure of Canadian farmers to global competition and corporate concentration combined with low levels of government support has resulted in agriculture commodity prices that have seen considerable fluctuation but little overall increase over the last three decades. Individual farmers are now faced with input costs that are rising at a faster rate than the prices of their products (Martz 2004). The resulting poor economic returns in Canadian agriculture have led to the elimination of thousands of producers and their communities (Knutilla 2003; Troughton 2003).

At the peak of the Canadian rural farm system in 1941, most farms were full-time operations run by a mix of family and hired labour supported by a strongly integrated rural economy and society (Troughton 1997). Since 1941, there has been a significant decline in the number of farms and in the farm population in Canada. From 1941 to

2001, farmland area in Eastern Canada decreased by 50.1 percent and the number of farms decreased by 75.3 percent. In the same period, in the West, farmland area increased by 14.5 percent, but the number of farms declined by 54.9 percent. In both regions of Canada, farm size increased (Troughton 1997; Statistics Canada 2001). These trends have resulted in a small, dispersed farm population with tremendously eroded political power. As well, over the past four decades, farming has contributed a smaller and smaller proportion of income for Canadian farm families. Indeed, Statistics Canada (2001) reported that only 17.7 percent of the average Canadian farm family's net income in 2001 came from the farm operation. Even the largest Canadian farms with receipts over \$250,000.00, derived only 39.5 percent of their net income from the farm operation in 2001. Moreover, farms are becoming more specialized (Troughton 1997) and the poultry, hog and beef cattle sectors are increasingly being organized into very large production units as technology reduces the constraints of biological systems (Roberts and Hollander 1997). Similar to most other advanced economies, the majority of farm capital and production is associated with a minority of farms, creating a dualistic structure in Canadian agriculture. In 2000, 13.8 percent of farm operations with receipts over \$250,000 accounted for 68.1 percent of all gross farm receipts (Statistics Canada 2001).

In agriculture, economic and political forces are entwined and the effects of each are difficult to isolate in a discussion of the status of farming in Canada. Political and economic changes at the regional, national and global scale have resulted in low commodity prices, declining farm numbers, corporate concentration and negative impacts on many family farms and rural communities. Although many family farms have disappeared, those that remain are responding to the changing conditions in the industry in a variety of ways.

Over this same period of time, reductions in government expenditures have removed some health care, education and social services from rural communities, affecting agriculture and farm families. Consequently, in the last 50 years "rural Canada has moved from a position of national centrality to one of marginality" (Bryant 2001:132).

Geographers have devoted considerable effort to understanding the effects of agricultural restructuring on farms and rural regions. Ilbery *et al* (1997) identified a number of ways in which British farm families were responding to change including: expanding the industrial model of farming; directing resources into new agricultural products; diversifying the income base by investing in new farm-based non-agricultural products; moving into off farm businesses or employment; continuing traditional farming with lower income and outputs; and engaging in hobby or semi-retired farming. Bowler *et al* (1996) identified a seventh option, that of retirement from farming. These adaptations have also been important for Canadian farmers. Martz and Brueckner (2003) found Canadian farm families have looked to expansion, diversification, non-farm employment, new economic activities and winding down in response to agricultural restructuring. For most agrifamily households, these responses are arrived at through processes of negotiation and decision making.

1.5.1.2 Environmental Change

Agriculture influences and is in turn influenced by environmental change. Issues such as sustainability and climate change, the environmental impacts of agriculture and increasing environmental regulation all have the potential to impact the economic viability of a farm enterprise, necessitating responses on the part of the farm household. As Page (2000; 245) noted, agriculture is a unique industry as it is “constrained by natural processes which act to limit the productivity of labour and to restrict capital investment”. Agriculture, with its focus on plant and animal growth, is a biological activity and many of the inputs have no synthetic substitutes. Consequently, changes in biological systems, will impact production at the farm level (Chiotti *et al* 1997; Brklacich 1997) and at the system level (Smithers and Smit 1997). Changes in the environment affect farm families economically and socially as they respond to short term environmental disruptions such as droughts or floods and long term disruptions such as climate change. Environmental conditions in a region will impact the choice and the success of farm management structures and farming strategies, and condition responses to agricultural restructuring (Roberts 1996; O’Hara 1998; Johnsen 2003).

Changes in environment may even affect gender relations in farm families. Flora (2001) described a situation where climate change created uncertainty which reduced people's faith in traditional knowledge and caused traditional decision makers (men) to open up decision making processes to include women.

Agriculture has a history of environmental consequences including loss of biodiversity, loss of habitat, and soil and water degradation (Marsden *et al* 1986; Ilbery 1991; Troughton 2004; Draper and Reed 2005). Governments in Europe and Canada have moved to increase the number and scope of environmental regulations on agricultural production. The Canadian Agricultural Policy Framework includes the environment as one of its five pillars. Although the impact of these regulations is arguable (Evans *et al* 2002; Troughton 2003), farmers have expressed concern that some of these regulations will negatively impact farm viability in the short run as the increased costs anticipated from new environmental regulations, combined with low commodity prices, may make their farm operations less viable. Once again, attending to environmental demands requires discussion and negotiation at the agrifamily household level.

1.5.1.3 Social Change

At the same time that significant changes have been taking place in agriculture, significant changes have also taken place in Canadian families. Urbanization, increasing levels of formal education, declining fertility, longer life expectancy and reduced household work have opened up opportunities for women to work outside the home. Within the family, the prevailing norms involving "adult men as the breadwinner whose primary role was to earn an income for the family while adult women remained in the home and were responsible for running the family home and caring for its members" have been eroded (Luxton 2001:319; see also Blau *et al* 2002). Women's labour force participation has steadily increased spurred on by a desire to augment family incomes, increase self sufficiency, and gain the personal satisfaction and status associated with working at a paid job. While women's labour force participation has increased, men's

participation has fallen.⁶ Women's earnings are essential to the household, as men's income earnings since the 1980's have typically been insufficient to fully support most families (Luxton 2001). This change in labour force participation should increase women's status in the family; however, Blau *et al* (2002: 20) state that "in the case of women, it appears that sharing in the provision of the family needs is a necessary, though not a sufficient, ingredient in achieving a greater degree of equality".

While women are increasingly working in the paid labour force for much of their lives, their experiences are significantly different than men's. Women's employment tends to be low paid. They are paid less for the same work as men, they receive fewer benefits than men and they are less likely to be working full-time. Women's domestic labour responsibilities continue to influence their paid work as they often take part-time or home-based work and interrupt their employment for child and elder care. Women are still responsible for the majority of domestic work in the home as men have not taken on an equal responsibility for domestic labour (Luxton 2001; Blau *et al* 2002).

In urban, industrialized societies, work is normally considered to take place outside the home, away from the family. On the family farm, however, the workplace and the family are often indistinguishable both physically and psychologically (Rosenfeld 1985). Errington and Gasson (1994) note that since the farm is both a workplace and a residence, it is hard to separate the business from the way of life. As a result, running a successful farm business depends on interactions within the family and the interaction between family and business (Gasson *et al* 1988). These arguments point out the centrality of family relationships, family labour and household strategies as critical factors in understanding how the family farm is responding to change.

In rural areas, women and men have held on to a more traditional set of gender relations which prioritize women's reproductive roles in the family and the home (Friedland

⁶ Labour force participation rates for Canadian women increased from 14.4% in 1901 to 57.4% in 1995. At the same time, labour force participation rates for Canadian men increased from 78.3% in 1901 to 85.6% in 1941, but has since declined to 72.5% in 1995 (Luxton 2001).

1991).⁷ Women's reproductive roles in the rural family are also seen as central to the social and economic relations of the community (Little 2002a). However even in rural areas, gender roles are changing. Goodman and Redclift (1988: 789) claim that "women's roles within the farm family have been radically altered by their participation in larger society". Symes (1991) speculates that restructuring and the move to post-productive agriculture may foster changes for farm women as diversification and off-farm employment create opportunities for women to establish independent economic roles. He suggests that a "closer convergence of the social world of farming with the external environments may undermine the status and value systems" that have been perpetuated in agriculture. Furthermore, farm women are exposed to new ideas as they interact with young farm wives drawn from more diverse social origins and with immigrants to rural communities (Symes 1991:89).

In summary, as the agrifamily household model suggests, structural change at the macro level has generated significant political, economic, social and environmental changes in Canada that have impacted the family farm. Farm families are responding to low commodity prices, declining farm numbers, corporate concentration and lower levels of support for agriculture and rural communities at the same time as there are increasing demands on the agriculture sector. The social changes that have taken place in broader society have been mirrored in the farm family as women are increasingly working at non-farm jobs and seeking a greater degree of equality. Due to the difficulty of separating the farm business from the household, the impact of this change reverberates through both the farm business and the farm family. Consequently, there is a pressing need to improve our understanding of the implications of these changes for families and communities.

⁷ I use the term 'traditional' to refer to a concept of the family which arose along with industrialization in the nineteenth century in which men were responsible for earning a living and wives and children were dependent on his income. These ideas led to the prevailing notion that a woman's rightful place was in the home and a man's rightful place was in paid work outside the home (Blau et al 2002; Reed 2003). The extension of these ideas to the farm family led to the perception that a farm woman's role was to manage the household and reproduce the next generation of male farmers and the farm man's role was to manage the agricultural enterprise.

1.5.2 Meso-structural Change: the Agrifamily Household and the Community

At the meso scale, I examine relationships between agrifamily households and their surrounding communities. Family farms and their communities have historically had mutually beneficial relationships. Farms relied on their local communities for goods and services for both farm and family. Local communities were oriented socially and economically toward agriculture and farm families have a long history of political leadership and volunteerism in support of these communities (Smithers *et al* 2005). The nature of the relationship between farm and community is changing over time as agriculture becomes less important economically and politically. In many places, new residents and new economic interests are moving into rural areas, resulting at times in conflicts that undermine this relationship (Reed and Gill 1996; Walker and Fortmann 2003). At the same time, the relationship between farm and community may be strengthened as the local community is often the location of paid non-farm work or non-farm businesses when the farm family must move beyond the farm to acquire income and capital. Thus, changes in agriculture have acted to both undermine and enhance the relationships of family farms and their communities.

1.5.2.1 Culture

Culture is an important factor at all scales and impacts how the agrifamily household interacts with the local community and beyond. Farm family members must negotiate cultural values in both places as they move between household and community. As Reed (2003) argues, rural culture and identity is shaped by economic forms of organization, power relations, gender dynamics, material artefacts, religion and language as well as incorporating particular values and beliefs. Many people working in agriculture share attributes of the ‘worker culture’ that Reed (2003) described for the Canadian forestry sector. Worker culture values common-sense knowledge and the ability to learn by doing as opposed to knowledge that is acquired through formal education. In the context of gender dynamics, rural culture has historically supported a much more traditional interpretation of gender roles and relations. Women should be mothers and wives; men should be breadwinners. Little (2002a:86) argues that in England, “the rural community is seen as providing the social, cultural (and even

physical) environment for the reproduction of women's place in the family and community as sustained by hegemonic gender relations".

But to speak of a singular rural culture is a misnomer. Cultural differences are recognized in the different regions of Canada and in different types of farming. Regionally, in Canada, the Maritimes is often characterized as more conservative, for example, than British Columbia. Within types of farming, conventional farmers are characterized as having different attitudes and perceptions than alternative or organic farmers (Duram 1997).

The Canadian farm population is relatively homogeneous (Statistics Canada 2001) although cultural groups such as the Mennonites and Hutterites have provided some diversity in parts of Canada. More recently, farmers of Asian ethnic origin are becoming more prominent in the horticultural industries and farmers from Europe are being encouraged to invest in Canada. As different cultures often have different perspectives on farm goals and gender roles and relations, it is reasonable to expect household response strategies will reflect these differences. In a series of papers, Salamon and Keim (1979) and Salamon (1980; 1991) illustrate that ethnicity in farm families influences the operation of a farm enterprise. Patterns of land ownership and inheritance based on cultural traditions have been important determinants in decision making. These traditions have implications for the size of the enterprise, family size, family relations and community structures.

1.5.2.2 Social Relations

One set of links between the agrifamily household and the community include kinship linkages and inter-household relations that may create opportunities for support and co-operation. Many farm operations have involved family members beyond the nuclear family. Kinship considerations and the nature of farm business arrangements have affected American women's roles and rights as farmers (Hill 1981). Women on farms that have included partnerships with brothers and fathers are often marginalized as extended family enterprises tended to exclude women from farm administration (Carbert

1995). Kinship relations may also create additional work expectations for the household around the care of children and elderly relatives.

These relationships extend beyond the family. Lem (1988) argued that French farm households co-operated and made reciprocal arrangements regarding the mobilization of labour and other factors of production based on interpersonal ties of kinship, neighbourliness and community. She also noted that these co-ordinated efforts at co-operation informed political strategies committed to maintaining family based farms and that “petty commodity production in the household was not simply structurally programmed to resist the process of deepening commodity ties, but this resistance was part of a conscious and overt social and political strategy undertaken by producers to preserve the family farm and a particular way of life” (Lem 1988: 526).

1.5.2.3 Pluriactivity or Non-farm Employment

Farm families are increasingly connected to their surrounding communities through non-farm work. A common response of farm families to increasing financial stress has been to diversify the activities of the household both on and off the farm in order to secure the household’s economy and welfare. Non-farm work has been noted for decades in various industrialized countries (Lem 1988; Gasson 1988; Fuller 1991), and the term pluriactivity was coined to describe adding different types of agriculture to the farming operation, seeking non-farm wage employment and opening home-based or farm-based businesses. Initially, pluriactivity was seen as a stage in the transition out of farming or a way to maintain a farming lifestyle (Barlett 1986). However, we now observe that farm family members looked for non-farm work for a variety of reasons. Men indicated they worked to support the farm operations while women indicated they worked off the farm to increase incomes for family and farm as well as for an enhanced sense of identity and self worth (Hill 1981). Youth worked off the farm to gain extra money, enjoyment and experience (Brueckner 2004). Ahearn and Lee (1991) presented data to show that the likelihood of working off the farm in the United States is related to farm type, size of farm, region, age and gender. However, Fuller (1991) argued that most

part-time farm operations resembled the patterns of full-time farm operations and were no different in their socio-economic characteristics.

The pervasiveness of off farm work and its significant contribution to household income suggests that off farm work is an integral part of farm family survival strategies.

Phillipson *et al* (2004) noted the prevalence of rural households with multiple income streams in Britain, while Ellis (2000) commented that livelihood diversification was a well documented strategy of farm families around the world. Thus pluriactivity is not primarily a means to leave farming, but an integral element of the responses of some agrifamily households to changes in agriculture.

1.5.2.4 Volunteer Work

Farm families have always been an important source of voluntary work in communities and Smithers *et al* (2005) reported that this continues to be true. Little (2002a) asserted that English women felt the pressure to carry out community work more than men and community participation was considered a women's duty, an extension of their domestic role. As governments have withdrawn services and support from rural communities, rural people have assumed the role of delivering these services. Little (2002a) argued that a lack of basic health and community facilities were more readily tolerated in rural communities where women's traditional roles led to expectations that they would take on additional responsibilities. Women, in particular, were expected to care for the sick and the elderly and assist at schools to augment resources in Australia (Alston 1998). Men in rural communities were expected to contribute by maintaining community facilities and community programs. The relationship between the agrifamily household and the community has been impacted as the increased demands of farm and non-farm work has reduced the time farm families have available for voluntary work. At the same time, the demand for rural people to engage in voluntary activities in the community has increased due to the withdrawal of services and the decentralization of rural development to the local level.

It is evident that significant economic and political changes have resulted in tremendous pressure for change on most Canadian farms and recent data show that the majority of Canadian farms are unable to support fully the families who work them (Martz 2004). Uncertainty around environmental change both in the physical and in the policy sense creates an additional set of stresses to which farm families must respond. The dramatic changes in the political and economic systems that affect agriculture prompted Little (2002a:189) to state that “the continued restructuring of agriculture and the problems faced by farm businesses in many capitalist economies raise a new set of questions concerning the roles of different members of the farm household and the cohesion and survival of the farm family”. Over the past decade, Canadian agriculture has seen significant change. Consequently, a lack of research on the Canadian farm family at the household level leaves a gap in understanding how farm women and their families are adapting to these changes.

1.6 Thesis Outline

In this Chapter, I have outlined the structural changes affecting Canadian agriculture and the dominant theoretical approaches to agricultural restructuring. I introduced two conceptual underpinnings of this research, (a) structuration theory which serves as an important approach to restructuring, and (b) the household which proves to be an important scale of analysis. I outlined my research questions. As well, I presented a model of agrifamily household response to economic, political, environmental and social change which provides the conceptual framework for the research. Finally, I discussed changes at the macro and meso scale that have affected Canadian agrifamily households. In Chapter Two, I focus at the scale of the household, and examine past research on farm families concentrating on farm women’s work and the factors that have determined the work roles of farm women, youth and men. I explore the influence of gender relations and gender identities and finally I discuss decision making as the process through which agrifamily households respond to change. Chapter Three outlines the research process for this study of Canadian Farm Family work conducted from May 2001 to April 2003. I discuss the origins of the research project, the rationale

for choosing particular methods and methodologies, and the challenges that arose from these decisions.

In Chapter Four, I focus my analysis on Canadian farm women. Using a study completed in 1982 by the Women of the National Farmers Union (Koskie 1982) as a base, I document the changing work roles of farm women from 1982 to 2002, over a wide range of work tasks including agricultural production work, household work, non-farm work and voluntary and community work. Next, I explore how these role changes have affected farm women's occupational identities as farm operators. Finally, I develop a classification of farm women that reflects their diverse roles and the resulting gender relations as they respond to agricultural restructuring on the farm. Chapter Five expands the analysis of work to the Canadian farm family. Here, I address the research question of how farm families have modified their work roles on the farm and how these modifications have impacted gender and generational relations within the farm family. Chapter Six focuses the analysis on Canadian farm women and men and examines decision making process within farm families. In this chapter I look at the factors that influence participation in decision making for farm women and men and the gender and power relations that result. I also explore the specific roles farm women and men play in decision making processes. Chapter Seven presents a summary of the research, reviews the key arguments made and also provides an overview of the theoretical and methodological contributions and limitations of the study. I conclude with recommendations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: AGRIFAMILY HOUSEHOLD RESPONSE STRATEGIES

2.1 Agrifamily Household Response Strategies

The agrifamily household is the core of the agrifamily household response model and the primary focus of this research. In Chapter One I argued that the agrifamily household is linked to the community and to economic, political, environmental and social processes in the larger society. Furthermore, the agrifamily household responds to change by “adjusting its functioning and sometimes its structure to changes in the larger socioeconomic milieu” (Garkovich and Bokemeier 1988: 212). As Garkovich and Bokemeier (1988: 214) noted for the American farm family, “within the agrifamily household, members negotiate role behaviours that satisfy their role obligations to both the family and the agricultural enterprise”. The excerpt from the agrifamily household response model in Figure 2.1 shows that the decision making processes that condition

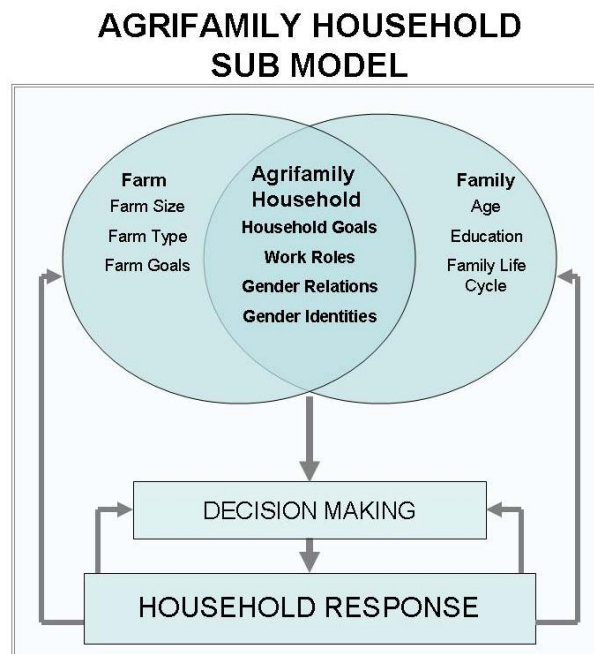


Figure 2.1 Agrifamily Household Sub-model

the responses of agrifamily households will be influenced by work roles, gender relations and gender identities in the household, as well as household goals, the characteristics of the farm family and the characteristics of the farm.

In this chapter, I examine past research that has focussed farm women's work and explore the factors that have determined the work roles of farm women, youth and men. I discuss the influence of gender relations and gender identities within the agrifamily household. Finally I discuss research from a variety of disciplines in order to understand the decision making processes taking place in agrifamily households.

2.2 Agrifamily Household Goals

The political economy literature examining rural change in industrialized countries assumes that a primary objective of the agrifamily household is to successfully transfer land from one generation to another in order to reproduce the family farm. This objective is one in which women play a critical role through childbearing, childrearing and encouraging education (Ghorayshi 1989; O'Hara 1998). This is also an objective from which women have been excluded as farms have historically been transferred to sons and rarely to daughters (Shortall 1999; Schwarz 2001). The goals of the agrifamily household regarding succession may initiate response strategies that will impact the operation of the farm enterprise. The farm may be expanded to allow another family to be supported by the enterprise; new land is acquired, investments may be made in equipment and more attention may be paid to conservation measures. It may also affect gender relations in the household as sons are traditionally educated by their fathers from a very young age to take an ever increasing role in farm work and decision making while the same opportunities are often not available to daughters (Leckie 1996; Schwarz 2001). However, with social changes such as smaller families and changing gender roles and identities, more daughters are entering the farming business both as partners and as independent operators (Leckie 1993; McCoy *et al* 2002).

It is important to note that while family succession may be the goal of the agrifamily household as a unit, individual members of the farm family may have very different

goals which may be in conflict. In these times of economic uncertainty in agriculture, the goals of survival of the farm family may preclude the survival of the farm enterprise and vice versa (Argent 1999). O'Hara (1998) exposed the role of Irish farm women in educating their children out of agriculture as they perceived undesirable or limited opportunities for both daughters and sons. Similarly, Blanc and MacKinnon (1990) noted that increased pluriactivity may reduce the commitment of European farm women to the farm enterprise and increase their interest in off-farm opportunities for their children.

Although many Canadian farm parents are beginning to question the wisdom of ensuring their children will take over the farm, many would still like to see the farm stay in the family. Consequently, they still believe that the farm must pass to one of their children (Martz and Brueckner 2003). However, in view of the uncertainty around farming, parents today are more likely to encourage their children to get an education and work experience off the farm. They recognise that education and experience are important assets when a good non-farm income is necessary to support the agrifamily household and the farming operation and that in the final analysis, a career in farming may not be the best choice.

Another obvious goal of the agrifamily household is to make an income that provides a satisfactory standard of living for a family and capital for investment on the farm. For many farm families, major goals would also include passing on family values, the education of children, personal fulfillment and/or quality of life. American farm families have looked to farming to provide lifestyle benefits such as recreation, an improved diet, benefits for their children and a positive work environment (Barlett 1986). These may or may not support the goals of the farm enterprise, but will affect the goals of the agrifamily household. Agrifamily household goals will also be influenced by the human capital resources within the family and the assets in the farm enterprise, which together will affect the processes of decision making and the household responses that ensue.

2.3 Work Roles: Gender and Generation

2.3.1. Gender Roles

Within the agrifamily household, gender roles are changing and the important roles of farm women are becoming increasingly visible. Until the 1980's, virtually all research into farming families was conducted from the viewpoint of the head of the household who was usually male. This focus reflected the widespread belief by both men and women that farming was a male occupation. Men were farmers simply because they were males living on farms (Hill 1981). Traditional views of the farm household placed the wife as the manager of the family household and the husband as the manager of the agricultural enterprise (Bennett and Kohl 1982). As manager of the family household, women reproduced the farm labour force and raised agricultural products for home consumption and market sales. However, these contributions were not credited with contributing to the accumulation of capital for the farm. American farm women's roles were largely described as helpers of men and their work was "subsidiary and subordinate to the work of their husbands" (Bokemeier and Garkovich 1987:212). That these perceptions have rarely reflected reality is evident in the historical accounts of American women's farm work (Fink 1988), and in the more contemporary analysis of farm women's work presented here.

Beginning in the late 1970's and early 1980's, researchers in the United States (Pearson 1979; Sachs 1983; Rosenfeld 1985), Britain (Gasson 1980; Symes and Marsden 1983), and Canada (Koskie 1982) began to focus on making the work of farm women 'visible', a goal that continues to be undermined by the reluctance of the state to officially count farm women's work (O'Hara 1998; Lobao and Meyer 2001).¹ Much of the early analysis was based on the overlap of women's farm roles (production) with their family roles (reproduction) and establishing that the work involved in reproduction complimented and supported agricultural production (Friedland 1991). Pearson (1979) showed that American women were engaged in agriculture in diverse ways, from farm

¹ In 1991, the Canadian Census of Agriculture was revised to allow farm families to list multiple producers and thus allow women to be counted as agricultural producers. However, the long period of time in which only one producer was allowed to be reported per farm will likely mean women will, for some time, be underreported in Census tabulations.

homemakers focussing on reproduction to the independent woman agricultural producer focussing on production. Sachs' (1983) typology also identified four categories of American women farmers largely determined through women's relationship with their husbands.

Subsequently, many studies have identified the gendered nature of the division of labour on farms in the United States (Rosenfeld 1985; Lobao and Meyer 1995), England (Whatmore 1991a; Wallace *et al* 1994), Ireland (Shortall 1992; 1999), Canada (Carbert 1995) and Australia (Alston 1995). Men traditionally engaged in the production of goods for the commercial market and were most often the owners and managers of farms. Men were more likely than women to engage in specific tasks such as: field work, chemical use, machinery and vehicle maintenance, cleaning stables or barns and household repair and maintenance (Rosenfeld 1985; Carbert 1995; Lobao and Meyer 1995). Women were more likely to take care of the farm accounts, care for small animals and engage in general household duties that supported the farm family.

Traditionally, farm work was defined as the productive work done by men. Women's work was not considered real work. For example, Fink (1988) noted that even when women managed poultry operations or did livestock chores, they often reported they did no farm work. Feminist scholars have devoted considerable effort to establish the value of women's productive and reproductive work by recognizing the importance of multiple types of work and redefining what is counted as work (Reimer 1986; Sachs 1996; Waring 1999; Cameron and Gibson-Graham 2003).² Reimer (1986) argued that reproductive work such as feeding hired labour, washing work clothes, and raising food freed up money to invest in the farming operation, thus contributing to the ongoing viability of the family farm.

² Rosenfeld (1985) notes that housework was included as a category on the 1980 U.S. National Farm Women's Survey not because it was considered legitimate work in the farm context but so that "women who indicated no involvement in farm tasks and who might, as a result, feel their work was not being fairly evaluated would have something to which they could say, 'Yes, I do that'."

Women have historically played a key role in the survival of farm households. Women adapted to the need for a continuous flow of household income by producing and selling commodities. They adapted to farm income shortages through strategies to reduce household consumption and working off the farm operation to bring in additional capital (Fink 1988; Ghorayshi 1989). Women also orchestrated family work strategies both on and off-farm (Lobao and Meyer 2001), acted as intermediaries among family members, managed conflict and attended to the social and personal needs of the family (Ghorayshi 1989). Fink (1988) underlines the importance of women in supplying “moral capital” which kept the family on the farm in times of crisis. Women nursed people, listened to troubles, cheered people up and neutralized the shocks of the world on farm families. Finally they assisted their husbands in developing relationships with others, creating his good reputation and maintaining his social status (Ghorayshi 1989).³

Agricultural modernization and agricultural restructuring have played a role in changing gender roles in farming. These changes show considerable diversity from place to place. In Germany, Pfeffer (1989) suggested that an increase in part-time farming led to the feminization of agriculture with more men working off the farm and women staying on the farm. In other European countries, mechanization has reduced the need for women’s labour, leading to opportunities for off farm work in Norway, displacement to the domestic sphere in Greece and changes in women’s work roles in Switzerland (O’Hara, 1998; Stratigaki 1988; Brandth 2001). Economic and political change along with social change has resulted in a variety of gender roles for farm women although with less change for farm men.

2.3.2 Generational Roles

Researchers have noted the importance of all members of the farm family in the ensuring the survival of the family farm. Family relationships and family labour are critical factors in understanding the persistence of the family farm. In industrialized societies, work is normally considered to take place outside the home, away from the

³ In this discussion, Ghorayshi is specifically referring to wives engaging in activities that are directed at enhancing their husbands’ prestige.

family. On the family farm, however, the workplace and the family are often indistinguishable both physically and psychologically (Rosenfeld 1985). Errington and Gasson (1994) noted that since the farm is both a workplace and a residence, it is hard to separate the business from the way of life. As a result, running a successful farm business in England depended on interactions within the family and the interactions between family and business (Gasson *et al* 1988). Margaret Alston stated that the survival of the Australian family farm was linked to, among other things, “the ability to draw on all members of the family for labour contributions and the ability of the labour force to respond quickly” (1998:28). Whatmore (1991a) has suggested that the English family farm survives because the connection between household and enterprise allows for the exploitation of family labour. Friedmann (1978) commented that family farms were unique enterprises due to the organization of labour by kinship and the combination of labour and property and argued that both women and men played important roles in the maintenance of the family farm. Shortall noted in her work in Ireland that often farm wives and farm children were seen as “financially dependent on the farm and were considered to make no reciprocal return” (1992:443). But Wallace *et al* (1994:505) suggested that farm families in England were engaging in a household work strategy in which the household was viewed as an “interactive economic and social unit”. The household was forced to adopt both long-term and short-term strategies for economic survival and expansion involving the negotiation of the division of labour among members of the household.

deVries (1990) noted that due to social change and mechanization, children in the Netherlands are no longer required to fulfill the duties and obligations characteristic of family farming and, as a result, children hardly participate in farm work. However, Wallace *et al* (1994:525) concluded “that children in farming families can, under some circumstances, contribute to the work of the farm and this could form an important part of the family business or work strategy”. Similarly, Brueckner’s (2004) study of Canadian farm youth found many of them still make substantial contributions to farm work, although gender roles were still traditional with girls contributing mostly through domestic and livestock work and boys being involved much more in farm field work. In

her study of farm succession in Scotland, Schwarz (2001) found girls and boys had very different opportunities in agriculture and this was reflected in their work roles on the farm. Clearly, in some situations, children and youth make substantial contributions to the agrifamily household. However, Canadian official statistics do not yet acknowledge these contributions and there is very little research on the contribution of farm youth to the family farm.

2.4 Gender and Power Relations in the Agrifamily Household

Feminist scholars have suggested gender relations in the agrifamily household are largely shaped by the traditional forms of patriarchy that prevail in advanced agrarian societies (Sachs 1983; 1996; Whatmore 1991a; 1991b; Wallace *et al* 1994; O'Hara 1994a; 1998; Alston 1998; Shortall 1999; Brandth 2002b). Patriarchy is defined as “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” (Walby 1989:20). Sachs (1983) describes a patriarchal system, in which men rarely perform women's work; men attempt to control their own realm through the exclusion of women and where they cannot exclude women, men determine which work women perform (Sachs 1983). Sachs (1996: 16) further states that in the United States, “men for the most part still control the land and make agricultural decisions in patriarchal social systems”. Shortall (1999) also focuses on the power held by farm men due to their control of land which leads to the subordination of women in the household and in society.

In agriculture, gender relations are “an active social process through which male power over women is established and maintained” (Bowby 1986: 328 cited in Little 2002a). Much of the early feminist work on farm women in industrialized countries, presented them as passive victims of patriarchy. Ideas of agency were incorporated in Whatmore's (1991a) work, but O'Hara (1998) was one of the first researchers to portray farm women as actively influencing their lives and the lives of their children. Based on her work in England, Little (2002a:24) argued that “the configuration of gender relations in any particular place is a result of the unique social, economic, cultural and political histories of that place and also of the specific local interaction of a

range of global, national, regional, local and even household characteristics”. Thus the economic, political, environmental and social changes discussed earlier will impact gender relations within agrifamily households as they respond to those changes and the results will vary from place to place.

One common response to agricultural restructuring has been higher rates of pluriactivity in farm families. With the addition of non-farm economic activity, work patterns of men and women must change and traditional gender relations on the farm and in the household will also be subject to change (Sachs 1996). With pluriactivity, the conflicting demands of paid employment may have reduced some of the benefits from the flexibility of labour supply that farm family businesses have enjoyed as family members working off the farm are not available for work on the farm. However, Fuller (1991) noted that just because the farm operator (usually male) works off the farm does not make the farm operation part-time, inefficient or different especially if other family members are available to do farm work and/or management. He also pointed out the gender bias inherent in the labelling of a farm part-time because of the activities of the (usually male) farm operator without consideration of the activities of other members of the farm family (Fuller 1991:38).

The impact of pluriactivity on the farm family results in increased working hours for all members of the farm family, as well as increased stress and pressures on family life. The contribution of children to the farming operation became more crucial and parents became partially dependent on children for labour (Wallace *et al* 1994). The main benefits of pluriactivity for the family were a higher standard of living, personal interest generated by another job, and wider social contacts (Gasson 1989). Pluriactivity also affected the allocation of farm tasks and shifted the balance of power in English farm households, necessitating the renegotiation of how earnings were spent, socialization of children, sharing of housework and decisions about how to separate work and leisure (Gasson and Winter 1992). Haugen and Blekesaune (2005) found that women working at a non-farm job in Norway were in a better position to renegotiate their roles on the farm and in the household. Pluriactivity may shift the balance of power in the

household by creating autonomy for farm women working at non-farm jobs and strengthening the influence of women engaged in on-farm activities. Through their pluriactivity, English farm women made an undeniable economic contribution to the agrifamily household income, which, in many cases, increased the viability of the farm (Evans and Ilbery 1996). Indeed, Symes stated that the best hope for English farm women to improve their status would come from their participation in work roles which were “totally disconnected from the farm business” whether they be on or off the farm (Symes 1991:90). On the other hand, Evans and Ilbery (1996) cautioned that pluriactivity may reduce women’s power in the case that their new activities are added to their already existing activities and independent income is not earned thereby creating an increased work load. Thus, there is much scope to study the implications of pluriactivity for gender roles and relations in Canadian agrifamily households.

2.5 Gender Identity

In the context of rural geography, Little noted that “while gender identities in rural areas are multiple and fluid, there is a set of characteristics associated with the rural woman and the rural man through which their gender identities are defined” (Little 2002a:41). These characteristics emphasized conventional family roles, economic roles, social roles and sexual roles.

Early theories of identity developed in the 1950’s out of sociology and psychology. One conceptualization considered identity as a fixed and stable characteristic of the person while the second suggested that “identity is acquired through socialization or the internalization of imposed social roles” (Petersen 2000:262). In the second conceptualization, identity is less deeply inscribed, leaving scope for individual agency in changing identities (Petersen 2000). If we accept that gender identities are open to change, it is likely that the restructuring of agriculture through industrialization and globalization will have an impact on gender identities and related to this, on gender roles and relations (Little, 2002a). Brandth (2001:40) states that “since the labour process is a site where notions of masculinity and femininity are produced and reproduced, different ways of organizing the labour process result in different gender identities”. Evidence of

changing identities is provided by Grace and Lennie (1998) who found that Australian women were increasingly self identifying as farmers and grazers rather than as wives and mothers.

Farm women's identities have been argued as being constructed by the gendered division of work on the farm (Whatmore 1991b; Haugen and Blekesaune 2005), the media (Liepens 1998; Brandth and Haugen 1997; Grace and Lennie, 1998; Morris and Evans 2001), off farm work (Oldrup 1999; Heather *et al* 2005), people in government and industry (Grace and Lennie 1998), feminist scholars, and farm women themselves (Grace and Lennie 1998). Recent work has shown that work roles of many farm men and women have been changing and that new understandings of gender, work and marriage were causing some Australian farm men and women to construct and reconstruct their occupational identities (Bryant 1999). Oldrup (1999) found Danish farm women's identities were associated with their work roles on the farm and noted that larger economic, political and social processes have changed women's connections to farming and led to the need to reconstruct their identities.

In his analysis of pluriactivity and changing gender relations in the Netherlands, deVries (1990:426) asserted that younger farm women today "aspire to an activity with its own work identity, whether on-farm or off-farm". Researchers have noted that farm women receive limited satisfaction for their work on farms because it is not valued by their families or their communities (Alston 1995; Brandth and Haugen 1997) and as a result farm women were leaving the farm to get recognition somewhere else (Ghorayshi 1989).

It is evident that at the level of the farm, changes in work roles as well as changes in expectations are leading some farm women and men to question the traditional patriarchal system in agriculture. However, the scale of this change is restricted, as any changes in women's connection to the farm have not been reflected in the dominant discourse about farm women's identity within farm organizations and government, which remains centered on farm women's traditional roles on the farm (Oldrup 1999; Shortall 2002).

Farm women are a diverse group and they play a variety of roles in agriculture. This was recognized by Pearson (1979), who identified four types of American women farmers: agricultural producers; agricultural partners; farm helpers; and farm homemakers. Sachs (1983) also identified four categories of American women farmers: widows, single women, women married to men who are not farmers and women married to farmers. Sachs reported that women's experience of farming was largely determined by their relationship with their husbands. Studies in the early 1990's differentiated between farmer's wives whose role was to support their husband's occupation and farming women who were more engaged with the enterprise (Whatmore 1991a; Darque and Gasson 1991; Shaver 1991). O'Hara (1994b) developed a typology of Irish farm women including working farm wives who operated as farmer's assistants; women farmers who were farm owners and managers; farm homemakers who did not work on the farm; and farm women in paid work who were not usually involved in farm work. Haugen and Blekesaune (1996 cited in Brandth 2001) developed a typology describing Norwegian farm women as: women working on the farm; women working off the farm; pluriactive women; and housewives. More recently, Bryant (1999) developed a typology to characterize the occupational identities of pluriactive Australian farm men and women. The typology included traditional farmer/farmer's wife; new traditional farmer; subordinate manager (women); manager (men); manager and entrepreneur; entrepreneur; wage worker; and second enterprise worker. This typology recognizes that identities are linked to non-farm as well as farm occupational roles. Bryant also found a link with gender as the managers in her study were all men and the subordinate managers were all women. Entrepreneurs were also all men while the majority of the new traditional farmers were women (Bryant 1999). These typologies have evolved to incorporate ideas of identity and to reflect the changing nature of farm women's roles as non-farm employment has become more common.

In summary, agrifamily households have operated in a traditional division of labour based on gender. However, with economic, political and social change; gender roles, gender relations and gender identities have all been subject to change (Sachs 1996; Little 2002b). Farm women have always had a variety of roles on the farm and economic,

political and social change is likely to have an impact on the number of women taking on particular roles and developing new roles in agriculture.

2.6 Feminism and Farm Women

Although the intentions of feminist research on farm women have been to make women and their work visible, to improve their lives and to improve policy making for farm women, many farm women in industrialized countries have been reluctant to identify with feminism and feel threatened or alienated by the women's movement (Alston 1995; Teather 1996; Brandth and Haugen 1997; Grace and Lennie 1998; Brandth 2002b). Brandth (2002b) suggested that destabilizing aspects of popular conceptions of feminism may be seen as a threat to the social relationships that are valued in rural life. For example, popular depictions have portrayed feminists as women who see men as the enemy. Rightly or wrongly, this portrayal is unacceptable in a system that depends on a high degree of co-operation between women and men and ignores the role of men in relationships that entail love and respect as well as power (Alston 1998; Brandth 2002b; Sharp *et al* 2003). Brandth (2002b) also questioned the applicability to farm women of the general assumptions of progress which, in an urban setting, entails the separation of the household from the economy, the family from wider kinship groups and the private from the public. Where urban women became modern through the separation of these spheres, rural women tended to retain an identity as producers. Similarly, Bennett (2004:147) attempted to understand why many English (rural) women were "neither revelling in their new roles (of waged work) nor experiencing the erosion of patriarchal structures that affect gender relations". Bennett concluded that the resilience of patriarchal structures was due to the inability of women to challenge their powerful effects and that many women were reluctant to challenge patriarchal structures as they saw few benefits to doing so. Thus they actively played a part in the construction and resilience of those structures. Bennett (2004:162) described the role of older women in farm families who "work to socialize younger women into patriarchal structures once they begin to benefit from a lifetime of toil".

Insight into why many women were not empowered by their roles in off farm work also came from Sharp *et al* (2003), who noted that working off the farm was a change that has been forced on many women, rather than a choice that was freely made. This point was illustrated by Haugen and Blekesaune (2005) who found that Norwegian farm women, whose labour situation reflected their own preferences, expressed higher levels of life satisfaction. Similarly, the empowerment that is anticipated as a result of women being able to move into traditional male work may be undermined when this new work does not replace previous work, but is added on to existing work, creating a double if not triple burden (Brandth 2002b; Sharp *et al* 2003).

Although two decades of research has shown the pervasiveness of patriarchal structures in agriculture, it may be that for many farm women, political and economic structures are much more oppressive and challenging than patriarchy. Many farm women do exercise a level of power and influence over their lives and do not see themselves as oppressed or victims in everyday life. As O'Hara (1998) has shown, farm women have exercised their agency through their roles as mothers directing the next generation away from rural areas and away from agriculture. Grace and Lennie (1998) stated that 'we' need to resist the tendency to construct rural (and farm) women as victims, noting that Australian rural women were engaging in empowering strategies, collaborative policy making and consultation processes, and were increasingly becoming involved in politics.

2.7 Characteristics of the Farm Family

In the agrifamily household model, the resources, structure and function of the farm family impacts response strategies through the personal attributes of family members. Different combinations of these assets will create opportunities for a different mix of response strategies for the agrifamily household.

Personal variables such as age, education, residential background and role concept will determine how members of the farm family interact with each other and how they engage with the farm enterprise. The impact of age on work is one of the most obvious

as the ability of people to carry out certain forms of labour varies with their physical and mental capabilities. Brueckner (2004) found that children under the age of 12 were restricted to household tasks and that the contribution of children to farming increased significantly after the age of 16, when they obtained a driver's license. At the other end of life, age placed limits on physical strength which resulted in older women (and men) being less likely to be involved with the physical part of farming (Rosenfeld 1985). Changing physical capabilities may lead to changes in technology on the farm as well as to the extent of the farming operation.

