

Doing Gender (in) Equality in Swedish Family Farming

Gendered labour and resources in agrarian change

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Abstract

Economic and social conditions on Swedish farms have altered in recent decades, restructuring the sector, but the family farm is still the primary production unit. Sweden is often described as a role model in gender equality, but a gender-unequal situation in farming has been identified, posing a political challenge.

This thesis critically assessed how gender inequalities are reproduced within Swedish family farming by analysing how the 'doing' of family farming, in terms of labour and material relations, is shaped and reproduced. This approach focused the analysis on relations of and in production, by placing labour and property at the centre. Other approaches yielded novel information. The theoretical frameworks of labour process theory, political economy, feminist standpoint theory and material feminism, provided conceptual space to examine the reproduction of gender inequalities.

In mixed method research, two types of survey data, interviews with farmers and literature on occupational health and safety in agriculture were used to analyse gendered access to arable land and farming conditions; the Swedish agrarian structure and the gendered organisation of the labour process; the gendered understating of agricultural health and safety; and the temporalities of Swedish family farming.

The results showed how gender inequalities are reproduced in the temporal and spatial organisation and structuring of the labour process and through unequal distribution of resources. Unequal access to arable land contributes particularly to the gendering of farm management, farm diversification and farm ability to provide household income. A spatial stratification was observed, with larger gendered differences in more productive areas. The farm labour process forms the diverse experience of time, space, economy and labour of men and women in family farming. The different spheres and socio-economic modes of the labour process puts men and women in unequal positions, with differing materialised experiences of family farming and farm work; its risks, problems and consequences.

The findings highlight the persistence of family farming in the Swedish agrarian structure and the importance of gender mainstreaming in e.g. policy, education and risk prevention work. More research is needed on the gendering effects of renegotiation of the family farm concept and situated agrarian change.

Keywords: family farming, agriculture, gender, inequalities, labour process, temporality, material feminism, political economy, embodiment, materiality

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Svensk sammanfattning

Det svenska lantbruket har genomgått stora förändringar under det senaste decenniet. Antalet företag har stadigt sjunkit genom 1900-talets historia och sektorns samhällsbetydelse har gradvis förändrats. Från att ha varit en av Sveriges viktigaste näringar har lantbruket under de senaste intagit en marginell roll, både i form av antalet sysselsatta samt dess andel av bruttonationalprodukten. Trots denna förändring så bibehåller lantbruket sin regionala och lokal betydelse i olika delar av landet.

I takt med industrialiseringen under det gångna decenniet så har familjelantbrukets framtida relevans och roll i relation till andra bruksformer och större produktionsenheter diskuterats inom forskningen. Trots motsatta prognoser så har familjelantbrukets centrala position inom lantbruket, både i Sverige och i andra delar av världen, bestått. Detta innebär att familjen utgör den huvudsakliga källan till arbetskraft inom lantbruk. I takt med att det svenska jordbruket har konkurransutsatt och arbetsmarknaden utanför gården har förändrats så har betydelsen av inkomster från utomgårdsligt lönearbete ökat. Deltidsjordbruket och de mindre produktionsenheterna har under hela 1900-talet varit ett signifikant inslag inom lantbruk, men under senare delen av det förra seklet så har skillnaden mellan deltidjordbruket och de större gårdarna vuxit. Den sviktande lönsamheten på flera håll inom det svenska lantbruket har ökat den sociala och ekonomiska pressen på de lokala producenterna. I tider av snabba förändringar så har familjens mer flexibla arbetskraft utgjort en av de viktigaste konkurransfördelarna för familjelantbruket. Dock medför de skiftande förutsättningarna och klimatmässiga förhållandena svårigheter att jämföra jordbruksförteget i olika delar av landet, samt att tala om ett svenskt jordbruk.

Tidigare forskning i Sverige och utomland har visat på de ojämslida förhållandena mellan män och kvinnor inom familjelantbruket, vilket bland

annat tar sitt uttryck igenom en ojämn fördelning av resurser, hushållsarbete och gårdsarbete. Trots detta så finns det idag relativt lite svensk forskning gjord på området, speciellt under det senaste decenniet. Den forskning som har gjort domineras av kvalitativa studier och är ofta avgränsade till begränsade geografiska områden. Inom en produktion som lantbruket har de klimatmässiga förutsättningarna en avgörande roll för hur produktionen bedrivs. Detta innebär att denna tidigare kunskap och förståelse av lantbruket formas av dess specifika förutsättningar inom vilket forskning har bedrivits. Detta medför även att den svenska kontexten i större omfattning behöver studeras i relation till den internationella forskningen kring ojämställdhet inom familjelantbruket.

Två centrala teman som har blivit identifierade av tidigare forskning inom familjelantbruket är arbete och ägande. Dessa teman utgör i mångt om mycket basen för organiseringen av familjelantbruket och är därigenom i stor utsträckning sammankopplade i vardagen och lantbrukets generationsväxlingar. Avhandlingen tar därmed sin utgångspunkt i dessa två teman för att undersöka hur ojämställdheten återskapas. Den teoretiska ingången till detta arbete är att ojämställdhet inte är en separat företeelse utan en integrerad del av organiseringen av produktionen och vardagen. Detta medför att lantbrukets produktion och familjelantbrukets arbetsprocess intar en central position i avhandlingen.

Avhandlingen undersöker hur de materiella förutsättningarna, främst i form av tillgången på jordbruksmark, påverkar och formar mäns och kvinnors lantbruksföretagande i olika delar av landet. Genom att studera kopplingen mellan det sociala och materiella så analyseras mäns kraftiga dominans och familjelantbrukets roll inom sektor, samt de skilda förutsättningarna för män och kvinnor att bedriva företagande utifrån Sveriges olika geografiska förhållande. Avhandlingens andra del undersöker hur arbetsprocessen och dess arbetsdelning, på gården och vardagen i stort, påverkar mäns och kvinnors position, förståelse och förkroppsligande av familjelantbruket. Arbetsprocessen studeras därmed utifrån dess temporala och rumsliga organisering samt dess materiella förutsättningar utifrån gårdens fysiska utformning och dess risker. Avhandlingen analyserar olika datakällor, litteratur och genomför intervjuer och tillämpar såväl kvalitativa som kvantitativa analysmetoder.

Avhandlingens resultat visar att män kontrollerar en stor del av den svenska jordbruksmarken, vilket bland annat medför att kvinnors jordbruksföretagande sker i mindre skala och med ett större fokus på djur och icke-traditionell lantbruksproduktion, inom till exempel service och tjänster, i jämförelse med männen. Denna typ av produktion är mer arbetsintensiv och har generellt en lägre avkastning i relation till arbetsinsatsen. Detta innebär även att kvinnors gårdar i lägre utsträckning kan förse hushållet med inkomster och är i högre

grad beroende av familjens arbetskraft. Dock framträder det i avhandlingen viss regionala skillnader, där mäns ägande är mer dominant i de mer produktiva delarna av södra Sverige medan kvinnor utgör en större andel i norr och skogs- och mellanbygderna. Kvinnors begränsade tillgång till jordbruksmark bidrar till ojämställdheten och har implikationer för uppstartandet och utvecklandet av kvinnors företagande i form av tillgången till stöd, lån och mark. Detta är framförallt problematiskt i en kontext där överlåtelsen av en stor del av den totala jordbruksmarken sker inom familjen. Avhandlingen visar även att familjelantbrukets dominerande ställning inom jordbruket är beständig samt att beroendet av familjearbetskraft på gården har stigit i takt med marknadsintegreringen och att lönsamheten har sjunkit.

Avhandlingen resultat visar även att familjelantbrukets organisering av arbetsprocessen och dess arbetsmiljö påverkar mäns och kvinnors kroppar och hälsa olika och har specifika konsekvenser för dessa, utifrån bland annat förväntningar, ansvar, arbetsdelning, redskap och miljöer. Arbetsprocessen och fördelningen av resurser har till följd att män och kvinnor förstår familjelantbruket, dess arbete och relationer på olika sätt. I många fall har männen en starkare koppling till platsen och gården och har på ett tidigare stadiet blivit insocialiserade i lantbruket. Hur kvinnor och män upplever och relaterar till sitt arbete har stor betydelse för hur de ser på gården, dess risker och dess framtid. Familjelantbrukets otydliga gränsdragningar mellan arbete och fritid och mellan gården och hushållet medför kvinnors utför den största delen av det obetalda hushålls- och omvårdnadsarbetet och att deras arbete är mer mångfaldigt, skiftande och flexibelt i förhållande till männens. Både dessa materiella och sociala förhållanden bidrar på olika sätt till att reproducera ojämställdheten inom det svenska lantbruket.

Avhandlingens resultat indikerar att fortsatt forskning krävs inom området för att ytterligare undersöka hur olika geografiska, ekonomiska, sociala och historiska förutsättningar formar ojämställdheten inom det svenska lantbruket. Forskningen behöver även kontinuerligt utveckla metoder för att undersöka vilka effekter den agrara utvecklingen har för familjelantbruket och dess könade relationer. Inkluderandet av ett genusperspektiv på familjelantbrukets arbetsprocess avser initialt till att förbättra situationen för det ökande antalet kvinnor och generera möjligheter för ett långt yrkesliv samt att säkerställa branschens framtida kompetensförsörjning och konkurrenskraft. Denna typ av framtida analyser kräver även att andra grupper inom lantbruket inkluderas, som till exempel anställda och migrerad arbetskraft, för att få en bättre förståelse av dess relationer och helhet. Resultaten visar även att det finns ett stort behov av att studera arbetsprocessens organisering och dess effekter som en del av lantbrukets och samhällets olika förhållanden, processer och utveckling.

Dedication

To Margit Lindahl 1925-2011

Blott de tama fåglarna har en längtan, de vilda flyger.