Farm family members with more education may have access to more and better employment opportunities, thus determining which member will seek off-farm employment (Rosenfeld 1985). Education also affects attitudes toward social change. Residential background, such as whether a husband or wife grew up on a farm, may determine the level of their farm skills and their likelihood of accepting or rejecting traditional attitudes in farming. Finally, household members' perception of their roles in the household will, in turn, affect the manner in which they engage with the farm household and the farm enterprise. Rosenfeld (1985) found that women who own land or other farm inputs played a greater role in marketing and in farm decision making.

Studies of family life cycles on farms have noted that the availability, commitments, responsibilities and productivity of farm family labour will vary significantly as the family changes in number, vigour and requirements. Families may adapt to these changes by altering farm size, location or farming practices (Errington and Gasson 1994). Families may also adapt by increasing or decreasing non-farm employment and pluriactivity as a "simple, flexible mechanism for managing ... change ... in the farm, the family or the external environment" (Fuller, 1991;40). Similarly, income and consumption vary over the family life cycle. Families at different stages have very different household expenditures, commitments to mortgage repayments, net incomes, et cetera, all of which affect options when farm incomes are low.

Although some researchers have suggested that responsibility for childcare may conflict with women's ability to do some types of farm work at certain stages of the life cycle, Wilkening (1981) showed that the extent of women's work on American farms did not vary greatly with the stage of the family life cycle. This may be because the farm life cycle is closely tied to the family life cycle. When children are young, the farm tends to be small with lower labour demands. As children grew up, their contribution to farm labour expanded and changed (Brueckner 2004).

Farm family members interact regarding their contributions to farm labour. Women's involvement in farm tasks increased when there were children involved in the farm work, likely arising from the need for women to supervise labour. Women have given up desirable farm tasks to their teenage children to entice them to engage in farm work. Cohen (2002) indicated that women's labour force participation has led to changing youth work roles as the family compensates for the mother's absence.

Relations between parents and their children are also important determinants of children's work roles. As Schwartz (2001) argued, children want to be accepted into the ranks of adults and they often fall into the same gendered patterns as their parents. Leckie (1996) pointed out the importance of personal interaction with adults, especially for girls, in their career choices. She also noted the importance for both male and female youth of work and recreational experiences in shaping self confidence and ultimately determining career choices. Conger and Elder (1994) found that adult farm women were important role models for their daughters who tend to be as involved as their mothers in volunteer work. Thus when children work alongside their parents, it has a significant impact on their future choices.

Later in life, American women found their productive labour roles and later their managerial and ownership roles were taken over by their adult sons (Colman and Elbert 1983, cited in Rosenfeld 1985). Sachs (1983) argued that the presence of a husband affected women's roles. Usually, when there was a husband present, he was the farmer and the manager, and the woman was an agricultural helper. Rosenfeld (1985) also

found that women were involved in a wider range of farm activities when the husband did not regularly take part in production. The type and intensity of women's work was also more variable than that of men through their lives.

Criticism of the life-cycle approach has focused on the tendency to use age and number of children as indicators when there may be other biographical events such as marriage that have equal importance to the history of the family. Whatmore (1991a:72) labelled the lifecycle approach as tautological as it "naturalizes the division of labour in the family household by taking women's responsibility for this work as given and then offering it as an explanation for the different patterns" of work between men and women". As Moran *et al* (1993) point out, the work roles of women and men throughout their lives have their roots in the socialization of women and men rather than in a natural division of labour.

2.8 Characteristics of the Farm Enterprise

The characteristics of the farm enterprise will impact agrifamily household response strategies through the opportunities and limitations that farm size, commodity mix, level of technology, labour inputs and farming goals contribute. Again, different combinations of these variables will create a different mix of response strategies for the agrifamily household.

The size of a farm affects the type of labour required and the mix of family and hired labour. Fassinger and Schwarzweller (1982 cited in Rosenfeld 1985) found that on larger American farms, women spent more hours on farm work, did a smaller proportion of farm tasks and tended to specialize in what they did. Rosenfeld (1985) found that women on larger farms did a significantly smaller proportion of the tasks. Others have found low levels of women's involvement on both smaller farms and larger farms, with higher rates on intermediate size farms. Increasing farm size is a common response strategy to agricultural restructuring and the literature indicates this may have impacts on women's work on the farm, although the impact is not clear.

The types of labour inputs on a farm enterprise are determined by the labour needs of the enterprise, family role expectations and external factors such as economic conditions or social trends. The scale and requirements of some intensive livestock and horticulture operations are more suited to hired labour. When the need for labour resulted in the extensive use of hired labour, family members moved into different types of management tasks or women were removed from farm work altogether (Shaver 1991). On the other hand, economic stress on the farm may mean that families cannot afford to hire labour and family members are required to do additional work. Garrett and Schulman (1989) noted that where work involved seasonal tasks on American farms with large labour demands and a requirement for timeliness, all members of the immediate and extended family were called on. Some tasks such as crop spraying, trucking, and manure spreading that used to be done on the farm are increasingly contracted to outside suppliers which in turn changes the labour demands on the farm family.

The products produced on a farm determine the timing and sequencing of labour demands. Dairying and other livestock operations had ongoing labour requirements that utilized the labour of both women and children (Rosenfeld 1985; Brueckner 2004). Women on farms that specialized in raising crops did a smaller range of tasks than women on mixed or livestock farms (Rosenfeld 1985). Consequently, response strategies that focus on diversification of grain farms into cattle or other types of animals may create new opportunities or demands for the labour of women and children.

Agricultural technology is also linked to farm type. The use of technology such as large machinery is still very much part of a masculine sphere of activity and women have tended to be less involved in farm tasks that involve machinery (Rosenfeld 1985; Carbert 1995; Saugeres 2002). Although many of the physical barriers that women have faced in handling farm equipment have been overcome, and new farm equipment requires less strength to handle, Saugeres (2002) in her research in France concluded that social barriers for women to become involved may still exist. On the other hand, the high cost of new farm equipment may reduce a farm family's willingness to allow

non-family members to operate machinery, increasing labour demands for women and youth.

Farm enterprises have a number of goals including making a profit, acquiring more land, improving efficiency, raising a new crop or type of livestock, having an enjoyable lifestyle, good connections with family and community, and an enjoyable work environment. The ability of the farm enterprise to realize these goals is determined by the available resources in the farm enterprise and the farm family. Expanding the current farm business or diversifying into new products to increase profits will involve decisions as to who will be responsible for new elements of the farm business. Farmers may hold on to the farm, but be winding down the operation as they become semi-retired or simply run a hobby farm with no expectation that the farm will support a family. Each of these adaptations has a variety of implications for the members of the agrifamily household. Johnsen (2003) showed that farm goals affected New Zealand farm families' responses to agricultural restructuring with those focused on making a profit more likely to alter their farms in response to change. Farm families looking for intrinsic, social and personal benefits from the farm were more likely to seek off farm work.

Farm enterprises progress through a series of stages from their establishment to their passage from one generation or owner to the next. Farms at different stages will react differently to economic and policy change. In the early stages, the focus is on the development of the enterprise and its survival, leading to the reduction of uncertainty through the accumulation of capital. When the farm evolves at a different rate than the farm family, demands on capital and labour will not always mesh with the supply.

The agrifamily household model and the associated literature review establish that the range of responses of the agrifamily household to structural changes at the community and societal levels in industrialized countries has been conditioned by a variety of factors including the characteristics of the farm family and of the farm, as well as the gender and generational relations in the family which influence the roles and identities

farm family members hold. These characteristics and relations provide constraints and opportunities for responding to change. Recent literature is providing emerging evidence of both diversity and change in farm women's and men's roles and identities. As women and their families forge new identities on and off the farm through changing work roles, gender and power relations in the household are also open to change. Changing gender and power relations in the agrifamily household will affect how decisions are made and who holds power in different areas of decision making.

2.9 Decision Making

In the agrifamily household response model, decision making is the primary process through which farm families exercise agency and respond to the structural changes in agriculture and society. Agrifamily households make a wide variety of production, management and household decisions that affect the long term success of the farm and the farm family. The role an individual takes in decision making reflects her or his role in determining the response strategies and consequently the future of the farm enterprise and the farm family. In her review of the research on women in agriculture, Rickson (1997) stated that decision making was as highly gendered as the division of labour on family farms with men making production decisions and women more involved in household decisions. Nevertheless, there is relatively little written about decision making in agrifamily households. As a result, I will explore the findings of general decision making models and assess the extent to which they apply to farm families.

2.9.1 Approaches to Decision Making

Research on household decision making was found in a number of disciplines including economics and finance, household consumer behaviour, health, and development. In economics, the study of household decision making has been dominated by common preference models in which preferences were assumed to be established by consensus or by a single family member who acted altruistically to represent the preferences of all members of the family (Lundberg and Pollak 1996; Fisher *et al* 2000). Common preference models are rational utility maximization models in which a decision maker chooses an optimal course of action that is consistent with their goals. This approach

assumed that the decision maker was able to “assess systematically all possible options for action in accordance with their goals” (Clark and Marshall 2002:1139). These models treated the household as a “black box” and have been criticized on the basis of the validity of a single decision maker representing the goals of multiple members of a household and on the assumption that families pooled all of their resources and made decisions based only on total income. In support of these criticisms, Lundberg and Pollak (1996) cited a number of studies that showed that household spending was allocated differently depending on whether women or men made the decision.

Recognizing that household decision making is influenced by the varying preferences of multiple members of a household led economists Manser and Brown (1980) and McElroy and Horney (1981) to develop cooperative bargaining models of decision making based on game theory. In these models, marriage was conceptualized as a co-operative game in which spouses were assumed to have conflicting preferences and they resolved their differences through bargaining. Lundberg and Pollak (1993:148) built on this work by introducing the separate spheres model which acknowledged gender specialization reflecting “social norms in which socially recognized and sanctioned gender roles assign primary responsibility for certain activities to husbands and others to wives”. This model argued that in situations with a strict division of labour or responsibilities, each spouse will make decisions in her/his own sphere. The co-operative bargaining models and the separate spheres model suggested that decision making in the household is a process of bargaining between wives and husbands and that the relative influence of a particular individual in making decisions may reflect specialization on the basis of gender roles. These ideas are useful in the analysis of farm family decision making where work roles have traditionally been highly specialized on the basis of gender.

The transaction approach suggested by Pollak (1985) treated marriage as a governance structure and recognized the importance of the boundaries, structure and internal organization of the household in decision making. Like the co-operative bargaining models, the transaction cost approach suggested that decision making was influenced by

power differences between spouses based on individual wealth, income and earning power. In a more recent paper, Pollak (2005) focused specifically on bargaining power in marriage and explored earnings and wage rates as well as situations of household production. Pollak concluded that bargaining power was determined by wage rates or potential earning power rather than actual income. Pollak's (2005) work suggested that bargaining power in decision making was determined by the spouse's productivity in household production, which extends to work on the farm. Conceptualizing household production is particularly relevant for the farm family as much of the labour both within the house and on the farm is non-wage.

In agricultural households, most decision making has been assumed to be carried out by the farmer in the household or by the farmer and spouse. Due to the involvement of multiple generations in many farm operations, it is likely that many major decisions also involve other family members and professionals. Determining who is involved in a decision and the role that each person plays requires a methodology which is not limited to the farming couple. As well, many major decisions take place over time involving complex processes of information gathering and consultation. Past research on farm family decision making has not reflected these processes and as Ohlmer (1998) noted it is difficult to know from previous research if respondents are reporting on the decision outcome or on the decision making process.

Bryant and Johnston (1992) developed a conceptual model of farm decision making in which a decision maker received a stimulus from external or internal factors in the farm's operating environment. Once the farmer had made a decision to respond, s/he reviewed and evaluated policy options and strategies and made a decision to make an adjustment or adaptation. Bowler *et al* (1996) presented a search based model of decision making in which exceeding a stress tolerance threshold stimulated a decision.⁴ This is followed by the farm household interacting with the external environment in a search for a satisfactory solution and then choosing a final solution. Ohlmer (1998)

⁴ The stimulus could include the behaviour of non-farm capitals, regulation by the state, market trends, new agricultural technologies, behaviour of institutions with an agricultural interest, the physical environment and broader social trends (Bowler *et al* 1996)

argued that decision making is a non-linear process, involving a number of steps including problem identification, information gathering, analysis and choice and implementation during which information is fed back into the process.

These models resemble the rational models described previously in that decision making rests primarily with the farmer who is assumed to be male. Although Bryant and Johnston (1992) acknowledged that the spouse and children contribute to decision making on the farm, they did not make other family members an explicit part of the model. Bowler *et al* (1996) suggested that the level of interaction of an individual in decision making will depend on the type of farm business and the aspirations of household members. Both models present decision making as a process responding to macro and meso-scale structural changes, although they are focussed on decision outcomes rather than how the farm family negotiates decision making roles in the household.

2.9.2 Farm Women's Roles in Decision Making

Research interest in farm women's roles in decision making in the United States began much earlier than interest in farm women's work (Sawer 1973; Wilkening and Bharadwaj 1967; Wilkening 1981). Hill (1981) asserted that the early research on decision making in American farm families was driven by a concern that involving women in farm decision making would inhibit progress. Some of the initial studies that showed lower levels of farm wives' participation in decision making on larger, more successful farms led to the conclusion that "encouraging the wife's involvement in farm decisions seemed questionable" (Sawer 1973:425). Colman (1981) questioned whether many American farm women were informed enough to make them useful consultants on farm matters. On the other hand, Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1967) showed that women reported larger roles in farm decision making than their husbands thought should be the case. Colman (1981) also noted that even when women were informed, their roles in decision making may be diminished by feelings of inadequacy, by themselves and by those whose respect they desire. This early research reflects the prevailing ideals of the time that appropriate roles for women were separate from the farm enterprise.

In assessing farm women and men's control and participation in decision making, researchers have explored the influence of farm size, farm type, farm work, family history, gender, and the demographic and cultural setting of the household. Some American and English researchers have found decision making influence was increased by a higher involvement in farm tasks (Rosenfeld 1985; Garrett and Schulman 1989; Gasson and Winter 1992). Others, such as Bokemeier and Garkovich (1987) and Evans and Ilbery (1996), found no significant relationship with farm type or work involvement. Women's roles in farm decision making were affected by farm size with increased farm size related to an increasing specialization in the areas of sole decision making by men and women (Rosenfeld 1985).⁵ Less traditional and more egalitarian approaches to decision making were evident in couples and individuals brought up outside of farming where women had more decision making power (Gasson and Winter 1992; Gilg and Battershill 1999). Gasson and Winter (1992) showed that pluriactivity increases women's roles in decision making suggesting that independent income confers power on women. Bokemeier and Garkovich (1987) also showed a strong association with women's self identity.

Patterns of decision making also varied with different types of decisions. Men tended to take a larger role in farm production decisions and women tended to take a larger role in decisions about the household. Decisions regarding buying and selling land and making large purchases were made with a significant amount of joint decision making (Rosenfeld 1985). Rosenfeld (1985) also suggested that women tended to underestimate their roles in decision making.

In summary, the research on farm families suggests that decision making varies with many of attributes discussed in the context of the agrifamily household including family and farm characteristics, family ideology, work roles and types of decisions. Decision making research in economics suggests that gender roles, power relations between

⁵ Rosenfeld suggests two possible reasons for this, one is that women cannot or do not wish to understand the complexities of decision making on larger farms. The second interpretation is that when men can afford to take control they do and on larger operations where hierarchical decision making processes are more prevalent, men will dominate those hierarchies in their roles as producers (Rosenfeld 1985).

couples, the resources controlled by individual family members, and work roles on and off the farm will all influence decision making within agrifamily households and thus their subsequent responses to structural change.

2.10 Conclusions

Most research about farming has assumed that the farmer is male and that the farmer speaks for the farm household. However, the literature reviewed has shown that women play diverse roles in agriculture and they are not merely passive victims of the ongoing power relations that affect their lives. Recent research is beginning to illustrate the changing gender roles, gender relations and gender identities of farm women. The major changes in economic, political and environmental structures combined with significant changes in Canadian society have influenced the roles of women, men and youth and it is useful to explore the work and decision making contributions of all members of the farm household. A significant volume of research on farm women's work has been developed by sociologists, anthropologists and geographers outside of Canada; however, this topic has generated less interest in Canada and few studies have examined the work of Canadian farm women. Research on farm women done by Canadian geographers is especially rare, generally focussed at a provincial scale and does not reflect the significant changes in Canadian agriculture (Mackenzie 1992;1994; Leckie 1993;1996). Similarly, it is widely recognized in the farming community that youth play a large role in farm work, but there have been very few studies on the work of farm youth in the developed countries.

The broader concepts of gender roles, gender relations and gender identities offer an opportunity to explore the roles of farm youth as well as farm women and farm men on Canadian farms. Researchers have not fully addressed the specific work roles of farm women, men and youth and how characteristics of both the farm and the family influence those work roles. Since work roles and gender roles are linked and changing gender roles affect both gender relations and identities, there is an opportunity to further our understanding of how the continued restructuring of agriculture is impacting gender roles, gender relations and gender identities in Canadian farm families.

Many researchers have advocated a household approach to the study of farm families and most state that families are not homogeneous in their actions, goals and decisions. Although my work primarily focuses on farm women, analysis of their changing gender roles and gender identities necessitates an examination of gender and generational relations in the household.

The Agrifamily Household Response model (Figures 1.1 and 2.1) presents a useful perspective for examining the roles, relations and identities of Canadian farm women and the evolving gender and generational relations with their families. The model incorporates connections between the farm household and the community, explores new understandings of gender relations and gender identities (Whatmore 1991a;1994; Little 2002a; Brandth 2002a; Bennett 2004; Connell 2002), addresses new approaches to farm family decision making (Bryant and Johnston 1992; Bowler *et al* 1996; Ohlmer 1998) and includes all members of the farm household (women, men, children and extended family). With this model, I argue that the agrifamily household remains strongly embedded in its local community through off farm work, voluntary work, farm organizations, kinship and inter-household connections. The agrifamily household has also become more closely integrated into regional, provincial, national and global systems through commodity production, government policy and globalization.

Decision making is assumed to be the primary process through which the farm family responds to change. This includes decisions about farm inputs and production, but it also includes decisions about work for women, men and youth both on and off the farm. Decisions about work both exemplify and affect a dynamic set of gender and generational roles, relations and identities. Past research on farm family decision making has explored both farm women and men's roles in decision making but focussed solely on the decision outcome, while research that explores decision making as a process, has treated the farmer as the only decision maker. Research into farm family decision making should incorporate the best of both of these approaches. A more open-ended methodology would enable identification of the full range of participants and roles in decision making and allow a much more detailed understanding of the decision

making process, including the roles played by various participants, the factors affecting those roles and how this ties into agrifamily household response strategies. The next chapter describes such a methodology and illustrates how it has been applied to a Canada-wide study of the response of the Canadian agrifamily household to structural change.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research was conducted between May, 2001 and April, 2003 in partnership with the women of the National Farmers Union (NFU). In an attempt to make the research process transparent and to provide insights to other researchers embarking on a multi-strategy, dispersed research project, I discuss the origins of the research project, the rationale for choosing particular methods and the challenges that arose from these decisions. Emphasis is placed on the tensions associated with the varied demands of funders against feminist scholarship and the practical challenges associated with a research project that was dispersed across Canada requiring input from more than 65 interviewers, 480 respondents and numerous government agencies and farm organizations over a period of 24 months.

3.2 Beginnings of the Research Project

In the early 1980's, the women of the Canadian NFU conducted a research project to document the work of Canadian farm women and published The Employment Practices of Farm Women (Koski 1982). In the 20 years since 1982, restructuring in Canadian agriculture created considerable change in the lives of farm families. Within Canadian farm organizations there was much anecdotal evidence that farm women and their families were trying to cope with these changes by increasingly working off the farm, changing production techniques and trying to figure out ways to keep their farms viable. As a result, farm families were busier than ever before.

In 2000, the women of the NFU decided that it was time to re-examine the work of Canadian farm women. In the absence of accurate official Canadian statistics on the work of farm women and farm families, the NFU women decided that they “would have to collect data themselves if they really wanted to know what farm families were doing”

(NFU 2001). The organization needed timely, reliable information on the work of farm families to provide evidence of the impact of agricultural restructuring on the lives of farm women and their families and to provide a basis for political action. The Women's President of the NFU lobbied government agencies for almost two years to raise financial support for this study. In the end it was funded or supported in-kind by a variety of government departments and levels of government with different interests and ideologies as well as different interests from the women of the NFU.¹ The project was also supported in-kind by a number of farm women's organizations who assisted with the recruitment of interviewers and respondents.²

The NFU women were committed to a methodology that would ensure farm women's voices were heard, that would empower farm women and that would increase the political capacity of farm women and farm organizations. Their project objectives included:

- to create an initial base of gender and age-disaggregated data on the work of farm family members, including farm youth who have been completely excluded from farm labour data collected by Statistics Canada;
- to update data collected on farm women's activities in 1981-82 in recognition of changes that have occurred in Canadian agriculture during the past two decades;
- to enable improved gender analysis of labour done in support of the farm by including data on both men's and women's activities;
- to improve the information base on the real economic and social value of labour done by farm family members, particularly women;
- to provide a useful base of data for development of projects targeted towards farm women and youth;
- to make the data available to policy developers in order to provide an analytical basis on the role of farm family members, especially women and youth in the agricultural community and the larger Canadian society;
- to publicize the data and make the data as accessible as possible to anyone wishing to do research on the extent and value of farm women's work across Canada;

¹ These included Agriculture Canada's Canadian Adaptation and Rural Development Fund; Saskatchewan Agriculture and Food; Status of Women Canada; Alberta Agriculture, Food and Rural Development; Saskatchewan Women's Secretariat; Statistics Canada; and The Farm Women's Bureau.

² The list includes the Fédération des agricultrices du Québec; the Réseau des Entreprises Familiales; Alberta Women's Institutes; British Columbia Women's Institutes; Federated Women's Institutes; Ontario Women's Institutes; Canadian Farm Women's Network; Ontario Farm Women's Network; and Saskatchewan Women's Agricultural Network.

- to increase the capacity of farm women to participate in farm organizations in the agricultural sector;
- to broaden the range of practical collaboration between organizations representing Canadian farm women (NFU 2001).

The role of the women of the NFU in this project was to handle the finances and financial reporting, recruit and remunerate interviewers, publicize the results and work for political change. They also participated in discussions about research methods and methodologies.

My role in this project was to develop the research methodology and sampling framework, train and support the interviewers, determine the research methods, manage the research process, analyse the data, write up and publish the results. Although I do not live on a farm, I have family, friends and co-workers who farm and who have experienced the restructuring of agriculture in different ways with varying degrees of success. As the Director of the Centre for Rural Studies and Enrichment, I have published studies that discuss the impacts of changes in agriculture on farm women and farm families. I strongly believe that agriculture is more than an economic sector, and that the changes in agriculture have had significant social and environmental impacts on farm families and rural communities that extend well beyond the agricultural sector. For me, the family farm is an important part of the rural landscape in many parts of Canada and a critical part of the survival of small towns in rural Canada. My perspectives were closely enough aligned with those of the women of the NFU that they offered me the opportunity to undertake the research project. I also shared with the women of the NFU the desire to make the work of women and youth more visible and to make public the effects of agricultural restructuring on Canadian farm families.

3.3 A Feminist Research Approach

From the outset, this project embraced feminist research methodologies. The Feminist Pedagogy Working Group (2002) asserts that feminist research is research ‘for’ rather than research ‘on’ human beings. Pini (2003:419) identifies five principles of feminist research, including “a focus on gender, value given to women’s experiences and

knowledge, rejection of the separation between subject and object, an emphasis on consciousness-raising and an emphasis on political change”. The objectives of the research listed above show that the women of the NFU were engaged in a feminist research project and intended to use the results of the research for political action, project development, capacity building, empowerment and increasing public awareness of the work of farm families in order to benefit the family farm.

Letherby (2003:73) quotes Mullen’s (1997:6.3) definition of feminist research as research that “incorporates the sensitivity of the role of gender within society and the differential experiences of males and females”. However, Pini (2003:420) notes that the place of men and masculinity in a feminist project has been controversial among feminist scholars. This is particularly true in studies that have been undertaken without a commitment to feminist theory and/or methodology resulting in an “absence of a critical analysis of gendered power relations and a commitment to transforming these relations”. McDowell (1992; 1997:384) strongly supports the inclusion of men and women in research projects in order to be able to make comparisons and argues that “in order to come to conclusions about women, we need to also ask questions about men”.

Although the 1982 study did not include the work of farm men, the women of the NFU maintained that an analysis of farm women’s work needed to include men for comparison. The methods adopted for this study produced comparative information on the work of women, men and youth (aged 12 to 18 years). Thus these methods provided a more complete view of the work of men and youth than the previous study.

The women of the NFU were also very aware that the work of youth on farms was not acknowledged in official Canadian statistics and that this gap needed to be filled. Consequently, a wealth of new information on the work of farm youth was collected and formed the basis of a master’s thesis (Brueckner 2004). Including men and youth also reflected the commitment of the NFU to family farming in its stated recognition that

every family member contributes to the farm by working on it, and/or providing supporting income through off-farm employment (NFU 2005).³

Feminist research in the 1980's challenged the assumption that women and men were unitary categories and began to explore the diversity among women on the basis of factors such as class, age, ethnicity, sexuality, physical ability, culture, race and location. As many authors have pointed out, this diversity raises critical issues about the significance of gender as a fundamental variable of analysis (McDowell 1992;1997; Johnsen 2003; Letherby 2003; Pini 2003). In her work on women on sugarcane farms in Australia, Pini (2003) pointed out that this also raised methodological issues such as how to maintain a focus on women and still recognize diversity. However, she concluded that "attention to differences between women does not mean that similarities do not also exist" (Pini 2003:421). It is also important to recognize that oppression and power relations may have their bases in many aspects of diversity, including class, age, ethnicity, sexuality, physical ability, culture, race and location. For example, "men and women of the working class may perceive they have more interests in common than middle and working class women" (McDowell 1997:398), or a woman may find that age and illness are much more significant factors in shaping her life at a particular time than gender (Johnson 2002). The ambivalence of farm women to challenging feminist notions of patriarchy has been noted by many researchers, among them Alston (1995), Brandth (2002b); Brandth and Haugen (1997), Grace and Lennie (1998), and Teather (1996). It may be that in the face of the changing political and economic structures that are impacting agriculture, farm women feel a closer connection to the interests of farm men than they do to urban women.

Diversity in this research project was limited by the decision to focus on so-called traditional farm families consisting of a woman, man and children still in the household.

³ On its webpage, The National Farmers Union represents itself as "farm families sharing common goals. Each family member - farmer, spouse and children, ages 14 to 21 - are full members of the Union and enjoy all rights and privileges within the Union. This structure recognizes that every family member contributes to the farm by working on it, or providing supporting income through off-farm employment." <http://www.nfu.ca/> .

As a result, non-traditional farm families were consciously not included.⁴ The focus on traditional families with children at home also restricted the age range of respondents. Although questions were asked about ethnic origins, farm families in Canada are a fairly homogenous group and all of the farm family members interviewed were of European origin. The methods used to recruit respondents were unsuccessful for recruiting from the growing number of farmers of Asian origins in southern British Columbia. In addition, by adopting the conventional view of a farm family as those who owned their land, migrant farm workers and their families were also ignored.

3.4 Research Design

The various partners in this research project had very different views of how to ensure the validity of the research. The women of the NFU were interested in ensuring that the voices and experiences of farm women were a significant part of the study. However, the major funding agency (Agriculture and Agrifood Canada) was sceptical of the qualitative methodologies traditionally associated with feminist research and its representatives were convinced that research based on qualitative methods would be biased. They demanded that the research use quantitative methods and that the research protocol be subject to review by the agency. As Kwan (2002) notes, public policy makers are often more convinced by “hard” data obtained through quantitative techniques. To try to ensure the research findings would be taken seriously by government agencies and that farm women would feel their views were well represented, I worked with Statistics Canada and the project advisory committee to develop a multi-strategy research approach to combine quantitative and qualitative methodologies to meet the requirements of the two major groups.

Feminist research has often been criticised for bias, arising from the both the qualitative approaches favoured by researchers and the emphasis on political change (Letherby 2003). However, Letherby (2003:65) cites McFarlane (1990) who notes that official statistics are “anything but neutral, objective and value free”. This observation is

⁴ There are many non-traditional farm families where bachelor brothers farm together, parents farm with unmarried sons or daughters, single women or men farm on their own, or same-sex couples farm.

especially pertinent for this project. The assumption that farmers were male and responsible for the farm work meant that data gathered by Statistics Canada for Canadian farms was, for decades, based on a single, usually male, farm operator. That the long-term systematic bias inherent in this approach to farm work has made the roles and work of women on farms invisible has been noted by researchers in Australia (Alston 1998); Ireland (O'Hara 1994); and the United States (Lobao and Meyer 2001).

3.4.1 Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods

The choice of qualitative or quantitative research methods is still a source of heated debate among researchers and certain methods are entrenched in particular disciplines. I have already mentioned the differing perspectives between two of the major supporters of the research, one of which demanded quantitative methods and the other who felt their goals would be better met with qualitative methodologies. However, each of these methodologies has its strengths and limitations and by using both in a multi-strategy approach, they can enhance each other.

Neuman (2000) states that quantitative social research is characterized by a detached researcher, measuring objective facts, a focus on variables, many cases or subjects, hypothesis testing, statistical analysis, and a claim to reliability and being value free. The main preoccupations of quantitative researchers are measurement, causality, generalization and replication (Bryman 2001). As mentioned previously, the primary funder of the research project favoured the use of quantitative methods on the assumption that the results would be more reliable and value free. However, quantitative methods have been subjected to a number of criticisms including not acknowledging the ability of humans for self reflection, an artificial sense of precision and accuracy, a lack of connection between research and everyday life and their failure to capture the complexity and richness of people's lives and experiences (Bryman 2001; Kwan 2002). Sundberg (2003: 182) disputes the theorization of the researcher as detached or "invisible, unmarked by social position, gender, race, and personal/political interests" and able to offer "unbiased reflections of the world as it really is". Instead she argues that the researcher's geographic location, social status, race and gender

fundamentally shape the questions asked, the data collected and the interpretation of the data.

With qualitative methods, the researcher aims to generate concepts and theory inductively from the data, rather than to test theory deductively. The researcher is involved; the goal is to construct social reality and cultural meaning; the focus is on interactive processes and events; there are often a small number of cases or subjects; analysis is based on themes; values are present and explicit; and authenticity is key (Neuman 2000). Qualitative researchers reject the assumed objectivity of quantitative methods in order to be engaged with the respondents and are more likely to include a large amount of description and detail in an attempt to provide context for behaviour and values as well as a background for the explanations that are valued in quantitative research.

However, critics of qualitative research claim it is too subjective, difficult to replicate, cannot be generalized and lacks a transparent research process (Bryman 2001). Acknowledging the subjective nature of qualitative research along with the close connections researchers build with their subjects and the unstructured nature of the research would all be considered positive by many feminist researchers as these give the researcher much greater insight into the lives of women. The women of the NFU were interested in developing an understanding of the complexity of the lives of farm families as well as in political action, project development, capacity building, and empowerment. Consequently qualitative research methods were more appropriate for their goals. Qualitative methods are very useful in research that aims to value women's experiences and knowledge.

Although qualitative methods have traditionally been associated with feminist methodologies, a number of researchers have made the point that no method is inherently feminist (McDowell 1992; 1997; Letherby 2003; Pini 2003). Rather it is the "manner in which the methods are engaged, in the context of feminist theory and derived from a feminist epistemological and ontological position which makes them

feminist” (Pini 2003:420). However each method is useful for answering certain types of questions and the choice of methods for feminist research should be determined by their appropriateness in answering the research questions (Kwan 2002). Neuman (2000) argues that the best research often combines features of both qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.4.2 Multi-Strategy Approach

From the above discussion, it is clear that both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies have their strengths and their weaknesses. As Rose (2001:12) notes “there is a growing sense that no single research method can provide a complete understanding of a phenomenon (sic); each one poses limits to the type of understanding that can be gleaned”. In multi-strategy research, the two research approaches can be brought together to complement each other. Multi-strategy approaches enable facilitation, triangulation and complementarity. Facilitation uses one research strategy to aid research using the other strategy. Triangulation involves cross-checking the results of one research strategy against the results of another research strategy in order to enhance confidence in the research. Complementarity involves using different research strategies to address different aspects of the research (Bryman 2001).

The research process was facilitated by using qualitative research strategies, with focus groups, to provide useful information for formulating research questions and guide the development of questionnaires so they more closely reflected the reality of farm family work. Open-ended questions in the questionnaires and focus groups at the end of the research enabled a much better understanding of the research themes that quantitative methods indicated were important. By using quantitative research methodologies, with questionnaires and time diaries, we were able to determine the relative importance of the themes that arose in the focus groups and literature reviews and use statistical analysis to explore broad relationships in the data.

Qualitative methods were also used for triangulation as the preliminary results of the research were subjected to the scrutiny of four focus groups of farm women interviewers

in a series of workshops lasting one day and an evening held in Sackville, New Brunswick; near Guelph, Ontario; Edmonton, Alberta; and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The data collected through the questionnaires were presented to the farm women interviewers. We discussed the reasons behind the patterns and the issues that the data raised as well as their experiences with the methodology. Other interested individuals were invited to evening presentations and discussions in these places.

Complementarity was created by using focus groups, questionnaires and time diaries—three different but related methodologies in a multi-strategy approach. Each of these methods measured the work of farm families in different, but complementary ways. Using this approach increased the depth of understanding that could be gained from the research and increased confidence in the results. The controlled quota sampling methods used in this research are sometimes criticised for their inability to produce results that can be generalized to a specific population (Doherty 1994). By using qualitative methodologies involving focus groups to gain feedback and test the results of the research, I was able to increase my confidence in the results. Thus, a multi-strategy approach allowed me to draw on the strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods while at the same time reducing the weaknesses of each research strategy when used in isolation.

3.5 Research Methods

The research project began with two focus groups in Saskatchewan, one with farm women and one with farm youth, aged 12 to 18. These were followed by six focus groups during which the farm women interviewers were trained and the questionnaires were pretested and thoroughly discussed. Each respondent was interviewed four times throughout the year. At each interview, the respondents completed a questionnaire and a time diary. Once the data were coded and preliminary results were available, final focus groups were held with the farm women interviewers at four locations across Canada. A timeline for the research project is presented in Table 3.1.

3.5.1 Recruitment of Interviewers

One goal of feminist research methodologies is to empower women. This goal may be addressed through the research process as well as through actions arising from the research findings. In an attempt to involve farm women in the research process, we made a commitment to hire farm women as interviewers.⁵ This employment offered farm women a chance to acquire new skills, gain some part-time employment and meet other farm women. The benefits to the project of hiring farm women living close to the randomly selected census divisions were their links to the community and their ability to talk to and understand their respondent's situations. This familiarity is also a possible drawback when respondents are reluctant to share personal details with their neighbors. The women of the NFU also hoped to increase the participation of farm women in farm organizations and enhance collaboration among Canadian farm women's organizations as a result of the study.

Interviewers were recruited from May 2001 to February 2002 (see table 3.1) through contacts with all the major Canadian farm organizations, through agricultural representatives, referrals from contacts and through the media. The recruitment and retention of interviewers over long distances and in two languages, French and English, were significant challenges. Through the course of the research, a number of women resigned as interviewers and other interviewers took their place or new interviewers were recruited and trained. In four cases, I recruited graduate students to do the interviews. In total, 118 interviewers were recruited for 68 positions, meaning 50 interviewers dropped out during the interview process. Women left as they obtained more regular employment, some were confronted with personal or family health issues and some felt they were too busy.

⁵ One man was trained as an interviewer in Saskatchewan, but withdrew from the project before interviewing began.

Women were paid \$10.00 per hour, plus expenses, for interviewing, which was a low wage in some parts of Canada. Each woman completed between six and twelve interviews four times over a fifteen month period. Consequently, it was not surprising that some resigned from interviewing in favour of more lucrative work. It is also important to recognize that interviewing can be difficult emotional work. This was especially true in parts of Canada which were faced with drought and very difficult economic situations on farms during the course of the project.

I conducted five one and one-half day training workshops for the farm women interviewers in Yorkton, Saskatchewan; Edmonton, Alberta; Moncton, New Brunswick; Peterborough, Ontario.; and Kamloops, British Columbia from July to September, 2001. A sixth training workshop was conducted in Montréal Quebec in January 2002 in which a Francophone woman conducted a French language workshop under my direction. Conducting this series of training workshops had some distinct benefits as I was able to meet many of the interviewers in person. The workshops also offered an opportunity to extensively pre-test the survey as the interviewers worked through the questionnaire during their training. However, for those women trained earlier in the summer, a period of up to five months elapsed between their training and their first interview. New interviewers who came into the project after the training sessions were trained over the phone in the fall of 2001.

3.5.2 Recruitment of Respondents

Each woman interviewer was to recruit six respondents in a designated census division engaged in a specified type of agriculture. The six respondents were to include two women farmers, two men farmers and a male and a female youth between the ages of 12 and 18 inclusive. One woman, one man and one youth were to be from the same family.

Meeting Agriculture and Agrifood Canada's concerns that women associated with the NFU would only recruit respondents who were associated with the NFU led to very specific guidelines for the interviewers as to who could be recruited. In addition, the interviewer did not always live in the census division she was assigned to and she may

have been recruiting outside of the agricultural sectors with which she was familiar. These constraints meant that women interviewers were recruiting respondents who were not well known to them and this made it more difficult to find and convince respondents to participate in the research project. A number of the women were uncomfortable with “cold-calling” respondents and were reluctant to do so. In some census divisions, recruiting respondents required using all the women’s personal networks, the networks of organizations associated with the research project, contacts from local farm organizations and government agricultural extension offices.

Some of the problems were due to the very dispersed sample in that women had a very intermittent, very part time job with meagre compensation which may have reduced their commitment to the project. On the positive side, many women were very engaged with the project and have subsequently been involved in follow-up projects. Some maintain contact with each other and with me.

Recruitment of respondents took place between May 2001 and March 2002 (Table 3.1) and it was a challenge right from the beginning. Men and male youth were especially difficult to recruit, often describing themselves as too busy. Women were easier to recruit as they were more likely to see some value in participating. Many people declined to participate as farm families are constantly being surveyed by government agencies and commercial interests such as agricultural chemical companies. This survey was just one more thing to take up their time. Many people could not see the point in participating in the study as they could see no benefits coming out of it based on past experience. In anticipation of these types of issues, interviewers brainstormed reasons they could give to farm family members who asked them about the benefits of participation. One of the major benefits suggested by the women interviewers was helping non-farm people gain a better understanding of farm work. Recruitment of respondents took a number of months and as a result surveying became a continuous activity.

3.5.3 Sample Design

The sampling design for the interviews was developed through discussions with a number of individuals from Statistics Canada. The small size of the sample, the dispersed farm population and the lack of precise knowledge of the farm population in Canada were significant constraints. Attempting this multi-strategy methodology within a limited budget meant that the sample size for the quantitative portion of the study was limited to 618 respondents.

The respondents were distributed across Canada in proportion to the number of farms in each province according to the 1996 Census of Agriculture.⁶ The sample was stratified on the basis of gender and farm type. The small size of the sample was a barrier to further stratification and other variables were drawn out during the analysis. Half of the interviews included a woman, a man and a youth from the same family in order to allow me to explore how farm families handle farm and non-farm work as a household unit.

Control over the selection of respondents in the study was exercised through a two-step process:

1. A stratified random sample of 100 Canadian census divisions was drawn to select the census divisions in which the interviews are being conducted.
2. Respondent profiles were developed for each census division based on the dominant types of farming in each sampled census division. The respondent profiles determined the desired characteristics of each respondent in each census division.

The first step of the sampling procedure was to draw a stratified random sample of the census divisions in Canada in which a significant amount of agricultural activity was present.⁷ This sampling strategy ensured that the sample would represent the overall

⁶ It was necessary to slightly over-represent the Atlantic provinces in order to have a useable number of responses from that part of Canada. This is accommodated by under-representing the provinces with the largest number of farm families, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario.

⁷ Canadian census divisions are determined by total population size and are not representative of agricultural activity. As a result some census divisions included very few farms. In order to include those census divisions where there were large numbers of farms, the census divisions in each province were ranked in order of the number of farms in each. Those census divisions which contained 90% of the farms in the province were selected to form the basis of the random sample. The ranked 90% data was further broken down into groups containing 80% and 20% of the farms in each province. Using random number

population of family farmers, each province would be represented in the sample and the selection of census divisions was not biased.

The second step in the sampling procedure was a non-proportional quota sample based on gender and farm type within the selected census divisions. Quota sampling was used for this step in the sample design because an inventory of the population does not exist for Canadian farm families, making it impossible to undertake a probability or random sample of the population. In addition, the research design involved interviewing the same respondents four times through the course of one year which would be impossible to achieve through traditional probability sampling techniques.

Quota sampling is criticized by statisticians because the selection of respondents is non-random and is left up to the interviewer, leaving the survey results open to potential bias.⁸ To minimize bias in this study, a stratified random sample of census divisions was taken and the interviewers were required to find their respondents in a very

tables, a stratified random sample was drawn in which 80% of the interviews were allocated to that proportion of the 90% sample which included 80% of the farms and 20% of the interviews were allocated to that proportion which included 20% of the farms in each province.

⁸ It is important to recognize that the ability of quota sampling methodologies to represent populations accurately is a subject of ongoing debate. Quota sampling is used extensively for market research and for polling. Recent studies have shown that quota sampling has compared favorably with random sampling in its ability to represent the population and to give results comparable to results generated with random sampling. A Swiss study which compared the two methodologies showed that differences between quota sampling and random sampling were negligible. It is also suggested that the decline in response rates for random samples introduces bias into the research as the probability of responding to a survey is not randomly distributed within a population (Schobi and Joye, 2001). Robert Worcester (1996) notes that British election polls conducted by random sampling were less accurate than those conducted by quota sampling. The problem appears to lie partially with poor compilation of registers, a problem common to many research projects in which there is no way to fully identify the population. Smith (1996) also notes that there is no evidence from previous elections, when both quota and probability sampling are used, that one method gave better results than the other. Deville (1991) states that for a small sample, the bias of a quota sample will be more tolerable than the lack of precision of a probabilistic survey. Smith (1983:402) outlines the conditions under which it is acceptable to draw inferences from quota samples, although he is cautious about this approach stating that "if wide acceptability is required, random sampling provides the most immediately acceptable sampling method". The discussion over the ability of the results of a well selected quota sample to give comparable results to a random sample supports the use of quota sampling in situations like those of this study, in which the research design and economic factors make a probabilistic sample impossible. As the methodology is non-probabilistic, calculations of sampling error are not possible. A non-probability sample limits our ability to generalize the findings of the study to the general population as we do not know if the sample is representative of the population.

structured manner. Although this strategy will never eliminate all bias, it removes a considerable amount of discretion from the interviewer in their choice of respondents.

Ideally, the sample would have included 206 women, 206 men and 206 youth, involved in five major types of agriculture in Canada. Half (309) of these respondents were to be members of families and half (309 respondents) were to be individuals. Respondent profiles were constructed based on the dominant types of agriculture in each census division. The farm types reported in the 1996 census were collapsed into 5 farm types based on the nature of work in each type. These categories are dairy; hogs and poultry; cattle and livestock; wheat, oilseeds and field crops; and vegetables and fruits. The sample of 618 was allocated among farm types based on the proportion of each type of farming in the census division, with a slight over-sampling of the less common farm types. This resulted in 73 dairy farms, 50 hog and poultry farms, 199 cattle and livestock farms, 246 wheat, oilseeds and field crops farms, and 50 vegetable and fruit farms.

The interviewers assigned to each of the randomly selected census divisions selected two women, two men and two youth to be interviewed based on the respondent profiles. One woman, one man and one youth were required to be members of one family. All of the respondents lived in a traditional nuclear family and all youth were aged 12 to 18 years at the beginning of the survey. A final requirement was that the respondents found were to come from farms in which the dominant activity was specified.⁹

Of necessity, the sampling frame was based on the 1996 census. However, the period 1996 to 2001 was a time of rapid change in some agricultural sectors and the most rapid decline in the number of farms since the 1980's. As a result, some census divisions near urban areas lost considerable agricultural land to suburbanization. Census divisions with significant numbers of hog farmers in 1996 had lost many of those small operations

⁹ For example the interviewer in census division 10 in Alberta was instructed to find a family whose predominant agricultural activity was wheat, oilseeds and field crops, an individual farming dairy, an individual farming hogs or poultry and an individual farming cattle or livestock.

to large scale hog production facilities. In both situations, respondents were harder to find.

3.5.4 Focus Groups

This study made extensive use of focus groups at various stages in the research process. The first set of focus groups was held in June 2001 at the beginning of the research project to better define the issues and inform the design of the survey questions. These focus groups were held in Saskatchewan with farm women and youth. Almost all of the male farmers contacted were unable or unwilling to participate in a focus group. During the focus group with farm women, part of the discussion focussed on the increase in the number of decisions and the critical nature of decision making on their farms. This information led to decision making being identified as an important issue for the research.

Training workshops were held for interviewers, who were all farm women, in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, and New Brunswick between July and September 2001 and in Montreal, Quebec in January 2002. These workshops involved considerable discussion about the survey questions and led to a number of refinements in the questions. These workshops also involved the exchange of information and ideas among farm women, NFU women and myself. Focus groups were also held with farm youth in May and June 2002 in two rural areas of Saskatchewan (Lafleche, SK and Humboldt, SK) to explore further the range of work they were doing, their attitudes toward farming and their future plans (Brueckner 2004).

Finally, four focus groups with farm women interviewers were held across Canada in February and March 2003 at the end of the project. These focus groups lasted one full day and an evening at which my research assistant and I presented the research findings. Informal, open discussions went on during the presentations. These women commented on the research findings based on their own experience and on their recollection of the interviews they had conducted. Notes were taken at the focus group workshops and digital audio recordings were made which were later transcribed and analysed.

3.5.5 Structured Interviews

The questionnaire design was based on previous research, focus groups and the previous study of farm women completed in 1982. Although the research focus expanded from farm women to the farm family, the study was designed to allow comparative analysis with the 1982 study. The questionnaire included both closed ended questions that were analysed by quantitative methods and open ended questions that were analysed by qualitative methods.

Farm family members were interviewed four times during the year in order to reflect the changing demands of the farm and the changing availability of off farm work throughout the year. The initial interview was a face-to-face interview, the second and third interviews were telephone interviews, and the final interview was again face-to-face. With this design I hoped the 'face to face' interviews would provide an opportunity for the interviewer to establish a rapport with the respondent, which would improve the reliability of the data obtained from the subsequent phone interviews. In each interview, farm family members answered questions related to the work they had done during the past 3 months. The first questionnaire included questions about the people who lived on the farm, information about the farming operation, the range of work done on the farm in the last three months, non-farm work and volunteer work (Appendix B). The second questionnaire asked about changes that had occurred on the farm since the last interview and the range of work done on the farm in the last three months (Appendix C). The third questionnaire again asked about any changes that had occurred on the farm since the last questionnaire; the range of work done on the farm in the last three months; decision making within the household; farm succession; operating arrangements; and financial information (Appendix D). The fourth questionnaire asked about changes on the farm; farm work; child and elder care and the future of agriculture and the family farm (Appendix E).

The original questionnaire was extensively pre-tested with women in all parts of Canada while the women were trained as interviewers. In this pretest it became obvious the questionnaire was much too long and the original set of questions were dispersed over

four questionnaires of a more realistic length. Each questionnaire was pre-tested on men and youth in Saskatchewan before being finalized. The questionnaire was also provided to the advisory committee of the research project and other agricultural professionals for comment and was approved by the behavioural ethics committee at the University of Saskatchewan in October, 2001.

Due to problems recruiting respondents, the desired 618 respondents in the original plan were never realized. Table 3.2 shows the proposed number of respondents from across Canada and the response rates over the period of the study. It is evident that there was

Table 3.2: Interview Response Rates

Province	Proposed number of interviews	Questionnaire participation				Time diary participation			
		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	T1	T2	T3	T4
British Columbia	48	27	12	11	11	22	7	2	9
Alberta	120	94	74	64	43	61	42	35	40
Saskatchewan	120	92	84	78	72	80	61	44	56
Manitoba	54	45	35	35	33	44	35	15	21
Ontario	120	114	87	95	76	93	69	47	57
Quebec	72	41	27	39	27	35	30	35	24
Newfoundland*	12	9	0	9	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	24	18	7	12	11	18	5	10	5
P.E.I.	24	15	11	10	9	12	5	0	5
New Brunswick	24	24	18	20	19	23	15	11	11
Total	618	479	355	373	301	388	269	199	228

* Due to the lateness of the recruitment of respondents in Newfoundland, the completed questionnaires combined the questions of questionnaires 1 and 3.

considerable fatigue among the respondents toward the study over the course of the project. The drop-out rates were highest for the youth males (46%) followed by adult males (43%) and adult females (38%) and youth females (26%). As is the case in many studies, female participation rates are higher than male participation rates. Low response rates in provinces such as Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia required the analysis to be based on regions of Canada rather than provinces and limited the extent to which the data could be disaggregated.

3.5.6 Time Diaries

In order to obtain accurate data on the allocation of time to various types of household, farm and non-farm work, respondents were asked to complete four time diaries over the period of the survey, for four days immediately following each of the four interviews. As Table 3.2 shows, the time diaries were completed at a lower rate than the interviews. Some interviewers were not convinced of the importance of the time diaries although others went to considerable effort to remind and convince respondents to fill them out. In some provinces there was an increase in the number of time diaries completed during the fourth round of interviews because I wrote a letter to each interviewer about the importance of the time diaries to the research project. A number of the interviewers took the letter with them to the interview for the respondents to read. However, recording activities for each 15 minute interval over a period of 4 days is very time consuming and as a result, many were not completed. Most of the farm women interviewers at the close of the project commented on how much they and their respondents hated the time diaries, while at the same time they acknowledged the valuable data the time diaries provided. Some suggestions they had for making the time diaries less of a burden included a pocket sized format and recording times for fewer days. The drop out rates for the time diaries were highest for the male youth (59%) followed by adult males (54%) and adult and female youth at 48% each. A copy of one day of the time diary is included in Appendix F.

3.6 Conclusions

This research project arose from a need to gather timely information on the work of Canadian farm families in the face of major changes in Canadian agriculture. The research was supported by a wide variety of government departments and farm organizations, each with different mandates and cultures. The need to balance a variety of interests among these agencies resulted in both benefits and costs to the project. As Reed (2002) noted, accepting funding from some agencies may necessitate compromises with respect to academic integrity and feminist intentions. The concern about bias in the project led to the use of quantitative methods which strengthened the project by prompting a multi-strategy methodology. The decision to use a very dispersed sample

design in order to reduce perceptions of bias may have reduced the response rates due to the loss of interviewers to more lucrative opportunities and other commitments. A stratified sampling strategy that targeted fewer census divisions with more respondents in each one may have provided more hours of work for the interviewers, and thus more commitment to the project resulting in higher response rates. The importance of quantitative methods to Agriculture and Agrifood Canada also led to the initial analysis being mainly based on quantitative data, while the qualitative data were left for later analysis. Qualitative methods were more appropriate for the research goals of the women of the NFU, as they were more interested in developing an understanding of the complexity of the lives of farm families as well as in political action, project development, capacity building, and empowerment. However with the multi-strategy approach that was developed, many of those goals were met.

The goal of benefiting women by hiring farm women as interviewers met with mixed success. While it had benefits in terms of providing a limited amount of employment and fostering connections, many of the women lacked commitment to the project. In a small number of cases they did not follow the original interview time frame and neglected to send in completed interviews for months. Fewer census divisions with more respondents may have provided enough income to generate a greater benefit and a higher level of commitment to the project.

The practical challenges of this research project revolved around participation rates of interviewers and respondents, researching a sector that was undergoing rapid change and considerable stress affecting both respondents and interviewers, conducting research in two languages, covering the administrative costs of multiple questionnaires in two languages, and distributed across a very large country and absorbing the unanticipated administrative costs in time and money of ongoing recruitment.

Many different factors impacted participation. In British Columbia, there were significant problems recruiting both interviewers and respondents in the Lower Mainland where agriculture is undergoing rapid change as operations are being

purchased by immigrant farmers who were less well known and accessible to our farm organization partners. In the Prairies, a number of consecutive years of drought in the early 2000's sapped the spirit of both interviewers and respondents. However, the strength of farm organizations in Saskatchewan and Manitoba engendered a commitment to the project in that was able to offset the despondency in those provinces. Alberta farm families do not share the same commitment to organizations like the NFU and the interests and networks that supported the project were therefore less present resulting in a considerable drop-off in respondents. In Québec, the NFU did not have a presence and the research was supported by one of the Québec farm organizations. As a result, the commitment to the project was weaker and the need to work through bilingual intermediaries meant the flow of communication was more difficult between the unilingual researcher and the interviewers. In the Atlantic provinces, personal and family health issues as well as a lack of time seemed to be the main barriers, while committed and skilled interviewers accounted for the consistency in the New Brunswick. It is evident that in a research project taking place over a large area and necessitating commitment for a long time, many factors can interfere with commitments to the project on the part of both interviewers and respondents. In the areas of the country where the NFU was strongest - Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario - many of the interviewers were associated with the organization and their commitment to the project, their ability to use existing networks to find respondents and the commitment to continue with the project for two years contributed to higher rates of success.

Researchers should not underestimate the time and financial resources needed to manage a major research project like this. The multi-strategy approach added additional costs to the project. Agency concerns about the use of qualitative methods required the researcher to provide extensive justification to Agriculture and Agrifood Canada for the methods used. The management aspect of a multistage research process which involved mailing multiple different packages of materials out to interviewers, phoning and emailing reminders about getting interviews back, and dealing with interviewer's questions and problems in both French and English was much larger than anticipated and consumed tremendous amounts of time and money.

Although this project entailed major challenges, it also offered great rewards. Having the resources to design a multi-strategy approach to this research was exciting. Negotiating between partners was challenging. Interacting with Canadian farm women in the focus groups, hearing about their accomplishments as well as their challenges, was inspiring. The most unique and valuable part of the research process was the final focus group workshops in which I took the research results back to the women for discussion. Those discussions added a richness and confidence to my understanding of the data that was extremely valuable. Overall, the project was successful in providing data on the quantity and value of the work of farm women, men and youth; in documenting the change in work for farm women from 1982 to 2002; and in providing a better understanding of decision making in Canadian farm families. Some of the other goals of the project such as increasing the capacity of Canadian farm women and farm women's organizations are more long term and are gradually being realized. However, this project has provided valuable research findings and led to the development of relationships that have been engaged in subsequent projects.

CHAPTER 4: CANADIAN FARM WOMEN: CHANGING WORK ROLES, CHANGING IDENTITIES

The work of Canadian farm women is changing in response to structural conditions in the economic and political sphere of agriculture and social changes in society. At a time of dramatic change in agriculture as well as in society it is important to determine how Canadian farm women are responding to this change through their work roles both on and off the farm through changing gender identities and relations. Traditionally, farm women managed the farm family household, raised the next generation of farmers and produced agricultural products for home consumption and market sales while their husbands managed the family farm. Women's work was invisible and devalued. Beginning in the late 1970's, studies began to examine the lives of farm women with the express purpose of making farm women's work visible and valued. As I have shown in Chapter Two, these studies established that farm women made a significant and substantial contribution to the farm enterprise and played diverse roles in agriculture.

In this chapter I examine how the work roles of Canadian farm women have changed from 1982 to 2002. I then explore farm women's occupational identities as farm operators and finally I develop a classification of farm women that reflects the roles of women in constructing various responses to agricultural restructuring on the farm. This research will provide important insight into the changing roles of farm women in Canadian agriculture. It also has important implications for defining target populations for the development of government policy directions in agriculture. This analysis reveals that farm women's roles are indeed changing, but the change is not uniform across all groups of farm women. Rather the responses of farm women vary based on their personal characteristics, characteristics of the farm and relationships in the agrifamily household. The agency of farm women is reflected in the diversity of the roles women have adopted and these role changes are linked to farm women's changing identities.

Most of the farm women respondents to the study indicated that their roles had changed over the last generation. When women respondents were asked how their role on the farm compared with the role of their mothers at the same age, fewer than 10 percent of those whose mothers had farmed stated that their roles were the same as their mothers. For most farm women the change was away from the traditional household roles of farm women as they noted they were less involved in the household (43%), more involved in the farm (40%), and more involved in farm management (15%). Many (31%) also commented on the reduction in manual labour and higher level of technology on farms, a change that has made it easier for women to move into traditional male work roles on the farm.

4.1 Data Comparison: 1982 and 2002

For the purposes of the 2002 research, work was defined as any activity that resulted in the production of goods and services. It encompassed farm work, non-farm work, household work and volunteer work.¹ This definition paralleled the definition used in the 1982 study. The basic criterion for inclusion was that each of these types of work, when done outside the household or by a non-family member, could be waged employment.

The work that is reported in this chapter was measured in three ways. First, respondents were asked about the types of work on the farm that were predominantly done by them. Second, information was gathered in a series of tables, completed by the respondents during four interviews through a 15 month period. The work tables in the 2002 study included all the work categories from the 1982 study but added more detailed types of livestock work, farm management work and farm household work based on a series of focus groups held in 7 locations across Canada and other similar research (Rosenfeld 1985; Carbert 1995). In the work tables, respondents were asked to indicate those types of work that they had done during the past three months: as part of their regular duties; only in exceptional circumstances; not done during that period of time; or not done on

¹ Non-farm work includes off-farm work as well as work that takes place at the farm location but is not directly linked to the farm operation. The term non-farm work was used in place of off-farm work in this research to ensure that work activities taking place on the farm, that were not part of the farm operation were counted.

that farm operation. The responses for the work tables of the four interview periods were gathered into one data set for analysis. For the purposes of comparison with the 1982 study, I calculated the percentage of women who said they did a particular task regularly, in some cases averaging the percentages in categories that had been broken down in the 2002 survey. Third, the results of time diaries, which collected information on respondents' activities in fifteen minute intervals for four consecutive days following each interview, are also presented. These time diaries were completed four times over the course of the research project, once in each season. Chi-square analysis was used to determine the statistical significance of differences between groups in the data collected in 2002. All results reported as significant are statistically significant at the $p \leq .05$ level.

The sampling strategy in the 1982 study focused on women members of the NFU and the distribution of the surveys was based on the NFU Regions. This meant that there were no respondents in the 1982 study from Québec or Newfoundland. Table 4.1 shows that the 1982 study focused more heavily on Saskatchewan and Manitoba than the 2002 study. In 2002, respondents were selected from all the agricultural regions of Canada, resulting in a more accurate reflection of the Canadian family farm population.

Provinces 2002	#	%	NFU Regions 1982	#	%
Newfoundland	4	2	Newfoundland	0	0
Prince Edward Island	5	3	Maritime Provinces (not Newfoundland)	19	9
Nova Scotia	6	4			
New Brunswick	8	5			
Québec	13	8	Québec	0	0
Ontario	42	24	Central and Northeast Ontario	28	14
Manitoba	17	9	Manitoba	37	18
Saskatchewan	33	19	Saskatchewan	71	35
Alberta	33	19	Southern Alberta	33	16
British Columbia	11	6	British Columbia and NW Alberta	14	6
Total	172	100	Total	202	100

The respondents in the 1982 study were younger (40.7 years in 1982 vs 43.7 years in 2002) than the respondents in the 2002 study. In both studies, the sample population was younger than the average Canadian farm operator as measured by the Census of Agriculture (Statistics Canada, 2001). The average household size in both research projects was very similar, 4.12 persons in 1982 and 4.23 persons in 2001-2002. The average number of children in the household in the 1982 study was 2 and in 2001-2002 the average number was 2.1. Age and family size differences in the data are small and should not affect the analysis. The biggest difference is in the location of the respondents. In the 1982 sample, 69 percent of respondents came from the Prairie Provinces compared with 47 percent in 2002. This difference does influence the type of farming reflected in the data, with a smaller proportion of grain, livestock and mixed farming operations and a larger proportion of dairy, fruit and vegetable and small livestock operations in 2002. The impact may be to make certain types of work such as milking, application of chemicals and harvesting without machinery more common than would be the case if the samples were identically distributed in both surveys.

The conclusion in the 1982 study that farming by inheritance was still a male expectation and young women growing up on the farm were encouraged to 'get an education' remains pertinent today. In both the 1982 and 2002 studies, farm women were more highly educated than farm men, although the gap is slightly smaller in 2002. In 1982, 45 percent of the women respondents and 32 percent of their spouses (men) had education beyond secondary school. In 2001-2002, 69 percent of the women and 59 percent of the men in the study had education beyond secondary school. In 1982, 22 percent of women described their formal education background as technical/vocational and 23 percent described it as university. In 2001-2002, education levels have increased with 29 percent of women having completed technical/vocational school, 9 percent with some university and 30 percent with a university degree. Considerably fewer of the women in the 2002 study were raised on a farm (56% in 2002 vs 71% in 1982), a reflection of the declining rural farm population in Canada. Unlike farm men, who tend to be raised on farms, women typically enter farming through marriage and, as a result, are more likely to come from a variety of backgrounds. Changes in the characteristics of farm women signal a

potential for changing attitudes about gender roles and relations on the farm as these have been linked to higher levels of education and women moving into rural communities bringing non-traditional attitudes with them (Symes 1991; Little 2002a).

4.2 Farm Women's Work 1982 and 2002

A series of questions about the on-farm work of farm women was designed to be comparable with the questions asked of farm women in the 1982 study. In 1982, the tasks were divided into household tasks, farm tasks and managerial tasks. Table 4.2 compares the work done by farm women in 1982 and 2002. The table illustrates the percentages of women who indicated they did these tasks regularly in 1982 and in 2002.²

Farm women in the 2002 study were much more active in farm tasks than the women in the 1982 study, providing evidence of changing work roles. With the exception of milking chores, women in 2002 were performing all of these tasks in higher proportions than the women in 1982. Women's involvement has increased the most in those tasks in which women were most involved in 1982, showing that once significant numbers of women establish themselves as willing and able to do a particular task, it becomes increasingly common. This finding also suggests women continue to specialize in farm tasks they have traditionally done such as driving trucks, picking up parts and supplies and taking care of farm animals - a trend that was noted by Pfeffer (1989) on German farms.

4.2.1 Farm Field Work

Farm field work includes ploughing, cultivating and planting; harvesting with and without machinery; field work without machinery; driving trucks and running errands. These activities occurred evenly throughout Western, Central and Atlantic Canada with the exception of harvesting without machinery which was concentrated in Atlantic Canada and driving trucks which happened predominantly in the West.

² Complete tables comparing female and male work for 2002 are found in Appendix A, Table A.1

Table 4.2: Farm Women's Work: 1982 - 2002*	1982 n=202	2002 n=172
Farm Field Work	percent	percent
Ploughing, cultivating, planting	9	18
Application of fertilizers and pesticides	4	8
Doing field work without machinery	8	16
Harvest without machinery	7	9
Harvest with machinery	21	36
Driving trucks	28	54
Farm errands	61	85
Livestock Work		
Care of farm animals	27	56
Milking chores	18	15
Farm Management		
Maintain farm books and records	64	81
Supervise farm work of other family members	18	60
Supervise farm work of hired help	4	26
Deal with sales people regarding farm purchases	15	41
Deal with buyers regarding farm products	8	19
Deal with consumers regarding farm products	9	27
Farm Household		
Cook, clean for the family	99	99
Cook, clean for hired help	21	19
Care of garden for family consumption	92	65
Care of animals for family consumption	32	48
Canning and freezing for family consumption	93	69
Care for children	75	75
Care for aged or chronically ill family members	4	43
* Percentage of women who indicated they did the work regularly in 1982 and as part of their regular duties in 2002. Based on the 1982 categories.		

Women reported a much higher involvement in farm field work tasks as part of their regular duties compared to women 20 years ago. Thirty six percent of farm women indicated harvesting crops with machinery was one of their regular tasks and 18 percent indicated ploughing, cultivating and planting was one of their regular tasks. Women in the focus groups commented that physical strength was less of a barrier in handling the newer, more modern farm equipment, although some women noted they still faced strength and size barriers with some equipment. However, women were adamant that changing attitudes were at least as important as changing technology in providing opportunities for farm work. One British Columbia farm woman talked about the difference in attitudes between her and her daughter:

There are things that I thought in my experience around farms ... about what women were doing which are quite outside of her experience. She has no clue that women didn't do this or women didn't do that or didn't do something else, she just assumes that they do and I think that there are a lot of other young women out there that just assume that that's the way it's going to be. They don't even think about what the tradition might be. They go in to it and they go to work just like everyone else. [British Columbia farm woman]

Related to this observation, the data revealed that operating all types of machinery was significantly more likely for young women age 25 to 39 compared to women over 50 years old, signalling a shift in attitudes in traditional roles in farming.³ Women in Western Canada were significantly more likely to be operating large machinery than women in Eastern Canada.⁴ This may be linked to the more highly mechanized, larger farms in Western Canada which are more likely to invest in the larger, more sophisticated new machinery. A number of women noted that with the large investment in this new machinery, it was preferable to have family members responsible for its handling because they knew how to operate the equipment and were more likely to take care of the investment.

Interestingly, women who worked at a non-farm job were helping with ploughing, disking, cultivating and planting more than expected compared to women who did not work at a non-farm job.⁵ This is likely linked to the higher percentages of women from grain and mixed farms operations who were working at a non-farm job. However,

³ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

⁴ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

⁵ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

women who work full-time at a non-farm job were less likely to run errands.⁶ Working at a non-farm job may change the availability of women for immediate tasks such as errands, while ploughing, disking and cultivating is also more likely a planned activity and women may make themselves available for those larger tasks by scheduling holidays or negotiating time off from their paid work.

Women showed the smallest increases in harvesting crops without machinery and the application of farm chemicals. Women continue to be reluctant to apply chemicals including fertilizers and pesticides due to perceived health risks especially during childbearing years and incompatibility with women's childcare responsibilities:

The implications for a woman during childbearing years are much more serious – not only for her health, but for their offsprings' health. [Maritime farm woman]

Where are the kids when this is going on and do you want kids around when you are mixing chemicals and therefore if the woman is looking after the kids? [Ontario farm woman]

Some women thought the decision about whether or not to handle chemicals rested with the farm woman:

I think it is that they (women) are choosing not to. From my personal perspective I applied very little chemical and I would have applied none had I had a choice. It had to be done but it sure was something I would have preferred not to do. [British Columbia farm woman]

It's a woman's decision – I would choose to do something else rather than apply it. I sure think young women having children would choose not to. [Alberta farm woman]

While others felt the decision was tied up with men's roles and images of masculinity in which men are the protectors of women:

I think also there is some heroics ... Guys say oh no no, I would not let her do that ... I'll take that job. [Ontario farm woman]

If you think of the traditional macho type men's attitudes... when you look at the farm chemicals ... it is so dangerous that the men wouldn't want the women to handle it. I think it is a man's decision to protect. [Maritime farm woman]

Men should also choose not to, but they feel bound into it whereas women just say I'm not doing it. [Alberta farm woman]

Women also noted that chemicals have become so expensive people are becoming very cautious when using them. However, women working on fruit and vegetable farms did

⁶ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

handle chemicals more than the average farm woman, reflecting the less gendered roles in this type of agriculture.

Women's increased roles in farm field work reflect changes in technology and changing attitudes on the part of especially younger women who saw no reason why they should not be involved in traditional farm tasks. This was coupled with a recognition by male farmers that women can do the job. With 68 percent of the farm families in the 2002 study having someone working in non-farm employment, everyone in the family has to be involved in the farming operation and families are less able to segregate tasks by gender. Although more women are working at farm fieldwork tasks on a regular basis, men still spend more time on field work. In 2002, women who indicated they did field work, spent an average of 0.9 hours per day while men spent an average of 2.9 hours per day.

4.2.2 Livestock Care⁷

Care of farm animals showed the largest increase in the number of women taking on this task between 1982 and 2002. Care of livestock on farms has traditionally been an area where women have been active on farms in industrialized countries (Rosenfeld 1985; Carbert 1995; Schwarz 2001). In 2002 over one-half of the women surveyed were involved in livestock care. Women were also more likely than men to look after livestock in exceptional circumstances, filling in when needed. Livestock care was an area where women spent considerable time, working an average of 2.8 hours a day with livestock while men spent an average of 3.6 hours per day.

The decline in milking chores may be due to fewer farms milking cows for personal consumption and the increased mechanization of milking on larger operations which

⁷ Livestock care was a work activity on 69 percent to 78 percent of the study farms while milking only occurred on 27 percent. Feeding farm animals and milking were more common in Central Canada reflecting the concentration of the dairy industry in Ontario and Québec and the more intensive types of livestock operations that necessitate feeding of livestock. Work involving birthing and medical care, feeding animals and cleaning barns is found predominantly in the dairy and livestock sectors. Loading and transporting livestock and raising animals for family consumption are more common in the livestock and mixed farm sectors and milking is most likely in the dairy sector.

allows milking to be accomplished by one person. This may mean that farm women take up other tasks with the livestock. As a woman from Ontario explained:

The women are still going to the barn but the chores are separated ...a specialization of duties is occurring...particularly the care of farm animals – like in a lot of pork operations if the woman is involved, she does a lot of the nursery work. So tasks are more specialized and separated.
[Ontario farm woman]

Another woman from the Maritimes commented that it was very difficult to milk and work off the farm as the time involved with milking along with the need to shower before and after made it hard to find the time for a job off the farm. Thus, if a woman were working off the farm, she was less likely to be milking. Dairy farms were associated with a higher intensity of on-farm work and lower levels of non-farm work as the controlled markets they sell into ensure a higher farm income. Although just over 25 percent of the study farms were milking in 2002, chi-square analysis showed there was no significant difference between men and women in the performance of milking as a regular task.

Age made a significant difference in women's roles in livestock care; younger women were more likely than older women to be active in this type of work.⁸ Women aged 35 to 49 were working in higher numbers than average in birthing and medical care of animals, care of animals for family consumption, and in loading and transporting animals. Women under 35 years of age were more involved in feeding farm animals, cleaning barns and milking. Having a husband who works off the farm made no significant difference in the regularity of work in the livestock care category.

The specialization of farm women around livestock tasks can be interpreted as an extension of the care work women do for their families. Women were often called on to assist in birthing and medical care of animals, again an extension of their experience in childbirth and care to farm animals. Women in the focus groups noted that women were widely assumed to be better at handling animals and giving them better care.

⁸ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

4.2.3 Farm Management

Farm management involves work that can be described as the business side of farming. Activities such as dealing with sales people, keeping the farm books and records, farm business correspondence, research, attending farm related meetings and supervising the work of family members took place on more than 80 percent of the study farms. Less common were activities such as dealing directly with wholesalers and consumers, supervising hired help or contractors, exhibiting farm products, and testing and inspecting. North American farm women have traditionally played a major role in maintaining the farm books and records, a task that must be done on every farm (Rosenfeld 1985; Carbert 1995; Lobao and Meyer 1995). Over the past 20 years, more women have taken up this task, and in the 2002 study, maintaining farm books and records was a task dominated by women. Doing the farm books is a task that fits well with traditional female work roles:

I think there is the notion in these partnerships that it is brawn versus brains and I think both of the men I interviewed sort of chuckled when I asked about the farm books and said oh oh we can't do that, I let the boss do it. And his wife was in charge of all that stuff. [Ontario farm woman]

I think a lot of men would say they prefer to be doing the physical work – they don't consider that [book-keeping] physical. [Ontario farm woman]

Additionally, farm books can be done in the house while supervising children, doing other household tasks or at any time of day:

'cause they can be done at 10 o'clock at night after the kids are in bed. [Ontario farm woman]

Maintaining farm books and records fits with skills or attributes that women were considered more likely to have such as typing skills and patience. I have already noted that farm women were more highly educated than farm men and have often acquired the skills to keep accounts and use computers:

Women are more comfortable with the job, more thorough, more patient. [Alberta farm woman]

Women from the younger generation are more educated ... they automatically take over ... the husband says you are good at it, you can do it, ... you are educated, you can do it. [Alberta farm woman]

This is also a task through which women have direct input into the farming operation:

Likely if there is one place you can start to make inroads in management, it is in knowing what the finances are. [Ontario farm woman]

The increasing perception of farm women as skilled and knowledgeable about the farm was evident as they played larger roles in 2002 in supervising the work of hired help and dealing with salespeople for farm purchases. Many farm women have reported their frustration at not being taken seriously by hired help and sales people. One Maritime woman commented:

my standard answer is, when they phone and ask for the boss, I say 'speaking'.

Today's farm family was less likely to deal with a sales person who would not negotiate with a women farmer or to hire people who would not take instruction from a woman:

Women are involved more, it is more recognized that they have knowledge. [Alberta farm woman]

A lot more women are working off the farm and their money is going into purchasing as well ...so if their money is going into it they want more say.[Alberta farm woman]

One women that I talked to wouldn't deal with a wholesaler and even her husband wouldn't deal with a wholesaler if they weren't prepared to deal with her (the farm woman). If the elevator agent wouldn't deal with the woman, the family wouldn't deal there. [Saskatchewan farm woman]

Same with hired help – We had a guy who said “I can't take orders from a woman” and my Dad said “If she tells you [that] you are fired you are gone”. I am not sure that would have been the same 20 years ago. [Saskatchewan farm woman]

However, all barriers have not been crossed especially when purchasing equipment which has traditionally been an area of male expertise:

I still struggle with buying equipment, guys (sales people) come into the honey house and even though I am in charge there, they still want to talk to one of the guys about equipment. [Saskatchewan farm woman]

The group of farm management tasks were highly gendered with men significantly more involved than women in all farm management tasks except maintaining the farm books and records.⁹ Nevertheless, the amount of time spent by men and women engaged in farm management activities was not significantly different, with men spending on average 1.7 hours each day and women spending an average of 1.4 hours per day on these tasks.

Many of these management activities did not vary with farm type. Supervising hired help and family members; exhibiting farm products; tending to farm business correspondence;

⁹ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

research; attending farm meetings; seminars and workshops; and dealing with salespeople were all equally likely over the five farm types. Dealing with consumers was more likely for women in livestock and fruit and vegetable operations where direct marketing is more common and women have a major presence. Maintaining farm books and records was more likely for women in livestock and mixed farming operations.¹⁰

Age was a significant factor in the probability of working at certain farm management tasks.¹¹ Women 50 to 64 years were more likely to attend farm related seminars than younger farmers. Women in the 35 to 49 age group were more likely to be dealing with consumers and wholesalers and supervising family members, reflecting the stage of the family life cycle in which families have children requiring supervision working on the farm. As well, as more men work off the farm, women were called on to supervise children doing work on the farm. Supervising family members was an area where women are much more active than they were 20 years ago. One woman's comment on the increase was:

It is now accepted that the women actually know what is going on, whereas they used to be supervised too, not supervising other people. The male concept of women's role has changed as to who can be supervising kids. [Ontario farm woman]

Working at a non-farm job made no significant difference for women performing farm management tasks with the exception of testing, inspecting and grading. This set of tasks was performed more often than average by women not working at a non-farm job due to its importance in the dairy sector, where fewer women were working at a non-farm job.

4.2.4 Farm Household Work

Household tasks have traditionally been women's work and women continue to be very involved in cooking and cleaning for their families and in caring for children. In 2002, farm household work was still significantly more likely to be the regular duty of women, with over 97 percent of women doing meal preparation and clean up, shopping, house cleaning and laundry on a regular basis.¹² However, more than one-half of the men on the study farms reported doing meal preparation and cleanup. Although men report a

¹⁰ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

¹¹ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

¹² Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

high level of involvement in farm household work, women still spend significantly more time on these tasks than men. Men spent an average of 0.9 hours per day on farm household work while women spent an average of 3.4 hours per day. Having children at home increased the household work demands as women 35 to 49 were more likely do housecleaning and laundry as part of their regular duties.

Women had a considerable amount to say about changing roles in household duties. One of the first comments by a Maritime farm woman was:

after 20 years, we are still doing all the housework, pardon me, but that just doesn't seem fair.

However, most women felt that there had been significant changes over the past 20 years and it was now expected that men should help in the house:

I think there is an expectation of women that men should be preparing food now – that wasn't there maybe 20 years ago. [Maritime farm woman]

A lot more men are cooking or setting the table than used to. But often the men said, well she is not home everyday and she leaves me something and I have to cook it. So they are still not the main person in charge of a lot of the planning and things – but they actually now know how to do these things. [Ontario farm woman]

Women felt that this was more common in urban areas than rural areas and, as more women were working at non-farm jobs, the farm men would have to do more cooking and childcare.

It is evident that women still had a strong sense of obligation toward doing household tasks and found it difficult to reconcile this with the additional work they were taking on in other areas on and off the farm. The following exchange between two women from the Maritimes illustrates the ambivalence that changes in women's household work have created:

A. My boys end up preparing meals more often than they should

B. It won't hurt them, it won't hurt them...

A. I have so many things to do....

B. Well why shouldn't they?...

A. I know but - you know - my [poor] kids!!!

A. I feel so bad, my son comes home from college, he lives alone and he cooks his own meals and he comes home for the weekend and I do his wash all the time and I even enjoy doing it. But I feel so bad because he comes home and says "what are we having for lunch" and there is nothing on (I say) "Oh you want some fries and nuggets?" And I feel so bad, when he comes home he should have at least one home-cooked meal.

B. *But you know that [not having time to cook him a home-cooked meal] is realistic.
[Maritime farm women]*

Women noted the different feelings of obligation between men and women on household tasks. One woman commented that if men weren't contributing to meals it was because they were outside or at work. But another woman responded:

I think sometimes though – I'm in the garden and my husband is in the barn and I'll feel the responsibility to stop what I am doing. Whereas he might feel the responsibility to feed himself and anybody else if he does come in, he does not feel the responsibility to come in. [Maritime farm woman]

Women also talked about the different commitment of men and women to certain household tasks:

You know what really tells the tale - is that when my husband sits down to the table and this is not selfishness, this is the way the male learned - he will take a fork and a knife from the drawer and a plate and he will sit down and start to eat ... whereas I would never do that ... I would never sit down until there were implements on the table for everyone... but he would never think of putting implements on it for everyone, but that has been sort of schooled into us [women]... go set the table for mommy dearfrom the time you were a child. [Maritime farm woman]

In some families, men and women have negotiated household tasks around the demands of each other's job:

One of [the families I interviewed], she teaches and he is a grain farmer. So in the winter time he is the cooker and the cleaner, like he is in charge of that ...he helps (the children) out with their homework and ... works out in the shop and does all of that while she's teaching. And when seeding and harvesting comes along, she basically takes on the [household] role. [Ontario farm woman]

Just as technology was an important determinant of women's ability to do certain tasks on the farm, farm women thought it was also an important determinant of men doing work in the kitchen. A number of women thought technological change may have facilitated attitudinal change around household work and that men were more likely to do household work when microwaves, dishwashers and bread machines were available:

As there are more machines in the kitchen, men now do the work. What has changed in the house ... more machines = more men. [Alberta farm woman]

According to the 2002 study, farm women were getting less help with cleaning than with cooking and childcare. As well, women were quite adamant that when men did these jobs, they were 'not to the same standard' as when they did them, but recognized that they needed to be more flexible if they wanted the work done:

A lot of the men were so glad that the wife wasn't in the room at the same time they would say well, my wife wouldn't call it that, she calls it tidying up or whatever you know – they maybe weren't quite as thorough as the wife would be but they did do it. [Ontario farm woman]

Care of a garden and canning and freezing for family consumption, tasks that were done in most households in 1982 were done less often in 2002. As farm women have become busier, some farm women have let go of gardening, canning and freezing. Women were still dominant in gardening and canning and freezing, even though 46 percent of the male respondents were involved in gardening on a regular basis. Older women (50 to 64 yrs) were more likely to be doing canning and freezing as part of their regular duties perhaps reflecting knowledge and tradition and the availability of time as childcare duties lessen.¹³ Farm women commented on the pressure to continue with traditional work roles in rural areas:

Part of women's roles is to provide fresh food for their husbands ... I think people think I am lazy. [Alberta farm woman]

I don't garden and other people think I am strange ... my husband does the landscaping and the flowers. [Alberta farm woman]

While many women commented that this was simply one of the things they had to give up as they took on more work off the farm:

If you are in a farm situation, you are not going to do everything the way you would like to, you know it is very turbulent. If you are off doing off farm work, life is chaos. Things have to drop off the list ... it would be nice to do all those things, but you can't. [Ontario farm woman]

In my situation I don't have the time to do all that and I am not willing to do it day after day at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning because that's when it happens. [Ontario farm woman]

Others gardened and preserved food to ensure they and their families had healthy food and as a way to control their food sources due to a lack of faith in the industrial food system:

For me it is a major priority – I like to have control of my food sources. I like to have my cold room full and my freezer full and food in the pantry ... because I don't trust food technology, I don't trust food safety. [Why would] I go to all the trouble to have food security and food safety on my farm and then sell everything and go buy it from the grocery store? I just find that is almost a contradiction on what my whole ethics on farming is... no matter how busy we are, I put down my own food. It is an important part of who we are as a family, we are self sufficient as much as possible. [Ontario farm woman]

¹³ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

That household work was a primary duty of women was evident as working at a non-farm job made no difference to women in the likelihood of farm household work being part of their regular duties.¹⁴ There are obvious tensions for farm women in their changing roles in the household as they wrestle with feelings of obligation along side their expanded work roles both on and off the farm.

4.2.5 Child and Elder Care

Women in 2002 were still the dominant care givers in farm households. Although a large proportion of men were doing childcare, women still spend significantly more time at these tasks.¹⁵ Women who look after children reported that they spend 1.5 hours per day on childcare while men who look after children reported 1.1 hours per day. Although women appear to spend only a small amount of time on childcare, childcare is work that takes place at the same time as other work tasks. When children are young, women's work is often dictated by whether they can have their children along with them. Women noted that dairy farmers will set up a playroom in the barn to keep their children occupied and safe while they are working. One woman recounted how she farmed with her children:

I farmed with my kids ... They were with me ... they camped out on the edge of the field that I chose to be working in or were with me on the machines ... not that that was a good thing but that's where they were and the very first cab that I ever had on the tractor I remember thinking this is going to be nice, I won't have to worry about the kids falling off. It was a place for them, not the safest, not the best, but it was a place where I could have them with me.[British Columbia farm woman]

Since caring work has traditionally been the responsibility of women it is not surprising that there was no significant difference for women whether they or their spouse work at a non-farm job in the likelihood of caring for either children or the elderly. However, care for children was related to age and stage in the family life cycle and women in the 35 to 49 age group were more likely to do childcare than any other age group reflecting the high likelihood of children in the household in this age group.¹⁶ Women on dairy and livestock farms were also more likely to be doing childcare.¹⁷

¹⁴ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

¹⁵ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

¹⁶ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

¹⁷ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

The proportion of women reporting they cared for aged or chronically-ill family members increased tremendously over the past 20 years. This was partly due to a difference in the question in the 2002 study which included friends as well as family members. One of the Prairie women noted that in the families she interviewed:

Everybody was looking after somebody somewhere – looking in on someone or checking on someone three times a week but they didn't consider it work. [Saskatchewan farm woman]

Women also thought the nature of caring for elderly family and friends had changed and become more demanding:

They didn't consider it work before - in the past it might as been just dropping off soup, but now it is getting in there and physically doing labour. [Alberta farm woman]

However, farm family members are sensitive to the desires of their elderly relatives to stay in their homes and, as a result, must meet increased demands for elder care as medical services have been reduced in rural areas; hospital stays are shorter and in-home care services mean people are remaining in their homes longer. One Maritime woman commented on the changing nature of institutional care for the elderly:

I find that the seniors' home is changing. People would go in there to live and they would go to the dances at night, people would get married in there. When my dad went in there he was ... almost ready to die ... you don't get healthy people going there anymore, they are really sick when they go there. They are going because they are too ill to stay at home and everyone of those people needs someone to monitor them. [Maritime farm woman]

As a result, families experienced an increased demand to support and assist with the care of the elderly or ill family or friends.

Men 50 to 64 years old were more likely than younger men to be doing elder care as part of their regular duties.¹⁸ Parents of people in this age group often begin to need more care, and the traditional practice of passing the farm to sons likely results in the male farmer's parents being close by. Because fewer family members remain in rural areas, the families who are left on the farm may be the only relatives in the area.

It is not until they absolutely can't look after themselves that they move into the city next to their other children. [Ontario farm woman]

The high proportion of people doing eldercare in this study reflects the changes in access to services in rural areas along with an aging population. There is no significant gender difference in the time reported as being spent on eldercare, with women reporting 0.7 hours per day and men reporting 0.6 hours per day. However, women in the focus groups

¹⁸ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

observed that although both men and women were involved, eldercare tasks were often gendered with women providing food and men fixing things around the house.