Elmer Diktonius

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During my childhood and youth, family farming and agriculture was not a direct but a present feature. As a child, playing in the hayloft with friends and bouncing around in the tractor cab, little did I know that these spaces would occupy more than four years of my life. However, the search to find my own wings and ways hummed a theme of urban areas and universities. My first and last place during my undergraduate studies, the Department of Gender Studies at Lund University, and the people, knowledge and dialogue that were present there shaped me deeply, both professionally and personally. For that and for showing me that a PhD was an option, I am always thankful.

My time at the national headquarters of the Swedish Municipal Workers' Union made me understand that research can be an important and integral part for and of change. I'm grateful to those colleges who inspired me to stay in academia a little while longer and introduced me to the agrarian sector.

However, the journey in the big cities and away from my home region brought me back – not in place but in mind (although through a detour of 1200 km). The last words of this thesis haven't closed the circle, but have taken me one step closer to my past and opened a new door to the future.

A special thank you to my supervisor, Gun Lidestav, for supporting and guiding me through academia and inspiring conversations, and for believing in me, my ideas and the importance of the issue at hand. The interdisciplinary voyage was fruitful, interesting but also challenging. My thanks to my assistant supervisor, Carina Keskitalo, for her guidance and insight in this process and for her critical remarks and words of encouragement during this period. Thanks also to my assistant supervisor, Peter Lundqvist, for opening the door to the department in Alnarp, but mainly for his drive, enthusiasm, support and knowledge.

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Elias Andersson

Umeå, August 2014

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List of Publications

This thesis is based on the work contained in the following papers, referred to by Roman numerals in the text:

- I Andersson, E. & Lidestav, G. (2014). Gendered Resource Access and Utilisation in Swedish Family Farming. *Land* 3(1), 188-203.
- II Andersson, E. & Lundqvist, P. Gendered time in Swedish family farming: Operationalising an agrarian typology using the Swedish Farm Accountancy Data Network (submitted manuscript).
- III Andersson, E. & Lundqvist, P. (2014) Gendered agricultural space and safety: Towards embodied, situated knowledge. *Journal of Agromedicine* 19(3), 303-315.
- IV Andersson, E. Managing flexibility and expectations: Lived experiences of spatial-temporal relations in Swedish family-based dairy farming (submitted manuscript).

Papers I & III are reproduced with the permission of the publishers.

The contribution of Elias Andersson to the papers included in this thesis was as follows:

I Study design (50%), data analysis (100%) and writing (100%).

II Study design (80%), data analysis (100%) and writing (100%).

III Study design (80%), data collection and analysis (100%) and writing (100%).

IV Andersson conducted all parts of the study; study design, data collection, analysis and writing (100%). Carina Keskitalo contributed with valuable comments throughout the study.

The supervisor (Gun Lidestav) and the assistant supervisors (Carina Keskitalo & Peter Lundqvist) have provided valuable comments throughout the thesis and the papers.

Abbreviations

AWU	Annual Work Unit
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
Ds	Ministry publications series
EC	European Commission
ESU	European Size Unit
FADN	Farm Accountancy Data Network
LRF	Federation of Swedish Farmers
JEU	Swedish Farm Economic Survey
SCB	Statistics Sweden
SCP	Simple Commodity Production
SDA	Swedish Dairy Association
SFS	Swedish Code of Statutes
SJV	Swedish Board of Agriculture
SKS	Swedish Forest Agency
SMHI	Swedish Meteorological and Hydrological Institute
UAA	Utilised Agricultural Area

1 Introduction

The scene of a glowing yellow rape field in spring or a group of peaceful cows on a green hill in the summer sun are some of the more common popular cultural representations of farming that have engraved themselves in our collective memories through the media and art. Nature plays a large role in these representations and in farming. However, in many narratives of farming, the people performing the labour and producing the commodities and services are only vaguely present or represented in a limited ways. These representations make labour, human in general and women's in particular, and the social and material relations that shape it invisible.

Despite changing economic and social conditions (Pini & Leach, 2011; Bock, 2006; Schwarzweller & Davidson, 2000), the family remains the primary unit of production in agriculture in most areas of the world. This family organisation of farming produces and reinforces inequalities both in Sweden (Flygare, 1999; Niskanen, 1998; Götebo Johannesson, 1996) and abroad (Brandth, 2002; Shortall, 1999; O'Hara, 1998; Blekesaune, 1996; Whatmore, 1991). The consequences of these inequalities are manifested in e.g. the low number of female farm managers (SJV, 2013), women's lower access to farm resources (Flygare, 1999; Shortall, 1999), unequal division of household and farm labour (Brandth, 2002; Kelly & Shortall, 2002; Blekesaune, 1996), and the patrilineal transfer of property through inheritance (Lidestav, 2001; Niskanen, 2001). The gender-unequal situation of Swedish agriculture and family farming has been defined as a political challenge (SJV, 2005; Ds, 2004), but it has been empirically and theoretically explored to only a limited extent. Further study of the organisation, conditions and context of family farming is essential for identifying and understanding the reproduction of inequalities within the area. Such studies are justifiable based on: 1) democratic considerations, i.e. equal rights and opportunities for men and women; 2) economic considerations, i.e. reducing the incidence and associated

costs of injuries and illness; and 3) productivity considerations, using diversity as a basis for innovation.

The initial aim of this thesis work to analyse how these inequalities are produced and reproduced within family farming, and how the changing economic conditions and restructuring of the Swedish agrarian sector affect the social and material relations of the family unit. However, the limited amount of contemporary gender studies in the Swedish agrarian context resulted in the research moving towards an approach exploring theoretical knowledge on comparable contexts through an empirical case study on Swedish family farming.

In the theoretical debate, it is emphasised that “grand theory” cannot provide a complete understanding of family farming and the social relations of rural contexts (Marsden *et al.*, 1996; Little, 1994). Rather, they can only be understood through analysis of a range of different social, economic, historical, political and cultural relations and their interaction “on a variety of spatial scales from local through to the international” (Little, 1994, p. 11). The abolition of “grand theory”, the turn to localities and the decomposition of categories has destabilised the material, spatial and social basis for rural gender studies (Cloke, 2006). Although stated more than a quarter of a century ago, the concerns expressed by Newby underline the boundaries of economic relations as the explanatory factor of social life and are still relevant today. He argues that the farm household remains “a kind of theoretical black box which political economy cannot penetrate because of its assumptions about the sources of social action” (Newby, 1987, p. 13), cit. Marsden, (1990). In the re-reading of political economy, feminist thoughts provide theoretical tools and concepts to transcend the deterministic understanding of social actions. Modified forms of political economy have increasingly striven to capture the “diversity of social relations and cultural practices shaping accumulation and regulation” (Marsden *et al.*, 1996, p. 362). The postmodern/cultural turn of social science during recent decades has raised important methodological issues, particularly wariness about generalisations that transcend the boundaries of culture and region (Morris & Evans, 2004; Little, 1999; Cloke, 1997). Thus it is necessary to rediscover and develop the political economy in a dialogue with experts from different discipline, both rural and urban, in order to examine the processes of gender inequality (Shortall, 2006; Whatmore, 1991), and to form a new understanding of materiality, bodies, time and space in the family farm context. This means once more asking the classic questions on the sociology of agriculture about the labour process and material relations, but situated in contemporary feminist thought.

For its production, family farming is dependent on access to arable land and family labour in its labour process. Studies on different forms of capitalist exploitation draw attention to the importance of property relations, in particular inheritance, access and control of land, in the creation of social divisions in rural areas in general and family farming in particular (Shortall, 1997; Marsden *et al.*, 1990; Goodman & Redclift, 1985). The term exploitation most often used to refer to economic exploitation were the labour of one person contributes to the profit of someone else. This process is not always monetary and is taken place across different spheres and socio-economic modes, i.e. domestic and wage labour. On a macro level, structural exploitation refers to larger sections of society, i.e. agriculture and retailers, as part of the capitalism. Theorists cite a need for research (both theoretical and empirical) on household level of social and economic relations, based on individual experiences (Redclift & Whatmore, 1990; Friedmann, 1986a). It is mainly feminist scholars who have met this challenge and made the extended household of the family farm their study object (e.g. O'Hara, 1998; Whatmore, 1991; Delphy & Leonard, 1984). However, including the local rural community is also highly important in understanding the social division (Little, 1994) and the meaning of spaces and places (Massey, 1994).

Large variations in agriculture and family farming between different contexts and productions produce variability in the commoditisation process. In term, the particularities of the process shape the conditions and situation of reproducing autonomy, agency and adapting different strategies such as plurality and co-producing farm-based resources (Brandth & Haugen, 2011; Di Domenico & Miller; Ploeg, 2008; Fuller, 1990; Marsden, 1990). Analysing the case of Swedish family farming can be motivated by political, empirical, geographical, historical and theoretical reasons and characteristics. Politically, Sweden has a long tradition of progressive gender equality actions within the welfare state regime. However, beyond the ordinary labour market and the public sphere, the interventions and their success have been limited – especially within family farming (Ds, 2004). Empirically, the contemporary body of knowledge on gender relations in family farming is restricted and mainly based on studies from a few areas in Sweden (e.g. Nordström Källström, 2008; Gunnarsdotter, 2005; Flygare, 1999; Götebo Johannesson, 1996). Thus it does not cover the large geographical variation in terms of climate, vegetation, population density and topology within Swedish borders. The majority of the Swedish landscape is covered with productive forest, leaving a small proportion of farm land (SKS, 2013). Over history, the development of the agrarian structure, distribution of land and social and political movements shaped the relations, cultures, traditions and gendering of

farming (Myrdal & Morell, 2011). All these conditions and characteristics of the case context create a challenge in theorising the Swedish family farm. The theoretical body of rural sociology and rural gender studies is largely extent situated in the context of empirical studies, primarily in a British, American or Australian context, questioning the direct validity of the findings in the Swedish context (Gunnerud Berg & Forsberg, 2003). In the field, one of the most debated theoretical topics concerning context is the work by Marx on feudal England (Newby, 1983). This does not disqualify the large majority of the present theoretical knowledge from studies of these traditions in the Swedish context, but it does create a demand for empirical studies that, in a critical tradition, explore the strengths and weaknesses of these theories within Swedish family farming. The Swedish case offers additional empirical knowledge for studies of gender relations and contextual conditions in family farming that can contribute to international findings and interpretations of gender inequalities in farming.