4.2.6 Farm Maintenance

Farm maintenance includes maintaining building, fences, farm machinery, and cooking, washing and cleaning for hired help. This was a new category of activity measured in the 2002 study and the only point of comparison with 1982 is cooking, washing and cleaning for hired help. Fewer farm women in 2002 were cooking and cleaning for hired help, perhaps reflecting the move to hire less help due to financial issues and the move to engage more contract labour which has a different relationship with the farm family. As an Alberta woman observed:

A contracted person is very different than the hired help ...A contractor you don't even see ... you see the cattle liner or the grain truck come and you see it go, but you never know the person who is driving it so you don't connect with it as hired help. The hired help sat down with the family to eat and what ever. Years ago women had hired help in the house as well and it was year around ... you had a hired man and such. [British Columbia farm woman]

Cooking, cleaning and washing clothes for hired help on the 35 percent of farms that are still hiring was significantly more likely to be accomplished by women than men.¹⁹

There were no other significant variations by age, region or farm type in the likelihood of doing this task.

Only 20 percent of women indicated they maintained farm machinery on a regular basis, although they were more involved in maintaining farm buildings and fences with 42 percent indicating this was part of their regular duties. Women on livestock operations and mixed farms were more likely to be involved in maintenance or repair of buildings and fences than were women under 50 years of age.²⁰ Women working at farm maintenance tasks spent an average of 0.6 hours per day on them, while men spent an average of 1.7 hours per day.

¹⁹ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

²⁰ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

4.2.7 Farm Processing

Farm processing was also a new category of work measured in the 2002 study and there were no comparable tasks in 1982. These activities were reported as taking place on fewer than 25 percent of the study farms. Nursery and greenhouse work, on-farm processing and washing, packing and cooling of vegetables were more likely to be part of the regular duties of farmers in Atlantic Canada due to higher proportion of farms in the fruit and vegetable sector.²¹ On-farm processing was more likely to be a regular duty for women in the livestock and mixed farming sectors. Value added activities were more likely to be part of regular work in Central Canada as well as for women in the fruit and vegetable, livestock and mixed farming sectors.²² Women play a major role in nursery work and on-farm processing as they were both equally likely to be done by women and men as part of their regular duties. Women were more involved in washing, packing and cooling vegetables as part of their regular duties. Significantly fewer women than men were involved in value added agricultural activities.²³

4.2.8 Household Maintenance

Farm household maintenance was another new category of work measured in the 2002 study. Most farms in the study had someone performing household maintenance tasks. There was no significant difference between regions on yard maintenance; however, farms in the West were more likely to be doing house repair and maintenance and minor car repair and maintenance than farms in the rest of Canada.²⁴ Women were very active in house repair and yard maintenance, although less active in minor car repair and maintenance. Women in the 35 to 49 age group were more likely than women of other ages to be doing all of these household maintenance tasks.²⁵ Women with spouses working at non-farm jobs were more likely to look after minor car repair and

²¹ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

²² Value added activities are those that add value to the product due to the application of labour. On the farm these can include activities such as seed cleaning, grain drying, washing and packaging farm products.

²³ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

²⁴ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

²⁵ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

maintenance as part of their regular duties.²⁶ There was no significant difference between the amount of time women and men spend on this group of tasks. Women spend on average 0.7 hours per day and men spend on average 0.9 hours per day on household maintenance tasks.

4.2.9 Volunteer Work

Farm women are an important source of support for rural communities. Large numbers of farm women (82 %) were active as volunteers in their communities and schools. Volunteerism was higher in Western Canada; however, it was not significantly different from one type of farming to another.

As governments withdraw services and support from rural communities, rural people are assuming the role of delivering these services. At the same time as the demand for women to engage in voluntary activities in the community has increased due to the withdrawal of services and the decentralization of rural development to the local level, the increased demands of farm and non-farm work have reduced the time farm women have available for voluntary and community work. Non-farm work for women impacts volunteer work with women working full time being less likely to volunteer and those working part time being more likely to volunteer. However, despite longer hours of work overall, Canadian farm women spend more time at civic and volunteer work than the average Canadian woman.²⁷

4.2.10 Summary

There are many similarities between the farm women studied in 1982 and the farm women studied in 2002; however, there are also some considerable differences. Farm women in 2001-2002 were better educated and the number working at non-farm employment had increased by more than 50 percent. Farm women in 2002 were more involved in a broad range of farm management and farm field work but reduced their involvement in only a few household tasks. A number of the comments from farm

²⁶ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

²⁷ Table A.2 Appendix A compares the time spent on daily activities by the respondents to the time spent on daily activities by Canadian adults aged 35-44 (the busiest group).

women in the focus groups illustrate that social change over the past 20 years has had a significant impact on the attitudes and expectations of both women and men regarding the capability of women to move into traditional male farm roles. These perceptions are supported by the consistent findings in the data that younger women are more likely to be active in farm field work, livestock work, supervision and dealing with salespeople for farm purchases. Lower returns in agriculture have increased the need for non-farm work which in turn requires that whomever is available be involved in the farm work. Consequently families are less able to segregate tasks by gender and women are involved in a wider range of farm work. As well, changes in the provision of health care services to rural areas have dramatically increased the number of women (and men) providing elder care for family and friends.

The agency of farm women also emerges from the analysis. Although social change has opened up opportunities for women to expand their farm work roles and economic conditions have resulted in pressure for women to do so, many farm women are making decisions about what work they will and will not do. For example, some women resist spraying, others refuse to learn new skills (welding, handling new machinery) and still others are choosing to do certain tasks in order to have more control over their food sources. However, it is evident that both women and men feel a certain obligation to perform particular work tasks such as household work for women and spraying for men. However, women also noted the pressure to continue with traditional work roles and the relative slowness of their spouses to take on significant amounts of household work.

4.3 A Comparison of Farm Women's and Men's Work Roles in 2002

In the previous section I showed that women were more engaged in traditional male farm work in 2002 than they were in 1982, and we can speculate on the basis of the focus groups that men were more involved in the household. However, there remain significant differences between men and women in all the groups of farm tasks represented in Table 4.3 with the exception of farm processing. The traditional division of labour persists with men more active in farm field work, livestock work, farm maintenance work, farm processing work, farm management work and farm household maintenance work.

Women continue to dominate farm household work, childcare, and voluntary work. As discussed in the previous section, within the groups of farm tasks, there is some variability in the extent to which different groups of women are taking up specific tasks within each category of farm tasks. Although change is happening, it is not pervasive enough to challenge the traditional farm division of labour within the general farm population.

Table 4.3: Index of Farm Women and Farm Men's Work Roles 2002²⁸					
	Women		Men		
FARM TASKS	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Significance*
Farm Field Work (n=336)	.39	.24	.64	.25	.000
Livestock Work (n=285)	.50	.35	.67	.37	.000
Farm Maintenance Work (n=334)	.36	.28	.79	.22	.000
Farm Processing Work (n=111)	.41	.35	.40	.35	.837
Farm Management Work (n=336)	.52	.22	.75	.18	.000
Farm Household Work (n=335)	.78	.16	.47	.25	.000
Farm Household Maintenance Work (n=335)	.58	.25	.82	.19	.000
Child and Elder Care Work (n=301)	.72	.32	.56	.32	.000
Voluntary Work (n=336)	.72	.35	.63	.39	.025
The maximum score for each set of tasks is 1.00 and an individual would score 1.00 if they regularly did all the farm tasks in one of the above categories					

*T-test

²⁸ The 46 work types were categorized into work categories. An index value for each work category was created for each respondent based on the proportion of the work tasks in a work category the respondents did on a regular basis and in exceptional circumstances. Respondents were assigned a value of 1 for every task on their farm they did regularly and .5 for every task they did in exceptional circumstances. The values for the tasks were added up and the total divided by the total number of tasks in that category done on their farm.

4.4 Non-farm Work

The number of farm women working off the farm to supplement farm incomes has increased by over 50 percent from 31 percent in 1982 to 49 percent in 2002. Non-farm work by both farm women and farm men has increased substantially since 1982 reflecting the need for families to pursue a variety of income sources to support the farm family. Non-farm work was reported by 31 percent of respondents (women) and 31 percent of their spouses (men) in 1982. In the 2002 study, 49 percent of women and 43 percent of men reported non-farm work. Fewer women than men were working full-time at non-farm work in the 1982 study. However, 34 percent of the women respondents in 2002 were working full-time at non-farm work compared to 29 percent of the men. The proportion of farm women working at part-time non-farm work has increased from 22 percent to 32 percent for women and from 20 percent to 30 percent for men, representing a 50 percent increase for both genders. While some of this increase may reflect the wider definition of non-farm work in the 2001-2002 study, the increase in non-farm work is supported by other research (Statistics Canada, 2001).

In 31 percent of the farm families surveyed, both adults worked at non-farm employment; in 38 percent of families one of the adult farmers was working at a non-farm job; and in 31 percent neither adult farmer was working at non-farm employment. There was a strong family life cycle component to non-farm work. Younger families (25 to 35 age groups) were more likely to have both farmers working at non-farm employment. As families move into the 35 - 49 age group it was more likely that one farmer worked off the farm. The number of families with both farmers working at a non-farm job increased in the 50 - 64 age group as farm couples moved out of the child rearing years. Then as age increased further, the likelihood of neither farmer working in a non-farm job also increased.²⁹ Non-farm work was much more common on grain, oilseed and field crop operations (79%), livestock operations (78%), and mixed farming operations (70%). This was in stark contrast to the much lower levels of non-farm employment on fruit and vegetable operations (47%), dairy operations (42%), and hog and poultry operations (31%).

²⁹ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

Women working at non-farm jobs were working in fields that are traditionally female dominated, such as health and social services (22%), and education (20%). Women were also working in professional management jobs (16%), agriculture (9%), clerical (7%), government (7%), sales and service (5%), transportation (5%) and childcare (4%). Farm women had worked at a non-farm job for an average of 14.7 years and at their current non-farm job for 9.15 years. Sixty-two percent of the women had worked at their non-farm job for more than 10 years, indicating this was a longstanding strategy for the farm family to meet their financial needs.

Women worked off the farm to earn extra money (51%), for desire and enjoyment (45%), to supplement farm income (35%), for social interaction (8%), and to get away from the farm (8%). Women's motives for working at non-farm jobs were more often than men's focussed on earning extra money for the household, personal fulfillment from their job and social interaction. Men motivations for working at non-farm jobs were to supplement farm income (51%), to earn extra money (33%), for desire and enjoyment (22%), to protect farm interests (10%), and to pay for the farm (10%). Men's motivations indicate a stronger focus on the farm and suggest that even when they work at a non-farm job, their identification remains with the farm.

Women were more satisfied with their non-farm jobs than farm men. This likely reflects women's broader motivations for seeking non-farm work compared to men who are more often seeking non-farm work to better support the farming operation. Sixty-six percent of women were very satisfied with their jobs and 98 percent were either very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with their non-farm job. Women enjoyed their non-farm jobs for the social interaction, the flexible hours, helping others and the extra money. Dissatisfaction was articulated by women who would prefer to work on the farm, did not have enough family time, worked difficult hours, had difficulty in managing time, and experienced fatigue. Thirty-six percent of women indicated they could not spend as much time on the farm and they were not always available at home when they were needed. Forty-two percent of women felt their non-farm work affected the overall operation of the farm and 62 percent of women felt that being employed in non-farm work affected the work of

other family members on the farm. The biggest impact was on the work of other family members as women recognized that their children, husbands, and other family members had to work more on the farm. Women also noted that working at a non-farm job meant they were not able to provide leadership in the household, a lack of family time and increased family stress.

Although women were generally very satisfied with their non-farm jobs, they definitely recognized there was a trade-off. An increase in non-farm work increased farm women's total work time, with the highest number of hours spent on work by farm women working full time at a non-farm job. This increase in working hours meant fewer personal care and leisure hours. Farm women were also affected when their partners held jobs off the farm to supplement farm incomes. Women and their children had to increase their workloads to replace some or all of the farm work of their partner. Women whose partners were working off the farm spent almost one additional hour working each day, and again this was time taken from leisure activities. A lack of time and greater commitments at work both on and non-farm have led to decreased participation in voluntary, leisure and family activities and a decreased quality of life for Canadian farm women and their families.

In summary, non-farm work has increased substantially for both farm women and farm men during the past 20 years. This increase in non-farm work is another way in which the agrifamily household responds to broader social, political and economic conditions. Social change has opened up opportunities for women to work at non-farm jobs if they choose and many cite personal fulfillment reasons for working at non-farm jobs. However, many farm women and most farm men indicate they are working to bring in extra income. As I have shown, the decision to take a non-farm job has an impact on the agrifamily household, the farm and the local community in both positive and negative ways.

Table 4.4 presents the average amount of time spent by farm women and men on various types of activities including paid and unpaid work, leisure and personal care. The

average farm woman spent significantly more time on domestic work than the average man and conversely the average man spent significantly more time on farm work over all. Although it appears that women are spending more time at non-farm work, the difference is not statistically significant. There is no significant difference in the amount of time men and women on average spend on total work although women spend significantly more time at unpaid work and men spend significantly more time at paid work. There is also no significant difference in personal care time or leisure time although women and men spend their leisure time in different ways. Women spend more time in active leisure and social activities while men spend more time in passive recreational activities.

Time Spent	Women (n=155)	Men (n=131)	
	Mean (hrs/day)	Mean (hrs/day)	Significance*
1. Farm work	3.25	7.36	.000
2. Non-farm work	1.91	1.49	.207
3. Domestic work	5.03	1.72	.000
4. Volunteer work	0.68	0.45	.012
5. Active recreation	0.43	0.30	.018
6. Fun	0.34	0.33	.879
7. Passive recreation	1.02	1.23	.041
8. Social activities	0.65	0.46	.003
9. Education	0.11	0.03	.059
10. Paid work (1+2)	5.17	8.86	.000
11. Unpaid work (3+4)	5.72	2.16	.000
12. All work (1+2+3+4+9)	11.00	11.05	.821
13. Leisure (5+6+7+8)	2.43	2.31	.435
14. Personal Care	10.53	10.51	.837

* T-test

4.5 Farm Women and Identity

I noted in Chapter Two that work roles and identities are closely related and that researchers had linked changes in women's work roles on the farm to changing identities for Australian and Norwegian women (Bryant 1999; Grace and Lennie 1998; Brandth 2001). Although the gender division of labour on the farm remains strong, I have established that women in this study have definitely increased their work in traditional

male work roles. A potential indicator of change in occupational identity is in the designation of who is an operator of the farm.

I was interested in exploring the characteristics of women who were now identifying themselves as farm operators and in the third questionnaire respondents were asked who was the operator on their farm. Approximately 39.7 percent of the women indicated their husbands were the operators of the farm, 8.8 percent indicated they were the operator, 36.1 percent indicated they were a joint operator with their husbands and 15.4 percent indicated someone else was the farm operator, often another family member. Those women who identified themselves as joint operators of the farm with their husbands are signalling a higher level of equity in the management of the farm compared to the women who stated their husbands or someone else was the operator. Women were also asked how they defined 'operator'. The two major definitions of operator included 'the person(s) who make the management decisions' and 'the person(s) who contributes the most in terms of work and decision making'. The main difference between these definitions lies in the inclusion of work in addition to decision making in the second definition. Other characteristics suggested in much smaller frequencies were financial responsibility and farm ownership. Women who identify as joint operators were more likely to define farm operator as contributing the most in work and decision making. For these women, a significant work contribution to the farm entitled them to identify themselves as an operator.

The major characteristic that set apart those women who identified themselves as joint operators from those women who identified their husbands or other family members as operators was the extent to which women were involved in farm field work, livestock work and farm management. Those women who were more active in these areas of traditional farm work and who worked longer hours in farm work were more likely to claim a more equitable relationship in the operation of the farm. Women who claimed to be joint operators worked fewer hours at domestic work than wives of single operators indicating a move away from the traditional role of the farm woman tied to the household.

4.6 A Typology of Farm Women

In Chapter Two I outlined a number of typologies of farm women that recognized the diversity of roles farm women played on the farm and illustrated the changes in women's roles over time (Pearson 1979; Sachs 1983; O'Hara 1994b; Haugen and Blekesaune 1996 cited in Brandth 2001; Bryant 1999). Building on these ideas, I developed a classification based on whether or not a farm woman was working off the farm and whether her farm management work index value was greater or less than the average for women.³⁰ Those women who did not work off the farm and who did a lower than average amount of farm management work, I labelled as farm homemakers, referring to women whose focus is on the farm household. Those women who did not work off the farm and who did a greater than average amount of farm work, I labelled women farmers because their roles suggested they were heavily engaged in traditional farm work. Those women who worked off the farm and who did less than average amount of farm work, I labelled as non-farm working women as their focus was on their jobs and careers more than on the farm. Finally, those women who were working off the farm and doing more than an average amount of farm work, I labelled pluriactive women, as they were heavy engaged in both sectors. The resulting classification of farm women is shown in Table 4.5.

Types of Farm Women	Number	Percent
Farm Homemakers	33	19
Women farmers	56	32
Non-farm working women	45	26
Pluriactive women	40	23
Total	174	100

This typology has a strong association with identification as a joint operator. Seventy percent of the women classed as woman farmers and 60 percent of the women classed as pluriactive identified as joint operators while only 35 percent of the women in the farm homemaker category and 33 percent of the women in the non-farm working women

³⁰ See table 4.3, in which the mean farm management index for women is reported as 0.52. I chose the farm management work index because it was strongly correlated with all of the other types of traditional farm work.

considered themselves joint operators. This is consistent with Haugen and Blekesaume's typology in which Norwegian women working in the farm and pluriactive categories were more likely to describe themselves as partners, while the housewives and women working off the farm described themselves as assistants (cited in Brandth 2001). The typology was also significantly related to a number of variables including the work roles women reported, the amount of time spent in various kinds of work, farm value, household income, farm type, and the education of both the woman and her spouse.³¹ There was no relationship with the women's age or farm size in acres. The lack of relationship to women's age may have been due to the restricted age group in the study arising from the requirement that interviewers find farm families with youth at home.

Women who were classed as farm homemakers reported the lowest levels of involvement in farm field work, farm maintenance, household maintenance, farm household and care work and the second lowest levels of involvement in livestock work, farm processing, farm management and volunteer work. However, their time diaries contradicted this reported low level of involvement, suggesting these women worked on average 3.5 hours per day on the farm. Similarly, although they reported the lowest level of farm household work, they are actually working the most hours in domestic work, suggesting these women were under reporting their work roles on the farm and that they viewed themselves as "only a farm wife". Farm homemakers reported the fewest hours of work (10.1 hours per day) and the most hours of leisure activities and personal care of the four types of farm women. However it is important to note these women still work more hours per day than the average Canadian woman (Martz and Brueckner 2003).³² Farm homemakers were more likely to be part of a farm operation where net farm income and farm value was higher. They also had significantly less education than the other types of farm women with almost 60 percent having no post secondary education, compared to less than 35 percent of the women in the other categories. Similarly, their spouses had significantly less education than the spouses of women in the other categories.

³¹ Chi-square $p \leq 0.05$

³² Table A.2 Appendix A compares the time spent on daily activities by the respondents to the time spent on daily activities by Canadian adults aged 35-44 (the busiest group).

Farm homemakers were over-represented on mixed farms and on dairy farms. Women on dairy farms were the least likely to be working off the farm due to the better returns in dairy resulting from the influence of marketing boards. With fewer women on dairy farms working off the farm, they were more highly represented in the farm homemaker as well as in the women farmer category.

Women farmers had above average representation on dairy farms and small livestock operations. One farm type that stood out was small livestock (hogs, poultry, eggs and sheep) where 71.4 percent of the women on these farms were classed as women farmers. Women farmers had the highest reported work activity in farm field work, livestock work, farm maintenance work and farm processing work. They reported lower levels of work activity than pluriactive women in farm management and farm household work. However, according to the time diary results, women farmers were working the longest hours per day on the farm with an average of 4.8 hours per day. Women farmers also tended to be living on farm operations with higher farm value and higher net farm income although lower than that of farm homemakers. Forty-eight percent of the women farmers who reported the value of their farm were associated with operations valued at over one million dollars, compared to almost 54 percent of farm homemakers, 19 percent of non-farm working women and 20 percent of pluriactive women. The higher value of the farm operation may reflect a farm operation that can support a family without an outside income, it may also reflect a family's investment in the operation in order to fully employ both spouses. Women farmers included a lower than average proportion of women with post-secondary education (66%) compared to non-farm working women and pluriactive women where just over 82 percent had some post secondary education. It is difficult to assess whether lower levels of education limited the non-farm work opportunities of these women or if their choice to focus their work on the farm meant they did not pursue more education. A number of women have responded to the changes in agriculture and the demand for intensification and diversification of production by focussing their work on the farm operation. Some women noted in the interviews that they had made a conscious choice to leave non-farm jobs and work full time on the farm.

Another strategy farm women have taken to respond to changing economic and political structures is non-farm work. The non-farm working women who opted for this strategy had high levels of post secondary education with 82 percent having some post secondary education. Post secondary education provides women with the ability and opportunity to obtain meaningful and well-paying employment off the farm. As well, 78 percent of their spouses had some post secondary education. Fifty percent of the women in this group had jobs that would be considered careers, such as teachers, social workers, and health professionals. These jobs may represent a perspective that is oriented away from the farm, toward their own careers. Non-farm working women lived on farms with lower farm values and lower net farm incomes than farm homemakers and women farmers. Since many of the farms these women were associated with were smaller in terms of farm value and net farm income, their non-farm incomes were undoubtedly a significant component of family incomes. This group was also over-represented on cattle and grain farms, likely reflecting the poor returns on these types of farms recently and the need for non-farm income to make ends meet. Non-farm working women reported the lowest levels of farm field work, livestock work, maintenance, processing and farm management. They reported the highest level of household maintenance work and the second highest level (compared to pluriactive women) of caring work and volunteer work. According to the time diaries, they spent an average of 1.6 hours per day working at farm tasks, the lowest of the four groups of women. On the other hand, they spent the most time at non-farm work, an average of 4.2 hours per day.

Pluriactive women were working off the farm and still doing a higher than average amount of work on the farm. They reported the second highest levels (after women farmers) of farm field work, livestock work, maintenance and processing and the highest levels of farm management, farm household work, caring work and volunteer work. According to the time diaries, they worked fewer hours on the farm than women farmers or farm homemakers, but almost an hour a day more than non-farm working women. In addition, they worked an average of 3.1 hours per day off the farm and 1.1 hours per day in volunteer work. This group of women was the busiest of the four groups, working an average of 11.7 hours per day. Consequently they had the lowest amount of leisure time

and time for personal care. Eighty two percent of pluriactive women had some post secondary education affording them opportunities for work off the farm. The small number of women who were professionals in careers related to agriculture (veterinarians, agriculture professional) were all pluriactive. As well, 65 percent of their spouses had some post secondary education. They were over represented on mixed farms in that 46.2 percent live on mixed farms. They also tended to be over-represented on farms with lower net farm incomes and lower farm values.

4.7 Conclusions

In this chapter my first objective was to assess how the work roles of Canadian farm women and men have changed from 1982 to 2002. Between 1982 and 2002, farm women responded to the increased opportunities afforded by social change and the increased pressure created by economic and political changes. Compared to 1982, farm women in 2002 were more involved in a broad range of farm field work, livestock work, and farm management work and they increased their involvement in non-farm work. Even as their work roles were expanding into traditional male farm work, farm women continued to be responsible for much of the domestic work in the household, although men were beginning to take a larger role. Both the expanded work roles of women into traditional male roles and the expanded work roles of men in traditional female roles signal changing gender relationships on the farm.

Although there are signs of change, the traditional division of labour discussed by Sachs (1983), Rosenfeld (1985), Whatmore (1991a), Shortall (1992;1999) Carbert (1995) Alston (1995) and Lobao and Meyer (1995) still characterizes farm family work. Men are still significantly more active in farm field work, livestock work, farm maintenance work, farm processing work, farm management work and farm household maintenance work. Women continue to dominate farm household work, child and eldercare, and voluntary work. As Brandth (2001:93) notes in her research on Norwegian farm women, “the new is embedded in the old. Changes do not eradicate what went on before, neither when it comes to structure nor to the ways in which practices, relations and meaning are produced.” Despite the continued dominance of traditional work roles, women’s

changing work roles are important indicators of diversity in the responses of farm women and their families to social, economic and political change.

The second objective of this chapter was to begin to explore how the role changes documented above had affected farm women's gender identities. For some women, their changing work roles were matched by emerging work identities as farm operators, much as Grace and Lennie (1998) have noted for farm women in Australia and Sachs (2003) has noted for farm women in the United States. Women have always had a variety of work relationships with the farm. In this chapter, I was able to develop a meaningful typology of four types of women, who are engaged in different combinations of work roles on and off the farm. These four categories of farm homemaker, woman farmer, non-farm working women and pluriactive women are useful in explaining the different roles and identities women have adopted and in understanding the strategies of some farm women and their families in responding to agricultural restructuring.

The agrifamily household response model suggests that agrifamily households are active agents in responding to economic, political, social and environmental conditions. Social change has influenced attitudes on the part of younger farm women who perceive fewer limitations to the work roles they engage in both on and non-farm and on the part of men who increasingly view their female partners as capable farmers. Brandth (2001:36) notes a similar trend in Norway when she states "younger women increasingly contest the unequal structure of gender relations in family farming and are unwilling to accept the limited opportunities to be farmers in their own right". Political and economic changes have also impacted the agrifamily household by reducing the economic viability of the family farm.

This chapter has provided empirical support for the agrifamily household model by documenting how work roles in the agrifamily household are changing in response to changing social attitudes, changing technology and economic pressures. I also argue that changing work roles are linked to changing gender identities (eg. Grace and Lennie 1998; Sachs 2003) as women farmers and pluriactive women are more likely to identify

themselves as joint operators than women in other working roles on the farm. These changing roles were also shown to be related to attributes of the family such as education, where higher levels of post-secondary education appeared to afford women more opportunities for non-farm work. Although the typology of farm women was not statistically related to age, the qualitative data suggests that younger women perceived fewer limitations on their work roles. Attributes of the farm were also important in changing work roles and identities as some measures of farm size were related to the work roles of women with women farmers and farm homemakers living on farms with higher net incomes and farm values, however measures of farm size based on land were not significant. Farm type was also a significant factor with farms focussed on dairy and small livestock more likely to be linked to work roles of woman farmer and farm homemaker, while non-farm working women and pluriactive women were living on cattle, grain and mixed farms.

The research in this chapter also illustrates the agency of farm women. Many farm women are making decisions about what work they will and will not do, on and off the farm. Women's agency is also evident in the diversity of their choice of work roles as they choose to work part-time on the farm as a farm homemaker, work full time on the farm as women farmers, to pursue their careers as non-farm working women or to try to do both as pluriactive women. The implications of these choices for gender relations will be explored in Chapters Five and Six.

In Chapter Five, I will broaden my examination of how Canadian farm families are responding to social, economic, political and environmental change by exploring how different agrifamily household response strategies affect the work roles of farm women, men and youth. I will consider the implications of these response strategies on the gender and generational relations within the family.

CHAPTER 5: THE FARM FAMILY RESPONDS TO RESTRUCTURING

5.1 Family Farms and Farm Families

The response of Canadian agrifamily households to economic, political and social restructuring has been highly diversified. Some households have increased non-farm employment, while others have chosen to focus their work on the farm. Farm families have expanded, modified and diversified their farming operations, and adapted traditional gender and generational divisions of labour within the household and on the farm. Many of these responses have impacted the work that farm family members do to support the farm and the farm household.

The Agrifamily Household Response model focuses attention on the farm family where the changing work roles of farm women and men feed back into the agrifamily household, the family and the farm to impact gender/work roles and relations. It is important to understand the effects on the agrifamily household of adopting different work strategies as these will have implications for the changing social geography of rural places and the evolving economic geography of agriculture. As well, many of the structural conditions to which the agrifamily household are responding are the result of government policies at various scales. A clear understanding of the impacts of these policies is important information for the development of new policy directions at the provincial and federal level.

In this chapter, I will address the research question of how Canadian farm families have modified their work roles within the farm family and how these role changes affect the work roles and gender and generational relations within the agrifamily household. In the first part, I examine the roles of gender and generation in the allocation of work tasks in Canadian farm families to determine the relative significance of each in the allocation of work on the family farm. The second part of the chapter examines the relationships

between the work of the four groups of farm women identified in Chapter Four and the work of their spouses and their children over the range of farm and farm household work. I analyse time diary data from women, men and youth from 67 farm families to explore the gender and generational relations underlying how families organize their work. Finally, I look at how the decision of farm men to work solely on the farm or to take a non-farm job impacts the work and gender relations in the farm family.

5.2 The Influence of Gender and Age on Farm Family Work Roles

In this section, I examine whether gender or age is the most important determinant of the farm work roles of women, men, female youth, and male youth. This analysis will provide some indication of how entrenched farm work roles are, as well as whether or not changes are occurring. Canadian farm men and women have different views of their primary work roles. Men on the study farms saw their work roles as focused on agricultural production while women defined their work roles more broadly, encompassing both farm household and farm work (Martz and Brueckner, 2003). More than half of the youth in the study had specific work roles as 52 percent of adult respondents stated that their children were predominantly responsible for certain tasks and 60 percent of the youth respondents indicated there were certain types of tasks on the farm that were predominately done by them. Thus it is apparent that the labour of children is an essential part of most farm operations, especially during the busy periods of the year such as harvest, calving and seeding.

Women, men and youth generally agreed about the factors that determine the type of work that they did on the farm. All of the groups felt that skill, capability and physical ability were major determinants. Time and availability were important factors for women and youth, but ranked much lower for men, indicating that farm work was less discretionary for men than for the other groups (Martz and Brueckner 2003). Youth also felt that age was an important determinant of the types of work they did (Brueckner, 2004).

Table 5.1 reports the percentage of female, male and youth respondents who indicated they performed a specific work task as part of their regular duties, allowing comparison of both gender and generation on the farm. The discussion that follows elaborates on the findings summarized in the table. I have classified farm tasks into the 9 categories discussed in Chapter Four: farm field work, livestock work, farm maintenance, farm processing, farm management, farm household work, farm household maintenance, child and elder care, and volunteer work. The percentages were only reported for farms on which these tasks were performed. This view of farm work moves us closer to an understanding of how farm households allocate work. In order to determine whether the dominant influence on the allocation of a work task was on the basis of gender or on the basis of age, both a gender ratio and an age ratio were calculated.

5.2.1 Farm Field Work

Although the analysis in Chapter Four shows there is a substantial increase in women claiming these tasks as part of their regular duties over the past 20 years, farm field work remained the regular duty of males on the study farms performing these tasks. Table 5.1 shows that farm field work tasks were claimed as part of their regular duties most frequently by adult males followed by youth males and were more strongly determined by gender than by age. The most highly gendered field work task was the application of fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides. This was also a task that scored high on the age index indicating the strong association of this task with adult males. Many farm families make a conscious decision that women and youth will not handle chemicals due to the higher health risks for those groups. Farm women in the focus groups stated that in their experience many farm women refuse to handle chemicals for health and ideological reasons. Tasks such as picking up parts and supplies or running farm errands were more strongly associated with adults, perhaps due to constraints such as timing of the task (during school hours), the need for a driver's license and the financial transactions involved.

Table 5.1: Gender and Generation as Determinants of Farm Family Work Roles

FARM FIELD WORK	% Female Adults	% Male Adults	% Female Youth	% Male Youth	Gender Ratio*	Age Ratio**	Task Focus
Plowing, disking, cultivating or planting	22	83	9	45	0.61	0.32	Male
Application of fertilizers, herbicides or insecticides	11	74	1	13	0.76	0.72	Male
Farm field work without machinery	25	50	28	46	0.29	0.01	Male
Harvest without machines	21	39	8	16	0.31	0.43	Adult
Harvest with machinery.	41	82	15	56	0.42	0.27	Male
Drive trucks as a part of farm work	59	90	40	60	0.20	0.20	Male
Pick up repair parts or supplies, farm errands	85	93	34	46	0.08	0.38	Adult
LIVESTOCK CARE							
Birthing and medical care of farm animals	67	85	54	60	0.09	0.14	Adult
Feeding farm animals	65	91	74	91	0.13	-0.03	Male
Cleaning barns	52	81	56	73	0.18	0.02	Male
Loading and transporting farm animals	51	81	45	61	0.19	0.11	Male
Care of animals for family consumption	61	83	56	75	0.15	0.05	Male
Perform milking chores	50	58	44	52	0.08	0.06	None
FARM MAINTENANCE							
Maintain or repair farm buildings or fences	42	89	42	70	0.31	0.08	Male
Maintain or repair farm machinery	20	93	16	63	0.63	0.18	Male
Cook, clean and wash clothes for hired help	42	16	15	4	-0.48	0.51	Adult / Female
FARM PROCESSING							
Nursery / greenhouse work	21	31	12	13	0.14	0.35	Adult
Washing, packaging and cooling vegetables	57	28	34	18	-0.33	0.24	Female
On farm processing of agricultural products	39	48	19	25	0.11	0.33	Adult
Value added agricultural activities	36	55	13	12	0.16	0.57	Adult

Table 5.1: Continued

FARM MANAGEMENT	% Female Adults	% Male Adults	% Female Youth	% Male Youth	Gender Ratio*	Age Ratio**	Task Focus
Exhibiting farm products	30	47	36	26	0.05	0.11	?
Testing, inspections, grading, quality control	44	81	16	23	0.27	0.52	Adult
Deal with sales people regarding the purchasing of farm supplies and equipment	43	90	8	7	0.31	0.80	Adult
Deal with consumers directly in marketing farm products	45	69	20	15	0.13	0.53	Adult
Deal with wholesalers directly in marketing your farm products	29	77	5	7	0.42	0.80	Adult
Maintain farm books and records, pay bills, prepare farm income tax.	81	69	13	7	-0.11	0.76	Adult
Research to find agricultural information	52	86	27	21	0.15	0.48	Adult
Represent the farm at meetings	41	82	8	8	0.29	0.77	Adult
Farm business correspondence	64	74	5	6	0.07	0.85	Adult
Farm related seminars and workshops	38	70	7	10	0.28	0.73	Adult
Supervise the work of hired help	40	78	15	13	0.25	0.62	Adult
Supervise the farm work of other family members	66	83	31	35	0.10	0.39	Adult
FARM HOUSEHOLD WORK							
Meal preparation and cleanup	98	52	82	58	-0.24	0.03	Female
Shopping	98	38	61	29	-0.41	0.20	Female
House cleaning and laundry	97	38	87	55	-0.33	-0.03	Female
Seminars and workshops (home, self improvement and voluntary activities)	48	42	19	9	-0.14	0.53	Adult
Care of a vegetable garden for family consumption	82	46	54	29	-0.29	0.21	Female
Canning and freezing	82	18	33	9	-0.62	0.41	Female

Table 5.1: Continued

FARM HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE	% Female Adults	% Male Adults	% Female Youth	% Male Youth	Gender Ratio*	Age Ratio**	Task Focus
House repair and maintenance	62	79	17	39	0.20	0.43	Adult
Minor car repair and maintenance	35	78	12	45	0.45	0.33	Male
Yard maintenance and snowplowing	75	86	59	64	0.06	0.13	Adult
CHILD AND ELDER CARE							
Childcare	88	67	50	41	-0.12	0.26	Adult
Helping children with homework	73	52	49	31	-0.19	0.22	Adult
Transporting children to extracurricular activities	80	60	24	30	-0.07	0.44	Adult
Looking after sick or elderly family and/or friends	57	38	23	14	-0.21	0.44	Adult
VOLUNTEER WORK							
Volunteer work in the community or school	79	70	70	49	-0.11	0.11	Adult/ Female

$$\text{*Gender Ratio} = \frac{(\% \text{ male adults} - \% \text{ female adults}) + (\% \text{ male youth} - \% \text{ female youth})}{\% \text{ female adults} + \% \text{ male adults} + \% \text{ female youth} + \% \text{ male youth}}$$

$$\text{**Age Ratio} = \frac{(\% \text{ male adults} + \% \text{ female adults}) - (\% \text{ male youth} + \% \text{ female youth})}{\% \text{ female adults} + \% \text{ male adults} + \% \text{ female youth} + \% \text{ male youth}}$$

5.2.2 Livestock Care

Livestock care included a group of work activities that had the highest involvement of the entire family. Livestock work was an area where women and children have been active on Canadian farms (Martz and Brueckner, 2003). Table 5.1 shows that this group of tasks had the lowest gender and age ratios, indicating the smallest difference between groups. The birthing and medical care of animals was an adult task, with adults more likely to be involved than youth due to the expertise needed for the task, although Brueckner (2004) found children claiming they spent the night in the barn to make sure newborns animals would survive through the night. The remaining livestock care tasks were predominantly male tasks with the exception of milking which had no strong association with either gender or age. Milking is a task that historically has a strong

association with women, but with increased mechanization, more men have taken on milking tasks (Leckie 1996). Feeding cattle, milking, cleaning barns and other associated livestock work are constant chores, in many cases taking place a number of times each and every day. The time diaries of family groups in farm operations with livestock indicated that families often come together to do these tasks, but they can also be done by a subset of the family if one member has another commitment or is working at a non-farm job.

5.2.3 Farm Maintenance

Farm maintenance was a regular activity on most farms. Maintaining buildings, fences and machinery were male tasks for both adults and youth. Cooking, cleaning and washing clothes for hired help was a female, usually adult female task. According to the time diaries, machinery repairs were tasks where fathers and sons worked together. Rarely did daughters work with their fathers or did children work with their mothers on machinery repair.

5.2.4 Farm Management

Farm management tasks were the most highly age differentiated and were dominated by adults. Adults in the farm family are the business owners and due to the financial and business implications associated with these tasks, youth have a very low level of involvement. Adult males were more likely than the other groups to engage in all of these tasks with the exception of maintaining the farm books which was predominantly an adult female task. Youth were much less likely to claim these tasks as part of their regular work. It is not obvious work, often happening after children are in bed and farm youth are not particularly interested in it. Women in the focus groups noted that farm youth begin to get involved in farm management tasks through club activities like 4H. Breuckner (2004) also suggested that involvement in farm management was an important determinant of how engaged youth were with the farm operation.

5.2.5 Farm Processing

On-farm processing, value added and greenhouse and nursery work were reported as taking place on fewer than 25 percent of the study farms. Processing vegetables was predominantly a female task with adult females most likely involved followed by youth females. The remaining farm processing tasks were adult tasks with adult men and women most occupied with these tasks. Significantly more men than women were involved in value added agricultural activities.

5.2.6 Farm Household Work

Table 5.1 clearly shows that farm household work remains dominated by females. Although over half of the adult men on the study farms indicated that meal preparation and cleanup was part of their regular duties, they were the least likely group to report regular involvement in this task, and were even less likely to report participating in housecleaning and laundry. Of the 46 tasks, meal preparation and cleanup and housecleaning and laundry were the two in which men had the lowest participation of the four groups. The only work task in this group that was dominated by age rather than gender was seminars and workshops for home and self improvement.

5.2.7 Household Maintenance

Most farms in the study had someone performing household maintenance tasks. House repair and maintenance, and yard maintenance were adult tasks. Although men performed these tasks as part of their regular duties significantly more than women, women and men often worked together. On the other hand, car repair and maintenance was a male task with adult males and youth males most engaged in this task.

5.2.8 Child and Elder Care

Childcare and eldercare were adult tasks with adult females most likely to be caring for family and friends followed by adult males. Although men were participating in large numbers in care activities, women were still approximately 20 percent more active than men in these tasks. Men were most active in child care by transporting children and

helping with homework as part of their regular duties. Men tend to be more involved in childcare as children got older and became involved in various activities.

5.2.9 Volunteer Work

Large numbers of farm men and women (82%) were active as volunteers in their communities and schools. Slightly more women than men were active in volunteer activities on a regular basis and female youth were as active as adult males making volunteer work difficult to designate as either adult or female.

5.2.10 Summary

The ratios presented in Table 5.1 indicate that both gender and age are important determinants of specific farm work tasks. Although other aspects of this study do show an increase in the number of women claiming farm work as part of their regular duties, there are many work activities on Canadian family farms that remain strongly determined by gender. Male farmers and their sons are more likely than females of any age to report many of the traditional farm field work roles and farm maintenance work roles as part of their regular duties. Traditional female work such as farm household tasks continue to be dominated by farm women and their daughters.

It is evident that male youth were still much more likely to work at tasks that have traditionally been part of the male work roles and female youth indicated that their regular tasks fall into traditional female work roles. As this gender differentiation is learned by youth, it is likely that traditional work roles in many areas of farming will persist for some time. The analysis also points out a number of work tasks that were predominantly undertaken by adults, with youth having very low levels of involvement. These most often included farm work that is part of the business of running the farm involving financial transactions or investments.

5.3 Farm Families Working Together

Leckie (1996) argued that women and men working in Canadian agriculture have typically had different kinds of tasks and this conclusion is supported by the preceding

analysis that showed a strong relationship between gender and farm work roles. However, the analysis in Chapter Four suggests that Canadian farm women are more frequently doing tasks that are outside their traditional work roles and that there is some diversity among farm women in the extent to which they work on the farm. Farm women's roles are changing as a result of the strategies farm families have adopted in response to agricultural restructuring. Leckie (1996) noted that farm women's roles have historically changed with the "evolution of agricultural production" and that although farm women's roles are continually changing, farm men roles have changed little. However, although farm men themselves noted less significant role changes in their lives than did farm women (Martz and Brueckner 2003), farm men were also increasingly making decisions about their work on and off the farm.

As farm women and men decide either to focus their work on the farm operation or to take employment off the farm, while maintaining the farm operation, their children will be impacted by changing demands on their time and changing opportunities to work alongside their parents. The roles that adults adopt and the relations that characterize those roles will also influence their children

In this section, I examine the relationships between the work of farm women, farm men, and female and male farm youth. These relationships are important in the changing roles of farm women as some roles are based in more equal gender relations within the family. These relationships are also important in the socialization and training of the next generation of farmers. The analysis is based on time diaries from three members of 67 farm families over 804 days. Because the number of families in each of the categories is small, this analysis should be considered preliminary. It is also important to recognize that there are other youth in these households who likely contribute to farm and household work. Because these youth were not surveyed in the research process, their work time is not part of the total time attributed to each task. Adding the work of additional people in the household may lower the percentages of work attributed to the respondents slightly, although there would be a limit to the decline in the work of the adults. In the focus groups, one farm woman commented that the more children there

are, the less work each child must do. Children in farm households will also vary in the amount and type of work that they do, with some children preferring to do outside work, others preferring inside work and some refusing to do any work. Nonetheless, farm women noted that there is always work on the farm that needs to be done and someone has to do it; children, whether they want to or not, are often pressed into doing various tasks.