1.1 Aim of the thesis

This thesis put questions about labour and property relations at the centre of an analysis on gender inequalities and power in Swedish family farming. This epistemological choice places the work within the scholarly traditions of feminist studies, labour process theory and political economy. On this theoretical basis, the thesis viewed gender and inequalities as an integral part of everyday life that shapes the experiences and actions of men and women (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993; Acker, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The labour process, with its theoretical linkages to critical social sciences and research practices, provided conceptual space to examine the reproduction of gender inequalities in family farming in terms of exploitation, power, resistance and social justice. To support this approach, the thesis combined different disciplines in a theoretical framework with the aim of better capturing how gender inequalities are shaped and reproduced in family farming. Theoretically, this situates the thesis at the intersection of a variety of traditions, balancing on the theoretical backbone of Marxism-feminism. These traditions do not always come together, but were compared here in a critical productive way to help examine the complex relations of the subject area. The resulting exploration of how the 'doing' of family farming, in terms of both labour and material relations, is shaped and reproduced was used to obtain an increased understanding of how family farming is gendered, as well as racialised, sexualised and class-coded. Through examining the organisation of family farming, the experiences and relations in which the everyday world is

embedded could be examined (Smith, 1987). In the thesis, all labour undertaken, irrespective of where, how and by whom, was treated as work. This allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the interconnections between paid on-farm and off-farm employment, unpaid domestic work and other types of care, consumption and community work (Glucksmann, 1998). This analysis followed the notion that 'place matters' (Pini & Leach, 2011) and assumed that the gendered processes of farming, commodification and knowledge are situated (Bryant, 2003; Feldman & Welsh, 1995; Haraway, 1988; Friedmann, 1986b). Therefore the thesis examined not only gender inequalities as a separate aspect, but also the processes of family farming and the agrarian structure that produce and reproduce these relations.

The choice of Swedish farming as a case study placed the work within a specific set of social, material, temporal and spatial relations based on historical processes, environments and traditions. With the limited amount of contemporary Swedish research, this setting offers a supplementary position to the general study of rural and agrarian gender relations. The thesis thereby meets the current need for reflexive awareness; exploring the strength and weaknesses of the body of knowledge produced in other contexts and spheres through the empirical study of Swedish farming (Gunnerud Berg & Forsberg, 2003). With the focus on labour and production, most attention was paid to commercial family farms that generally have a substantial labour input and are market-integrated. This means that the findings presented in this thesis can be generalised to this group of family farms, particularly the group increasingly involving family members in farming. In the more general use of the concept of family farming in this thesis, this latter group is primarily referred to. However, the diversity and complexity of the concept are also further explored.

The feminist standpoint approach adopted in the thesis put farming women at the centre of the research process. Their concrete experiences provided the starting point for the production of knowledge about family farming (Hartsock, 2003; Smith, 1987). This does not mean that the potential risk of reproducing homogeneous categories of men and women was neglected (Harding, 1992). Rather, the thesis was based on the premise that leaving the lives and experiences of women and men unexplored would only result in the dominant culture being left unquestioned and the status quo remaining unchallenged (Young, 1990).

By studying the aspects of changing conditions (primarily in Papers I & II), the research provided a basis facilitating future longitudinal and comparative studies on gender relations in farming. The aim was to develop new strategies and innovative uses of existing quantitative data sets and surveys, utilisation of which was beyond the scope of this thesis. The mixed method research design

allowed different aspects and the diversity of the gendered relations of farming across different regions of Sweden to be explored. The thesis also contribute to the Swedish body of research by providing a wider epistemological base through the utilisation of a number of methods and data sources, and contextualising and compering different part of the country. The overall aim of the work was to analyse how gender inequalities are reproduced, in a Marxist-feminist understanding, within Swedish family farming. Based on important relations and forces identified in earlier studies and the theoretical framework, three research questions were examined in the appended papers:

1. How do access and the distribution of material resources and value shape the positions and activities of men and women in family farming? (Papers I & II)

2. In what ways do the organisation and structuring of the family farm labour process shape the embodied positions of women and men and the gendered understanding of the family farm? (Papers III & IV)

3. How do the situated agrarian change and contextual preconditions affect the gendering of Swedish family farming? (Papers I, II & IV)

These research questions paid particular attention to the material relations, division of labour, distribution of resources, embodied spaces and temporality of Swedish farming. The first research question was scrutinised by investigating the gendered distribution of important resources in farming (Papers I & II) and the second by examining different aspects of the organisation of labour (Papers III & IV). Data from Papers I, II and IV were then used to answer the third research question by analysing the contextual preconditions and factors that shape the process of gendering in the case of Swedish family farming.

1.2 Contributions of the thesis

The thesis makes four main theoretical contributions and four empirical contributions to the field of rural gender studies, sociology of agriculture and work sciences in general, and to the sub-area of Swedish family farming in particular.

The first theoretical contribution was made by adapting a modified political economy approach in analysis of the gendered distribution of access to land and its interrelation with other farming activities, engagements and ability to produce income for the household (Paper I). Motivated by the premise that place matters both in terms of gendered relations and farming, this contribution is important in understanding the relationship between gendered material relations, farming and agency in gender studies and in Swedish farming.

Including the spatial analysis also provided knowledge on how the gendered material relations of family farming are shaped by economic, spatial and local conditions.

The second theoretical contribution constituted operationalisation of situated agrarian typology using the Swedish part of the Farm Accountancy Data Network (Paper II). During the past two decades, researchers have paid little attention to the contemporary agrarian structure of Sweden, especially from a gender perspective (cf. Djurfeldt & Waldenström, 1998). The adapted typology was related to previous studies during the 1990s (Djurfeldt & Waldenström, 1996) to facilitate exploration of agricultural change. The theoretical engagement was mainly aimed at contributing to the situated understanding of female farmers' structural position, but the typology also provided the basis for future longitudinal and comparative studies of agricultural change and structure in Sweden.

The third theoretical contribution was an improved understanding of the farm labour process by analysing its temporal and spatial organisation (Papers II and IV). The labour process of the farm and the household has received much attention in previous research. However, theoretical examination of their interrelationships and theoretical attempts to transcend the inherent dualism have been limited. By applying a temporal perspective, the present work unravelled the extension of labour process across different spheres and socio-economic modes. Through including the situated experiences of temporalities, an improved understanding of the embodiment of these practices and sorting of time was achieved (Paper IV). The quantitative analysis of time also yielded important knowledge on the division of labour and the structuring of the labour process with its ability to analyse tendencies and spatial differences based on large sets of data (Paper II).

The fourth theoretical contribution was the combination of a standpoint feminist perspective with contemporary research on gender within the field of agricultural occupational health and safety, thereby improving understanding of the embodiment and perception of agricultural space, safety and health. Previous research on rural gender studies has only paid limited attention to the body and agricultural space (Brandth, 2006; Little, 2003; Little & Leyshon, 2003; Saugeres, 2002c; Bryant, 2001), especially from an embodied understanding. Being based on the experiences and understandings of risks, safety and space, this thesis has relevance in the development of risk prevention measures and safety programmes, as well as the theoretical understanding of agricultural space and body politics. Thus the thesis provides input to gender studies and work sciences and provides the theoretical basis for further interdisciplinary studies of the context and family farming.

This thesis also makes four empirical contributions to the above-mentioned research fields and to knowledge on Swedish family farming. The first two empirical contributions concern the gendered relations of Swedish family farming and were analysed by a political economy approach. The first examines the gendered distribution of land and land value in Swedish farming (Paper I). The second analyses the disposition of the Swedish agrarian structure (Paper II). Both of these issues are insufficiently researched, especially during the last decade. Contemporary studies focus strongly on identity and discursive practices and agency (Bock, 2004; Brandth, 2002), but little attention has been paid previously to the material basis for farm engagement and the social and structural relations of farming. By analysing two existing data sets generated by consecutive surveys, this thesis produced methodological input for future research based on the same surveys and data sources. The third empirical contribution comprised knowledge and understanding of gender within the field of agricultural occupational health and safety. This contribution mainly consisted of summarising and structuring the scattered present knowledge by conducting a systematic review. This is an important contribution, since the empirical base on gender is located within the field. However, the theoretical understanding of the concept of gender and social organisation of labour is undeveloped. This empirical contribution can thereby have an impact on both the development of gender studies within this field and the process of gender-mainstreaming safety actions and programmes in agriculture. The fourth empirical contribution derived from analysis of the temporal and spatial organisations of dairy farming in Sweden. This is also an important issue, since the traditional understanding of separate spheres (farm and household, public and private, provision and production) creates difficulties in understanding the social relations of labour and processes beyond the farm. The exploration of husbands' and wives' experiences of temporalities constitutes an important component in examining gender relations in family farming and provides important insights into the lived realities of the agrarian labour process, which transcend the traditional concept of work. However, empirical studies on temporal relations in agriculture area are still rare (Gill, 2013; Panelli, 2007; Lockie, 2006; Busch, 1989).

To summarise, the most important contribution of this thesis is the development of a theoretical framework based on several relevant perspectives and approaches in order to explore different aspects of the reproduction of gender inequalities in the farm labour process of Swedish family farming.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

The remainder of this thesis is divided into five chapters and is based on Papers I-IV, each of which can also stand alone, contributing to the present understanding of gender and family farming. Chapter 2 describes the context of the case study through the body of previous research on Swedish family farming and provides an introduction to the county of Västra Götaland and dairy farming in Sweden. Chapter 3 describes the research design and methods and reflects on the epistemological and methodological basis of the work. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the theoretical framework which guided the empirical examinations in Papers I-IV. In a dialogue with Marxist and feminist critical voices, it introduces the concept of family farming and its interrelation to gendered processes and practices. The main aim of Chapter 4 is to expand and deepen the theoretical approach to the gendered relations of farming, by emphasising the connection between the labour process, material relations and various types of inequalities. Chapter 5 summarises the findings of Papers I-IV and Chapter 6 discusses and analyses these findings in relation to current knowledge within the field. The thesis concludes with some comments on gender studies and some suggestions for future research.