A second limitation with the time diaries arises from the seasonal nature of farm work. Although animals must be fed daily and dairy cattle milked daily, many farmers do not do the same tasks day after day. I tried to compensate for this by having respondents complete time diaries four times during the year, but those activities that are done on a daily basis will be better represented than those activities that are done once or twice each year. Moreover, due to the high drop-out rates with the time diaries, some seasons may be better represented than others. Despite these limitations there are some interesting patterns in the data from the time diaries of farm women, men and youth that add to our understanding of how the responses of Canadian farm families to restructuring are impacting farm families.

Table 5.2 shows the correlations between farm women and men's work and Table 5.3 shows the correlations between farm women and men's work and the work of farm youth. In this analysis, I am assuming that if members of the farm family spent time on the same activity within the same period of time, they are working together in some way. Even though they may be doing the task at different times, the tasks will usually be co-ordinated.

Table 5.2 shows that within this group of farm families, women farmers had the closest association with the work of their spouses as the time they spend at their work correlated highly with the time spent by farm men over most of the farm tasks as well as in child and elder care and leisure. The spouse of one woman farmer commented that he thought he and his wife were a very successful team. Analysis of female, male and youth work combinations showed women farmers did a higher proportion of their farm work tasks

with their spouses and with their spouses and children than the other groups of farm women. As well, some women farmers specialized in managing some part of the farm operation such as breeding pure bred cattle on a dairy operation or overseeing a U-pick operation.

Table 5.2: Correlations of the Work of Farm Women and Farm Men

	Farm Homemakers/ Men	Women Farmers/ Men	Non-farm Working Women / Men	Pluriactive Women/ Men
Farm Field Work	ns	.776**	.414*	ns
Livestock Care	.374*	.794**	.460*	ns
Farm Maintenance	ns	.454**	ns	ns
Farm Processing	ns	ns	ns	ns
Farm Management	ns	.533**	.404*	ns
Household Maintenance	.389*	ns	.395*	ns
Domestic Work	ns	ns	ns	ns
Child Care	ns	.512**	ns	.447*
Elder Care	ns	.905**	ns	.389*
Voluntary Work	ns	ns	ns	ns
Leisure	.639**	.581**	.658**	.570**
Personal Care	ns	ns	.693**	.331*
* p< .05 **p<.01 ns = not significant				

Farm homemakers had a close association with their spouses in time spent in livestock care, household maintenance and leisure. Many of the farm homemakers in this study functioned as a reserve labour force, providing much needed assistance when called on to assist with a variety of farm tasks. These women were doing the farm tasks that have been long associated with women such as feeding livestock and taking time out of their work to pick up a part so the male farmer did not need to interrupt his work on the farm.

Interestingly, the work of non-farm working women was much more closely aligned with their spouses than expected. There are two possible explanations for this. Firstly, there are a large number of families in this category where men were also working off

the farm. In these farm families, work was done after everyone gets home from work or on weekends when family members would work together. Secondly, non-farm working women work the fewest hours on the farm and may have few of their own projects, but may be assisting other family members with their work. Pluriactive women most closely illustrated Leckie's (1996) statement that men and women typically have different tasks, as their time only overlaps in child and elder care, and leisure and personal care activities. These women did a large amount of farm management work, which tended to be solitary.

Table 5.3 shows the correlations of women and men's farm work with the farm work of the youth in their families. The close association of both women and men farmers and the work of male youth is quite striking compared to the lack of association with the work of female youth. Male youth had significant positive correlations with all of the farm work tasks of their fathers with the exception of farm management and with most of the farm work tasks of their mothers. However, female youth had a positive correlation only with the livestock work of their parents. Female youth also had a

	Women/ Female Youth	Women / Male Youth	Men/ Female Youth	Men/ Male Youth
Farm Field Work	ns	.393*	ns	.597**
Livestock Care	.682**	.327*	.693**	.368*
Farm Maintenance	ns	.231*	ns	.432**
Farm Processing	ns	ns	ns	.879**
Farm Management	ns	ns	ns	ns
Household Maintenance	ns	.223*	ns	.320*
Domestic Work	ns	ns	.320*	.413*
Child Care	ns	.326*	.476**	ns
Elder Care	.750**	.255*	.376*	ns
Voluntary Work	ns	.285*	ns	.298*
Leisure	ns	.324*	ns	.432*
Personal Care	ns	.473**	ns	.287*
* p< .05 **p<.01 ns = not significant				

positive correlation with the time spent by their mothers on elder care and a positive correlation with the time spent by their fathers on domestic work, child care and eldercare. Analysis of the work combinations of the three family members shows male youth were significantly more likely to work with their fathers on farm tasks. Table 5.3 gives the impression of male youth working closely with their parents in a variety of areas, while female youth had many fewer occasions to do so in farm work.

In her study of Scottish farm families, Schwartz (2001) argued that the allocation of farm tasks to family members was determined by availability, expertise, and preference but the allocation of tasks generally followed gendered traditions. The first tasks of children on Canadian farms were often helping their parents with livestock work (Brueckner 2004). If their fathers or mothers were working with livestock, children were brought along because it was fun. As children got older, they gradually played a larger and larger role in the livestock work. Schwartz (2001) noted that when children get older and more capable, the boys moved on to work with machinery while the girls remained working with livestock or drifted away from the farm work. Girls typically had a more limited range of opportunities and therefore developed a more limited set of interests related to farming.

Work roles on the farm were linked to farm succession. Schwartz (2001:89) described the process of learning to be a farmer as “[T]he tagging on of the toddler, becomes the gate opening, then the baler driving and the cattle feeding. You learn as you go, you grow into it every day, all day and all year”. Since boys were assumed to be the ones who will take over the farm, it follows that boys were offered the opportunity to learn a wide variety of work tasks. Girls have historically been much less likely to take over the family farm. Consequently, they were often discouraged from learning anything ... beyond the “minimal amount they need to know to provide their labour to the male landowner” (Leckie 1996:310). Schwartz (2001) noted that in general, boys were more likely to show an interest in the farm and that interest was encouraged. She also concluded that boys may show more interest because it was expected of them. On the

other hand, girls had to fight to be recognized. An Ontario farm woman stated in the focus groups:

I think that the fact that girls are not interested has a lot to do with what they are taught and they are taught not to be interested

Commenting on her own experience, a young Saskatchewan woman farmer noted that as a girl:

you are very much taught that [taking over the farm] is not your role. You have brothers and you are not supposed to consider it.

On the basis of the data analysis and the discussion in the concluding focus groups, it is evident that the traditional gender division of labour remains entrenched in the day to day work of many farm families. Male youth were educated into farming from a very young age and progressively take on more and more roles on the farm, working with both their fathers and their mothers in farm work as they learn the skills they need to eventually take over the family farm. Female youth were usually not considered as potential farm successors and their education into farming was not a priority. Female youth worked alongside their parents in a much smaller range of farm work tasks, often focussed on domestic work or livestock work that has long been associated with women. In fact the data presented in Table 5.3 show farm women working on a wider range of farm work roles with sons than with daughters. This finding suggests that the work roles of female youth are often more traditional than the work roles of their mothers.

In the domestic tasks, which included meal preparation and housework, there was no correlation between the time spent by women in these tasks and the time spent by men, female youth or male youth, suggesting women were not working at these tasks with other family members. However, when men worked at domestic tasks, there was a correlation between the time spent by men and the time spent by female and male youth, suggesting that when other family members take on these tasks, they may be working together or co-ordinating their efforts. A young Saskatchewan woman farmer commented on this generational gap in the gender relations of domestic work:

My Dad and I, if I come in and I start making the meal and my Mom is not around, my Dad just assumes and he pitches in to help its just an automatic thing. My Mom does that [starts making a meal] and my Dad is automatically on the recliner.

While women often get drawn into doing heavy manual labour outside, men are less likely to be drawn into housework. One woman in the Ontario focus groups asked:

How easily do women slot into traditional male tasks and how easily do men slot into traditional female roles? I believe it is easier for women to slot into traditional male roles than it is for men to slot into traditional female roles.

Some women noted that if men were doing traditional female tasks, their friends would ask them if their wife was sick, reflecting that their husbands male friends do not support them in doing what are considered female tasks. Leckie (1996) asserted that some of the reluctance of men to take on female roles was based on the status of tasks. Certain tasks have more status than others and the tasks that have traditionally been associated with women have less status than the tasks that have traditionally been associated with men. The following quote from an Ontario woman farmer illustrates the hierarchy of male and female tasks and the desire for women to ‘step beyond borders and raise the bar’ to take on traditional male tasks and the potential dilemma that results.

You know how people talk about well a generation ago or two generations ago how hard they worked. You know I would challenge that, I don't think they worked harder than I did, I really don't. Because I not only did all the domestic work and took care of my kids, but I did more outside because it was more acceptable. I get the work done in the house and I do an incredible amount on the farm and marketing. [Now] that we have stepped beyond borders it is almost now an expectation, I know it is in my family...you know you can drive that tractor and plough that field and harvest that crop and do all that marketing We have risen that bar and we are paying for it. (emphasis added)

However, many women thought things were changing and men were more likely to take on traditional female roles. In childcare and eldercare, the time spent by women farmers and pluriactive women was correlated to the time spent by men, suggesting these groups were sharing these tasks. Similarly, the time spent by women and their sons and men and their daughters were correlated for childcare. It may be that males look to females for support in these traditionally female tasks, whereas females do not look for assistance from other females in the family. Time spent on eldercare was also correlated between women and their children and men and their daughters. This too is a caring task that is more often associated with females, and mothers and daughters may visit an elderly friend or relative together.

The evidence on gendered roles and relations in farm and household work is conflicting. While the overall data analysis showed that traditional gender roles continue to

dominate, it is evident that women farmers were moving into traditional male roles while they continued in their traditional female roles. The discussion from the focus groups suggested that traditions may be slowly changing. The next section of this chapter explores this suggestion by illustrating how the families of the four types of farm women allocate time to their daily tasks, as well as whether families allocate work time differently when the farm men work at a non-farm job as well as on the farm.

5.4 Daily Activities of Farm Women, Men and Youth

Table 5.4 shows the percentage of time spent on various daily activities broken down by the four types of farm women and by male and female youth.¹ In the group of farm families, women spent between 0.6 and 4.6 hours per day working in the farm domain (see Table A3 Appendix A) and between 0.4 and 2.2 hours per day working in farm management. Women farmers spent the most time working on the farm, from 5.1 to 6 hours per day, followed by farm homemakers, pluriactive women and non-farm working women. What sets the women farmers apart from the other groups is that they spend the majority of their working day on farm work choosing to work full time on the farm rather than in the household or in non-farm work. For some farm families, this was a conscious choice as they increased the size of their operation to achieve economies of scale. Farm homemakers spent slightly more time at domestic work than women farmers, followed by pluriactive women and non-farm working women. Non-farm working women were working more hours off the farm than pluriactive women.

The work patterns of the children of these farm women are quite interesting. In the case of the farm homemakers and women farmers who were both working on the farm, the daughters spent 0.7 to 0.9 hours per day and the sons spent 0.6 to 0.7 hours per day on domestic tasks. It was notable that although these women farmers have taken on a significant level of farm work, there was no lessening of their domestic work. It appears that as long as the woman is present on the farm during the day, the domestic tasks will

¹ The time in hours for these categories is presented in Tables A.3 and A.4 in Appendix A.

Table 5.4: Percentage of Time Spent on Daily Activities													
	% of the task						% of the person's day						
	% Farm Domain	% Household domain	% Management Domain	% Personal & Entertainment	% Non-farm Work	% Education		% Farm Domain	% Household domain	% Management Domain	% Personal & Entertainment	% Non-farm Work	% Education
Farm Homemakers / Female Youth													
Average Females	13	65	52	33	52	0		4	20	9	60	2	0
Average Males	69	25	47	30	0	0		24	8	8	55	0	0
Average Female Youth	18	10	1	37	48	100		6	3	0	68	2	18
Farm Homemakers / Male Youth													
Average Females	21	69	37	31	0	0		7	25	3	57	0	0
Average Males	63	23	54	33	48	3		22	8	5	60	3	1
Average Male Youth	16	8	9	36	52	97		6	3	1	65	3	19
Women Farmers / Female Youth													
Average Females	30	68	43	33	5	0		16	23	5	52	0	0
Average Males	52	21	51	31	66	0		27	7	6	49	2	0
Average Female Youth	17	12	6	36	29	100		9	4	1	57	1	20
Women Farmers / Male Youth													
Average Females	32	77	42	32	8	0		19	20	6	53	1	0
Average Males	53	14	55	31	52	1		32	4	8	51	4	0
Average Male Youth	15	10	3	37	40	99		9	3	0	61	3	22
Non-farm Working Women / Female Youth													
Average Females	29	61	36	31	38	0		9	22	2	47	13	0
Average Males	66	23	55	28	55	0		20	8	3	43	19	0
Average Female Youth	5	17	8	41	7	100		1	6	0	61	2	22
Non-farm Working Women / Male Youth													
Average Females	9	66	19	32	65	2		3	21	2	51	18	0
Average Males	66	26	67	31	20	0		25	8	6	50	6	0
Average Male Youth	25	7	14	37	15	98		9	2	1	59	4	19
Pluriactive Women / Female Youth													
Average Females	7	60	49	33	63	2		2	24	5	55	8	0
Average Males	83	23	48	31	25	0		29	9	5	53	3	0
Average Female Youth	10	18	3	36	12	98		4	7	0	61	2	21
Pluriactive Women / Male Youth													
Average Females	18	72	35	31	38	5		7	24	4	48	9	1
Average Males	58	21	57	32	44	1		23	7	7	48	10	0
Average Male Youth	23	7	9	37	18	95		9	2	1	56	4	20

fall to her. However, as table 5.4 indicates, when the farm women were working off the farm, the percentage of time spent on domestic work by their daughters increased although it did not change for their sons. Evidently, it is not until the farm women are working off the farm that other family members, most often the female youth, will take over some of those duties.

The presence of the mother on the farm has other important implications for work. Female youth were doing the most farm work on farms where their mothers were classed as women farmers, followed by those farms where their mothers were classed as farm homemakers illustrating the importance of working alongside their mothers who have significant roles to play on the farm. In both situations, the female youth were doing more farm work than domestic work and the bulk of this work was in livestock care where they may be working with their mothers or their fathers or both. As noted in Table A3, the work of male youth was lowest on the farms with farm homemakers at 1.3 hours per day and ranged between 2.2 and 2.3 hours per day for households with women farmers, non-farm working women and pluriactive women.

Figure 5.1 shows a 24 hour time trace for a family that included a woman farmer, her husband and daughter on a dairy operation. The figure indicates that the woman farmer was working alongside her spouse and her daughter throughout the morning, feeding and milking livestock, and haying. The three family members diverged during the afternoon when the daughter went to school, the woman worked on accounting (farm management) and the male farmer transported feed and cleaned barns. They came back together in the late afternoon for another session of milking and feeding. The woman left earlier than the others to make supper. After supper, the woman farmer did dishes, the daughter did school work and the male farmer did some farm management work (letter writing). They had about an hour of leisure time and went to bed. This diagram illustrates the woman farmer working alongside her spouse and daughter for significant parts of the day, but also having tasks that are different. The woman farmer also did all of the domestic work on this day.



Figure 5.1 Time Diagram: Woman Farmer, Male Youth

Figure 5.2 shows a time diagram of a farm homemaker with a female youth on a potato farm. This farm had a number of hired hands and the farm homemaker worked mostly in the house and did the farm books. Although the farm homemaker did the farm books, she was not working alongside her husband as he spent his time on truck maintenance during the day and did some farm management work in the evening when his spouse was doing volunteer work. The youth did not do any farm work on this day, but she did help make supper after school and playing ringette. The mother and daughter spent time together in household work and the father and daughter spent time together in leisure time.

As Table 5.4 illustrates, in the households of farm homemakers, farm women were contributing approximately 16 percent of the time the family unit spent on farm work; farm men were contributing approximately 66 percent; and the youth were contributing the other approximately 18 percent with little difference between male and female

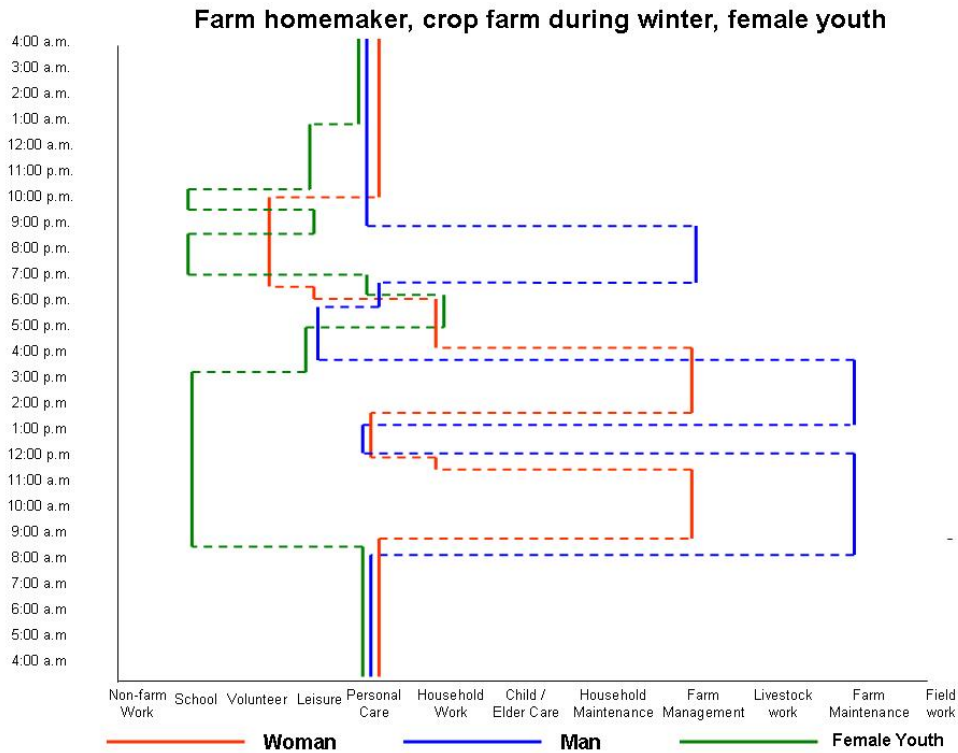


Figure 5.2 Time Diagram: Farm Homemaker, Female Youth

youth. In households with women farmers, farm women were contributing about 31 percent of the time spent on farm work; farm men were contributing approximately 53 percent; and the farm youth contributed about 16 percent, again with little difference between male and female youth. In cases where women were working on the farms, the contributions of youth to domestic work ranged from 8 percent to 10 percent for male youth and 10 percent to 12 percent for female youth.

Where the farm women were working off the farm, the daughters were doing more domestic work than farm work, filling in for their mothers in the household rather than working on the farm. In a related study to this one, Brueckner (2004) pointed out that 83 percent of youth said they were called on to contribute more to the farm household when their mothers worked off the farm, while only 63 percent said they had to contribute more when their fathers worked off the farm.

In the households of non-farm working women and pluriactive women, there was considerable variation in the farm work that women were doing. As Table 5.4 indicates, in the groups where large numbers of men were working at non-farm jobs as well as the women (non-farm working women with female youth and pluriactive women with male youth), women's farm work contributions were higher. In the groups where fewer men were working off the farm, the percentage of the farm work done by women was less. In both groups where women were working off the farm, the male youth contributed 23 percent to 25 percent of the farm work, but the female youth contributed only 5 percent to 10 percent of farm work, reflecting their greater roles in the household. In terms of the percentages of work that the youth contributed, mothers working off the farm had an impact on the percentage of the farm work male youth were contributing to the farm. Where women were working off the farm, their spouses' contributions to domestic work ranged from 21 percent to 26 percent. This proportion is quite similar to the percentage of time they spent on domestic work when their spouses were not working off the farm and illustrates the reluctance of men to take on 'women's work'.

Figure 5.3 shows a time diagram of a non-farm working woman on a grain/cattle operation in Saskatchewan. This non-farm working woman has a professional career and the man works at two non-farm jobs, both part-time. On this day, the woman gets up and makes breakfast, cleans up the kitchen, gets ready for work and spends the day at work. At lunch she runs errands and in the late afternoon, goes to a parent-teacher interview with her daughter. She then attends a meeting of an organization of which she is a board member from 5p.m. to 9 p.m. She drives home, has supper, reads the newspaper, gets ready for bed and goes to sleep. During this day, the male is working at non-farm work but does farm related work before work and at noon. In the late afternoon he hauls hay to feed cattle. He also helps out quite a bit in the house as he makes supper, cleans the kitchen and the stove. The female youth is not in school this day. She sleeps until 11 a.m., gets dressed and has lunch. She studies in afternoon and plans sports activities. She works with her father to make supper, practices her sport in the evening, reads and goes to bed. This time diagram illustrates the way the male farmer fits agricultural work into his day around the non-farm work that he is doing. It

sons, came in for lunch and then went back to working on the barn door with both sons. They took a break around 4p.m. to see how the farm woman was doing putting up the Christmas lights. They then went back to the barn, where the cows had escaped through the open barn door and everyone was called in to round them up. The male farmer then took a load of hay to the other farm to feed the cows. He came home for supper, ate and

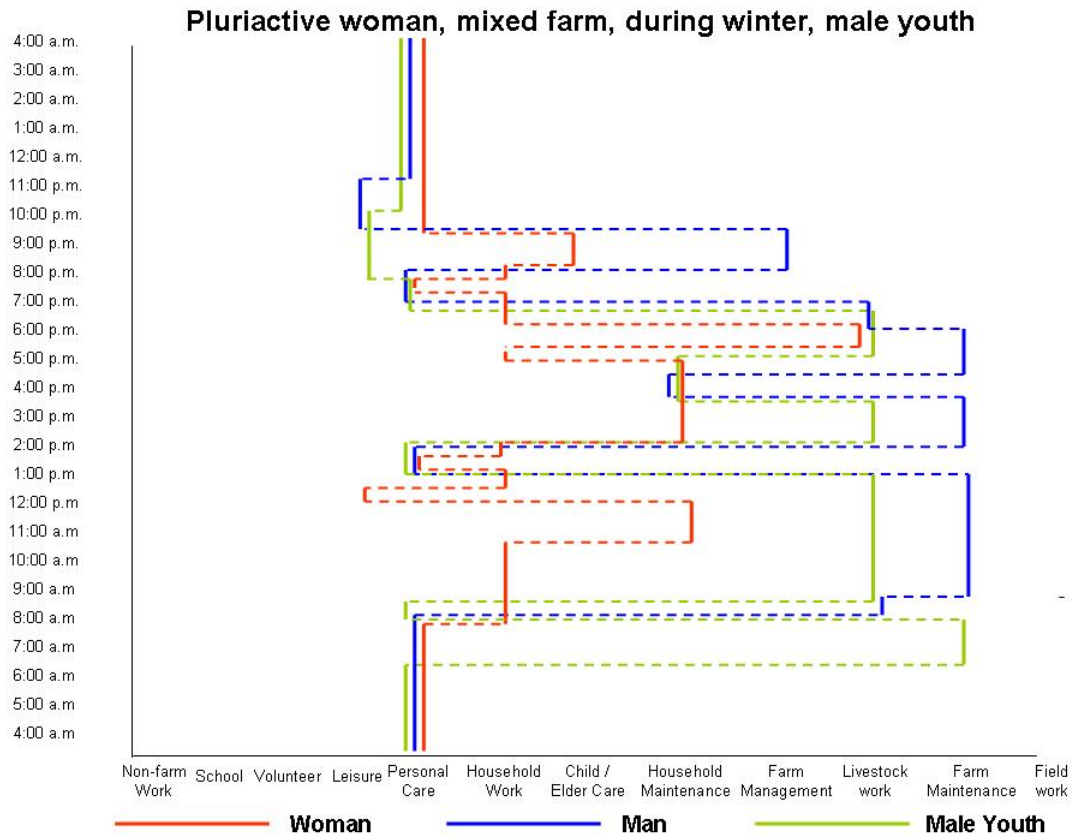


Figure 5.4 Time Diagram: Pluriactive Woman, Male Youth.

chatted with his family. He then left to go to and talk with the carpenter, came home, relaxed and fell asleep in his chair. The male youth started his day at his grandparent's farm, cleaning the barn yard and spreading manure. In late morning he drove the tractor home and started to help his father and brother in the barn. He had lunch, went back to work on the barn, then went to help his mother put up Christmas lights. In the late afternoon, he went to chase cows with everyone else, went with his father to haul hay to the other farm, came in for supper, watched TV and then showered and went to bed. This time diagram illustrates the farm woman moving between household, household

maintenance and farm work, and both parents working with their children. It also illustrates the interaction of the extended family in farming.

5.4.1 Male Farmers Working On Farm and Non-farm

It is evident from the previous discussion that whether or not the male farmer worked at a non-farm job impacted the allocation of work time within the farm family household. Table 5.5 shows the correlations between women, female youth, male youth and farm men working on the farm, while Table 5.6 shows the correlations between women, female youth, male youth and farm men working both on the farm and at a non-farm job.

Farm type did make a difference to whether or not a male farmer worked at a non-farm job. Ninety percent of cattle farmers, and 71 percent of grain farmers, in this smaller group of families, were working at a non-farm job. Dairy (17%), small livestock (0%) and vegetable farmers (0%) were less likely to work at a non-farm job. Forty-three percent of mixed farmers were working at a non-farm job. Women were also more likely to be working at a non-farm job when men were working at a non-farm job.

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show that when men were working only on the farm, there were more significant correlations of time spent working at farm tasks between women and men and women and youth. When men were working at a non-farm job, there were more significant correlations for men with the work of male youth suggesting that when men work at a non-farm job, the work relationship between men and their sons becomes somewhat more important.

	Women/ Men	Women/ Female Youth	Women / Male Youth	Men/ Female Youth	Men/ Male Youth
Farm Field Work	.461**	ns	.762**	ns	.534**
Livestock Care	.533**	.859**	.392*	.779**	ns
Farm Maintenance	.282**	ns	.231	ns	.551**
Farm Processing	ns	ns	ns	ns	.447**
Farm Management	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Household Maintenance	.357*	ns	.308*	ns	.304*
Domestic Work	-.218*	ns	ns	ns	.491**
Child Care	.256*	ns	ns	.655**	ns
Elder Care	.207*	.797**	ns	ns	ns
Voluntary Work	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Leisure	.659**	ns	ns	ns	ns
Personal Care	.383**	ns	.341*	ns	ns
* p< .05 **p<.01 ns = not significant					

	Women/ Men	Women/ Female Youth	Women / Male Youth	Men/ Female Youth	Men/ Male Youth
Farm Field Work	.231*	ns	ns	ns	.721**
Livestock Care	.389**	ns	ns	.469*	.499**
Farm Maintenance	ns	ns	.313*	.548**	.453**
Farm Processing	ns	ns	ns	ns	.902**
Farm Management	.242*	ns	ns	ns	ns
Household Maintenance	.375**	ns	ns	ns	.344*
Domestic Work	ns	ns	.289*	.421*	.389**
Child Care	.408**	ns	.433**		ns
Elder Care	.762**	.840**	ns	.786**	ns
Voluntary Work	.248*	ns	.538**	ns	.405**
Leisure	.674**	ns	ns	ns	.585**
Personal Care	.513**	ns	ns	ns	.553**
* p< .05 **p<.01 ns = not significant					

Table 5.7 shows the percentage of the family's time spent and the percentage of the person's day spent on particular activities.² The table is grouped based on whether the male or female farmer worked at a non-farm job and whether the youth respondent was male or female. Men working at a non-farm job spent between 4.4 and 6.8 hours per day working on farm tasks while men who did not work at a non-farm job spent 5.9 to 8.0 hours per day working in the farm domain. Women who worked at a non-farm job spent fewer hours working in the farm domain than women who did not work at a non-farm job. When women were working on the farm, the hours of work and the percentage of time devoted by youth to the farm domain varied little regardless of whether the male farmer was working at a non-farm job or not. In these family groups, farm women were doing 20 percent to 27 percent of the farm work and played a fairly large role in farm management. The youth were contributing between 14 percent and 18 percent of the farm work and a small proportion of the farm management work. Similarly in the household domain, male youth were contributing eight percent to nine percent of the work and female youth were contributing 11 percent of the household work. There was no pattern to the male contributions to household work in the group of families where women were not working at a non-farm job and I have previously noted that as long as farm women were working on the farm, they appeared to be responsible for domestic work regardless of what other work they are doing.

When women were working at a non-farm job, the work demands on female youth were impacted significantly. Although there was little difference in the work patterns of the male and female youth when the women were working on the farm, when the women were working at a non-farm job, female youth work patterns become differentiated along traditional gender lines. The female youths' farm work decreased while their household work increased. When women were working at a non-farm job, male youths' work in the farm domain did not change, but when both parents were working off the farm, the demands on male youth to assist with farm work were much higher. When the

² The time in hours for these categories is presented in Tables A.5 and A.6 in Appendix A.

Table 5.7 : Percentage of Time Spent on Farm Family Activities: Women and Men Working On and Non-farm, Female and Male Youth												
	% of family time spent on activities						% of person's day spent on activities					
	% Farm Domain	% Household domain	% Management Domain	% Personal & Entertainment	% Non-farm Work	% Education	% Farm Domain	% Household domain	% Management Domain	% Personal & Entertainment	% Non-farm Work	% Education
Women working on the farm, Men working on and Non-farm; Male Youth												
Average female	27	74	27	30	5	0	10	26	3	54	0	0
Average males	55	18	65	33	66	1	21	6	6	59	7	0
Average Male Youth	18	8	8	37	30	99	7	3	1	66	3	19
Women working on farm; Men working on farm; Male Youth												
Average female	26	69	50	33	0	0	14	23	6	56	0	0
Average males	60	22	46	32	0	3	32	7	6	54	0	1
Average Male Youth	14	9	4	35	100	97	7	3	1	60	3	22
Women working on the farm, Men working on and Non-farm; Female Youth												
Average female	20	58	60	34	1	0	9	20	11	58	0	0
Average males	63	31	37	30	72	0	28	11	7	50	4	0
Average Female Youth	17	11	3	36	27	100	7	4	1	60	2	18
Women working on farm; Men working on farm; Female Youth												
Average female	28	72	33	32	54	0	13	23	4	53	1	0
Average males	54	17	62	31	0	0	24	6	7	51	0	0
Average Female Youth	18	11	4	37	46	100	8	3	1	62	1	20
Women working on and Non-farm, Men working on and Non-farm; Male Youth												
Average female	9	72	19	33	46	6	3	22	2	50	17	1
Average males	58	21	65	31	40	0	19	7	7	48	15	0
Average Male Youth	33	7	17	36	14	94	11	2	2	55	5	18
Women working on and Non-farm, Men working on farm; Male Youth												
Average female	16	66	36	31	81	0	7	22	4	50	13	0
Average males	67	27	59	32	0	0	30	9	6	52	0	0
Average Male Youth	17	7	5	37	19	99	8	2	1	61	3	20
Women working on and Non-farm, Men working on and Non-farm; Female Youth												
Average female	26	57	36	32	41	0	7	20	2	50	15	0
Average males	65	26	55	29	50	0	18	9	3	46	18	0
Average Female Youth	9	17	9	39	9	100	3	6	0	62	3	20
Women working on and Non-farm, Men working on farm; Female Youth												
Average female	8	65	50	32	98	2	3	28	6	51	3	1
Average males	86	18	48	31	1	0	34	8	5	50	0	0
Average Female Youth	6	17	2	37	1	98	3	7	0	59	0	24

mother was not working off the farm, the demands on the work time of male youth did not change a great deal even when their fathers worked off the farm.

Drawing from the time diaries of 67 farm families which recorded the time the family members spent on their daily activities over 804 days, I have shown that farm family members make a major contribution to work on Canadian family farms. This analysis supports Wallace et al. (1994) in their statement that children in farming families contribute to farm work. It also shows the flexibility of the farm family labour force as “an interactive economic and social unit” as various family members adjust their on farm work to the non-farm work commitments of family members (Wallace et al.1994). The analysis lends strong support to the statements concerning agriculture in other industrialized counties on the importance of the family for the continuance of the farm (Alston 1998; Whatmore 1991a; Shortall 1992; and Friedmann 1978).

5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I explored how different combinations of on and non-farm work has affected the gender and generational work relations within the agrifamily household. The first analysis explored whether gender or generation was the main factor in determining the work roles of farm women, men, female youth and male youth. I found that despite the changes noted in Chapter Four, agriculture remains a highly gendered work environment. Male farmers and their sons remain more likely than females to be engaged in many of the traditional farm field work roles and farm maintenance work roles as part of their regular duties. Traditional female work tasks such as farm household tasks continued to be dominated by farm women and their daughters. This gendered division of labour persists even for women farmers who have made the farm their primary work site providing support for the contention that domestic work does not diminish even when women’s workloads increased. Farm women must be working off the farm before their domestic work lessens and even then it is predominantly taken over by their daughters.

Traditional gender differentiation of tasks appears to be more rigid for youth than for their parents, and there is not yet evidence of a gradual weakening of gender roles among the youth. As this gender differentiation is learned by youth, it is likely that traditional work roles in many areas of farming will persist for some time. In this chapter, I also explored whether the work roles that farm women have adopted have had an impact on the work roles of their husbands and children and the resulting gender relations in the family. In previous chapters I have noted that many farm women have moved away from the traditional role of the farm homemaker to focus on farming as women farmers identifying as equal partners on the farm; or to work at careers and non-farm jobs that afford them their own income and identity. These strategies appear to have a major impact on gender relations on the farm. The household response strategies farm women and men choose feed back to have an impact on their children's farm work roles. Women whose work priorities are on the farm are important role models for their children as they learn how to farm. As Leckie (1996) has stated, this is especially important for female youth and is evident as female youth contribute the most time to farm and farm management work when their mothers have taken on the role of women farmers working in partnership with their spouses. Farm homemakers, although they tend to underplay their roles in farm work, also spend significant amounts of time working at farm tasks. Female youth do more farm work when their mothers work on the farm, than when their mothers have non-farm jobs. When farm women are working at non-farm jobs, they are less present to act as role models for their daughters as well as to perform household tasks. In these groups of families, there was a significant decrease in the amount of time female youth spent working on the farm and their work shifted into the household domain reinforcing traditional female work roles. This disengagement of female youth from the farm work when their mothers work off the farm may reduce the number of young women who consider farming as a career option just at the time when agriculture is gradually opening up to women.

The strategies of women are also significant when men are working at non-farm work. If farm men are working at non-farm work and farm women remain working on the farm, the roles of farm youth change little. However, when the farm woman and the

farm man were working at non-farm work, the demands on male youth for farm work increased substantially and the work of female youth shifts into the household domain.

The analysis in this chapter further illustrates the agrifamily household model by exploring how the changing work roles that farm women and men have adopted in response to prevailing economic, political, and social structures impact gender/work roles and relations in the farm household. It is evident that the roles adopted by women are especially important in determining the roles of their female and male children both in farm work and in household work. The strategy in some Canadian farm families has been for the farm woman to take on larger and more equal roles on the farm. The impact of this strategy is to weaken the traditional gendered division of labour to some extent although the sharing of domestic work lags behind the sharing of farm work. These women are important role models for their children as they have more decision making power and are more likely to support their daughters in farm succession thus supporting a non-traditional set of gender relations. Conversely, for the majority of farm families where the strategy has been for farm women to seek non-farm work, the effect on gender relations in the household appears to be an entrenchment of the traditional division of labour for female youth on the farm even though their mothers play a larger role in major decisions on the farm, also supporting a changing set of gender relations, but, with some traditional characteristics.

In Chapter Six I examine the decision making process through which farm women and men respond to agricultural restructuring. In this chapter, I look at the factors that influence participation in decision making for the four groups of farm women and for farm men. This leads to an analysis of the gender and power relations that result. I also explore the specific roles farm women and men play in decision making processes.

CHAPTER 6: DECISION MAKING IN THE AGRIFAMILY HOUSEHOLD

Farm families make a significant number of decisions on a regular basis that have a major impact on the direction and success of the farm operation. These range from day-to-day production and investment decisions to decisions on the activities of family members and decisions about the future of the farm operation. Decision making is the primary process guiding the response of the agrifamily household to structural change and it is important to know what determines the roles farm women and men play in decision making processes. The conviction with which farm women in our focus groups directed my attention to the ever increasing number and complexity of major critical decisions that had to be made on their farms suggested that decision making was an important area to understand. As well, there has been very little research in industrialized countries that looks at decision making within the farm household and that recognizes that members of the household have different interests and roles to play in decision making.

In this chapter, I will examine decision-making processes within Canadian agrifamily households. I will specifically address the research questions: What roles do farm family members play in decision making on farms and what factors are important in determining those roles? In this Chapter, I argue that the changing work roles of farm women and men have resulted in changing decision making roles and changing gender and power relations within the agrifamily household. These changes have come about as women play larger roles in providing capital and labour to the farm household and men play larger roles in what has traditionally been considered household work. As well, I argue that decision making extends well beyond the male farmer in the agrifamily household. Farm women play significant and sometimes dominant roles in decision making and decision making includes input from children and extended family as well as selected members of the community.

In the first part of the chapter I explore the gender roles and gender relations of farm women and men in decision making. I then discuss the characteristics that influence participation in decision making for farm women and men and the gender relations that result. The second part of the chapter explores the process of decision making beginning with the initiation of a decision, the participants in the decision, the specific roles people played in decision making and the participants in the final decision.

6.1 Changes in Decision Making

The discussions in the focus groups were supported by the questionnaire responses about changes in decision making on their farm over the past 5 years. Sixty-four percent of women and 71 percent of men indicated some change. Women responding to the questionnaire felt they were making more decisions (19%) and more critical decisions (22%) than they had five years ago. Some women also felt they were more involved in decision making through more joint decisions (12%) and that their opinions were valued more (5%). The varied experiences of the farm families in the study were also evident as 8 percent commented that fewer people were involved in decision making now than previously, while 5 percent commented that more people were currently involved in decision making. Thirty six percent of the women thought that there had been no change in decision making on their farm.

The most common response from men regarding the changes in decision making was that 35 percent felt they were making more critical decisions than they were 5 years ago. Twenty percent felt they were making more decisions and 4 percent stated they were making more management decisions. However, 29 percent of men thought there had been not any change in decision making over the past 5 years. Men also indicated more people were involved in decision making (13%) and that there was now more participation by their children in decision making (15%). On the other hand, 9 percent of men thought fewer people were involved in decision making than 5 years ago,

	Women	Men
There are more critical decisions	22%	35%
There are more decisions	19%	20%
There are more management decisions	1%	4%
There is more joint decision making	12%	3%
My opinions are valued more	5%	1%
My children participate more	16%	15%
More people are involved in decision making	5%	13%
Fewer people are involved in decision making	8%	9%
No change	36%	29%

perhaps reflecting the withdrawal of their parents from decision making. As Table 6.1 illustrates, women were more likely than men to note an increase in their participation in decision making through more joint decision making and having their opinions valued more. Whereas men commented on the increasingly critical nature of decision making more frequently than women.

6.2 Farm and Household Decision Making

As I noted in Chapter Two, decision making in farm families varies with family and farm characteristics, and types of decisions. Research in economics and sociology has suggested that gender roles, power relations between couples, the resources that family members control, work roles on the farm and family ideology will all influence the decision making of agrifamily households and their subsequent responses to structural change. Past research on farm family decision making has explored both farm women and men's roles in decision making but focused solely on the decision event, while research that explores decision making as a process, has treated the farmer as the sole or major decision maker. In this chapter, I have incorporated the best of both of these approaches in order to identify the full range of participants and roles in decision making and create a much more detailed understanding of the decision making process, including the roles played by various participants, the factors affecting those roles, and

how these roles and factors affect agrifamily household response strategies. As Qualls (1987) noted, changes in attitudes and gender roles will likely affect the ways people interact in decision making.

6.3 Methodology

Rickson (1997) suggested that decision-making research would benefit from methodologies that would determine who had the most influence over specific decisions about selected events and activities on the farm. Women, men and youth on the farm may have particular roles in decision making determined by variables such as the goals of the household, the gender relations in the family and the roles of family members on and off the farm; and those roles may determine the outcomes of decisions. Thus, research into farm family decision making should examine the roles of all members of the farm family as well as the processes of decision making.

A total of 269 adult respondents including 60 wife / husband couples replied to the questionnaire which focused on decision making. A standard decision-making table replicating previous methods (Rosenfeld 1985) was used to ask respondents who in their family made the decision for each of a number of decisions. These decisions were chosen to represent a range of decision types, including decisions on crops and livestock; marketing; crop, farm and livestock insurance; the purchase or sale of land; major farm equipment purchases; major home purchases; recreation and family holidays; children's activities, and children's education. Respondents were given the choice of whether they were the sole decision maker on that issue, if the decisions were made mostly by them, if the decisions were equally shared, if the decisions were made mostly by their spouse, or whether the decisions were made solely by their spouse.

6.4 Decision Making by Farm Women and Men

Table 6.2 shows the percentages of responses of the female respondents to questions regarding who made decisions in each of these areas on their farms. Women indicated that decision making was definitely split between females and males, with male respondents more likely to make decisions either alone or mostly in areas of crop and

livestock, marketing and insurance. Women were more likely than men to report higher rates of equality in the farm focused decisions. They reported lower levels of joint decision making in decisions on children’s activities and education. In these areas, women saw themselves as the main or sole decision maker much more often than they saw their spouse as the main or sole decision maker.