2 Case study context: Swedish family farming and agriculture

The situated and contextual understanding of gendered family farming in Sweden is the main topic of this chapter. Based on previous research, the chapter describes e.g. the social, spatial, geographical and historical development, preconditions and positions of Swedish family farming and the gender relations of the sector. Section 2.1 describes the modern history of Swedish agriculture from the end of the nineteenth century, while Section 2.2 describes the gendered relations of dairy farming and farm labour. Section 2.3 presents the contemporary situation of Swedish farming and Section 2.4 discusses the persistence and position of family farming in Sweden. Section 2.5 introduces the case study used in Paper IV: dairy farming in the county of V dairy farming.

2.1 Swedish agrarian history

During the twentieth century, Swedish agriculture gradually changed from being one of the most important sectors in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) and employment to occupying a marginal position today. During that century, the number of farm businesses decreased by almost 80% (Figure 1). However, the position of family farming in the agricultural sector remained unchanged. With its demand for products, services and food processing, family farming has to a great extent been the backbone of the rural economy in many parts of Sweden (Flygare & Isacson, 2011).

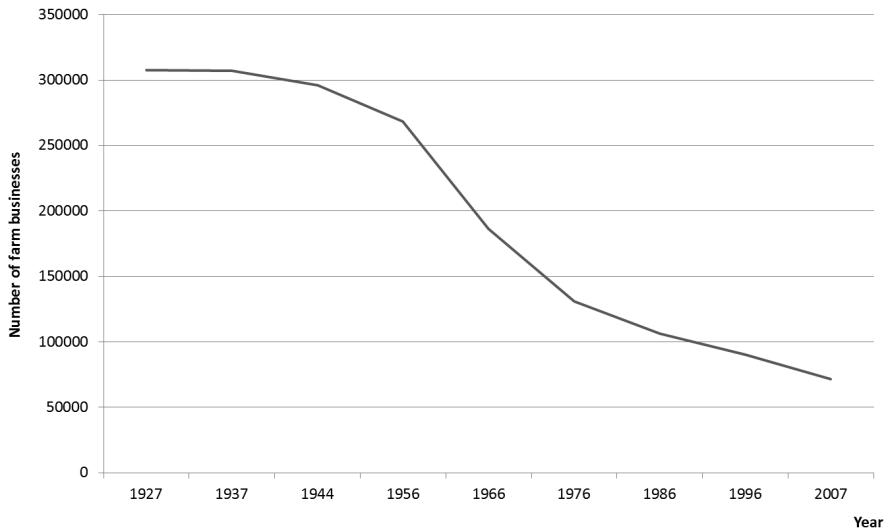


Figure 1. Number of farm businesses in Sweden 1927-2007 (SCB, 2011b, p. 12).

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of Swedish farmers owned their own farm, a similar picture to that in the rest of Scandinavia and large parts of Western Europe (Morell, 2011a; Hoyle *et al.*, 2010). The Swedish agriculture sector was largely populated by small family farms, but during the nineteenth century large estates had expanded in some areas, mainly southern plains (Skåne and Mälaren valley) (Morell & Olsson, 2010; Hansen, 2006; Olsson, 2002).

During the twentieth century, agricultural production went through a rapid phase of progress with growing mechanisation and technological developments. As the demand rose in agriculture's new market situation, the desire to increase production and to save labour drove the intensification of farming (Morell, 1997; Morell, 1993). During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century, arable yields almost doubled and at the same time the total area of arable land increased (Morell, 2011a, p. 185f).

As the production expanded, the need for labour on larger farms increased. At the time, all members of the farming family and workers were subordinate to the husband of the farm, followed by his oldest son (Morell, 2011a; Olsson, 1994). This situation gave rise to conflict between the growing workers' movement and the agricultural organisations, with a number of strikes on large estates (e.g. Olsson & Eriksson, 2002). The start of the Great Depression at the end of the 1920s, with the collapse of the international grain market and the Wall Street stock market, had a great impact on Swedish farming. Protectionist

measures made exports difficult at a time when the international market had become more important to Swedish farmers (Morell, 2010). The state of the market resulted in growing political activity in the agricultural sector with the founding of the producer co-operative movement and a number of unions and federations, as well as the Agrarian Party (Bondeförbundet) founded in 1921. In order to push through their new labour market policy in the 1930s, the Social Democrats had to accept agricultural regulations in a compromise with the Agrarian Party. This constellation formed an important foundation for the construction of the Swedish welfare state and the development of corporatist ideas. The introduction of state price regulations and farmers organisations contributed to co-operative organisations gaining an almost monopoly position on the agricultural market (Morell, 2010; Rothstein, 1992). However, the state price regulations were primarily aimed at guaranteeing a price level that made only reproduction of the smaller farm possible, while the larger and more productive farms generated a surplus. Adding geographical differences along the long land mass of Sweden, this created a debate on general agricultural funding systems that is still present today.

In the period after the Second World War, increased political emphasis was put on the modernisation of Swedish agriculture. At the beginning of this period, the sector was heavily dominated by small farms with mixed production. The ambition of complete self-sufficiency made the small-holdings seem like a poverty trap and an obstacle to industrial development. In a time with an expanding industrial sector, much emphasis was placed on the effective use of labour. The aim was to promote a structure with farms that were effective and large enough to provide income land labour for the whole household (Flygare & Isacson, 2011, p. 216f). The production was to be rationalised with the help of technology and more effective land use. However, the rationalisation was only aimed at farming men, while women's farm labour was either ignored or allocated to the domestic sphere. Flygare (2008) argues that the process of modernisation could be regarded as an attempt to get women out of farming and its future economic returns. Other studies have shown that it was actually during this period that women's labour became an integral part of the farm labour process, when the competition with industry for the labour of farm children became too stiff (Flygare, 1999; Perlinge, 1995; Jansson, 1987).

During the late 1960s, the number of full-time farmers decreased drastically, while the number of part-time farms increased in the 1970s and 1980s (Djurfeldt, 1994, p. 134f), with farming often combined with other activities such as forestry or off-farm labour (Gunnarsdotter, 2005; Bäck-Wiklund & Lindfors, 1990; Lundgren, 1985; Bjerén, 1981). Together with a

strong tradition of family transfer of agricultural land, this resulted in failure of political attempts to rationalise the farm production unit by facilitating the development of the land market (Ciaian *et al.*, 2010). In combination with its northerly location, the limited access to land in an expansive process of Swedish agriculture contributed to a strong domination of dairy and animal production, since these activities are less dependent on arable land (Djurfeldt, 1994, p. 133). This factor has also contributed to farm differentiation, whereby larger farms tend to be engaged in cereal production and smaller farms in livestock production.

During most of the 20th century, agricultural policies were aimed at the production of cheap food at all costs, encouraged on the basis of the common good (Almås & Campbell, 2012; Friedmann & McMichael, 1989; Newby, 1980). However, since the pricing of agricultural products was a process of political negotiations, and not a market process, the farmers' organisations and their influence grew during the regulation period. As part of the development of the Swedish welfare state, one of the purposes of agricultural policy was to raise the income levels of farmers to that of comparable groups. However, this political ambition was complicated within a support system mainly constructed on price regulation (Flygare & Isacson, 2011, p. 237). The agricultural support was also to a large extent capitalised in the arable sector, leading to an increase in land prices, production costs and food prices (Bolin *et al.*, 1986). In the 1980s, a process of deregulation of agriculture was initiated, bringing a short interlude of deregulation of Swedish farming. This was a decade of heated agricultural policy debate and a shift of agricultural products to achieve the same status as other products on the market. However, the process of deregulation waned with the Swedish application for membership of the European Union (Rydén, 2007). The national agricultural policy of Sweden ceased to exist when it joined the EU in 1995. A central feature of the EU policy is areal subsidies, which after the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) reform of 2005 were decoupled from agricultural production (Ds, 2014). In Sweden, one direct effect of introducing the areal subsidies was a dramatic decrease in rented arable land and a strong increase in temporary grazing and grassland (SCB, 2011a, pp. 8, 14), a shift that, according to Morell (2011b, p. 66), cannot be explained by demand from other business activities or parts of the sector. European rural policy has more clearly embarked upon a transition towards a neoliberal policy regime, which is primarily aimed at freeing the market from the state. With its process of decoupling, the agricultural policy is directed along a similar path (Potter & Tilzey, 2005). Within gender policy area, the redirection from women's support programmes and gender quotas to

gender mainstreaming constitutes one important change that can be characterised as a shift towards neoliberal governance (Forsberg, 2005).

2.2 Dairy farming and farm labour

In Sweden, women's farm labour has largely been invisible both in the public (Flygare, 2001; Nyberg, 1993) and the political sphere (Flygare, 2008). This has partly been the product of a gendered division of labour that historically situated women in the care of livestock or the private sphere (Flygare, 1999; Bjerén, 1987). Women's labour has merely been recognised as labour or been taken for granted. In the beginning of the twentieth century, many female and unmarried farm workers, i.e. milkmaids, left the hard-working conditions of larger farms for the growing industries in urban areas (Eriksson, 2002). The task of milking three times a day lay with the wives of farm workers (*statare*), who mainly received payment in kind. What has also been called "the white whip" was written into the one-year contracts of male farm workers (Olsson, 1994). Through this legal arrangement, the labour of married women became part of their husband's labour, even though it had a separate monetary value (Olsson, 1994). The everyday life of the farm wife on a smaller farm and a wife of a *statare* were quite alike, but the greatest difference was that the latter was fully exposed to the exploitation of capital (Leffler, 2002). Neither of them owned the products of their own labour (Flygare, 1999, p. 347ff) and the relations contributed to the persistent idea of the husband as the economic guardian of his wife (Niskanen, 2001). However, it is important to underline that the farm wife was not alone on the farm, but was part of a network of extended family and dependents (Isacson, 1994). The division of labour was not only based on gender but also on age (Flygare, 1999; Sjöberg, 1996; Bjerén, 1987). In contrast to their brothers, farm daughters knew that their farm labour rarely led to them inheriting the farm (Flygare, 1999, p. 347ff).

Dairy farming is labour-intensive and milk is unique as an agricultural commodity, because it is produced daily all year round (Doughrati *et al.*, 2013). The development of the dairy industry in the end of nineteenth century constituted an important factor in the progress of Swedish agriculture (Olsson, 1994; Niskanen, 1993; Sommestad, 1992). By not only producing for household consumption, the sale of dairy products contributed to capital accumulation on family farms. The milk, and women's labour, became an important factor in the mechanisation of farming and the industrial capitalism development of banks and credit institutions (Olsson, 1994). The increased capital accumulation and mechanisation brought a shift in the gendered division of labour in milk production. Starting at the level of processing,

mechanisation took men all the way to the cowshed (Sommestad, 1992). Even though milking was always an important craft, it was only defined as a skill after men had taken over the task (Olsson, 1994; Sommestad, 1992). The benefits to farm women of the time-saving mechanisation have been debated (Nyberg, 1989), but as the economic importance of milk declined during the course of the twentieth century, the gendered division of labour altered.

2.3 Contemporary farming in Sweden

During recent decades, Swedish agriculture has gone through extensive structural and economic changes (Flygare & Isacson, 2011). Although the importance of agriculture for Swedish GDP has decreased, from 7% in 1950 to 0.5% today, the sector continues to be important for society through its production of food and services (Morell, 2011a; SCB, 2011a, p. 94). In 2010, 177 000 people were employed in agriculture. In the middle of the 1960s, 60% of the employed were men. This share gradually increased until the mid-1980s, when men constituted two thirds of the employed. During the twenty-first century, the proportion of women has increased and is again about 40% (SJV, 2013, p. 42). However, only about 15% of the self-employed farm owners are women (SJV, 2013, p. 142). The sector's main income-producing agricultural activities are dairy (25-30%) and cereal production (15-20%) (SCB, 2011a, p. 95). In general, the Swedish agricultural sector is highly specialised (Djurfeldt & Waldenstrom, 1999) and, depending on definition, only about 10% of farms can be categorised as 'mixed' (SCB, 2010, p. 40). However, the level of specialisation shows large variations between different geographical regions (Djurfeldt & Waldenstrom, 1999) (Figure 2).

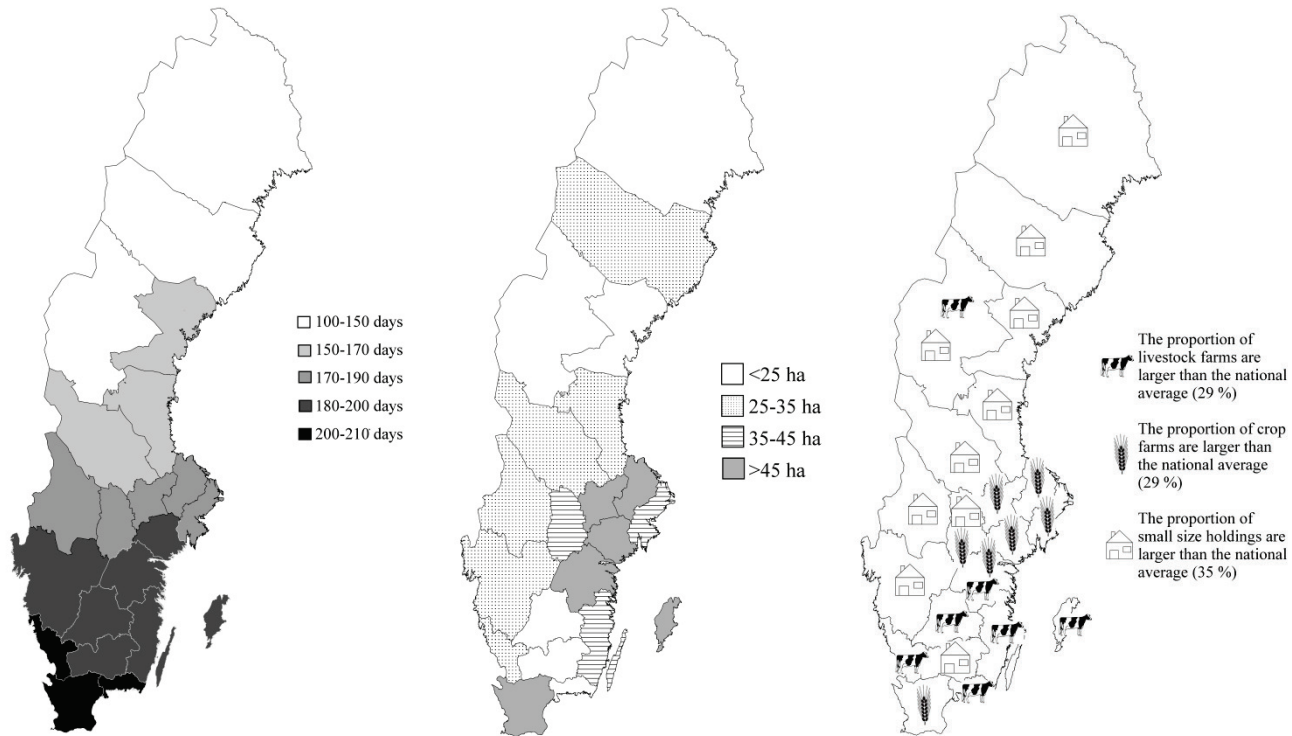


Figure 2. Maps showing geographical differences by county in Swedish farming; A) length of vegetation period, B) average farm size (ha) by, C) characteristic type of farming (SMHI, 2014; SJV, 2013).

Today there are just over 70 000 farm businesses in Sweden (SJV, 2013). However there has been a long period of decline in the amount of cultivated land and the number of farm businesses (Figure 1). On average, the amount of arable land declined by 10% in recent decades but the reduction was up to 20-30% of the total area in northern Sweden. Since the 1980s, the number of businesses has decreased by about 40%, with the largest reductions in the north and in forested areas of central Sweden (mellersta Sveriges skogsbygder) (SCB, 2011a). The decrease in number of businesses has been higher than that in cultivated land area and number of dairy cows, giving an increase in average area of cultivated land (Figure 3) and herd size per farm. In the last 10 years, technical advances in dairy farming have brought about a doubling of the average herd size, to 70 milking cows (Ds, 2014, p. 35). However, it is mainly the number of middle-sized farms with 20-100 hectares that is declining, while the number of larger farms is growing (Figure 4).

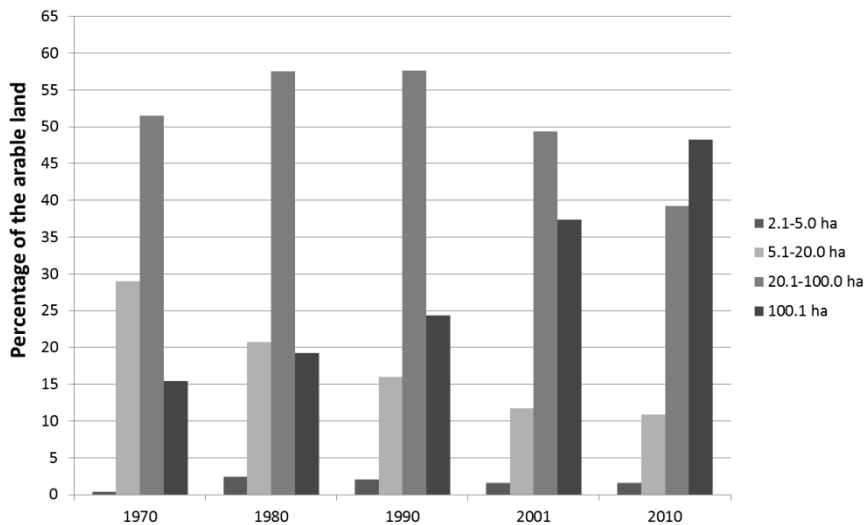


Figure 3. Distribution of total arable land in Sweden by size of farm business and year (SJV, 2013; SCB, 2011b).

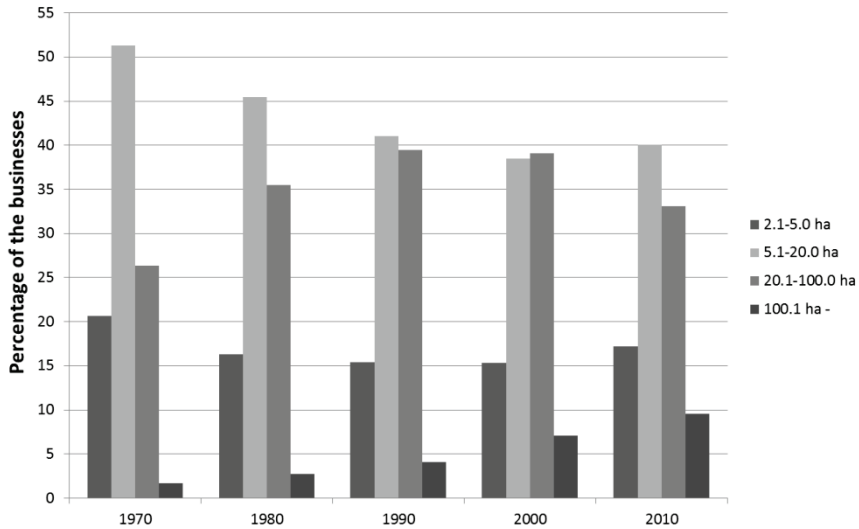


Figure 4. Distribution of farm businesses in Sweden by size (ha) and year (SJV, 2013; SCB, 2011b).