Women	Me Only	Mostly Me	Equal	Mostly my Spouse	My Spouse Only	Someone Else
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Crop/Livestock Decision (n=137)	2.2	4.3	31.2	44.9	14.5	2.9
Marketing Decision (n=136)	3.7	2.2	28.7	40.4	17.6	7.4
Insurance Decisions (n=136)	2.2	2.9	38.3	32.1	21.2	2.9
Land Purchase/Sale Decisions (n=135)	3.7	0.7	72.1	13.2	6.6	3.7
Farm Purchase Decisions (n=138)	2.2	0.7	65.5	23.7	5.8	2.2
Home Purchase Decisions (n=139)	6.4	22.9	68.6	1.4	0.0	0.7
Recreation Decisions (n=132)	4.5	21.8	69.2	2.3	0.8	1.5
Children’s Activities Decisions (n=108)	3.7	39.4	49.5	0.9	0.9	5.5
Children’s Education Decisions (n=110)	1.8	19.8	68.5	0.9	0.0	9.0

Male respondents reported a very similar pattern of decision making (Table 6.3), although they felt women had less involvement in the farm related decisions than was reported by the female respondents. Men were less likely to be the sole decision maker but still reported that they were the major decision makers in major farm purchases and the purchase or sale of land. In the five areas of decision making most closely related to the farm, few male respondents felt women made the decisions mostly or solely. The male respondents felt women were more likely than men to make decisions on major home purchases, recreation, children’s activities and children’s education, however men were more likely to see the decisions as mostly made by their spouse rather than only made by their spouse. The majority of the men felt decisions were being made jointly in the land and major farm purchase decisions as well as in the household, recreation and child related decisions.

Table 6.3 Decision Making Reported by Men on the Study Farms						
Men	Me Only	Mostly Me	Equal	Mostly My Spouse	My Spouse Only	Someone Else
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Crop/Livestock Decision (n=127)	32.3	37.0	22.8	0.0	0.0	7.9
Marketing Decision (n=124)	36.3	29.8	25.8	1.6	0.0	6.5
Insurance Decisions (n=123)	37.4	22.8	34.1	0.8	0.0	4.9
Land Purchase/Sale Decisions (n=115)	13.0	13.0	69.6	0.0	0.0	4.3
Farm Purchase Decisions (n=126)	13.5	19.8	61.1	0.8	0.0	4.8
Home Purchase Decisions (n=126)	2.4	2.4	65.9	27.8	1.6	0.0
Recreation Decisions (n=125)	2.4	4.0	68.8	22.4	0.8	1.6
Children's Activities Decisions (n=96)	1.0	1.0	62.5	29.2	2.1	4.2
Children's Education Decisions (n=96)	2.1	0.0	80.2	11.5	1.0	5.2

These findings indicate that decision making on farms continues to display the same general patterns suggested decades ago in research on American farm families conducted by Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1967), Sawyer (1973) and Wilkening (1981) with men playing a larger role in farm production decisions and women playing a larger role in household and child related decisions. Significant purchases such as land and farm machinery have a high proportion of joint decision making as do decisions regarding the household and children. Compared with Rosenfeld's (1985) research findings from the United States, women in this study appear to have more influence in decision making across all decisions. The levels of women's input into decision making are very similar to those reported as preliminary results by Sachs (2003) in a major American study of farm women conducted in 2002.

When I analyzed only the 60 wives and husbands from the same families who filled out the decision-making questionnaire, Chi square analysis indicated no statistically significant difference between women and men in their perceptions about who makes the decision in their household on these issues. The lack of statistical significance

despite the similar trend in numbers in the analysis of all the respondents to the decision making questionnaire is likely due to the smaller sample size.

Although the overall patterns remain similar to those of forty years ago in the U.S.A., some groups of farm women are taking on a significantly larger role in decision making than other groups. Previous research in a wide range of fields has shown that traditional family ideology characterized by specialization on the basis of gender roles; power differences between spouses based on wealth, income, education, and earning power; involvement in farm tasks or productivity in household (and farm) production; farm size; and women's self identity were all factors that have been found to influence decision making.

6.4.1 Women and Farm Decisions

The decisions in Tables 6.2 and 6.3 were sorted into three groups which showed high rates of inter-correlation ($p \leq .05$). The first group included those decisions most closely related to the farm operation - crop and livestock production decisions, marketing decisions and insurance decisions. In these decisions men were clearly the predominant decision makers. The second group included land transactions and farm equipment purchases, both of which showed high levels of joint decision making, although men were more dominant than women. The third group included the household, recreation and child related decisions which again showed a high rate of joint decision making, but women were dominant.

In the first group of decisions most closely related to the farm operation, women were rarely involved exclusively or mainly as the decision makers. The few women who were making these decisions mostly or solely on their own were more likely to be women who owned their own land and had a strong identification with being a farmer. Identity as a factor was also evident as higher levels of joint decision making were found on farm operations where women identified themselves as a joint operator of the farm

operation. There were also statistically significant differences between the four groups of farm women identified in Chapter 4 on crop/livestock and marketing decisions.¹

Tables 6.4 to 6.7 show the involvement of farm homemakers, women farmers, pluriactive women and non-farm working women in decision making. Women farmers had a very high level of involvement in these decisions with over 55 percent having input into each of these decisions. Pluriactive women were also quite involved, whereas non-farm working women reported very little involvement with these day-to-day farm decisions. Farm homemakers reported somewhat higher levels of joint crop / livestock decisions but were still lower than women farmers and pluriactive women who appeared to have a stronger connection to the daily farm operations.

The work roles of women on the farm were also significantly related to their involvement in decision making.² Women who reported higher levels of input into crop and livestock decisions were doing more farm field work, livestock care, farm

Women	Me Only	Mostly Me	Equal	Mostly my Spouse	My Spouse Only	Someone Else
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Crop/Livestock Decisions (n=21)	0.0	0.0	28.6	38.1	23.8	9.5
Marketing Decisions (n=22)	0.0	0.0	27.3	27.3	31.8	13.6
Insurance Decisions (n=22)	0.0	0.0	40.9	27.3	27.3	4.5
Land Purchase/Sale Decisions (n=21)	0.0	0.0	61.9	28.6	4.8	4.8
Farm Purchase Decisions (n=22)	0.0	0.0	59.1	31.8	9.1	0.0
Home Purchase Decisions (n=23)	0.0	8.7	87.0	4.3	0.0	0.0
Recreation Decisions (n=22)	9.1	22.7	59.1	4.5	0.0	4.5
Children's Activities Decisions (n=17)	11.8	29.4	41.2	5.9	0.0	11.8
Children's Education Decisions (n=17)	0.0	11.8	76.5	5.9	0.0	5.9

¹ Chi square ≤ 0.05

² ANOVA ≤ 0.05

Women	Me Only	Mostly Me	Equal	Mostly my Spouse	My Spouse Only	Someone Else
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Crop/Livestock Decisions (n=48)	4.2	10.4	43.8	35.4	4.2	2.1
Marketing Decisions (n=47)	8.5	4.3	42.6	27.7	6.4	10.6
Insurance Decisions (n=48)	4.2	4.2	50.0	25.0	14.6	2.1
Land Purchase/Sale Decisions (n=46)	6.5	2.2	78.3	4.3	4.3	4.3
Farm Purchase Decisions (n=48)	2.1	2.1	72.9	18.8	2.1	2.1
Home Purchase Decisions (n=48)	10.4	16.7	70.8	0.0	0.0	2.1
Recreation Decisions (n=43)	2.3	18.6	74.4	2.3	2.3	0.0
Children's Activities Decisions (n=34)	0.0	64.7	32.4	0.0	2.9	0.0
Children's Education Decisions (n=34)	2.9	26.5	67.6	0.0	0.0	2.9

Women	Me Only	Mostly Me	Equal	Mostly my Spouse	My Spouse Only	Someone Else
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Crop/Livestock Decisions (n=36)	0.0	0.0	11.1	55.6	30.6	2.8
Marketing Decisions (n=36)	0.0	0.0	11.1	52.8	33.3	2.8
Insurance Decisions (n=34)	2.9	0.0	14.7	38.2	41.2	2.9
Land Purchase/Sale Decisions (n=36)	0.0	0.0	72.2	13.9	13.9	0.0
Farm Purchase Decisions (n=36)	0.0	0.0	61.1	27.8	11.1	0.0
Home Purchase Decisions (n=36)	0.0	38.9	58.3	2.8	0.0	0.0
Recreation Decisions (n=35)	5.7	37.1	54.3	2.9	0.0	0.0
Children's Activities Decisions (n=31)	3.2	35.5	58.1	0.0	0.0	3.2
Children's Education Decisions (n=32)	0.0	18.8	68.8	0.0	0.0	12.5

Table 6.7 Decision Making Reported by Pluriactive Women on the Study Farms						
Women	Me Only	Mostly Me	Equal	Mostly my Spouse	My Spouse Only	Someone Else
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Crop/Livestock Decisions (n=32)	3.1	3.1	37.5	50.0	6.3	0.0
Marketing Decisions (n=31)	3.2	3.2	29.0	54.8	6.5	3.2
Insurance Decisions (n=32)	3.1	3.1	43.8	40.6	6.3	3.1
Land Purchase/Sale Decisions (n=32)	6.3	0.0	71.9	15.6	3.1	3.1
Farm Purchase Decisions (n=32)	6.3	0.0	65.6	21.9	3.1	3.1
Home Purchase Decisions (n=32)	12.5	25.0	62.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Recreation Decisions (n=32)	3.1	9.4	84.4	0.0	0.0	3.1
Children's Activities Decisions (n=26)	3.8	19.2	65.4	0.0	0.0	11.5
Children's Education Decisions (n=27)	3.7	18.5	63.0	0.0	0.0	14.8

maintenance, farm management and total farm work. Higher levels of input on marketing decisions were linked to higher levels of farm field work, livestock care, farm processing, farm management and total farm work. Higher levels of input on insurance decisions were linked to higher levels of farm field work, farm management and total farm work and lower levels of farm household work.

Farm women's experience and knowledge was a significant factor in determining joint decision making in day to day farm decision making.³ Women whose fathers had farmed and women who had lived on the farm the longest had higher than expected rates of equal participation in crop/livestock and insurance decision making. This relationship of knowledge about farming was also suggested by more equal decision making being positively related to the number of generations a women's family had farmed.

³ ANOVA $p \leq 0.05$

The role of tradition was evident when equal decision making was more common than expected for those women whose families had only farmed one generation. This finding may reflect the decision-making expectations of women who were not caught up in the patriarchal tradition of farming. Similarly, women whose spouses' families had farmed only one generation had higher than expected rates of equal decision making. On the other hand, women whose spouses had lived on a farm the longest and women whose spouse's families had farmed more than four generations were more likely to report that the day to day farm decisions were made solely or mostly by their spouse.⁴ This suggests that families who have been farming for generations were more tightly bound up in patriarchal traditions of farming than families who were new to farming.

The second group of decisions included land transactions and farm equipment purchases, decisions with high rates of joint decision making but otherwise dominated by men. Decisions on land transactions and farm equipment had high levels of joint involvement ranging from 72 percent to 69 percent joint decision making. This was likely due to the large monetary investment in each of these and the role of land as a significant factor of production in many forms of agriculture and as part of the legacy of the farm family.

Again, women who owned land were more likely to make these decisions mostly or solely by themselves.⁵ Where land was already owned jointly by spouses, land decisions were more likely to be made jointly.⁶ Women who identified themselves as farm operators were more likely to be equal participants in the decision making.⁷ Women's work roles were also important in both land and farm equipment purchase decisions with women who reported high levels of farm work also reporting a greater role in decision making.⁸

⁴ ANOVA $p \leq 0.05$

⁵ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

⁶ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

⁷ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

⁸ ANOVA $p \leq 0.05$

Women farmers reported the highest amount of joint decision making. Eighty-seven percent had some input into land purchase decisions and 77 percent had input into farm equipment decisions. By contrast, farm homemakers had the lowest level of input into these decisions; only 62 percent participated in decisions about land and 59 percent participated in decisions about farm equipment. Pluriactive women reported participating at a rate of 77 percent and non-farm working women reported participating at a rate of 72 percent in land transaction decisions. The participation of these groups in this set of decisions was somewhat different from their participation in the day to day decisions of the farm discussed above. Although non-farm working women had little involvement in the day-to-day farm decisions they were much more involved in both land and farm equipment decisions, potentially reflecting the increased power that comes with making an economic contribution to the farm. As one Ontario farm woman noted in the focus groups:

if women are putting money into the farm operation, they have an interest in knowing where it is going.

Joint decision making around land purchases was also significantly more likely on grain and oilseed farms and mixed farms, reflecting the importance of land to these types of farming as well as on fruit farms, a type of farming where women's and men's work roles are more equal.⁹ Joint decision making was more common in family-based and less formal operating arrangements such as partnerships without written agreements, family corporations and family co-operatives reflecting the greater significance of family members in decision making in these more informal structures compared to a more corporate structure.¹⁰ Again traditional farm ideology appears to be a factor as women whose spouses have lived on the farm for more than 50 years had less input into decision-making process on land and farm equipment purchases. The longer the spouse had been working and living on the farm, the less equal was decision making.

The third group of decisions focused on home purchases, recreation, children's activities and children's education. These decisions are traditionally viewed as in the woman's

⁹ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

¹⁰ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

household domain. It is important to note that in past research, these decisions have not been the mirror image of the day-to-day farm decisions dominated by men (Rosenfeld 1985). In the past, women did not have responsibility for these decisions to the same extent that men took responsibility for the farm decisions and these decisions around the household were predominantly joint. Therefore, women did not control the decision making in the household to the same extent that men controlled decisions on the farm. Although decision making patterns in this group of decisions were correlated, there are some differences in the nature of each of the decisions which may influence decision making. As shown in Tables 6.2 through 6.7, the traditional pattern continues but perhaps for different reasons for different groups of farm women.

Home purchase decisions are often expensive and generally show a large proportion of joint decision making. Women who were working off the farm (pluriactive and non-farm working women) reported lower rates of joint decision making on this type of decision, perhaps reflecting the importance of their incomes for household and family purchases and increased power in those types of decisions (Gasson and Winter 1992). Farm homemakers fit the traditional model with 87 percent of the decisions to purchase household items made jointly. Compared to the women farmers, pluriactive and non-farm working women, fewer farm homemakers were making the decision mostly. On many farms, household purchases compete with farm purchases and as women in the focus groups noted, farm purchases usually take precedence. Women farmers reported lower levels of joint decision making than the farm homemakers but higher levels than the pluriactive and non-farm working women, reflecting that their decisions were being influenced by both the demands of the farm and their greater power than the farm homemaker in decision processes in the household. The pervasiveness of joint decision making through many types of decisions with the group of women farmers suggested a partnership culture in the household. It also appears that women farmers have gained bargaining power through their household production activities (Pollak 2005).

Recreation decisions refer to a variety of decisions from children's recreation to family holidays. Where men identified as a sole operator, these decisions were more likely to

fall to women and where women were more involved on farms, these decisions were more often joint.¹¹ Although there were no statistically significant differences between the groups of farm women on this type of decision, the pattern suggested above was evident. Farm homemakers and non-farm working women who were less engaged in the day to day operations of the farm reported lower levels of joint decision making and much higher levels of making recreation decisions mostly or solely themselves. Women farmers and pluriactive women were much more likely to make these decisions jointly.

Children's activity decisions are often day-to-day decisions while children's education decisions focus on the long term. There was a significant difference between the groups of farm women on children's activities decisions with those groups of farm women who were not working off the farm reporting lower rates of joint decision making and higher rates of 'mostly me' and 'me only' decision making.¹² Women working off the farm reported higher levels of joint decision making on children's activities, reflecting more accessibility of the children to their father when he was farming and his wife worked off the farm. The longer the spouse had lived on the farm, the more equal were children's activity decisions and the more likely they were to be made by someone else, especially the children. To some extent this reflects children growing up. Often mothers were primarily responsible for activities of young children, fathers became more involved as the children got older and, eventually the children started making decisions themselves.

Children's education decisions reflected a similar pattern although joint decision making was much higher for farm homemakers and women farmers and somewhat higher for non-farm working women. Younger women were more likely to make children's education decisions mostly or solely on their own, while a higher proportion of older women reported making those decisions equally or they were made by someone else, often the children themselves. Again this pattern reflects the changing nature of these decisions as children grow up. The only exception was the relationship between the amount of care giving work and children's education decisions, in that women who

¹¹ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

¹² Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

made decisions mostly on their own about their children's education were doing more care work regularly than women who reported that decision was made equally with their spouse. This again may be related to women predominantly making decisions for young children and the changing nature of decision making as the children grow up. Decision making on recreation, children's activities and children's education showed no significant relationships with women's farm work regularity. I concluded that these were expected decision-making tasks for women and there was little variability in women's responsibility for decision making in these areas.

The extent of decision-making involvement for farm women was influenced by the factors suggested in the Agrifamily Household Response Model. These included traditional family ideology, women's identity, their roles on the farm, their knowledge and skills, whether they work off the farm, and their self identity. Farm homemakers were more likely to show a very traditional pattern of decision making, with lower levels of joint decision making in the traditionally male dominated areas and higher levels of joint decision making in the household area where they did not make decisions on their own because their husbands played a dominant role in all decision making. This group of farm women most closely exhibits the traditional pattern of decision making in which men were responsible for farm decisions and women were responsible for household decisions (Wilkening and Bharadwaj 1967; Sawer 1973; Wilkening 1981; Rosenfeld 1985).

Women farmers were operating in set of gender relations that appear to be more equal, as joint decision making was the approach to most of the decisions they made, although they were more likely to make decisions about their children's activities on their own. These women were more involved in decision making than any of the other groups of women, having earned this position through their work and commitment to the farm. These women support Pollak's (2005) assertion that decision-making power is linked to productivity in household production as well as the research on farm women that suggests that power in decision making increases with involvement in farm tasks (Rosenfeld (1985) Garrett and Schulman (1989) and Gasson and Winter (1992). It does

not support the assertions of Bokemeier and Garkovich (1987) who found no relationship with farm involvement or of Ilbery *et al* (1997) who found that women's active involvement did little to enhance their decision-making status.

Non-farm working women were engaged in a different set of gender relations as they had less to do with the day to day farm operations but were heavily involved in major purchases such as land and farm equipment due to their economic interest in where their money is spent (Gasson and Winter 1992). Because they were not working at home, they engaged in more joint decision making around children in recognition of the greater role of their spouse in child rearing. Pluriactive women showed a combination of the women farmer and the non-farm working woman, as they have more involvement in the day to day farm decisions due to their larger contribution to work on the farm, had high involvement in major financial expenditures due to both a financial and production interest and higher joint involvement in childcare decision because they are working at a non-farm job.

The findings in this section provide support for the Separate Sphere's Model of Lundberg and Pollak (1993) where they suggest that influence in decision making reflects gender specialization in particular areas. There are also indications of power based on wealth, income and household productivity in evidence (Gasson and Winter 1992; Pollak 1985; Pollak 2005). In the case of the farm homemaker, who claims to follow a traditional gendered division of labour focused on the sphere of the farm household, decision-making influence on farm related matters is low. Due to her lower level of power based on wealth, income or productivity, she also has less power in other major decisions made in the household than the other groups of farm women. Women farmers whose work roles encompass a significant amount of farm work are involved in a less specialized gender division of labour and their resulting decision-making power is evident over the day-to-day farm decisions as well as in other major decisions regarding land, equipment and household purchases. Increased decision-making power accrues due to the woman farmer's farm productivity. Similarly, women who were working off the farm have major roles in land transactions and farm equipment decisions due to the

power afforded them by providing capital to the farm operation. These women were also less specialized in household work and childcare, so again the 'separate spheres' of decision making are less evident as they share decision making with their husbands on children's activities.

Gasson and Winter (1992) and Gilg and Battershill (1999) in research in England noted that women and couples brought up outside of farming exhibited more egalitarian approaches to decision making. This research found mixed support for this finding as women with more experience and knowledge in agriculture gained through generations of their family farming showed more power in decision making. On the other hand, a less egalitarian approach was in evidence for women whose spouses had been farming for a long time or whose families had been farming for generations has less decision-making power suggesting they are more tightly bound in the patriarchal traditions in agriculture. Women's self identity was another important variable that emerged from the analysis, as women who identified as joint farm operators were more likely to be equal participants in decision making on land and major farm equipment supporting the findings of Bokemeier and Garkovich (1987) in the United States.

6.4.2 Men and Farm Decisions

Similar to the impact of women's identity as a joint operator, men who characterized their farm operation as a joint partnership reported a higher proportion of equal decision making in crop and livestock, marketing, insurance, land and farm purchases.¹³ Men from joint farm operations were also more likely to indicate some sharing of decision making as the decisions on crop and livestock and marketing were made 'mostly' by them while men who indicated they were the sole farm operator, were more likely to make those decisions on their own. Although Bokemeier and Garkovich (1987) focused on farm women's self identity in their analysis of decision-making roles, identity also emerges as an important determinant of the role of farm men in decision making.

¹³ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

In my discussion of farm women's decision making, the farm work that women did was a significant determinant of involvement in the day to day farm work decisions. However, the farm work that men did made little difference to their roles in decision making. One exception was that men who were mostly responsible for crop and livestock decisions were more engaged in farm field work than men who reported equal decision making on these decisions suggesting a more traditional perspective in decision making among grain farmers.¹⁴ It appears that men making decisions on the day to day farm operation is the norm similar to women making decisions around children's activities providing support for the Separate Spheres Model (Lundberg and Pollak 1993). As I noted in Chapter Four, although some women are very heavily involved on the farm, men still do the majority of farm work in many areas of the farm operation. In areas where women's decision making is the norm, the work that men did became a factor in decision making.

Men reported more equal decision making on their children's activities when they were more involved in caring work, farm management work and total work.¹⁵ Similarly with children's education decisions, men reporting more equal decision making were more engaged in farm management work and volunteer work. This was likely related to farm women working off the farm, which often results in farm men taking over some of the traditional women's roles such as childcare and farm books. These findings provide additional support for the ideas in the separate sphere's model because these men who have greater roles in household and childcare work are less specialized in their work. As a result, their decision-making influence is less specialized and they have influence over a broader range of decisions.

The size of the farm operation as defined by gross farm revenue and farm value also appeared to make a difference on the extent to which decision making is equal on crop/livestock, marketing and insurance decisions.¹⁶ Large farms had less equal decision making and the highest value farms had lower proportions of equal decision

¹⁴ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

¹⁵ Chi Square $p \leq 0.05$

¹⁶ ANOVA $p \leq 0.05$

making and more decisions being made by others. Men farming with relatives were more likely to make marketing decisions mostly on their own and with others, therefore equal decision making between women and men is lower. Patterns of decision making where women were excluded on larger farms and those where male relatives were farming together have persisted for decades (Sawer 1973; Rosenfeld 1985).

Traditional family ideology was also a significant determinant of decision making and supports the findings of Gasson and Winter (1992).¹⁷ Male farmers whose father's occupation was farming, and male respondents who had lived on a farm for more than 50 years, made a higher proportion of marketing decisions solely. Men's long term experience in agriculture appears to foster more traditional ideology. Although education was generally associated with increased power in decision making (Pollak 1985), male respondents whose spouse had a university degree or higher education were more likely to be making decisions mostly on their own, while those with spouses with a secondary school diploma were more likely to report decision making on crop and livestock production was equal. This seemingly contradictory finding is explained by the higher likelihood that women with a university education are working off the farm and have detached themselves from much of the day-to-day operation of the farm while those women who have taken on the role of women farmer tend to have less university education.

Men's decision-making roles on the farm were largely unaffected by their farm work and male decision making in these areas is the norm. Where men's work did make a difference was in decisions about their children, which were more equal when they were more involved in work roles that have traditionally been female.¹⁸ More joint decision making was evident where the male farmer identified with a joint partnership arrangement with his spouse, reflecting changing gender relations and identities on the farm. There was some evidence of persisting traditional family ideologies among older and multigenerational male farmers.

¹⁷ ANOVA $p \leq 0.05$

¹⁸ ANOVA $p \leq 0.05$

In summary, women played more varied roles as decision makers on the farm including farm homemakers, pluriactive women, non-farm working women and woman farmers. In my analysis of the impact of work on farm women and men's roles in decision making, a number of patterns emerged for women, and very few patterns emerged for men. The role of women in decision making depends on the level of engagement they have with different kinds of farm work, with their roles on the farm and their ability to contribute financially to the farm. Women must earn the right to make farm decisions through work on the farm and through their contribution of income to the farm operation. Men's decision-making roles were less affected by the work that they do or whether or not they work off the farm. With few exceptions, the extent of the work men did in any facet of the farm did not change their roles in decision making, men were still the de-facto decision makers. However, it is evident that as farm women are increasing their work on the farm and working off the farm in response to agricultural restructuring, their decision-making roles are also changing. Although decision making was far from equal, women farmers who had chosen to focus their work roles on the farm had considerably more influence in decision making than farm homemakers. Those women who had chosen to work off the farm became much less involved in the day to day operations. Yet, by virtue of their economic contribution they played a significant role in major expenditures and had husbands who were more highly involved in decisions about their children. Pluriactive women shared the farm work characteristics of the woman farmer and the childcare characteristics of the non-farm working women. Just as some farm women's work roles were increasingly tied to their skills and interests and less to the traditional notions of what is appropriate work for women based on their gender, women's decision-making roles were also changing to reflect recognition of their contributions to the farm through work and capital.

6.5 The Decision-Making Process

As the Agrifamily Household Response Model suggests, decision making is one process through which farm families are responding to prevailing economic, political, environmental and social conditions. Anyone who has made a major purchase such as a car or a house will recognize that there is much more to decision making than the final

decision. Significant decisions take place over time, often involve a number of people and many different activities including discussion, gathering information and opinions, assessing options, determining economic feasibility and debating a final decision.

In order to gain a better understanding of the *process* of decision making on farms and to enable an examination of the roles of all those who contributed to a decision, five decisions were examined in detail. The decisions were: to buy or sell land; to make a major farm equipment purchase; to make a major purchase for the home; to produce something new or try a new production practice; and to take a job off the farm or engage in a new income earning activity. Each of these decisions (with the exception of a farm household purchase) was a decision that might be made by a farm family in response to structural change.¹⁹ As well, these decisions were not usually made on the spur of the moment and were significant enough that consultation was likely to take place. The decisions also varied in significance, the extent of outside involvement, and areas of traditional responsibility for females and males. In a series of questions that form the basis of the following discussion, farm families were asked why the decisions were made, how often these decisions were made, who initiated the decisions, who participated in the decisions, what roles different participants played in the decision, and their satisfaction with the decision. The decisions of women and men from 60 farm families who responded to the third questionnaire (Appendix D) were analyzed for this discussion. Because the sample size is much smaller for this analysis, the results must be considered preliminary.

6.5.1 Why Were The Decisions Considered?

The decision to buy or sell land was a tremendously important decision for farm families. Purchasing land is one response many farm families have made to agricultural restructuring as they have been encouraged to expand to achieve economies of scale. Land represents the major capital investment for many types of farming, but at the same time, it has far greater significance as a part of the family heritage. Decisions to buy or

¹⁹ However, computer purchases were commonly considered household purchases. Computers and office equipment could readily be included as purchases made to increase farm efficiency and productivity.

sell land were made because land became available, to expand the farm operation, to acquire land in a desirable location and to keep land in the family.

The decision to make a major household purchase was based on a need for replacement, a perceived need for the house, for house renovations, to increase household comfort or to furnish a new house. A major equipment purchase can be seen as an investment in capital for the farm to increase productivity. Respondents considered buying farm equipment because they needed the equipment, were replacing old or broken equipment, were upgrading farm equipment, were increasing farm efficiency and were seeking to become cost effective. Many farm families have responded to declining farm incomes by taking non-farm work and/or diversifying into new businesses. I anticipated that women may be more active in decision making regarding a new economic activity as slightly more women were working at non-farm work than men. The decision to engage in a new economic activity was driven by the need for additional income, to take advantage of an opportunity, to do something other than farming, to empower oneself, and to achieve independence. Farm families have introduced new production practices or diversified to respond to economic stresses as well as to environmental considerations such as soil erosion. I was interested in the role of women in decisions to engage in a new production practice as discussions with farm families had suggested that farm women were often the impetus to try new things on the farm. Farm families tried new production practices to try something new, to increase profit, to become more diversified, to address market conditions and to provide environmental protection and conservation. The reasons behind the decisions to buy or sell land; to engage in a new economic activity; to seek an off farm job; and to try new production practices indicate that these decisions were all mobilizing responses of farm families to agricultural restructuring.

As I established earlier, farm families were making a significant number of decisions on an ongoing basis. The most common decision was a major equipment purchase which was considered by 83 percent of farms during the past five years. Seventy-six percent of study farms have made a decision regarding a major house purchase in the past five

years and decisions to buy or sell land were considered by 71 percent of the respondents. Fewer decision-making processes were initiated around new production practices or crops and new economic activities, but these decisions were still considered by approximately one-half of the respondents.

A large number of respondents reported considering a major decision of these five types in the past year. This likely reflects a more accurate knowledge of decisions made recently as well as the instruction to interviewers that respondents choosing from a number of decisions should be prompted to think about their most recent decision. A large number of decisions representing major purchases were made in the previous year. Fifty percent of the of the respondents had considered a major farm equipment purchase in the past year, reflecting the ongoing need for reinvestment in the farm enterprise as well as the emphasis on diversification, new production techniques and increasing farm size that may require additional equipment. Farm equipment purchases also appeared to take precedence over farm household purchases. Forty-five percent had made a decision about a major house purchase in the last year and 31 percent had considered whether to buy or sell land in the last year.

6.5.2 Initiating Decisions

Respondents were asked to list the major participants in each decision-making process and their roles. A long list of family, extended family members, friends and professionals were listed for each of the decisions. For analysis, these participants were gathered into eight categories, including the female farmer, the male farmer, joint (female and male), the immediate family group, children, parents, extended family, and others. These are shown in table 6.8.

Women and men both reported men were most likely to initiate decisions on major equipment purchases, new production practices, and buying or selling land. Similarly, both reported that women most often initiated decisions on house purchases. However, men and women both felt they initiated decisions around new economic activities such as non-farm work or a new income earning activity likely reflecting people talking about

Table 6.8: Who Initiated the Decision?								
Female Respondents	Female Respondent	Husband	Joint	Family	Children	Parents	Extended Family	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buy or sell land n=42	5	43	29	2	3	2	7	12
Major house purchase n=45	47	11	36	0	0	0	0	7
Major equipment purchase n=48	4	75	15	4	0	0	0	2
New production practice n=27	4	56	22	4	11	4	0	0
New economic activities n=29	55	10	17	3	10	0	3	0
Male Respondents	Wife	Male Respondent	Joint	Family	Children	Parents	Extended Family	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buy or sell land n=45	4	49	22	0	4	7	4	9
Major house purchase n=47	47	15	34	2	2	2	0	0
Major equipment purchase n=49	2	78	12	2	2	2	2	3
New production practice n=30	3	60	23	0	3	3	7	0
New economic activities n=27	41	26	7	7	7	0	7	4

different decisions. Both men and women report a slightly higher level of activity in those areas of decision making they have traditionally been associated with but the differences are very small. Both men and women indicated that the decisions to buy and sell land had the greatest amount of input from outside the immediate family, reflecting the importance of the extended family in land transactions to keep land in the family and because of the size of the investment.

6.5.3 Participation in Decision Making

Table 6.9 shows a large number of participants in decision-making processes in each of the selected decisions. This indicates that not only is decision making broader than the male farmer or the farming couple, but input from the extended family and the community are important aspects of farm family decision making. The range of the

Table 6.9: Participants in the Decision Making Process						
Female Respondents	Female Respondent	Husband	Children	Parents	Extended Family	Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buy or sell land n=42	93	98	19	26	29	45
Major house purchase n=44	100	91	23	0	2	18
Major equipment purchase n=49	84	90	29	14	18	29
New production practice n=27	81	100	48	8	7	11
New economic activities n=28	96	82	50	4	4	14
Male Respondents	Wife	Male Respondent	Children	Parents	Extended Family	Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buy or sell land n=45	91	96	18	24	20	40
Major house purchase n=47	98	91	28	0	2	15
Major equipment purchase n=49	71	94	20	8	16	33
New production practice n=29	66	93	24	7	17	21
New economic activities n=26	77	88	50	0	12	4

participants varied among the decisions, with buying or selling land having the broadest group of participants and a new economic activity having the narrowest group. Farm men were the most heavily involved in all decisions. Men stated they were participants in between 88 percent and 96 percent of decisions, with their highest rate of involvement in decisions to buy and sell land. Their wives reported men's involvement ranging from 82 percent of new economic activity decisions to 100 percent of new production practice decisions. Farm women were also highly involved. They reported a range of participation from 81 percent of new production practice decisions to 100 percent of house purchase decisions. Their husbands had lower estimates of farm women's participation ranging from 66 percent of new production practice decisions to 98 percent of house purchase decisions. Parents were most heavily involved in land transactions and equipment purchases while extended family and others were most heavily involved

in land transactions, equipment and new production practices.²⁰ The involvement of parents and extended family is a reflection of the multigenerational and extended family based production in agriculture. As relatives farm together, land and equipment decisions become broadly based. Children were involved in all the decisions but most highly involved in new economic activities, reflecting their roles in new initiatives for the farm and the impact a parent taking a non-farm job would have on them. Women saw their children as involved in new production practices at twice the rate as the farm men, perhaps related to the higher likelihood of women and children to work with cattle linked to the participation of children in organizations such as 4H. Women identified more participants in the decision-making process than did men. Further exploration of the parents' perception of their children's role points out that daughters were much less likely than sons to be seen by their parents as participants in the decision-making process.

6.5.4 Final Decisions

Table 6.10 shows the participants involved in making the final decision. The majority of respondents reported that final decision making for both buying and selling land and major house purchases was joint. When these decisions were not joint, males most often made the final decision on buying and selling land and females made the final decision on major house purchases, reporting they made a higher percentage of final decisions than their husbands reported for them. Both male and female farmers report major equipment purchases and new production practice decisions were most often the final decision of a male, however men report making a higher level of final decisions than their wives report for them in all the decisions except new economic activities.

Women's reports of their own participation in the final decisions were closely aligned with their husbands reporting of the women's participation. Women's estimates were 2 to 8 percent higher than their husband's estimates. However, men's reporting of their own participation in final decisions is higher than their wives report for their husbands. Men's estimates are between 3 percent and 15 percent higher than their wife's estimates.

²⁰ Others include lawyers, financial advisors, accountants, salespeople and neighbours.

Table 6.10: Participants in the Final Decision							
Female Respondents	Female Respondent	Husband	Joint	Children	Parents	Extended Family	Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buy or Sell Land n=42	2	22	54	5	7	5	5
Major house Purchase n=44	38	2	56	4	0	0	0
Major equipment Purchase n=48	2	58	31	2	0	6	0
New production practice n=27	0	48	44	4	4	0	0
New economic activities n=28	50	14	18	14	0	0	4
Male Respondents	Wife	Male Respondent	Joint	Children	Parents	Extended Family	Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Buy or Sell Land n=45	0	30	55	5	7	2	2
Major house Purchase n=47	30	13	48	9	0	0	0
Major equipment Purchase n=49	0	73	19	2	2	4	0
New production practice n=29	0	53	33	7	3	3	0
New economic activities n=26	42	17	17	21	0	4	0

Female and male respondents disagree over decisions about off farm employment and new economic activities as females report 50 percent of those decisions were made by them, while males report they make 42 percent of the decisions. As I have already noted, the seeming contradiction may reflect decisions made by each gender regarding their own activities. Women report higher proportions of joint decisions in all of the final decisions.

6.5.5 Roles in the Decision-making Process

Respondents were also asked to indicate the roles each participant they had listed played in the decision-making process. Table 6.11 shows the range of roles grouped to attempt to determine which roles were most important. The 37 roles were grouped into 8 categories ranging from roles associated with the dominant decision maker to those who stated they had no role in the decision. It is evident that there are a number of roles

Table 6.11 Decision Making Roles	
Dominant Decision Maker	The most important decision maker
	Person with the last word
	Major motivator
	Person who stated the need
	Person who initiated the decision
	Person who made the purchase
	Person who made the sale offer
	Sole decision maker
Equal Partner	Equal partner in the decision making
Discussions and Opinions	One of a number of opinions
	Had some important opinions
	Involved in discussion
	Sounding board
Information Gathering	Evaluated farm operation needs
	Did needs assessment
	Did the research
	Compared pricing
	Went looking at land
	Went looking at equipment
	Person who did the shopping
Provided Advice and Information	Provided advice
	Provided information
Active Decision Support	Legal work
	Prepared paper work
	Negotiator
	Person who prepared the finances
	Contacted appropriate people
	Person who talked to others
Passive Decision Support	Listened to discussion
	Supported the decision
	Signed papers
No Role	Had no role in decision
Other	Decision not made yet
	Person who developed the design
	Person who offered job
	Owner of farm operation
	Did the work

on decision making beyond making a final decision. People may play important roles in decision making depending on their power in a relationship and the information they provide to the decision-making process.

Tables 6.12 to 6.16 show the roles of participants in decision making around land transactions, major house purchases, major farm equipment purchases, new production practices and new economic activities. In the land transaction decisions shown in Table 6.12, the two most common roles were ‘equal partner’ and discussion and opinions. Men saw themselves as primarily playing the dominant decision maker, information gathering, and equal partner roles while women saw themselves mainly contributing through discussion and opinions and as an equal partner. Women saw themselves as contributing more through discussion and opinions than men acknowledged and women also saw their husbands as contributing more through discussion and opinions than the men perceived.

Children participated primarily through discussions and opinions and in some cases as equal partners. Children participating as equal partners were often older children who were already farming with their parents. Land transaction decisions were the most broadly based decisions and 28 percent of the decision roles were held outside of the family. Parents and extended family were involved in 14 percent of land transactions roles, where they played major roles as equal partners or dominant decision makers likely based on their interest in the land that is being purchased. Land transactions involved a large number of others, mostly in advisory or decision support capacities, although some were also dominant decision makers. This was reported, for example, where a financial institution determined whether a loan was granted or a seller determined whether to accept an offer on their land.

Perceptions of the roles in decision making around a major household purchase (Table 6.13) showed some variation between women and men. Women reported their most common decision roles as information gathering followed by dominant decision maker and equal partner while men reported their most common role as information gathering

Table 6.12: Roles in Land Transaction Decisions														
Respondent Females	Females		Male Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	5	2.6	11	5.7	3	1.6	0	0.0	1	0.5	8	4.1	28	14.5
Equal partner	11	5.7	12	6.2	5	2.6	1	0.5	6	3.1	0	0.0	35	18.1
Discussion and opinions	25	13.0	17	8.8	3	1.6	8	4.1	0	0.0	1	0.5	54	28.0
Information gathering	8	4.1	15	7.8	1	0.5	0	0.0	4	2.1	3	1.6	31	16.1
Advice and information	6	3.1	5	2.6	2	1.0	0	0.0	2	1.0	6	3.1	21	10.9
Active decision support	5	2.6	8	4.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	3.1	19	9.8
Passive decision support	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.0	0	0.0	2	1.0	0	0.0	4	2.1
Total	61	31.6	68	35.2	16	8.3	9	4.7	15	7.8	24	12.4	193	100.0
Respondent Males	Males		Female Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	16	8.6	4	2.2	2	1.1	0	0.0	1	0.5	5	2.7	28	15.1
Equal partner	12	6.5	13	7.0	5	2.7	0	0.0	4	2.2	0	0.0	34	18.3
Discussion and opinions	6	3.2	15	8.1	2	1.1	4	2.2	2	1.1	3	1.6	32	17.2
Information gathering	16	8.6	9	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5	26	14.0
Advice and information	4	2.2	7	3.8	2	1.1	1	0.5	0	0.0	10	5.4	24	12.9
Active decision support	7	3.8	9	4.8	2	1.1	2	1.1	2	1.1	4	2.2	26	14.0
Passive decision support	1	0.5	6	3.2	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5	9	4.8
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	1.1	0	0.0	1	0.5	2	1.1	7	3.8
Total	63	33.9	64	34.4	16	8.6	7	3.8	10	5.4	26	14.0	186	100.0

Respondent Females	Females		Male Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	20	12.9	7	4.5	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	28	18.1
Equal partner	11	7.1	11	7.1	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	24	15.5
Discussion and opinions	6	3.9	10	6.5	0	0.0	5	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	21	13.5
Information gathering	29	18.7	14	9.0	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	1	0.6	46	29.7
Advice and information	3	1.9	4	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6	4	2.6	12	7.7
Active decision support	4	2.6	6	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	6.5
Passive decision support	1	0.6	5	3.2	1	0.6	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	5.2
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
Other	2	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.9	5	3.2
Total	76	49.0	57	36.8	1	0.6	12	7.7	1	0.6	8	5.2	155	100
Respondent Males	Males		Female Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	5	3.0	15	9.1	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	2	1.2	23	14.0
Equal partner	17	10.4	14	8.5	0	0.0	2	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	33	20.1
Discussion and opinions	4	2.4	8	4.9	0	0.0	7	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	11.6
Information gathering	18	11.0	20	12.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	38	23.2
Advice and information	6	3.7	6	3.7	0	0.0	2	1.2	1	0.6	4	2.4	19	11.6
Active decision support	5	3.0	2	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	4.3
Passive decision support	2	1.2	1	0.6	0	0.0	4	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	4.3
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	7	4.3	5	3.0	0	0.0	3	1.8	0	0.0	3	1.8	18	11.0
Total	64	39.0	71	43.3	0	0.0	19	11.6	1	0.6	9	5.5	164	100.0

Respondent Females	Female		Male Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	2	1.2	22	12.7	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.7	28	16.2
Equal partner	7	4.0	7	4.0	2	1.2	0	0.0	3	1.7	1	0.6	20	11.6
Discussion and opinions	22	12.7	6	3.5	1	0.6	4	2.3	1	0.6	1	0.6	35	20.2
Information gathering	10	5.8	32	18.5	1	0.6	4	2.3	5	2.9	0	0.0	52	30.1
Advice and information	3	1.7	3	1.7	1	0.6	1	0.6	0	0.0	9	5.2	17	9.8
Active decision support	2	1.2	1	0.6	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6	5	2.9
Passive decision support	10	5.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	6.4
No role	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	2.3	4	2.3
Total	57	32.9	71	41.0	7	4.0	10	5.8	9	5.2	19	11.0	173	100
Respondent Males	Male		Female Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	15	11.2	1	0.7	1	0.7	1	0.7	2	1.5	1	0.7	21	15.7
Equal partner	7	5.2	3	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	3.0	0	0.0	14	10.4
Discussion and opinions	7	5.2	21	15.7	1	0.7	2	1.5	0	0.0	1	0.7	32	23.9
Information gathering	22	16.4	5	3.7	0	0.0	2	1.5	3	2.2	1	0.7	33	24.6
Advice and information	3	2.2	4	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	5.2	14	10.4
Active decision support	2	1.5	4	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.7	2	1.5	9	6.7
Passive decision support	0	0.0	7	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	5.2
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	2	1.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.7	1	0.7	4	3.0
Total	58	43.3	45	33.6	2	1.5	5	3.7	11	8.2	13	9.7	134	100.0

Respondent Females	Female		Male Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	0	0.0	9	10.5	1	1.2	5	5.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	17.4
Equal partner	8	9.3	8	9.3	1	1.2	0	0.0	1	1.2	0	0.0	18	20.9
Discussion and opinions	7	8.1	3	3.5	0	0.0	6	7.0	1	1.2	1	1.2	18	20.9
Information gathering	5	5.8	12	14.0	0	0.0	6	7.0	1	1.2	0	0.0	24	27.9
Advice and information	1	1.2	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2	3	3.5	6	7.0
Active decision support	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2
Passive decision support	2	2.3	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.5
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2
Total	23	26.7	35	40.7	2	2.3	18	20.9	4	4.7	4	4.7	86	100
Respondent Males	Male		Female Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	13	13.5	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.1	1	1.0	2	2.1	20	20.8
Equal partner	5	5.2	3	3.1	1	1.0	0	0.0	2	2.1	2	2.1	13	13.5
Discussion and opinions	1	1.0	11	11.5	0	0.0	4	4.2	0	0.0	1	1.0	17	17.7
Information gathering	14	14.6	4	4.2	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	20	20.8
Advice and information	5	5.2	3	3.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.1	11	11.5
Active decision support	4	4.2	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	2	2.1	8	8.3
Passive decision support	0	0.0	4	4.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	5	5.2
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	2	2.1
Total	43	44.8	27	28.1	2	2.1	7	7.3	5	5.2	12	12.5	96	100.0

Respondent Female	Female		Male Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	14	14.0	3	3.0	0	0.0	3	3.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	22	22.0
Equal partner	5	5.0	5	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	10.0
Discussion and opinions	3	3.0	9	9.0	2	2.0	13	13.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	27	27.0
Information gathering	1	1.0	3	3.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	5.0
Advice and information	4	4.0	5	5.0	0	0.0	3	3.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	15	15.0
Active decision support	2	2.0	2	2.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	5.0
Passive decision support	4	4.0	6	6.0	0	0.0	2	2.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	13	13.0
No role	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	1.0	3	3.0
Total	33	33.0	34	34.0	2	2.0	24	24.0	2	2.0	5	5.0	100	100
Respondent Males	Male		Female Spouse		Parents		Children		Extended Family		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Dominant decision maker	6	7.9	6	7.9	0	0.0	4	5.3	2	2.6	0	0.0	18	23.7
Equal partner	6	7.9	4	5.3	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	14.5
Discussion and opinions	8	10.5	6	7.9	0	0.0	5	6.6	0	0.0	1	1.3	20	26.3
Information gathering	3	3.9	2	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	6.6
Advice and information	3	3.9	5	6.6	0	0.0	3	3.9	1	1.3	0	0.0	12	15.8
Active decision support	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Passive decision support	5	6.6	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	7.9
No role	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3
Other	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3	1	1.3	3	3.9
Total	32	42.1	25	32.9	0	0.0	13	17.1	4	5.3	2	2.6	76	100.0

and equal partner. The difference was in the higher role women assigned themselves as the dominant decision maker compared to the men's perception of a stronger presence of themselves as an equal partner in decision making. Decision making for a major household purchase was focused more narrowly on the family than land, farm equipment or new production decisions. Approximately 94 percent of the decision roles were held by parents and children. The main role of children in this decision was in discussion and the offering of opinions.