The decline in farm businesses does not just result in a number of close-downs each year, but also in a structural transformation of Swedish agriculture, with larger regional differences (SCB, 2011a). The average of arable land per farm is 37 hectares, but there is a large difference between different geographical areas. The average area of a farm in the more productive parts of southern Sweden is almost 3-fold higher than in the northern and forested regions (SJV, 2013, p. 58f). However, the structural change not only includes farm size etc., but also an increase in the average age of the farmers. The proportion of middle-aged farmers (35-49 years) has decreased by about 40% over the past two decades. Today, more than a quarter of the farming population is older than 65 years (Figure 5).

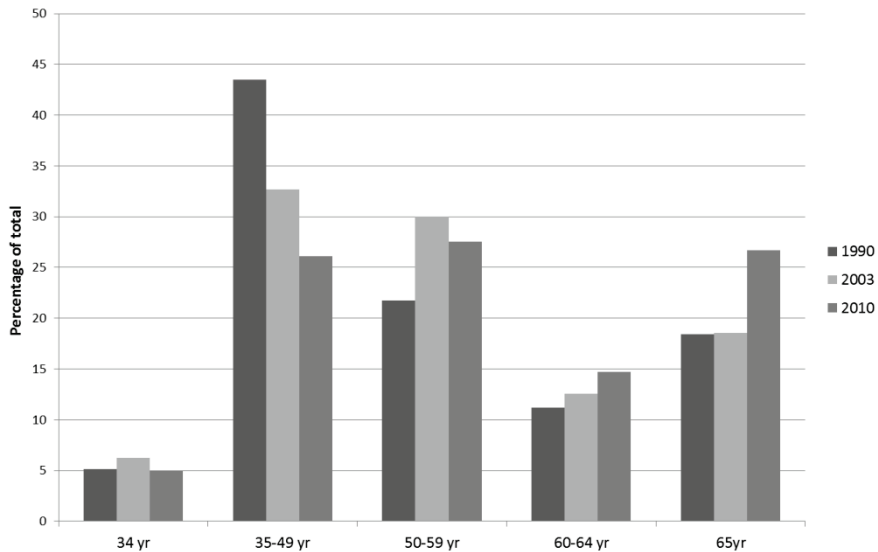


Figure 5. Age distribution (% per age class) among farmers in Sweden (SJV, 2013).

Due to the hard climate conditions and short growing season in northern parts (Figure 2), Sweden has on average some of the least expensive agricultural land in the European Union (Ciaian *et al.*, 2010, p. 51). The production and spatial conditions in southern Sweden are more similar to those in central Europe than those in northern Sweden. Given the diversity of land quality across different parts of the country, land prices in the most fertile southern regions are more than 12-fold higher than in the north. The low average prices, limited amount and increasing demand for agricultural land, together with the impact of the area-based subsidy, have resulted in a steady increase in land prices and differentiation of various regions in Sweden (SCB, 2011c; Ciaian *et al.*, 2010). In the intersection between the decline in number of farms and the growing need for land, with acceleration of the process during the 1960s, the share of rented land has steadily increased. In a heated land market, supported by EU funding systems, the average proportion of rented land was almost half the total arable land at the turn of the century. Today, one-third of arable land is rented (SCB, 2011a, p. 14f).

The challenges of globalisation, with increased spatial detachment of labour, commodities and ownership, put social and economic pressure on family farming (Lindkvist, 2001) and create a need to find adaptive or resistance strategies to increase autonomy through e.g. co-producing farm resources, networks and a local focus (Anon, 2005). To adapt to the shifting social, economic and political conditions, different strategies have e.g. increased specialisation of production or production of services connected to

the landscape (Ds, 2014; Flygare & Isacson, 2011; Myrdal, 2001). To maintain smaller to middle-sized farms, farmers also choose to diversify their farm business by e.g. opening a bed and breakfast or starting a farm shop (Hansson *et al.*, 2013; Herslund, 2007; Gössling & Mattsson, 2002; Nilsson, 2002). The conditions for farm development and pluriactivity vary greatly in different regions and parts of the country depending on e.g. spatial, ecological and structural factors (Maskell, 2001a; 2001b).

The state-supported rationalisation of agriculture, mainly to free up labour for the growing industries in urban areas, has shaped the rural labour market and the local access to public and commercial services (Kåks & Westholm, 2006). The increased labour productivity is reducing employment opportunities in rural areas and on farms, and thereby shifting the social relations of the farm (Lianos & Paris, 1972). During the last three years (2010-2013), the total labour input decreased by 4% (SJV, 2014). Today, support for the “modernisation of agriculture” is still the largest item in the Rural Development Programme – an item which men apply for and receive the largest part of (Wigren-Kristoferson & Johnson, 2013). The political rationality and productive food regime are articulated in a system of taxation which subsidises capital investments and expansions through provisions such as accelerated depreciation allowances and investment tax credits (Buttel, 1983). This system represents a transfer of resources that have a differentiating impact on farm structure due to unequal credit worthiness between farmers (Spitze *et al.*, 1980) and barriers to younger and female farmers with fewer resources entering agriculture and expanding.

The CAP reform in 2003 led to major economic changes for Swedish farming. This reform requires at least 75% percent of payments to be decoupled in the farming sector. With the introduction of the single farm payment, the area payments became a more dominant part of the funding system. Sweden is divided into five support regions with varying levels of support. The levels are estimated based on cereal yield during a historical reference period (Ds, 2014). Higher payments are therefore made to the more productive regions with better farming conditions. Together with the Rural Development Programme and the Structural Funds, the direct and indirect agricultural policies have had a great impact on the development of Swedish agriculture and family farming by affecting their behaviour and investments. Earlier, CAP became a subsidy of part-time farming that facilitated the sector’s growth (Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002). In today’s funding system, larger farms have gained more than smaller farms and men have gained more than women (Wigren-Kristoferson & Johnson, 2013; Forsberg, 2005).

2.4 The Swedish family farm

The persistence or survival of Swedish family farming is situated in its particular historical and political preconditions (cf. Section 2.1). Three broader explanatory factors are listed by Bernstein (2010a, p. 89): 1) “Obstacles” to the investment of capital in farming, 2) the interest of capital in allowing, or encouraging, the reproduction of small-scale farming, and 3) resistance by small-scale farmers to dispossession and proletarianisation.

In terms of obstacles, some of the main factors are the northern climate, with limited growth rates, the agrarian structure dominated by small-scale (Flygare, 2011; Flygare & Isacson, 2011; Morell, 2011b) and part-time or pluriactive farms (Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002; LSR, 1988), the high level of family transfer of agricultural land (Morell, 2011b; SCB, 2011c; Ciaian *et al.*, 2010) and the regulation of land acquisition (SFS, 1979).

At the end of the 1980s, the Swedish agricultural land market was deregulated. Only a few restrictions remain. The two purposes of the present regulations are to support the sparsely populated areas and to keep a balance in the division of ownership between private individuals and legal entities. The latter purpose identifies the risk of legal entities driving private individuals out of farming (Prop., 2004). To purchase agricultural land in sparsely populated areas, the prospective buyer has to live and be active within the area (4§ SFS, 1979). The purchasing of agricultural land in sparsely populated areas or by legal entities requires a permit (§7, 12§ SFS, 1979). The acquisition of land through inheritance or purchase from parents does not need to be approved by government institutions (3§ SFS, 1979), which has contributed to the stagnation of the agricultural land market (Holmström, 1985).

In terms of capital advantages with the persistence of family farming, the environmental factors of northern agriculture extend the production time, tie up capital and leave an uncertainty in profit levels or even profitability (Bernstein, 2010a). This encourages a flow of risk downstream that is absorbed by the family farm (Ploeg, 2008, p. 5f). In the resistance to the influences of capital, the strong social movements of the twentieth century, with their interconnection with the political sphere, have played an important role. The labour union movement has increased the general wage levels and the influence of various farmers’ organisations (Morell, 2011a; Djurfeldt, 1994). However, the producer co-operative movement has been a major factor in farmers’ control of the whole production chain and decreased dependence on agribusinesses (Flygare & Isacson, 2011; Rydén, 2004).

2.5 Dairy farming in Västra Götaland

In Sweden, milk production has a long historical tradition based on the environmental conditions, which has led to Sweden achieving the highest average yield per cow in Europe. Today, dairy farming still has a dominant position in the farming sector by being the largest income-producing agricultural activity. Milk production is essentially carried out by full-time farmers, occupying more than half of all such farmers, and is vitally important for rural development. Much of the Swedish countryside is dependent on milk production, e.g. in northern Sweden 84% of full-time farmers are involved in dairy farming (Nilsson & Barnheim, 2000, p. 330f). In Sweden, the number of dairy farm businesses has decreased by roughly 6-8% per year in recent years, and in 2011 there were 5341 dairy farms in Sweden (SDA, 2012a).

The county of Västra Götaland is located in the plains region of south-west Sweden and has about one and a half million inhabitants. Nearly a quarter of the total land is used for agriculture and half consists of productive forest (82% family owned) (SJV, 2013; SKS, 2013). The county contains 20% of all farm businesses in Sweden (SCB, 2011b, pp. 398, 400, 402) and is the largest milk producer, supplying one-sixth of total milk production in Sweden (SDA, 2012b). A good half of farms specialise either in livestock or crop production. Less than 10% of the businesses are mixed farms (SJV, 2013, p. 61). The area has a low number of small farms (39%) and the average business farms 33.6 ha of arable land. In many terms related to farm structure, the county of Västra Götaland represents almost the national average (SJV, 2013). In total numbers, it is also one of the counties that is granted the most support through single farm payments, investment support and support for less favoured areas (SJV, 2013, pp. 162f, 167).