As shown in Table 6.14, the decision to purchase a major piece of farm equipment was also broadly based although slightly less so than the land transaction decisions with almost 20 percent of the decision roles outside of the immediate family. In this decision, men reported their roles as information gathering and the dominant decision maker and the roles of their wives as mainly discussion and opinions. Women reported the same roles for their husbands but saw a more important role for themselves in information gathering. Women reported their children's roles as information gathering and discussion and opinion while men reported the same roles but in lower numbers. Again where parents and extended family were involved in these decisions they played major roles as dominant decision makers, equal partners and in discussions and opinions.

The decision to undertake a new production practice (Table 6.15) appeared to generate less consultation and there were many fewer roles played compared to the decisions on land, major farm equipment and major household purchases. Men saw themselves as gathering information and as the dominant decision maker and reported that their wives provided discussion and opinions. In production decisions, women reported a much greater role in equal partnerships than the men did and also saw their roles as somewhat broader than the men saw them. The roles reported by men are consistent with those reported for them by women. Children's roles were in discussion and opinions and information gathering. Again, women reported a much larger role for children than men did in production decisions. This may reflect the children's activities in 4H where they raise their own animals or their work alongside their mothers with livestock care.

The decision to engage in a new economic activity (Table 6.16) including working at a non-farm job also had a smaller number of participants in decision making, although women reported considerably more participants than men. Both women and men saw themselves as the dominant decision maker in this type of decision, followed by a role in discussion and opinions. Both genders also saw their spouse's roles as supportive through discussion and opinions. The confusion here likely results from each respondent talking about a decision initiated by themselves as they decided to look for a non-farm job or decided to look at a new economic activity on the farm. Children were most important in this decision, while parents and extended family were much less involved. This suggests the decision for women to take a non-farm job is an internal family decision. Women's decisions to work at a non-farm job often have significant implications for an increased workload in the home and farm for the rest of the family. The decision for men to engage in a new economic activity or take a non-farm job included a higher level of extended family as these decisions would have implications for farming partners which are often brothers and fathers.

The decisions to buy or sell land and to purchase a major piece of farm equipment extend beyond the farm couple to children, parents, extended family and others. It is obvious that there were many participants in a decision and many roles that were played. Women play subordinate roles to men in these decisions, although their roles in the land transaction decisions are slightly more significant than their roles in a major equipment purchase. Women see their roles as subordinate, although they do report more substantial roles for themselves than men report for their spouses. This situation is reversed in the major house purchase decisions where women report they are the dominant decision maker more often than men report their wives are the dominant decision maker. Women do not appear to be underestimating their roles in decision making, a tendency noted 20 years ago by Rosenfeld (1985) in her study of American farm women. Women fairly consistently report a higher level of decision roles for themselves than the men report for their wives. Satisfaction with the decisions made by the respondents was very high. When asked about satisfaction with their roles in the various decision-making processes, the majority of respondents rated their satisfaction

with the process as very satisfied or satisfied. Few were neutral; however, more women than men stated they were less than satisfied. Women were more likely to be neutral or unsatisfied in decisions in which they reported less personal involvement such as a new equipment purchase or the adoption of a new production practice.

6.6 Conclusions

Decision making on farms has traditionally been divided on the basis of gender with men making decisions about the farm operation and women making decisions in the household domain (Rosenfeld 1985; Bokemeier and Garkovich 1987; Garrett and Schulman 1989; Gasson and Winter 1992; Evans and Ilbery 1996; Gilg and Battershill 1999). This pattern was evident in this study with men more likely to make decisions in areas of crops and livestock, marketing and insurance. Decisions on buying and selling land and large equipment purchases were more often joint decisions and women were more likely to make decisions on major home purchases, recreation and children's activities.

Respondents noted that decision making was becoming more frequent and more critical decisions were required on farms. Farm families made a significant number of decisions on a regular basis with more than two thirds of the respondents considering a decision to purchase land, to make a major farm equipment purchase or a major household purchase within the last five years. Decisions about a new production practice or a new economic activity were less common but still made by almost half of the respondents. The most common decision considered was a major equipment purchase, indicating the high priority of investment in the farm business in the family's decision making.

This chapter explored two key research questions (1) what roles do farm family members play in decision making on farms, and (2) what factors are important in determining those roles? Farm women play a number of roles as decision makers on the farm and as their work roles on and off the farm are changing, their decision-making roles are also changing. Farm women's roles in decision making were influenced by traditional family ideology, women's identity, their roles on the farm; their knowledge

and skills; whether they work at a non-farm job; and their self identity. Women farmers who had chosen to focus their work roles on the farm had considerably more influence in decision making than farm homemakers who played a more traditional role on the farm. Those women who had chosen to work off the farm became much less involved in the day to day operations. Yet, their economic contributions ensured they played a significant role in major expenditures and they tended to have husbands who were more highly involved in decisions about their children. Pluriactive women shared the farm work characteristics of the woman farmer and the childcare characteristics of the non-farm working women. Just as some farm women's work roles are increasingly tied to their skills and interests and less to the traditional notions of what is appropriate work for women based on their gender, women's decision-making roles are also changing to reflect recognition of their contributions to the farm through work and capital.

Men's decision-making roles on the farm were largely unaffected by their farm work and male decision making in these areas is the norm. However, men's work did make a difference in decisions about their children, which were more equal when they were more involved in the more traditional female work roles of caring for children. Identity was also important for men as joint decision making was more likely when the male farmer identified with a joint partnership arrangement with his spouse, reflecting changing gender relations and identities on the farm. Less equal decision making was evident among older and multigenerational male farmers providing some evidence of persisting traditional family ideologies.

In addressing the question of the roles farm family members play in decision making on farms, I found that there are many participants in a decision and many roles that are played. Although farm men played the dominant roles in decision making on land, major equipment purchases, new production practices and new economic activities, women also played a role in over 80 percent of these decisions. Children played a role in many decisions as did parents, extended family, other professionals and colleagues. Although women saw their roles as subordinate, they did report more substantial roles for themselves than men reported for their spouses. This situation was reversed in the

major house purchase decisions, where women reported they were the dominant decision maker more often than men reported their wives were the dominant decision maker. Women fairly consistently reported a higher level of decision roles for themselves than the men reported for their wives suggesting women were not underestimating their roles in decision making.

The discussion of decision making in this chapter provides an excellent illustration of the Agrifamily Household Response Model. The discussion of motivations behind decision making in the second part of the chapter showed farm families were making decisions to respond to changes affecting the agrifamily household. Most of the land transaction decisions were to purchase land to enable farm families to expand the operation, to acquire available land and to keep land in the family. Decisions to engage in new economic activities were usually considered due to the economic pressures in farming, but social considerations of empowerment and independence were also often mentioned by women. Similarly new production practices were considered to increase profit, to diversify and because of market conditions; reasons that illustrate a response to the economic pressures in farming. Some farm families changed production practices for environmental protection and conservation reasons; illustrating a response to issues and regulations concerning the environment. Finally, capital investments in farm machinery were also often motivated by economic conditions, as farm families sought to increase efficiency and become cost effective. The reasons offered by farm family members as to why they considered the decisions discussed in this chapter provide strong support for suggesting that the agrifamily household is responding to macro level economic, political, social and environmental structures.

The role of the meso-level factors in the model are illustrated by the broad range of participants in farm families decisions. As noted in the discussion of the linkages between farm families and their communities in Chapter Two, farm families are connected to extended family in the community as well as to their non-farm jobs and to institutions that support them such as credit unions, banks, businesses, and agriculture extension workers.

At the level of the agrifamily household, women, men and youth participated in decision making. The process of decision making within the family was affected by attributes of the family such as education and family history as well as attributes of the farm such as farm size and farm type. Within the agrifamily household, I was able to show that gender roles and identities were important aspects of the process of decision making and that with different gender roles and identities came different decision-making power relations in the agrifamily household.

Chapter Seven concludes the thesis with a summary of the major findings, a discussion of the agrifamily household response model, theoretical and methodological contributions and limitations and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Summary

This thesis has addressed the research question ‘How have Canadian farm families redefined their work roles and relations over the past 20 years to respond to changes affecting the agrifamily household?’ In addressing this question, I have argued that Canadian farm families are active agents, using and modifying the rules and resources associated with the structural properties of social systems including the agrifamily household, their local communities and the wider social, economic and political systems as they make decisions to respond to prevailing economic, political, environmental and social structures. Canadian agrifamily households are varying farm, non-farm, community, and household work roles; forging new identities; modifying gender and generational relations; diversifying both on and non-farm economic activities; adjusting land holdings; and leaving farming completely.

In exploring how Canadian farm families have modified their work roles and relations, the first research sub-question focused on how the work roles of Canadian farm women and men had changed since 1982. I have shown that between 1982 and 2002, farm women expanded their work roles over a broad range of farm field work, livestock work, farm management work and non-farm work as they responded to the increased opportunities afforded by social change and the increased pressure on the family farm created by economic and political changes. However, even as women’s work roles were expanding into traditional male farm work, farm women continued to be responsible for much of the domestic work in the household. Although, anecdotal evidence and the time diaries suggest that some men were beginning to take a larger role in household work.

Non-farm work has increased substantially for both farm women and men during the past 20 years. Social change has opened up opportunities for women to work at non-farm jobs if they choose and economic pressures have forced many more farm women and men to look for additional income. The decisions farm women make to either focus their work roles on the farm or to take a non-farm job impact the agrifamily household, the farm and the local community in both positive and negative ways.

The second research sub-question asked how the role changes of farm men and women have affected gender relations and gender identities of Canadian farm family members. I have argued that both the expanded work roles of women into traditional male roles and the expanded work roles of men into traditional female roles signal changing gender relationships on the farm.¹ The impact of these changing roles has been to weaken the traditional gendered division of labour somewhat, although the sharing of domestic work lags behind the sharing of farm work. Social change has had a larger influence on the attitudes of younger farm women who perceive fewer limitations to the work roles open to them both on and non-farm. Social change has also influenced the attitudes of farm men who increasingly view their female partners as capable farmers.

Even with the continued dominance of traditional work roles, women's changing work roles are important indicators of diversity in the responses of farm women and their families to economic challenges. Some women's changing work roles have led to emerging work identities as farm operators, similar to the experiences of farm women in Australia (Grace and Lennie 1998); Norway (Haugen and Blekesaune 1996) and the United States (Sachs 2003). Women have always had a variety of work relationships with the farm and their work roles are continuing to evolve along with agricultural restructuring (Leckie 1993). In 2002, Canadian farm women were found in roles as farm homemakers, woman farmers, non-farm working women and pluriactive women. These roles and their associated identities are useful for understanding the strategies of some farm women and their families in responding to agricultural restructuring.

¹ Recall, the use of traditional refers to the longstanding perception of women's roles as manager of the household and reproducing the next generation of male farmers and the perception of men's roles as manager of the agricultural enterprise.

The third research sub-question addressed how Canadian agrifamily households modified their work roles within the farm family. The Canadian agrifamily household is a tightly interconnected social system in which a change in work roles of one family member often requires a change in the work roles of their partners and children. Extending the analysis to focus on Canadian farm families, I found that both gender and age are important determinants of specific farm work tasks, although gender plays the dominant role. Even as more women are claiming farm work as part of their regular duties, agricultural work remains highly gendered. Male farmers and their sons still dominate many of the traditional farm field work roles and farm maintenance work roles and traditional female work such as farm household tasks continue to be dominated by farm women and their daughters. This gendered division of labour persists even for women farmers who have made the farm their primary work site. This finding provides support for Whatmore's contention almost 15 years ago that domestic work does not diminish even when women's workloads increase (Whatmore 1991a). Farm women must be working off the farm before their domestic work lessens and even then it remains gendered as domestic work is predominantly taken over by female children. Traditional gender differentiation of tasks appears to be more rigid for youth than for their parents, and there is less evidence of a gradual weakening of gender roles among the youth. As this gender differentiation is learned by youth, it is likely that traditional work roles in many areas of farming will persist for some time.

The work roles women choose have a significant impact on gender relations in the agrifamily household. Many farm women have moved away from the traditional role of the farm homemaker to focus on farming activities, identifying themselves as women farmers and equal partners with the man. Other women have made the decision to work at careers and non-farm jobs that afford them their own income and identity. These strategies appear to have a major impact on gender relations on the farm by influencing their children's farm work roles. Women whose work priorities are on the farm are important role models for their children as they learn how to farm. This is especially important for female youth and is evident as female youth do more farm work when their mothers work on the farm, than when their mothers have non-farm jobs. Female

youth tend to be more disengaged from the farm work when their mothers work off the farm. This disengagement may reduce the number of young women who consider farming as a career option at a time when agriculture is gradually opening up to women. The strategies of women are also significant when men are working at non-farm work. Farm work demands on male youth increased substantially and the work of female youth shifted into the household domain when women as well as men worked at a non-farm job.

In some Canadian agrifamily households, farm women have taken on larger and more equal roles on the farm gaining decision making power in the process. These women are important role models supporting a less-traditional set of gender relations. In agrifamily households whose strategy has been for farm women to seek non-farm work, female youth appear to be more focused on household work. This may sustain the traditional division of labour for female youth. But at the same time, youth are witness to their mothers playing a larger role in major decisions on the farm by virtue of their monetary contributions to the household. The result is mixed, supporting a changing set of gender relations, but with some traditional characteristics.

The fourth research sub-question was aimed at determining what roles farm family members play in decision making on farms and what factors are important in determining those roles? Decision making on farms has traditionally been divided on the basis of gender with men making decisions about the farm operation and women making decisions in the household domain (Rosenfeld 1985). As this study shows, the general pattern continues with men more likely to make decisions in areas of crops and livestock, marketing and insurance. Decisions on buying and selling land and large equipment purchases were more often joint decisions and women were more likely to make decisions on major home purchases, recreation and children's activities.

Decision making involvement for farm women was influenced by traditional family ideology; women's identity; their roles on the farm; their knowledge and skills; whether they work at a non-farm job; and their self identification. Women play a number of

roles as decision makers on the farm and their decision-making roles are changing alongside their work roles on and off the farm. Women farmers who have chosen to focus their work roles on the farm have considerably more influence in decision making than farm homemakers who play a more traditional role on the farm, while women who have chosen to work off the farm become much less involved in the day-to-day operations. Yet, for those women working at non-farm jobs, their economic contributions ensure they play a significant decision-making role in major expenditures and they tend to have husbands who are more highly involved in decisions about their children. Farm women's decision-making roles are changing to reflect recognition of their contributions to the farm through work and capital.

Where farm women earned their influence in decision making on farm decisions through contributions of labour and capital, men's decision making roles on the farm were largely unaffected by their farm work. Male decision making in the day to day operation of the farm continues to be the norm. However, men had a more equal role in decision making about their children when they were more involved in the more traditional female work roles of caring for children. Identity was a factor in decision making for farm men as joint decision making was more likely when the male farmer identified a joint partnership arrangement with his spouse, reflecting changing gender relations and identities on the farm for men as well as women. For some, especially those whose families had longstanding connections to the farm, traditional family ideologies continue to reduce farm women's involvement in decision making.

There are many participants in a decision and many roles that are played in the process of decision making. Although farm men play the dominant roles in most decisions, women have significant input and children also play a role. In some decisions, parents, extended family, other professionals and colleagues are all involved. Although women see their roles as subordinate, they do report more substantial roles for themselves than men report for their spouses. In major house purchase decisions, women report they are the dominant decision maker more often than men report their wives are the dominant decision maker. This may reflect different approaches to decision making on the part of

some men and women, or it may suggest that both women and men making decisions in those areas they have the most influence in focus more on their own roles than the roles of others.

7.2 Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

The major original theoretical contribution arising from this research is the Agrifamily Household Response Model (Figure 2.1). The model conceptualizes members of agrifamily households as active agents, using and modifying the rules and resources associated with the structural properties of social systems as they make decisions to respond to prevailing economic, political, environmental and social structures at global, national, regional and local scales.² This model draws on Giddens' (1984) structuration theory that combines structure and agency to understand social change. In developing this model, I brought together diverse bodies of research from geography, sociology, economics, anthropology agricultural economics and feminist studies to help explain how Canadian farm families are responding to structural change.

Each of the chapters in this thesis addresses some part of the Agrifamily Household Response Model. In Chapter Four, I focused on the agrifamily household and was able to show how women in agrifamily households have shifted their paid and unpaid work roles from 1982 to 2002 and how these role changes have affected their gender identities. Farm women are expanding their work roles both on and off the farm and these changing work roles are contributing to shifting gender identities. Women farmers and pluriactive women are more likely to identify themselves as joint operators than women in other working roles on the farm. These changing roles are linked to attributes of the family such as education, where higher levels of post-secondary education appeared to afford women more opportunities for non-farm work; and age, where younger women had a broader perspective of work roles. Attributes of the farm are also important in changing work roles and identities, as measures of farm size and farm type were linked to women's work roles.

² Social systems would include the agrifamily household, their local communities and the wider social, economic and political systems.

In Chapter Five I focused on how the work strategies of households feed back into the agrifamily household, the family and the farm to impact gender/work roles and relations. I have also shown that the roles adopted by women are especially important in determining the roles of their female and male children both in farm work and in household work. As women farmers take on larger and more equal roles on the farm, the traditional gendered division of labour has been weakened, although the sharing of domestic work lags behind the sharing of farm work. These women were important role models for their children as they had more decision making power and were more likely to support their daughters in farm succession, thus supporting a non-traditional set of gender relations. Conversely, for the majority of farm families where women are doing non-farm work, the effect on gender relations in the household appears to reinforce the traditional division of labour for female youth on the farm even though their mothers have more decision-making power in major decisions on the farm. For all of these families, gender relations are changed, but retain some traditional characteristics.

The discussion of decision making in Chapter Six showed how farm family members make decisions in light of economic, political, social and environmental changes they observe that affect the household. Families responded to economic challenges by considering land acquisitions to expand their operation, to acquire available land and to keep land in the family. Some also considered whether to sell land and reduce the size of the operation or go out of production. Decisions to engage in new economic activities were motivated by economic pressures in farming and new production practices were considered in order to increase profit, to diversify and because of market conditions. Capital investments in farm machinery were also often motivated by the desire for efficiency and cost effectiveness. When considering a new economic activity such as taking a non-farm job, women often mentioned that they were motivated by social considerations of empowerment and independence. Addressing environmental issues and conservation was one reason some farm families made decisions about changing production practices.

In Chapter Six, I was also able to illustrate that the process of decision making within the family was affected by attributes of the family such as education and family history as well as attributes of the farm such as farm size and farm type. Within the agrifamily household, I was able to show that gender roles and identities were important aspects of the process of decision making and that with different gender roles and identities came different decision making power relations in the family.

The Agrifamily Household Model suggests the household is linked to the community in a variety of ways. Links to the community are illustrated by the broad range of participants in farm families' decisions. Farm families are connected to extended family in the community as well as to their non-farm jobs and to institutions that support them such as credit unions, banks, businesses, and agriculture extension workers.

I have illustrated the agency of farm families and farm women in this research by demonstrating that farm families do respond to changing structures and that their responses are influencing decision making, gender roles, gender identities and gender relations in farm families. The large number of decisions that farm families reported making clearly indicates that farm families were not passive actors in the face of agricultural restructuring. They responded in many ways, by varying farm, non-farm, community and household work roles, forging new identities, modifying gender and generational relations, diversifying economic activities both on and off farm, adjusting land holdings, and leaving farming altogether. The agency of farm women was also evident. Many farm women were making decisions about what work they would and would not do, both on and off the farm. Women's agency was also observed in the diversity of their responses to structural change as they made decisions to work part-time on the farm as a farm homemaker, to work full time on the farm as women farmers, to pursue their careers as non-farm working women, or to try to do both as pluriactive women.

Research on farm women's work has been undertaken and replicated many times in a variety of countries. However, this topic has been neglected in Canada. Coupled with

the dramatic changes in Canadian agriculture and society, there has been a significant gap in knowledge about the work roles of Canadian farm women. This research addresses that knowledge gap. In doing so, I have contributed to our understanding of farm families by incorporating more recent feminist approaches that address not only gender roles, but also gender identities and gender relations. This research also adds to the emerging discussion on farm women's occupational identities as farm operators and develops a typology of Canadian farm women that reflects their diverse roles and the resulting gender identities and gender relations as they respond to agricultural restructuring thus contributing to this growing field of research. The typology of Canadian farm women informs the analysis on how the farm family members redefine their work roles and gender relations as well as the analysis on gender roles, relations and power in decision making.

A second original theoretical contribution stems from the household scale of analysis of how women, men and youth in farm family allocate work. Conceptualizing the agrifamily household as a place where family members redefine work roles, social relations and identities combined with a multi-strategy methodology allowed me to do a preliminary analysis of the ways in which farm families allocate their work roles in different work situations and the gender relations that arise. This methodology allowed analysis of how farm family member's work changed under different work role decisions by other family members as well as speculation as to what that meant for gender relations in the farm family.

A third original theoretical contribution is the focus on the decision making processes as the primary means in which members of Canadian agrifamily households have responded to structural changes. I developed a methodology to examine the decision-making process in response to Rickson's (1997) suggestion that decision making research would benefit from methodologies that would determine who had the most influence over specific decisions about selected events and activities on the farm. Additionally, I took up the suggestion that the roles of all members of the farm family should be considered. By using open ended questions about who participated in a

variety of major decisions and the roles these various participants played, I was able to discover that a variety of people play a large variety of roles in farm and household decision making. This strategy was in contrast to other studies of decision making, which were based on the farmer or the farming couple and only allowed respondents to indicate their level of participation in the final decision. We now know considerably more about who participates in particular types of decisions and the various roles people play in decision making.

A major methodological contribution was the design and implementation of a multi-strategy approach to the data collection. This approach enabled me to make the theoretical contributions regarding the interaction of the farm family and decision making described above. The approach involved a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods that were designed to support and inform each other. This methodology was important to improve the reliability of the conclusions and allowed some innovative analysis to occur involving the combination of a variety of data sets. Measuring work in three different ways allowed me to cross check the different measures. The sampling strategy that included three members (woman, man and youth) of the same family in the research was critical because it enabled comparison in many facets of the research including enabling exploration of gender relations within the family and the impacts on the family of particular responses to structural change that involved changing work roles on the farm.

7.3 Limitations

Limitations to this research arise from the small sample size. Due to problems recruiting interviewees and respondents, the desired 618 respondents in the original research plan were never realized. There was also considerable fatigue among the respondents over the course of the project and many dropped out. Low response rates in provinces such as Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia required the analysis to be based on regions of Canada rather than provinces and limited the extent to which the data could be disaggregated. The time diaries were completed at a lower rate than the interviews due to their high demands on people's time. As a result, the family

based components of the study were based on a small sample of families, limiting the statistical analysis that could be used and allowing only preliminary results. Further research should follow up the research on families in order to improve our understanding of what is happening within the family. One approach would be more quantitative work on all members of farm families using much larger sample sizes, another approach would be a more qualitative, in-depth study of the whole family.

7.4 Policy Recommendations and Implications

This study provides clear evidence that farming is a family endeavor, in the majority of cases involving many more people than the single operator often recognized as the farmer. Although the Government of Canada has committed to gender equity in policy consultation and development (Status of Women Canada 1995), in practice, these commitments have been little more than fine words, farm women are still invisible in policy making initiatives (Roppel *et al* 2006). Research shows that the majority of farm women are involved in farm work as well as in household work that supports the farm. Almost two thirds of the farm women who do not work at a non-farm job are classed as women farmers, many working full-time on the farm in partnership with their spouses and some specializing in their own farm based enterprises. These women are also highly engaged in decision making on the day to day operations of their farms. Farm women and other family members are also significantly involved in decision making on matters of concern to the ongoing operation and management of the farm. Consequently, it is important that Agriculture and Agrifood Canada in their consultation processes for policy development in Canadian agriculture recognize this broad involvement in agriculture. Agriculture and Agrifood Canada must develop and use strategies that will encourage farm women to participate in policy discussions and must also monitor the success of those strategies.

It is also important to note that the strategies farm families are choosing to respond to agricultural restructuring and broader structural change will have implications for their children. Many farm children learn to farm by working alongside their parents from an early age and I have shown that the work roles parents play are important in determining

the work that their children do on the farm. Although many women choose non-farm work for personal reasons, others feel compelled to work off the farm for financial reasons and given a choice, would focus their work on the farm. The increase in women working at non-farm jobs appears to reduce the farm work of female youth and may result in fewer women coming into farming at a time when agriculture is slowly opening up to women. As well, many farm families are not encouraging their children to farm due to the poor economic returns from agriculture. Since the sustainability of family farms and rural communities depend on young farmers coming into the industry, the loss of farm youth which will surely impact the future of farming. Policies to facilitate young farmers entering agriculture will be unsuccessful until the inability of agriculture to support a Canadian farm family is addressed by governments and Canadians. The continued loss of farms in Canada will have adverse implications for our future food security, the environment, and the survival of rural communities.

This research has also shown the strong link between agriculture and non-farm employment. Employment for farm women and men is increasingly becoming a necessity in order to maintain the family and in many cases supplement farm income. This calls for a variety of rural economic and social policy initiatives. Industry, community organizations and provincial governments need to work together collaboratively to provide viable economic opportunities for farm family members, including non-traditional jobs for women so that they can contribute a substantial income to the household. Rural communities must also maintain government, health care and education services in order to attract residents and industries as well as provide the attendant well paying service sector jobs in rural areas. In order to support the increase in the number of families where both parents are working, it is critical that a variety of childcare options be available in rural communities, including daycares that offer flexible hours as well as increased facilities. Companies, communities and the various levels of government must work together to come up with creative ideas that will increase the supply and access to rural childcare facilities.

Canadian farm family members work longer hours at both farm and non-farm jobs than the average Canadian, and can no longer devote as much time to volunteer and leisure activities. This amount of work raises serious health implications for work-life balance. In addition, Canadian rural and farm families are increasingly being called upon to volunteer to maintain facilities and services that were once provided by governments and business and to engage in economic development at the community level. Mechanisms must be found to support these community initiatives through expertise, funding, facilitation and partnerships between government, industries and communities.

7.5 Implications for Further Research

As changes in gender identities and gender relations are taking place for Canadian farm women, there will undoubtedly be changes for Canadian farm men. Anecdotal evidence from the wives of farm men, as well as studies of men in agriculture and forestry in Europe point to some significant changes in work and gender relations. Brandth (2001) suggests that in Norway, farm men's identities are tied to land ownership, their occupational positions as farmers, their productive work, their position as head of the family work force and the farm business. Many of these factors are under stress and, in combination with the sources of change I have identified for farm women, the identities, roles and relations of farm men must be in a period of significant change. The lack of research on farm men suggests there is a serious need for research on the impact and responses to agricultural restructuring for Canadian farm men to further our understanding of the responses of farm men and farm families to structural change.

It would also be useful to further investigate the impact of household responses to structural change on the gender roles and relations within farm families, as this issue has implications for the future direction of farming. The small number of families was a limitation in this study, and a larger data set would allow more substantial conclusions as well as a comparison within farm types and among the regions of Canada. Similarly, the available data limited my work on farm men and women's family decision making and a more complete understanding would be possible with further research. A more detailed analysis of individual sectors may help identify specific stress points and

response strategies. These would be useful to guide more targeted and effective government policies to support individual sectors. This is important as well, if we believe that food security will be a strategic priority in the years ahead.

This research focused on the traditional nuclear farm family with youth aged 12 to 18 years and still living at home. The requirement for the farm family to have youth at home led to a narrower range of age groups in the study and a slightly younger than average group of farm women and men. Only interviewing one youth in the family, rather than all the children or one child of each gender limited my ability to make comparisons within the same family. Further research should also explore the experiences of older farmers who are hanging on to the farm operation to understand how their experiences are different. Similarly, the focus on the traditional family left out many non-traditional households such as brothers and sisters who farm together, same sex partners, migrant farm workers and others who also must negotiate household and farm work and make decisions.

All of the families in my analysis were still farming and living on the farm at the time of the study. This means that those families whose response to economic pressures was to leave farming for other employment or to retire from farming were not considered. Although many aspects of the study would not be relevant to this group, knowing more about their experiences and their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the decision to abandon farming would be very valuable. Often, parents who have retired are still involved in aspects of the farm operation. Similarly the growing numbers of farm families who live off the farm are not represented. To add to the understanding of how economic, political, environmental and social factors have changed and are changing through the years in agriculture, a study that focused on multiple generations of farm men and farm women in the same families would provide interesting information on how work roles, gender identities and gender relations have changed over time.

7.6 Final Thoughts

When I started this research project, in partnership with the women of the National Farmers Union, the main goal was to document the experiences of Canadian farm women and their families at a time of dramatic change in agriculture. That the role of Canadian women in agriculture is still unrecognized and unacknowledged speaks to the persistence of the predominant view that agricultural work is done by men. Although change is difficult to see at the macro level of agricultural organizations and government policy consultations, this research has shown that at the level of the household, change is beginning to occur. Farm women's contributions are being acknowledged through recognition of joint partnerships and increased decision making power. I have shown, once again, that women and children as well as men play significant roles in providing labour, capital and decision making to agriculture. Without women (and children), who form a significant invisible work force, agriculture and rural communities would be dramatically changed.

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APPENDIX A

Table A.1 Work Tasks on Canadian Farms by Gender							
		Female Respondents n=172			Male Respondents n=160		
Farm field work	% of farms doing tasks	Regular duties	Only in exceptional situations	Not done by respondent	Regular duties	Only in exceptional situations	Not done by respondent
Ploughing, disking, or cultivating*	68%	22%	22%	56%	83%	8%	10%
Application of fertilizers or pesticides*	60%	11%	13%	76%	74%	8%	19%
Field work without machinery*	46%	25%	15%	59%	50%	22%	28%
Harvest without machinery*	30%	21%	11%	68%	39%	10%	51%
Harvest crops with machinery*	65%	41%	14%	45%	82%	4%	14%
Drive trucks as part of farm work*	79%	59%	17%	25%	90%	3%	8%
Pick up repair parts, or supplies, or perform other errands*	92%	85%	10%	5%	93%	5%	2%
Livestock care							
Birthing and medical care of farm animals*	73%	67%	15%	19%	85%	6%	9%
Feeding farm animals*	78%	65%	17%	18%	91%	4%	5%
Cleaning barns*	72%	52%	14%	34%	81%	7%	12%
Loading and transporting farm animals*	70%	51%	22%	27%	81%	9%	10%
Care of animals for family consumption*	69%	61%	8%	31%	83%	4%	14%
Milking (NS)	27%	50%	12%	39%	58%	8%	34%
Farm Maintenance							
Maintain farm buildings and fences*	86%	42%	23%	35%	89%	6%	5%
Maintain or repair farm machinery*	84%	20%	20%	59%	93%	2%	5%
Cook clean and wash clothes for hired help*	35%	42%	8%	51%	16%	13%	71%

* Differences between female and male work is statistically significant. Chi-Square \leq 0.05 **NS** - Differences between female and male work is not statistically significant

Table A.1 Work Tasks on Canadian Farms by Gender continued							
		Female Respondents n=172			Male Respondents n=160		
Farm Management	% of farms doing tasks	Regular duties	Only in exceptional situations	Not done by respondent	Regular duties	Only in exceptional situations	Not done by respondent
Exhibiting farm products*	31%	30%	31%	57%	47%	12%	42%
Testing, inspections, grading*	56%	44%	11%	45%	81%	6%	13%
Deal with sales people*	85%	43%	25%	33%	90%	7%	3%
Deal with consumers directly*	51%	45%	14%	42%	69%	12%	20%
Deal with wholesalers directly*	59%	29%	14%	58%	77%	6%	17%
Accounting*	91%	81%	5%	14%	69%	14%	17%
Research*	88%	52%	20%	28%	86%	11%	4%
Meetings*	83%	41%	24%	35%	82%	12%	6%
Farm business correspondence*	86%	64%	14%	22%	74%	11%	15%
Seminars and workshops*	76%	38%	26%	36%	70%	18%	12%
Supervise hired help or contractors*	50%	40%	20%	40%	78%	7%	15%
Supervise work of other family members*	84%	66%	11%	23%	83%	6%	12%
Farm processing							
Nursery / greenhouse work (NS)	14%	21%	4%	75%	31%	3%	66%
Washing, packing, and cooling vegetables *	21%	57%	3%	40%	28%	17%	55%
On farm processing (NS)	23%	39%	10%	51%	48%	8%	44%
Value added agricultural activities **	25%	36%	7%	58%	55%	8%	36%
Farm Maintenance							
Maintain farm buildings and fences*	86%	42%	23%	35%	89%	6%	5%
Maintain or repair farm machinery*	84%	20%	20%	59%	93%	2%	5%
Cook clean and wash clothes for hired help*	35%	42%	8%	51%	16%	13%	71%

* Differences between female and male work is statistically significant. Chi-Square \leq 0.05 **NS** - Differences between female and male work is not statistically significant

	% of farms doing tasks	Female Respondents			Male Respondents		
		Regular duties	Only in exceptional situations	Not done by respondent	Regular duties	Only in exceptional situations	Not done by respondent
Farm Household Work							
Meal preparation and cleanup *	93%	98%	1%	1%	52%	26%	22%
Shopping *	94%	98%	1%	1%	38%	30%	31%
House cleaning and laundry *	92%	97%	1%	2%	36%	33%	32%
Seminars and workshops for home improvement (NS)	62%	48%	20%	32%	42%	19%	40%
Care of vegetable garden for family consumption *	62%	82%	2%	16%	46%	18%	36%
Canning and freezing *	61%	82%	5%	14%	18%	18%	64%
Farm Household Maintenance							
House repair and maintenance *	89%	62%	19%	19%	79%	13%	8%
Minor car repair and maintenance *	87%	35%	20%	46%	78%	12%	10%
Yard maintenance and snow ploughing *	87%	75%	9%	16%	86%	8%	6%
Volunteer work							
Volunteer work in the community or school *	82%	79%	10%	10%	70%	14%	16%
Child and Elder Care							
Child Care *	78%	88%	2%	10%	67%	8%	25%
Helping children with homework *	73%	73%	9%	18%	52%	22%	27%
Transporting children to extracurricular activities *	75%	80%	4%	15%	60%	19%	21%
Looking after sick or elderly family and/or friends *	64.7	57%	22%	21%	38%	24%	38%
* Differences between female and male work is statistically significant. Chi-Squares \leq 0.05 NS - Differences between female and male work is not statistically significant							

Table A.2 Average Time Spent on Activities Study Farm Adult Population vs Canadian Population Aged 35 to 44				
	Study Farm Adult Population		Canadian Adult Population 35- 44	
	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
	Hours per day		Hours per day	
Total Work (1)	11.1	10.9	9.4	9.3
Paid Work (2)	9.1	5.2	6.2	3.8
Unpaid Work (3)	2.0	5.7	3.1	5.4
Personal Care (4)	10.5	10.7	9.8	10.2
Total Leisure (5)	2.4	2.5	4.8	4.5
Paid Work				
Farm Work	7.5	3.5		
Non-farm Work	1.6	1.7	6.2	3.8
Unpaid Work				
Household Work	1.6	5.0	2.8	5.0
Civic and Volunteer Work	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.4
Education	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
Leisure				
Active Leisure	0.3	0.4	0.9	0.6
Sports Movies and Entertainment	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2
Television, reading and passive leisure	1.3	1.1	2.3	2.0
Socializing	0.5	0.6	1.5	1.7

1. Total work includes paid work and unpaid work
2. Paid work includes farm work and non-farm work
3. Unpaid work includes household work, civic and volunteer work and education
4. Personal Care includes sleeping, eating, washing up
5. Leisure includes active leisure such as playing sports, watching sports movies and entertainment, watching television, reading a book and socializing

Table A.3: Time (hours) Spent on Daily Activities by Farm Women Type, Female and Male Youth																	
	Total time (hrs)	Domestic (hrs)	Field Work (hrs)	Livestock Work(hrs)	Farm Maintenance(hrs)	Farm Management (hrs)	Farm Processing (hrs)	Household Maintenance (hrs)	Childcare (hrs)	Eldercare (hrs)	Voluntary Work (hrs)	Leisure (hrs)	Personal Care Entertainment (hrs)	Travel (hrs)	Non-Farm Work (hrs)	Services(hrs)	Education(hrs)
Farm Homemakers / Female Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	2.73	0.38	0.30	0.08	2.23	0.33	0.53	0.63	0.08	0.70	3.73	10.7	0.98	0.48	0.23	0.00
Average Male	24.0	0.35	1.25	2.28	2.23	1.98	0.03	0.60	0.10	0.05	0.78	2.80	10.3	0.70	0.00	0.00	0.00
Average Female Youth	24.0	0.38	0.05	1.08	0.00	0.05	0.40	0.00	0.03	0.05	0.20	4.85	11.4	1.00	0.45	0.08	4.23
Farm Homemakers / Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.50	0.35	1.13	0.25	0.78	0.03	0.33	1.40	0.33	0.38	3.13	10.4	0.78	0.00	0.13	0.00
Average Male	24.0	0.38	1.13	3.38	0.65	1.13	0.13	0.33	0.78	0.08	0.45	3.35	11.1	0.88	0.68	0.03	0.13
Average Male Youth	24.0	0.18	0.30	1.00	0.08	0.20	0.00	0.08	0.13	0.00	0.28	4.33	11.2	1.30	0.75	0.08	4.60
Women Farmers / Female Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.25	0.33	3.33	0.03	1.25	0.10	0.25	1.15	0.15	0.50	2.25	10.2	0.80	0.05	0.23	0.00
Average Males	24.0	0.35	1.60	4.20	0.65	1.50	0.00	0.25	0.45	0.00	0.43	2.25	9.40	0.60	0.55	0.20	0.00
Average Female Youth	24.0	0.40	0.03	2.15	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.45	3.75	9.88	1.13	0.25	0.03	4.83
Women Farmers / Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	2.68	0.38	4.08	0.18	1.40	0.00	0.03	1.43	0.15	0.58	2.35	10.4	0.30	0.15	0.10	0.00
Average Males	24.0	0.13	1.03	5.35	1.13	1.85	0.25	0.25	0.28	0.03	0.13	2.03	10.2	0.68	1.05	0.03	0.05
Average Male Youth	24.0	0.20	0.30	1.85	0.05	0.10	0.05	0.13	0.08	0.00	0.20	3.68	10.9	0.93	0.83	0.03	5.33

Table A.3: Time (hours) Spent on Daily Activities by Farm Women Type, Female and Male Youth continued

	Total time (hrs)	Domestic (hrs)	Field Work (hrs)	Livestock Work (hrs)	Farm Maintenance (hrs)	Farm Management (hrs)	Farm Processing (hrs)	Household Maintenance (hrs)	Childcare (hrs)	Eldercare (hrs)	Voluntary Work (hrs)	Leisure (hrs)	Care Entertainment (hrs)	Travel (hrs)	Non-Farm Work (hrs)	Services (hrs)	Education (hrs)
Non-farm Working Women / Female Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	2.80	0.65	1.30	0.15	0.50	0.00	0.18	1.23	0.08	0.90	1.75	9.43	0.95	3.08	0.15	0.00
Average Male	24.0	0.45	1.70	2.18	0.90	0.78	0.00	0.48	0.73	0.00	0.28	0.93	9.33	0.50	4.55	0.00	0.00
Average Female Youth	24.0	0.68	0.00	0.30	0.05	0.13	0.00	0.03	0.13	0.03	0.63	3.80	10.9	1.55	0.60	0.00	5.28
Non-farm Working Women / Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.25	0.48	0.28	0.03	0.40	0.05	0.23	1.03	0.03	0.35	2.28	10.0	1.00	4.43	0.10	0.10
Average Male	24.0	0.35	2.70	1.60	1.48	1.35	0.30	0.38	0.68	0.03	0.48	2.33	9.80	0.75	1.38	0.10	0.00
Average Male Youth	24.0	0.13	0.75	0.85	0.60	0.28	0.08	0.25	0.03	0.00	0.10	3.50	10.6	0.98	1.00	0.03	4.50
Pluriactive Women / Female Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	2.90	0.20	0.33	0.03	1.15	0.00	0.18	0.85	0.15	1.45	2.83	10.4	1.400	2.03	0.33	0.10
Average Male	24.0	0.58	2.20	2.43	1.88	1.13	0.38	0.18	0.38	0.30	0.68	2.00	10.8	0.53	0.80	0.18	0.00
Average Female Youth	24.0	0.90	0.00	0.60	0.28	0.08	0.00	0.20	0.03	0.05	0.50	3.78	10.9	1.23	0.38	0.05	4.95
Pluriactive Women / Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	2.90	0.45	1.13	0.18	1.08	0.00	0.13	1.38	0.03	1.15	1.58	9.93	0.98	2.10	0.15	0.25
Average Male	24.0	0.30	1.65	2.70	1.20	1.75	0.08	0.18	0.40	0.00	0.58	1.78	9.85	0.65	2.40	0.20	0.03
Average Male Youth	24.0	0.15	0.33	1.55	0.38	0.28	0.00	0.08	0.03	0.00	0.28	3.05	10.5	1.08	0.95	0.03	4.80

Table A.4: Time (hours) Spent on Groups of Activities by Farm Women Type, Female and Male Youth

	Farm Domain (hrs)	Household domain (hrs)	Management Domain(hrs)	Personal & Entertainment (hrs)	Off Farm Work (hrs)	Education (hrs)
Farm Homemakers / Female Youth						
Average Female	1.1	4.8	2.2	14.4	0.5	0.0
Average Male	5.8	1.9	2.0	13.1	0.0	0.0
Average Female Youth	1.5	0.7	0.0	16.2	0.4	4.2
Total	8.4	7.5	4.3	43.7	0.9	4.2
Farm Homemakers / Male Youth						
Average Female	1.7	6.0	0.8	13.6	0.0	0.0
Average Male	5.3	2.0	1.1	14.4	0.7	0.1
Average Male Youth	1.3	0.7	0.2	15.5	0.7	4.6
Total	8.4	8.8	2.1	43.5	1.4	4.7
Women Farmers / Female Youth						
Average Female	3.8	5.5	1.3	12.5	0.0	0.0
Average Male	6.5	1.7	1.5	11.7	0.6	0.0
Average Female Youth	2.2	0.9	0.2	13.6	0.3	4.8
Total	12.4	8.1	2.9	37.8	0.8	4.8
Women Farmers / Male Youth						
Average Female	4.6	4.9	1.4	12.7	0.2	0.0
Average Male	7.7	0.9	1.8	12.2	1.1	0.1
Average Male Youth	2.2	0.6	0.1	14.6	0.8	5.3
Total	14.6	6.4	3.4	39.5	2.0	5.4
Non-farm Working Women / Female Youth						
Average Male	4.8	2.0	0.8	10.2	4.5	0.0
Average Female	2.1	5.3	0.5	11.2	3.1	0.0
Average Female Youth	0.4	1.5	0.1	14.7	0.6	5.3
Total	7.3	8.7	1.4	36.1	8.2	5.3
Non-farm Working Women / Male Youth						
Average Female	0.8	5.0	0.4	12.3	4.4	0.1
Average Male	6.1	2.0	1.4	12.1	1.4	0.0
Average Male Youth	2.3	0.5	0.3	14.1	1.0	4.5
Total	9.2	7.5	2.0	38.5	6.8	4.6
Pluriactive Women / Female Youth						
Average Female	0.6	5.8	1.1	13.3	2.0	0.1
Average Male	6.9	2.3	1.1	12.8	0.8	0.0
Average Female Youth	0.9	1.7	0.1	14.6	0.4	4.9
Total	8.3	9.8	2.3	40.7	3.2	5.0
Pluriactive Women / Male Youth						
Average Female	1.8	5.7	1.1	11.5	2.1	0.2
Average Male	5.6	1.7	1.7	11.6	2.4	0.0
Average Male Youth	2.3	0.6	0.3	13.5	1.0	4.8
Total	9.6	8.0	3.1	36.6	5.4	5.1

Table A.5: Time (hours) Spent on Daily Activities by Women Working On and Non-farm; Men Working On and Non-farm, Female and Male Youth

	Total time (hrs)	Domestic (hrs)	Field Work (hrs)	Livestock Work(hrs)	Farm Maintenance(hrs)	Farm Management (hrs)	Farm Processing (hrs)	Household Maintenance (hrs)	Childcare (hrs)	Eldercare (hrs)	Voluntary Work (hrs)	Leisure (hrs)	Personal Care Entertainment (hrs)	Travel (hrs)	Non-Farm Work (hrs)	Services(hrs)	Education(hrs)
Women working on farm; Men working on and non-farm; Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.6	0.4	1.7	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.2	1.8	0.1	0.6	3.2	9.8	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.0
Average Males	24.0	0.3	1.4	2.7	0.9	1.5	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.4	3.3	10.9	1.2	1.6	0.0	0.1
Average Male youth	24.0	0.3	0.5	1.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	4.5	11.3	1.1	0.7	0.1	4.6
Women working on farm; Men working on farm; Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.3	0.4	2.9	0.1	1.5	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.5	0.3	2.4	11.1	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0
Average Males	24.0	0.5	0.8	5.8	0.8	1.4	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.3	2.4	10.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
Average Male youth	24.0	0.2	0.1	1.5	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	3.7	10.8	1.2	0.8	0.0	5.2
Women working on farm; Men working on and non-farm; Female Youth																	
Average female	24.0	2.9	0.5	1.3	0.1	2.7	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.6	3.2	10.7	1.1	0.0	0.2	0.0
Average males	24.0	0.6	1.0	4.1	1.7	1.7	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	1.2	2.7	9.3	1.1	1.0	0.2	0.0
Average female youth	24.0	0.3	0.1	1.3	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	3.7	10.8	1.2	0.4	0.1	4.2
Women working on farm; Men working on farm; Female Youth																	
Average female	24.0	3.1	0.3	2.7	0.0	0.9	0.1	0.5	1.0	0.2	0.6	2.6	10.2	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.0
Average males	24.0	0.2	1.7	3.1	1.1	1.7	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.2	2.3	10.0	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0
Average male youth	24.0	0.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	4.6	10.3	1.0	0.3	0.0	4.8

Table A.5: Time (hours) Spent on Daily Activities by Women Working On and Non-farm; Men Working On and Non-farm, Female and Male Youth continued

	Total time (hrs)	Domestic (hrs)	Field Work (hrs)	Livestock Work(hrs)	Farm Maintenance(hrs)	Farm Management (hrs)	Farm Processing (hrs)	Household Maintenance (hrs)	Childcare (hrs)	Eldercare (hrs)	Voluntary Work (hrs)	Leisure (hrs)	Personal Care Entertainment (hrs)	Travel (hrs)	Non-Farm Work (hrs)	Services(hrs)	Education(hrs)
Women working on and non farm; Men working on and non-farm; Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.2	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.2	1.2	0.0	0.6	1.7	10.2	1.1	4.0	0.1	0.3
Average Male	24.0	0.4	1.4	1.9	1.0	1.6	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.4	2.1	9.4	1.0	3.5	0.2	0.0
Average Male Youth	24.0	0.1	0.7	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.9	10.4	1.0	0.2	0.0	4.4
Women working on and non farm; Men working on farm; Male Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.0	0.9	0.8	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.2	1.1	0.0	0.8	2.4	9.7	0.9	3.1	0.1	0.0
Average Male	24.0	0.3	3.3	2.2	1.7	1.4	0.1	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.7	2.2	10.3	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.0
Average Male Youth	24.0	0.2	0.5	1.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	3.9	10.8	1.0	0.7	0.0	4.8
Women working on and non farm; Men working on and non-farm; Female Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	2.7	0.6	1.2	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.0	0.7	2.1	10.0	1.1	3.6	0.2	0.0
Average Male	24.0	0.6	1.5	2.2	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.7	1.3	9.8	0.7	4.4	0.0	0.0
Average Female Youth	24.0	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.5	3.9	11.0	1.3	0.8	0.1	4.7
Women working on and non farm; Men working on farm; Female Youth																	
Average Female	24.0	3.0	0.3	0.3	0.2	1.4	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.3	1.9	2.7	9.7	1.3	0.8	0.3	0.2
Average Male	24.0	0.4	2.7	2.5	2.6	1.3	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.4	0.2	1.7	10.4	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
Average Female Youth	24.0	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.6	3.7	10.6	1.7	0.0	0.0	5.7

Table A6: Time Spent on Groups of Activities by Women Working On and Non-farm; Men Working On and Non-farm; Female and Male Youth

	Farm Domain (hrs)	Household domain (hrs)	Management Domain (hrs)	Personal & Entertainment (hrs)	Off Farm Work (hrs)	Education (hrs)
Women working on farm; Men working on and non-farm; Male Youth						
Average female	2.4	6.3	0.6	13.0	0.1	0.0
Average males	5.0	1.5	1.5	14.1	1.6	0.0
Average Male Youth	1.6	0.7	0.2	15.7	0.7	4.6
Total	9.0	8.6	2.3	42.9	2.4	4.6
Women working on farm; Men working on farm; Male Youth						
Average female	3.4	5.4	1.5	13.5	0.0	0.0
Average males	7.7	1.8	1.4	12.9	0.0	0.2
Average Male Youth	1.8	0.7	0.1	14.5	0.8	5.2
Total	12.8	7.9	3.0	40.8	0.8	5.3
Women working on farm; Men working on and non-farm; Female Youth						
Average female	2.1	4.7	2.7	13.9	0.0	0.0
Average males	6.8	2.5	1.7	12.1	1.0	0.0
Average Female Youth	1.8	0.9	0.1	14.5	0.4	4.2
Total	10.7	8.1	4.5	40.4	1.3	4.2
Women working on farm; Men working on farm; Female Youth						
Average female	3.0	5.6	0.9	12.8	0.4	0.0
Average males	5.9	1.3	1.7	12.3	0.0	0.0
Average Female Youth	2.0	0.8	0.1	14.9	0.3	4.8
Total	10.9	7.8	2.7	40.0	0.7	4.8
Women working on and non farm; Men working on and non-farm; Male Youth						
Average female	0.7	5.4	0.4	11.9	4.0	0.3
Average males	4.6	1.6	1.6	11.4	3.5	0.0
Average Male Youth	2.6	0.5	0.4	13.2	1.2	4.4
Total	7.9	7.5	2.4	36.6	8.7	4.7
Women working on and non farm; Men working on farm; Male Youth						
Average female	1.7	5.2	0.9	12.1	3.0	0.0
Average males	7.2	2.1	1.4	12.4	0.0	0.0
Average Male Youth	1.9	0.6	0.1	14.7	0.7	4.8
Total	10.8	7.9	2.4	39.1	3.8	4.8
Women working on and non farm; Men working on and non-farm; Female Youth						
Average female	1.7	4.8	0.5	12.1	3.6	0.0
Average males	4.4	2.2	0.7	11.1	4.4	0.0
Average Female Youth	0.6	1.5	0.1	14.9	0.8	4.7
Total	6.8	8.5	1.3	38.1	8.8	4.7
Women working on and non farm; Men working on farm; Female Youth						
Average female	0.7	6.8	1.4	12.3	0.8	0.1
Average males	8.0	1.9	1.3	12.1	0.0	0.0
Average Female Youth	0.6	1.8	0.0	14.3	0.0	5.7
Total	9.4	10.5	2.7	38.7	0.8	5.9

APPENDIX B

Employment Practices of Farm Families Interview Guide Fall 2001

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Strict confidentiality will be maintained in this interview. Your responses are voluntary and you may choose to refuse to answer any question. The responses will not be seen by anyone other than our research team. No family names will be used on the forms and the information collected will be publicly presented only in the form of summaries. The survey will take approximately 50 minutes to complete.

Date of Interview: _____

Interviewer Name: _____

Interview Number: _____

Location: _____

Postal Code: _____

PART I: ABOUT YOUR FARMING OR RANCHING OPERATION

1. Please describe your farming or ranching operation.

2. Which of the following categories best describes the type of farming you are engaged in. Check only one.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dairy
<input type="checkbox"/> Cattle
<input type="checkbox"/> Hogs
<input type="checkbox"/> Poultry and eggs
<input type="checkbox"/> Wheat
<input type="checkbox"/> Sheep | <input type="checkbox"/> Grain and Oilseeds
<input type="checkbox"/> Field Crops
<input type="checkbox"/> Fruit
<input type="checkbox"/> Vegetable
<input type="checkbox"/> Mixed Farming
<input type="checkbox"/> Other(please specify) _____ |
|---|---|

3. Are crops grown on this operation?

(including grains, oilseeds, field crops, vegetables, fruit, forage crops, seed crops, etc.)

yes no

3a. If yes, please list the agricultural products grown and the land area planted to those crops in 2001?

Products	Seeded Area in 2001	Products	Seeded Area in 2001

4. Are animals raised by this operation? yes no

(This will include working animals, animals for family and/or friends consumption, 4H, animals at a custom feedlot or on a community pasture)

4a. If yes, please list the types and numbers of animals raised by this operation.

Animals	Number of animals (on September 1, 2001)
Beef Cattle	
Dairy Cattle	
Hogs, pigs	
Sheep or Lambs	
Poultry - broilers	
Poultry - layers	
Other poultry	
Bees (# of hives)	
Horses	
Other (specify)	

5. Are any of these animals grazing on a community pasture or on crown lands?
yes no

6. If yes, how many head are grazed? _____

The following questions are about the land that is part of this farming or ranching operation.

7. What units will you report your land holdings in? Acres Hectares Arpents

8. What is the total area of land in this agricultural operation? _____

(include all land, whether owned, rented or leased from others or crop shared with a landlord. Include all land used for crops, hay, grazing or pasture, summerfallow, buildings and farmyards, woodland, marshes, sloughs etc.)

9. How much land is owned and operated by your operation? _____

10. How much land is owned by your operation but operated by another operation under a lease, rental, cropshare or other agreement _____

11. How much land is owned by another person or operation but operated by your operation under a lease, rental, cropshare or other agreement? _____

12. How much land is operated by your operation (regardless of ownership) (the sum of Q9 and Q11) _____

13. Of the total area owned by your operation (in question 8) please indicate the area that is owned by:

- a. You alone
- b. Your spouse alone
- c. You and your spouse jointly
- d. Your children
- e. Your mother or mother-in law alone
- f. Your father or father-in-law alone
- g. Your mother and father jointly or your mother-in-law and father-in-law jointly
- h. Other relatives
- i. Other non-relatives
- j. other (please specify) _____

14. Of the total area owned by another person or operation, but operated by your operation (see question 11) please indicate the area that is under agreements negotiated and signed by:

- a. You alone
- b. Your spouse alone
- c. You and your spouse jointly
- d. Your children
- e. Your mother or mother-in law alone
- f. Your father or father-in-law alone
- g. Your mother and father jointly or your mother-in-law and father-in-law jointly
- h. Other relatives
- i. Other non-relatives
- j. other (please specify) _____

15. Does your operation hold land under any other operating arrangements?

yes (please specify) no

PART II: PEOPLE ON THE FARM

1. I would like to know about all the people who live and / or work on this farming operation.

First, I would like to know about yourself and your household. For each person usually living in this household please provide their first name, their relationship to you and their year of birth.

	First Name	Relationship to you (e.g. daughter, son, uncle, hired help etc.)	Gender F/M	Year of Birth
R				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				

2. Please list any other people who do not live in your household but do contribute to work on the farm or ranch.

	First Name	Relationship to you (e.g. relatives, neighbors, hired help, etc.)	Gender	Year of Birth
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

3. How many years have you and your spouse operated a farm together? _____ years.

4. Altogether, how many years have you lived and worked on a farm or ranch?
_____ years.

5. How many years has your spouse lived and worked on a farm or ranch?
_____ years.

6. Including you, how many generations of your family have worked on this farm?
_____ generations _____ years

7. Including your spouse, how many generations of his/her family have worked on this farm?
_____ generations _____ years.

8. How many generations of your family have been farming or ranching?
_____ generations.

9. How did you learn to farm?

10. How did your spouse learn to farm?

11. How do you learn about new developments in farming?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> agricultural fairs or crop production shows | <input type="checkbox"/> continuing education courses |
| <input type="checkbox"/> university extension departments | <input type="checkbox"/> salespeople |
| <input type="checkbox"/> agrologists | <input type="checkbox"/> government departments |
| <input type="checkbox"/> meetings and workshops | <input type="checkbox"/> commodity associations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> newsletters | <input type="checkbox"/> books |
| <input type="checkbox"/> talking to others | <input type="checkbox"/> internet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> television | <input type="checkbox"/> newspapers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify) _____ | |

12. How do you learn about new developments in home and family management?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> exhibits and shows | <input type="checkbox"/> continuing education courses |
| <input type="checkbox"/> university extension departments | <input type="checkbox"/> salespeople |
| <input type="checkbox"/> government departments | <input type="checkbox"/> meetings and workshops |
| <input type="checkbox"/> newsletters | <input type="checkbox"/> books |
| <input type="checkbox"/> talking to others | <input type="checkbox"/> internet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> television | <input type="checkbox"/> newspapers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify) _____ | |

PART III: FARM FAMILY WORK

NOW WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE WORK DONE ON THE FARM BY YOU AND YOUR FAMILY. This section will take a few minutes to complete.

1. The following list of tasks includes some of the kinds of work done on farms. We would like to know which of the following types of work **YOU** have done during the **past 3 months**.

If a particular type of work is not done on your operation, please tell me and we will go on to the next one.

2. For the work that you do on the farm/ranch, are you paid cash wages?
yes no

3. Are you compensated in any other way for the work that you do on your farm/ranch?
(compensation may include such things as.: money when needed, withdrawals from a joint account, % of farm profits, gifts, share in the equity of the corporation, use of vehicles, farm products, etc.)

5. Are you compensated for all the work that you do on this farm/ranch?
yes no

6. How satisfied are you with the compensation you receive for the work that you do on the farm/ranch?

- very satisfied
- somewhat satisfied
- not very satisfied
- very unsatisfied

6. On this operation, are there certain types of farm/ranch work that are done predominantly by you? yes no

7. If yes, which types of work are predominantly done by you?

8. What factors are important in determining the type of farm/ranch work that you do?

9. On this operation, are there certain types of farm/ranch work that are predominantly done by your spouse?

yes no

10. If yes, which types of work are predominantly done by your spouse?

11. What factors are important in determining the type of farm/ranch work that your spouse does?

12. Is your spouse paid cash wages for the work he/she does on the farm/ranch?

yes no

13. Is your spouse compensated in any other way for the work that he/she does on the farm/ranch? (compensation may include such things as.: money when needed, withdrawals from joint accounts, % of farm profits, gifts, share in the equity of the corporation, use of vehicles, farm products, etc.)

14. Is your spouse compensated for all the work that he or she does on this farm/ranch?

yes no

15. Are your children paid wages for the work they do on the farm/ranch?

- yes, always
- sometimes, depending on the type of work they do (please specify) _____
- sometimes, depending on the amount of work they do (please specify) _____
- some of the children are paid (please specify which ones) _____
- no
- other (please specify) _____

16. Are your children compensated in any other way for the work that they do on the family farm/ranch? (compensation may include such things as.: money when needed, % of farm profits, gifts, share in the equity of the corporation, use of vehicles, farm products, etc.)

17. On this farming operation, are there certain types of farm/ranch work that are predominantly done by your children?

yes no

18. If yes, which types of work are predominantly done by your children?

19. What factors are important in determining the type of farm/ranch work that your children do?

Hired Help

1. Have you employed hired help on this farming / ranching operation during the past 3 months (include farm help, household help, elder care, babysitting)?
yes no

2. If yes, what is the contribution of hired help to the farming / ranching operation?

3. During the past 3 months, how many hours in an average week did you pay hired help? _____ hours.

4. During the past three months have you hired companies or individuals to do custom or contract work? yes no

5. What types of custom or contract work were hired?

PART IV: NON-FARM / RANCH EMPLOYMENT

IN THIS SECTION WE ARE TRYING TO FIND OUT ABOUT ALL YOUR OTHER PAID WORK ACTIVITIES THAT ARE NOT RELATED DIRECTLY TO THE WORK YOU DO ON THE FARM / RANCH.

1. Do you engage in non-farm work that contributes to your household income?

- yes no

2. If yes, are you employed

- full-time part-time
 casual other (please specify) _____

3. Would you describe your employment as:

- year around seasonal
 contract other (please specify) _____

4. Are you

- Employed by another company, agency or person
 Self employed
 Other (please specify) _____

5. If you are employed in non-farm work, please specify the type(s) of employment you are engaged in?

6. What is your current job title(s)? _____

7. How long have you had your current job(s) outside farming/ranching? _____ yrs.

8. How long have you had any job outside farming/ranching? _____ yrs.

9. What are your reasons for being employed in non-farm / ranching work?

10. If you are employed in non-farm/ranch work, please indicate your degree of satisfaction with the type of employment you are engaged in?

- very satisfied
- somewhat satisfied
- not very satisfied
- very unsatisfied

11. What accounts for your level of satisfaction?

12. Has being employed in non-farm/ranch work affected your ability to contribute to the work being done on the farm/ranch?

- yes no

Please comment:

13. Has your being employed in non-farm/ranch work affected the overall operation of your farm/ranch?

- yes no

Please comment:

14. Has your being employed in non-farm/ranch work affected the on-farm/ranch work of other members of your family?

yes no

If yes, how?

15. Does your employment take you away for extended periods of time (one month or longer per year)?

yes no

How does that affect work on the farm/ranch?

16. Are you taking training or otherwise preparing yourself for non-farm work?

yes no

What type of training are you are taking?

Why are you training for non-farm work?

THIS SECTION IS ABOUT THE NON-FARM / RANCH WORK OF YOUR SPOUSE.

1. Does your spouse have non-farm/ranch work that contributes to the household income?

- yes no

2. If yes, is this work

- full-time part-time
 casual other (please specify) _____

3. Would you describe this work as:

- year around seasonal
 contract other (please specify) _____

4. Is your spouse

- Employed by another company, agency or person
 Self employed
 Other (please specify) _____

5. If your spouse is employed in non-farm/ranch work please specify the type(s) of employment she/he is engaged in?

6. What is her/his current job title(s)? _____

7. How long has your spouse had his/her current job(s) outside farming/ranching?
_____yrs.

8. How long has your spouse had any job outside farming / ranching? _____yrs.

9. Why is your spouse is employed in non-farm/ranch work?

10. Has your spouse being employed in non-farm/ranch work affected her/his ability to contribute to the work done on the farm/ranch?

yes

no

Please comment

11. Has your spouse being employed in non-farm/ranch work affected the overall operation of the farm/ranch?

yes

no

Please comment:

12. Has your spouse being employed in non-farm/ranch work affected the on-farm/ranch work of other members of your family?

yes

no

Please Comment:

13. Does your spouse's employment take him/her away for extended periods of time (one month or longer per year)?

- yes no not applicable

How does that affect work on the farm/ranch?

14. Is your spouse taking training or otherwise preparing herself/himself for non-farm work?

- yes no

What type of training is your spouse taking?

Why is your spouse taking training?

PART V: UNPAID COMMUNITY AND VOLUNTARY WORK

1. Are you a member of any organizations? (include: community, religious, professional, union, commodity groups etc.)

yes no

2. In the following table:

- please identify the organizations you currently belong to.
- indicate the role you play in these organizations, and
- the activities you are involved in

Organization	Role <small>(member, president, etc)</small>	Activities

3. How many hours in an average week do you spend on volunteer activities?

_____ hours

4. Has your participation in voluntary organizations increased or decreased over the past 2 or 3 years?

- increased
 decreased
 remained the same

5. If your participation has changed, why has it changed?

6. Has your participation in leisure activities increased or decreased over the past 2 or 3 years?

- increased
- decreased
- remained the same

7. If your participation has changed, why has it changed?

8. Has your participation in family activities increased or decreased over the past 2 or 3 years?

- increased
- decreased
- remained the same

9. If your participation has changed, why has it changed?

PART VI: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Which of the following best describes the area in which you grew up?

- farm
- non-farm rural
- village (up to 2499 pop)
- town (2500 to 14999 pop.)
- city (15,000 to 49999 pop)
- city (over 50000 pop)

2. Which of the following best describes the main occupation of your mother?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> farming | <input type="checkbox"/> profession |
| <input type="checkbox"/> homemaker | <input type="checkbox"/> service sector |
| <input type="checkbox"/> clerical | <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> construction | <input type="checkbox"/> fishing, mining or forestry |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify) _____ | |

3. Which of the following best describes the main occupation of your father?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> farming | <input type="checkbox"/> profession |
| <input type="checkbox"/> homemaker | <input type="checkbox"/> service sector |
| <input type="checkbox"/> clerical | <input type="checkbox"/> manufacturing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> construction | <input type="checkbox"/> fishing, mining or forestry |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify) _____ | |

4. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

- elementary school
- secondary school
- technical or vocational school
- some university
- university degree
- post graduate degree

5. What is the highest level of education your spouse has attained?

- elementary school
- secondary school
- technical or vocational school
- some university
- university degree
- post graduate degree

6. Which of the following best describes your marital status?

- legally married
- commonlaw
- other _____

7. What is your religion?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Roman Catholic | <input type="checkbox"/> Ukrainian Catholic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> United Church | <input type="checkbox"/> Anglican |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lutheran | <input type="checkbox"/> Baptist |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Greek Orthodox | <input type="checkbox"/> Jewish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Islam | <input type="checkbox"/> Buddhist |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hindu | <input type="checkbox"/> Sikh |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____ | |

8. What is your ethnic origin on your father's side of the family?

9. What is your ethnic origin on your mother's side of the family?

APPENDIX C

Employment Practices of Farm Families Interview Guide Winter, 2002

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Strict confidentiality will be maintained in this interview. Your responses are voluntary and you may choose to refuse to answer any question. The survey will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Date of Interview: _____

Interviewer Name: _____

Interview Number: _____

Location: _____

Postal Code: _____

PART I: RECENT CHANGES

1. Have there been any changes in your family's farming operation in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. farming activities, land holdings, ownership etc)

2. Have there been any changes in your family's household in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. People moving in or out of the household, job changes, courses taken etc.)

3. Have you made any changes in your non-farm work in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. Changes in jobs, job location, in full or part-time, etc.)

4. Have you made any changes in your voluntary work in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. joined or resigned from an organizations, taken on a new project, etc.)

PART II: FARM WORK

NOW WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE WORK DONE ON THE FARM . This section will take a few minutes to complete.

1. The following list of tasks includes some of the kinds of work done on farms. We would like to know which of the following types of work **YOU** have done during the **past 3 months**.

If a particular type of work is not done on your operation, please tell me and we will go on to the next one.

Hired Help

1. Has your family employed hired help on this farming / ranching operation during the past 3 months (include farm help, household help, elder care, babysitting)?

yes no

2. If yes, what is the contribution of hired help to the farming / ranching operation?

3. On average, how many hours per week do you pay hired help? _____ hours.

4. During the past three months have you hired companies or individuals to do custom or contract work? yes no

5. What types of custom or contract work were hired?

APPENDIX D

Employment Practices of Farm Families Adult Interview Guide Spring, 2002

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Strict confidentiality will be maintained in this interview. Your responses are voluntary and you may choose to refuse to answer any question. The responses will not be seen by anyone other than our research team. No family names will be used on the forms and the information collected will be publicly presented only in the form of summaries. The survey will take approximately 45 minutes to complete.

Date of Interview: _____

Interviewer Name: _____

Interview Number: _____

Location: _____

Postal Code: _____

PART I: RECENT CHANGES

1. Have there been any changes in your family's farming operation in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. farming activities, land holdings, ownership etc)

2. Have there been any changes in your family's household in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. People moving in or out of the household, job changes, courses taken etc.)

3. Have you made any changes in your non-farm work in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. Changes in jobs, job location, in full or part-time, etc.)

4. Have you made any changes in your voluntary work in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. joined or resigned from an organization, taken on a new project, etc.)

PART II: FARM WORK

NOW WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE WORK DONE ON THE FARM . This section will take a few minutes to complete.

1. The following list of tasks includes some of the kinds of work done on farms. We would like to know which of the following types of work **YOU** have done during the **past 3 months**.

If a particular type of work is not done on your operation, please tell me and we will go on to the next one.

PART III: HIRED AND CONTRACT LABOUR

1. Has your family employed hired help on this farming / ranching operation during the past 3 months (include farm help, household help, elder care, babysitting)?

yes no

2. If yes, what is the contribution of hired help to the farming / ranching operation?

3. On average, how many hours per week do you pay hired help? _____ hours.

4. During the past three months have you hired companies or individuals to do custom or contract work? yes no

5. What types of custom or contract work were hired?

PART IV: FARM FAMILY DECISION MAKING

IN THIS SECTION WE WANT TO TRY AND UNDERSTAND HOW FAMILIES BEGIN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS AND WHICH MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY ARE INVOLVED IN WHICH KINDS OF DECISIONS.

1. The following table includes a list of decisions that are made by Farm Families. Please indicate who makes the decisions on each of the following areas.

TASK	ME ONLY	MOSTLY ME	EQUAL	MOSTLY MY SPOUSE	MY SPOUSE ONLY	SOMEONE ELSE
Making decisions on crops or livestock						
Making decisions on marketing						
Making decisions on crop / farm/ livestock insurance						
Making decisions on the purchase or sale of land						
Making decisions on major farm purchases						
Making decisions on a major purchase for the home						
Making decisions on recreation and family holidays						
Making decisions on Children's activities						
Making decisions on Children's education						

Note to the interviewer:

We recognize that decision making is a very complicated activity and often involves a number of people before a final decision is made. This next section of the questionnaire is an attempt to really understand how families make decisions on Canadian family farms. If the person you are interviewing has made multiple decisions of this type, ask them to think about the most recent time they have had to make that decision.

10. During the past 5 years, has your family considered whether to **MAKE A MAJOR PURCHASE FOR YOUR HOME?**

yes no How long ago was this decision made? _____ yrs

11. What led your family to think about making this decision?

12. Who initiated the decision? _____

13. Who participated in the decision? (enter in the following table - include yourself as well as family and extended family members, friends, professionals etc.)

Participant	Role in the Decision

14. What was each person's role? (enter in the above table) (Prompt: sounding board, provides advice, provides information, did research, went looking, one of a number of opinions taken into consideration, the most important opinion, an equal partner in the decision, the person with the last word)

15. Who made the final decision? _____

16. Were you satisfied with the decision? yes no

Comment _____

17. Thinking about the part you played in this decision, how satisfied were you with your role in the decision making process?

Very satisfied Satisfied Neutral Unsatisfied Very Unsatisfied

| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

18. During the past 5 years, has your family considered whether to **MAKE A MAJOR PURCHASE OF FARM EQUIPMENT?**

yes no How long ago was this decision made? _____ yrs

19. What led your family to think about making this decision?

20. Who initiated the decision? _____

21. Who participated in the decision? (enter in the following table - include yourself as well as family and extended family members, friends, professionals etc.)

Participant	Role in the Decision

22. What was each person's role? (enter in the above table) (Prompt: sounding board, provides advice, provides information, did research, went looking at equipment, one of a number of opinions taken into consideration, the most important opinion, an equal partner in the decision, the person with the last word)

23. Who made the final decision? _____

24. Were you satisfied with the decision? yes no

Comment _____

25. Thinking about the part you played in this decision, how satisfied were you with your role in the decision making process?

Very satisfied Satisfied Neutral Unsatisfied Very Unsatisfied

| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

26. During the past 5 years, has your family considered whether to **PRODUCE SOMETHING NEW OR TRY A NEW PRODUCTION PRACTICE?**

yes no How long ago was this decision made? _____ yrs

27. What led your family to think about making this decision?

28. Who initiated the decision? _____

29. Who participated in the decision? (enter in the following table - include yourself as well as family and extended family members, friends, professionals etc.)

Participant	Role in the Decision

30. What was each person's role? (enter in the above table)

(Prompt: sounding board, provides advice, provides information, did research, one of a number of opinions taken into consideration, the most important opinion, an equal partner in the decision, the person with the last word)

31. Who made the final decision? _____

32. Were you satisfied with the decision? yes no

Comment _____

33. Thinking about the part you played in this decision, how satisfied were you with your role in the decision making process?

Very satisfied Satisfied Neutral Unsatisfied Very Unsatisfied

|_____ |_____ |_____ |_____ |

34. During the past 5 years, has your family considered whether to **TAKE A JOB OFF THE FARM OR ENGAGE IN AN NEW INCOME EARNING ACTIVITY?**

yes no How long ago was this decision made? _____ yrs

35. What led your family to think about making this decision?

36. Who initiated the decision? _____

37. Who participated in the decision? (enter in the following table - include yourself as well as family and extended family members, friends, professionals etc.)

Participant	Role in the Decision

38. What was each person's role? (enter in the above table)
 (Prompt: sounding board, provides advice, provides information, one of a number of opinions taken into consideration, the most important opinion, an equal partner in the decision, the person with the last word)

39. Who made the final decision? _____

40. Were you satisfied with the decision? yes no

Comment _____

41. Thinking about the part you played in this decision, how satisfied were you with your role in the decision making process?

Very satisfied Satisfied Neutral Unsatisfied Very Unsatisfied

|-----|-----|-----|-----|

42. How has decision making on your farm changed in the past 5 years? (more decisions, more or fewer people making decisions, more critical decisions)

PART V: TRANSFERS TO THE NEXT GENERATION

1. Is it important to you that this farming operation is maintained and transferred to the next generation? yes no

Why or Why Not?

2. Will you encourage your daughter (s) to enter into farming? yes no

Why or Why Not?

3. Will you encourage your son (s) to enter into farming? yes no

Why or Why Not?

4. Does your decision to transfer or to not transfer the farm have an effect on how you manage your farming operation?

yes no

Could you comment?

5. How has your farming / ranching operation changed in the past 5 years?

6. How has your role in the farm operation changed over the past 5 years?

7. How do you expect your role in the farm operation to change over the next 5 years?

8. How does your role in farming today compare with the role of your parent (of the same gender) when he/she was your age?

PART VI: FINANCIAL INFORMATION

1. Who do consider to be an operator of this farm? _____

2. How do you define who is an operator of this farm?

3. What is the operating arrangement of this agricultural operation?

- 1. Sole Proprietorship
- 2. Partnership without a written agreement
- 3. Partnership with a written agreement
- 4. Family Corporation
- 5. Non-family corporation
- 6. Family Co-operative
- 7. Non-family co-operative

4. About how much was your total household income from all sources (before taxes) in 2001.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$10,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 – \$19,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 – \$29,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 – \$39,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000 – \$49,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 – \$74,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,000 – \$99,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 – \$149,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,000 – \$199,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$200,000 – \$499,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$500,000 and over | |

5. About how much was your Gross Farm Revenue from all sources (before taxes) in 2001.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$10,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 – \$19,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 – \$29,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 – \$39,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000 – \$49,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 – \$74,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,000 – \$99,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 – \$149,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,000 – \$199,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$200,000 – \$499,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$500,000 and over | |

6. About how much was your Realized Net Farm Income in 2001.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$10,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 – \$19,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 – \$29,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 – \$39,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000 – \$49,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 – \$74,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,000 – \$99,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 – \$149,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,000 – \$199,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$200,000 and over |

7. What is the approximate total value (capital value) of your farming operation today

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$100,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 – \$199,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$200,000 – \$299,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$300,000 – \$499,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$500,000 - \$999,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 million plus |

8. In the last two year, do you think the approximate value of your farm assets (e.g., livestock, buildings, equipment, land etc. has increased, decreased or stayed the same?

- Increased
- Decreased
- Stayed the same

9. Can you estimate what percentage of your family income comes from jobs held off your farm?

_____ %

APPENDIX E

Employment Practices of Farm Families Final Interview Guide Summer / Fall, 2002

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Strict confidentiality will be maintained in this interview. Your responses are voluntary and you may choose to refuse to answer any question. The survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Date of Interview: _____

Interviewer Name: _____

Interview Number: _____

Location: _____

Postal Code: _____

PART I: RECENT CHANGES

1. Have there been any changes in your family's farming operation in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. farming activities, land holdings, ownership etc)

2. Have there been any changes in your family's household in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. People moving in or out of the household, job changes, courses taken etc.)

3. Have you made any changes in your non-farm work in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. Changes in jobs, job location, in full or part-time, etc.)

4. Have you made any changes in your voluntary work in the past three months (since the last interview)? (e.g. joined or resigned from an organizations, taken on a new project, etc.)

PART II: FARM WORK

NOW WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE WORK DONE ON THE FARM . This section will take a few minutes to complete.

1. The following list of tasks includes some of the kinds of work done on farms. We would like to know which of the following types of work **YOU** have done during the **past 3 months**.

If a particular type of work is not done on your operation, please tell me and we will go on to the next one.

Hired Help

1. Has your family employed hired help on this farming / ranching operation during the past 3 months (include farm help, household help, elder care, babysitting)?

yes no

2. If yes, what is the contribution of hired help to the farming / ranching operation?

3. On average, how many hours per week do you pay hired help? _____ hours.

4. During the past three months have you hired companies or individuals to do custom or contract work? yes no

5. What types of custom or contract work were hired?

PART III: CHILDCARE

1. Do you require childcare in order to do your **ON-FARM WORK**?
yes no

(If **yes**, go to the next question (question 2), if **no** go to Part IV)

2. Who looks after your children while you work on the farm?
- a. Spouse
 - b. The child's siblings
 - c. The child's grandparents
 - d. Other relatives
 - e. Neighbors and friends (free or barter)
 - f. Neighbors and friends (for pay)
 - g. Adult babysitters
 - h. Licensed daycare facility
 - i. Unlicensed daycare facility
 - j. Other _____
3. Do you require childcare in order to do your **NON-FARM WORK**?
yes no
4. Who looks after your children while you work at your non-farm work?
- a. Spouse
 - b. The child's siblings
 - c. The child's grandparents
 - d. Other relatives
 - e. Neighbors and friends (free or barter)
 - f. Neighbors and friends (for pay)
 - g. Adult babysitters
 - h. Licensed daycare facility
 - i. Unlicensed daycare facility
 - j. Other _____
5. Do you require childcare in order to do **VOLUNTEER WORK**?
yes no
6. Who looks after your children while you do volunteer work?
- a. Spouse
 - b. The child's siblings
 - c. The child's grandparents
 - d. Other relatives
 - e. Neighbors and friends (free or barter)
 - f. Neighbors and friends (for pay)
 - g. Adult babysitters
 - h. Licensed daycare facility
 - i. Unlicensed daycare facility
 - j. Other _____

7. Do you have any concerns about the **availability** of childcare in your area?

Please Comment _____

8. Do you have any concerns about the **quality** of childcare in your area?

Please Comment _____

9. Do you have any other comments on childcare?

Please Comment _____

PART IV: ELDER CARE

Many households have elderly parents or relatives that they look after to varying degrees. In this section we are interested in ways farm families deal with caring for elderly people in their families and communities.

1. Do you look after an elderly parent or relative? yes no
2. Do you require assistance in caring for an elderly parent or relative in order to do your **ON-FARM WORK**? yes no

(If **yes**, go on to the next question (question 3), if **no** go to Part V)

3. If yes, who looks after your elderly parent or relative while you work on the farm?
- a. Spouse
 - b. Your children
 - c. Other relatives
 - d. Neighbors and friends (free or barter)
 - e. Neighbors and friends (for pay)
 - f. Homecare
 - g. Other _____

4. Do you require assistance in caring for an elderly parent or relative in order to do your **NON-FARM WORK**? yes no

5. Who looks after your elderly parent or relative while you work at your non-farm work?
- a. Spouse
 - b. Your children
 - c. Other relatives
 - d. Neighbors and friends (free or barter)
 - e. Neighbors and friends (for pay)
 - f. Homecare
 - g. Other _____

6. Do you require assistance in caring for an elderly parent or relative in order to do **VOLUNTEER WORK**? yes no

7. Who looks after your elderly parent or relative while you do volunteer work?
- a. Spouse
 - b. Your children
 - c. Other relatives
 - d. Neighbors and friends (free or barter)
 - e. Neighbors and friends (for pay)
 - f. Homecare
 - g. Other _____

8. Do you have any concerns about the **availability** of eldercare in your area?

Please Comment _____

9. Do you have any concerns about the **quality** of eldercare in your area?

Please Comment _____

10. Do you have any other comments on eldercare?

Please Comment _____

PART IV: WORK BENEFITS

1. In your non-farm work, do you receive any of the following benefits?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Paid holidays | <input type="checkbox"/> Employers Pension Plan |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employment Insurance | <input type="checkbox"/> Canada Pension Plan |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Medical Insurance | <input type="checkbox"/> Dental Benefits |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Disability Insurance | <input type="checkbox"/> Workmen's Compensation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employee Assistance Programs | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) _____ | |

2. Are benefits or the lack of benefits important in determining how valuable your job is to you and your family? yes no

Please Comment _____

APPENDIX F

Day 1		4 a.m. to 4 p.m.			
TIME	What was your main activity? (Please record all activities even if they only lasted for a few minutes)	Who did you do this for? (e.g. self, family, work, farm, a charity, the community)	What else were you doing at the same time? (e.g. childcare, watching television, listening to the radio)	Where were you? (e.g. at work, home, on a bus, driving a vehicle)	Who was with you? (e.g. no-one, family, friends)
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4:00pm					

Day 1		4 p.m. to 4 a.m.			
TIME	What was your main activity? (Please record all activities even if they only lasted for a few minutes)	Who did you do this for? (e.g. self, family, work, farm, a charity, the community)	What else were you doing at the same time? (e.g. childcare, watching television, listening to the radio)	Where were you? (e.g. at work, home, on a bus, driving a vehicle)	Who was with you? (e.g. no-one, family, friends)
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