3 Research design and methods

“To ignore questions of methodology is to assume that knowledge comes from nowhere allowing knowledge makers to abdicate the responsibility for their productions and representations” (Skeggs, 1997, p. 17)

Centring the analysis in this thesis within the feminist research tradition appeared to be the best way of producing a more multifaceted story about women and gender relations in Swedish family farming, using qualitative and quantitative methods in the same process. This merged the methodological strengths of the different methods by combining them in mixed-method research design (Hesse-Biber, 2010; Creswell, 2003). This combination enabled complex issues that occur at multiple levels and across spheres to be tackled, as well as providing the possibility to produce research for women, not only on women, in the diverse context of Swedish family farming. At the same time, holding true to the goals of feminist research facilitated exploration of the interrelations between structure, property/material and agency, thereby avoiding the major risk of reducing women’s actions, behaviours and experience into numerical values (Leckenby & Hesse-Biber, 2007). The research design also sought to create a basis for the development of new strategies and innovative use of present and new knowledge and data within the sector. In the four following sub-sections, the methodology of the present thesis is described and discussed.

3.1 Mixed methods

In studies on how gender inequalities are reproduced, quantitative methods are particularly well suited for analysing causal relationships between a set of factors in terms of variables. The quantitative methods provide possibilities for testing hypotheses and deductively examining theories through large amounts of material and datasets, which is useful in the theoretical Swedish context,

with more extensive research abroad. Quantitative methods also allow greater interplay with other theoretical fields beyond rural studies and its present scholarly influences. On the other hand, quantitative methods have a limited ability to capture the lived experiences of women, even though this is a major source of knowledge in policy and decision making processes in public, educational and funding institutions. This type of research might have concrete effects and influence on women's lives. In this way, the type of questions that fit into the survey framework produce a specific understanding of the question at hand. To avoid these pitfalls, the qualitative methods provide a framework to answer another set of questions and therefore contribute to creating a more comprehensive understanding of the topic (Deem, 2002; Reinharz, 1992). The qualitative methods help question the boundaries of the quantitative methods and vice versa, avoiding stereotypical and ideological assumptions while at the same time providing a powerful tool to help political processes of change (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007).

In general, mixed-methods research uses both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis to answer a specific set of questions (Hesse-Biber, 2010; Creswell, 2003). The ambition is to develop new strategies and innovative uses of existing quantitative data sets and surveys (Table 1). Based on the sequence and the relative importance, the mixed-method research design used in this thesis could be defined as a 'quant followed by QUAL' in the typology of Morgan (1998). The quantitative studies in the thesis (Papers I & II) sought to identify issues and factors that are in need of further explorations, especially in relation to theoretical developments outside Sweden. The quantitative (quant) studies were complemented by the qualitative (QUAL) studies (Papers III & IV). The results of the quantitative analysis in Papers I & II guided the two later qualitative studies, in terms of identifying different important factors and aspects of the social world that the qualitative method or data were not able to capture. Even though the sequence of the studies in the thesis is correctly captured in Morgan's design (1998), the methods could be described as being on a more equal footing, without a clear distinction between primary and secondary methods (Creswell *et al.*, 2004).

Another important factor in mixed-method research is method triangulation. This enables the use of more than one method while studying a particular research question/dimension. Even though there may be potential pitfalls in triangulating different data (Oakley, 2000; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998), method triangulation fortified and enriched the conclusions of the thesis by advocating greater validity through cross-validation (Yauch & Steudel, 2003). In the qualitative analysis, triangulation was not used to validate the stories of the participants, but rather interpreted as forms of situated knowledge – knowledge

shaped and conditioned by social positioning (Haraway, 1988). However, the mixed-method design also imposes epistemological implications in combining two paradigms. The differences between these philosophical paradigms are not to be ignored; on the contrary, they are important and need to be recognised and incorporated in the research process. Based on their epistemological differences, a dialectical approach can enhance understanding and shape and develop new perspectives and meaning (Greene & Caracelli, 1997). The conversation between the paradigms and methods themselves enhanced the synergy of the research project, while compensating for the deficiencies of the various methods used.

Table 1. What the different data sources represent and considerations for their utilisation.

Source of data	Population	Strength	Weakness
LRF-member survey (Paper I)	Farms in Sweden associated to LRF	Large data set Conducted on annual basis	Not include non-members Limited detail level
FADN (Paper II)	Commercial farms in Sweden ¹	High detail level Conducted on annual basis Comparative to other EU members	Exclude non-commercial farms Only data on the farm business
Literature (Paper III)	Agricultural health and safety research in the West	Large empirical material	Large geographical variations and contexts Primary focused on the family of the farm
Interviews (Paper IV)	Family farms with dairy production in	In-depth Similar context	Limited numbers of interviews Only Västra Götaland

¹ About 40% of the total number of farm business, 85% of the agricultural land (UAA) and 75% of the agricultural labour (AWU) (EC, 2013c)

3.2 Quantitative data analysis

“Only if we know where we were and where we are now, can we take a confident step forward” (Evans, 1992, p. 39)

Measuring and monitoring the status of gender equality is an important but difficult task, given the variety of locations where discrimination against

women occurs. On societal level, quantitative data on the situation of various population groups are a vital tool in promoting equality. Statistics on equality can also play a central role in undermining stereotypes and providing the foundations for political actions that foster a more equal society (Hedman *et al.*, 1996). In the political sphere, the importance of statistics and indicators has increased the need for sex-disaggregated data in efforts to achieve gender equality (Meier, 2008; Pollack & Hafner-Burton, 2000). The close relationship between production and use of data also highlights the political in this process and the accessibility of data (Walby & Armstrong, 2010). Thus, to generate valid data and associated gender political measures, it is essential to challenge and discuss matters of definition, technical issues and the availability of data, in order to ensure that the representation of the realities of individual's lives and their relations are as valid as possible (Walby, 2005). This calls for an accessible and meaningful body of statistical data that includes significant aspects and spheres and also an awareness of the political implications, limits and boundaries of the quantitative tools and methods.

However, the body of knowledge in the Swedish context is dominated by qualitative studies (cf. Holmquist, 2011) and most previous quantitative studies did not primarily engage in gender analysis (see. Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002; Djurfeldt & Waldenstrom, 1999; Djurfeldt & Waldenström, 1996), with the exception of Djurfeldt and Waldenström (1998). The main quantitative knowledge on gender relations in agriculture is produced by government institutions, such as Statistics Sweden and the Swedish Board of Agriculture (e.g. SJV, 2013), and in official reports (e.g. SJV, 2005; Ds, 2004). Since these sources are quite general in their analysis, both by applying the wide perspective of the agricultural sector on a macro-level and by omitting any deeper analysis, this constitutes a weakness in the empirical body of knowledge on gender relations in Swedish family farming. The aim of Papers I and II was to contribute to this empirical basis by examining the relationship between access to the central means of production in agriculture; land, and farm management (Paper I) and the division of labour on farm level and in the agrarian structure (Paper II). In both these studies, existing data collected by an external organisation were used. These recurrently collected data sets were selected to explore and facilitate the basis for future longitudinal studies. This type of material and research process has the disadvantage of drastically decreasing the researcher's ability to control for bias in the survey process. However, despite their limitations and shortcoming, the large amounts of material produced within the statistical requirements on both national and EU level provide the basis for further quantitative analyses and comparative studies on the subject. The two data sets constitute unutilised resources in

understanding the gendering of family farming and provide important knowledge and potential in relation to their different focuses (Table 1).

In Paper I, a material feminist approach was employed to study the relationship between gendered resource access and farm entrepreneurship, using a data set from the annual members' survey by the Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF). The data set analysed was from 2009 and consisted of 13 770 observations that fulfilled the criteria of the study. The main response rate to the survey was about 67%, but since a significant proportion of LRF members are not engaged in farming, it is difficult to determine the exact response rate of family farms. However, given the number of responses and their nature, the sample included a wider variety of farms than the sample in Paper II, but mainly consisted of farms with a substantial level of business activity. The geographical distribution of the sample and the dominant position of LRF in the farming community also ensured the sample's representativeness of Swedish family farming in general and the more commercial farms in agriculture in particular. The LRF data were used to assess the relationship between gender, access to arable land, engagement in various farm business activities and the extent to which the individual farm was able to provide income for the household.

This examination of the interrelations between resources and farming was based on the great amount of identity-based gender studies in farming (e.g. Bock, 2004). The ambition was to re-emphasise and explore the material relations of family farming and the distribution of resources (land) in agriculture. The rapid increase in land prices during the past decade (SJV, 2011), constituting a growing obstacle to entry into farming and tendencies for a differentiation process, underlined the importance of the study.

In Paper II, the Swedish part of the Farm Accountancy Data Network (FADN) was used to situate family farming in the contemporary agrarian structure of Sweden and to identify gendered relation and practices within it. The study was conducted to operationalise a situated agrarian typology and to examine the gendered position and temporalities of Swedish family farms. The analysis was primarily based on patterns of labour use within the 524 farms in the sample, which were equally distributed across Sweden.

The FADN has been maintained in Sweden since the country became a member of the EU in 1995. The study originated from the Swedish Farm Economic Survey (JEU), which has been harmonised and standardised in accordance with the FADN methodology. FADN constitutes a tool for monitoring and evaluating the income and economic conditions of European farms (EC, 2013a) and thereby provides the basis for comparative analysis between different countries. The Swedish sample consists of about 1000 farms

that are stratified by region, farm size and type of farming. However, the sample is not representative of all farms, since the farms included are required to be 'commercial' according to regulation EEC/79/65 (Table 1). A minimum European Size Unit (ESU) has been established based on standardised gross margins in each member state to define the commercial farm (EC, 2013b). In 2008, the threshold for Sweden (8 ESU) was exceeded by about Swedish 27 000 farms (SJV, 2009). The observations cover 40% of the total of 72 600 agricultural businesses in Sweden. Since a farm can consist of more than one agricultural business, it is likely that the sample covers more than 40% of active farms. FADN mainly focuses on data collection from farms with a large impact on total production volume, whereas information on farms with a low impact on the total volume of agricultural production is limited, although such farms still constitute a vital resource in rural areas. However, the statistical sampling methods are designed to make the data representative of the Swedish productive farm sector as a whole. Following cross-referencing with data on owner gender, 501 of 1025 farms in the sample were excluded due to lack of information and thus the sample used in the analysis consisted of 524 observations. Based on the data, Swedish farm structure was explored through operationalisation of a situated farm typology. Labour use constituted the main basis for these temporal analyses and assisted in the investigation of spatial and gendered relations of these structures and labour use on farm level.

3.3 Qualitative application and analysis

The qualitative approach comprised 16 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with wife and husband on eight dairy farms (Paper IV). The choice of dairy as the main production enterprise was based on the common occurrence of this type of production in major parts of Sweden. The farms were sampled within a restricted area, at similar distances to larger cities, in the county of Västra Götaland. This area was chosen based on its prominent position in the agricultural sector, both in terms of numbers of farm businesses and milk production. Understanding the content and epistemology of the experiences as specialised knowledge requires attention to the contexts from which those experiences emerge. While produced by individuals, farm women's and men's experiences as situated knowledge are embedded in their rural communities (Little, 1994; Haraway, 1988) and shaped by their spatial and natural situation (Bernstein, 2010a; Harvey, 2006).

For maximum variation, the farms were strategically selected based on criteria relating to the farms and their activities (see the methods section in Paper IV). A mixed and emergent sampling strategy (Patton, 2002),

incorporating purposive and snowball approaches (Noy, 2008), was used. The partners were interviewed separately in order to facilitate the development of a personal narrative (Kohler Riessman, 2003), so that the participants could reflect on their experiences of everyday life and family farming. The interview questions were open-ended and the interview guide was constructed based on the guidance of the theoretical framework. The guide explored the experiences of the participants' everyday world and their personal history. The feminist debate on the position of researchers in qualitative research (Sprague, 2005) coloured the whole research process and helped in interactions with the participants in their everyday world (Abu-Lughod, 1990). To understand interviewing as a form of social interaction, it is important to consider one's own standpoint in the different steps of the research process (Harding, 1993).

These meetings were an important driving force in the work described in this thesis and the participants' experiences were of great value to the final product. In general, the participants were found to talk easily and were able to reflect over their everyday world. However, a number of them had off-farm functions, e.g. as board members, and seemed to find it easier to put their experiences into words. Within this subgroup in particular, there was a distinct collective narrative involving use of more or less the same word to describe some aspects of their profession. The characterisation of farming as a job denoted by 'freedom' was one of the more common narratives articulated by the participants. Many of the farm couples in the study put aside time to participate, even though the interviews took place during a busy period. However, three couples declined to participate due to pressure of work during the period. This could be interpreted as a slight bias in the sample based on the economic structure of time – who could 'afford' to participate? There are of course other factors that influenced the ability to participate, not least the environmental and ecological aspects of farm production.

In the process, reflection on my own lived position and that of the participants contributed to a sense of relation and recognition. I sometimes experienced difficulties when participants' values and points of view collided with my own (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996). While I did not grow up on a farm, the perception during the interviews was that my rural background provided a social link based on similarity. In many of the interviews, these circumstances situated me in both an outsider and insider position simultaneously (Narayan, 1993), something that became evident in meetings with a few of the participants. At the end, returning to questions that were first asked in the beginning of the interview exposed knowledge that was "mute" and taken for granted due to my assumed insider position (DeVault, 2004). The fact that I was considerably younger than the participants also played a part in

defusing the situation by making it less threatening. This said, the sensibility to power relations, without downplaying my own position as researcher in relation to the participants, is important to recognise (Skeggs, 2001). In a theoretical approach, reflexivity is an important practice to increase the transparency of the research process and to acknowledge that “all knowledge is affected by the social conditions under which it is produced and that it is grounded in both the social location and the social biography of the observer and the observed” (Mann & Kelley, 1997, p. 393).

The interview material from the study was then deductively coded based on the theoretical framework. During the course of the research, sub-coding was conducted inductively and transformed into categorical themes based on patterns and commonalities. The potential risk of “stealing women’s words” struck me during the process (Opie, 1992). To minimise this risk, I tried to be diligent in sharing the material (in the form of citations) and to be open about the heterogeneous parts of the narratives. These steps also increased the transparency of the process and enabled multiple reads of the data. The dual responsibility and accountability to the participants and to the wider academic and user community was challenging and provided important questions in the development of the research.

A feminist standpoint epistemology requires women to be placed at the centre of the research process and their concrete experiences provide the starting point from which knowledge is built (Hartsock, 2003; Smith, 1987). Despite farm women’s potential power to reveal important insights about the articulation and materialisation of gendered inequalities, their standpoint is only their perspective and is partial. No group has “a clear angle of vision” and thus can legitimately claim to possess a unique standpoint that enables a complete view of everyday world (Collins, 1990, p. 234). Despite its partiality, the standpoint of a marginalised group is still epistemologically preferable to that of a dominated group from a standpoint position. In Collins’ account, the partiality of standpoint offers the possibility of male researchers, such as myself, to contribute and incorporate the feminist standpoint approach in the research process. The awareness of the partiality of one’s view encourages curiosity and a politics of solidarity.

In the Paper IV, the combination of insights from the different standpoints of the farm wife and husband contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of social life within family farming, as well as the interrelation between different inequalities and systems of oppression. In this understanding, with no pure victims and no pure oppressors, the tendency in early feminist standpoint theory to view women as passive victims rather than the agents of resistance is avoided. hooks (1990, p. 150) emphasises that the experiences of

women are not just the experiences of discrimination and powerlessness, but also of struggling to preserve one's standpoint and resist these oppressive processes.

3.4 Systematic literature review

In research fields related to family farming, the gender perspective has been less present and articulated. One of these fields, agricultural health and safety, is of great significance in enhancing understanding of the social and material spaces and gendered and embodied practices in family farming (Paper III). In these situations, a literature review is fruitful to provide convenient summaries and make sense of a larger body of research, in terms of knowledge, methods, typologies etc., and provide guidance for future research (Jesson *et al.*, 2011). It also offers the opportunity to examine old theories and propose new ones, identifying imbalances in the research and knowledge, and provides a basis for recommendations for interventions (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006). Based on these considerations, a systematic literature review was used in Paper III to map the research field and answer questions about the epistemological consequences of the current dominant methodological approaches on the gendered understanding of occupational space and safety. In the first round of sampling, 67 articles, published in peer-reviewed journals during the last two decades, were identified with the help of the databases Web of Knowledge and PubMed. The predefined key words were: agriculture*, risk*, gender, occupational, women, injur*, farm*. Some additional key words were tested, but were excluded since they generated too wide or non-relevant a sample in relation to the general criteria. In the second phase of the review, a snowball approach (Noy, 2008) was used and additional literature was identified through citations in the articles from the first search. The material was thematically analysed and presented based on the theoretical framework of the study. The results were structured based on three themes: division of labour; embodied experience; and situated knowledge.

In the process of sampling and analysing literature for the review, there was an obvious risk of bias, both in the representation of the field and the conclusions of the review (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006). The systematic approach taken to the review, with e.g. clearly defined search criterion, is one way to minimise bias. Handling a large amount of information might increase the subjective influence in the selection and analysis process. In the case of Paper III, the presence of gender analysis in studies within the field was fairly limited, which contributed to keep the amount of information quite low. The review was primarily aimed at understanding the gender perspective within the

research field. In excluding, e.g. the key word “men”, due to the fact that it generated too large and non-relevant a sample, there was a potential risk of leaving out valid information for the review. However, with the two-phase approach of the review, it is unlikely that a significant body of literature that would challenge the results of the study was missed or excluded.

The focus of the review was on family farming and the delimitation to Western countries produced a white bias in the sample (Table 1). Even though this factor is discussed and emphasised in Paper III, the research design still ran the risk of marginalising the health and safety of racialised groups of farm workers. Another challenge was the disciplinary framework, favouring and encouraging quantitative research methodologies with a small theoretical input, and research questions and conclusions. In a number of studies, the epistemological difficulties of combining two paradigms was noticeable, something that could lead to conclusions such as that gender/sex constitutes a risk in a specific environment. Reinharz (1992, p. 243) notes that “feminism supplies the perspective and the disciplines supply the method. The feminist researcher exists at their intersection”.

4 Theorising the family farm

Sweden is often perceived as a role model within gender equality, which has been a feature of national politics on and off since the 1970s. In the debate, much attention has been devoted to the gender relations of the regular labour market and various laws and regulations have been issued to improve the equality between men and women within a particular area (Ds, 2004). However, the political efforts to promote equality have contrarily contributed to setbacks in parts of society that are not naturally connected to the labour market, in ways that have reinforced the differences between the centre and periphery of society. Despite various political attempts to improve gender equality in rural areas, e.g. by supporting women's entrepreneurship, the male domination of the sector persists (SCB, 2012, p. 64f). Today, agriculture constitutes one of Sweden's most gender unequal sectors (SJV, 2005; Ds, 2004). Even outside farming, access to public services and the local labour market is shifting and poses specific problems to men and women within an overall gender-segregated labour structure (Walby, 1997).

When Sweden joined the EU in 1995, it decided to make gender mainstreaming the official strategy in all policies and programmes (Skr., 1999) and thereby imposed a redirection to a more neoliberal regime within the gender policy area (Forsberg, 2005). In 1996, the European Commission adopted a general policy of gender mainstreaming and a Council resolution specifically mandated gender mainstreaming in the structural funds in the same year (Duncan, 1996). The process of gender mainstreaming included all stages from design, implementation and monitoring to evaluation (Rees, 1999). The regulation specified the need to promote "equality between men and women" during "the various stages of programme implementation" (§8 EC, 2005). There is also a general and political will in rural areas and the agricultural sector to reduce the structural barriers to individuals and to increase equality (Holmquist, 2011; Nordregio, 2009).

Although economic conditions and processes are changing, one of the major production sectors in advanced capitalist societies is still dominated at the farm level by family enterprises (Flygare & Isacson, 2011; Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002; Friedmann, 1986b; Goodman & Redclift, 1985). This research field differs from other work-related sociological research fields, since the organisation of family work is not based on ordinary relations between employers and employees, but on more complex relationships (Niskanen, 1998; O'Hara, 1998). These different relations emphasise the importance of gender analysis in family farming and the fruitful exchange between e.g. the field of gender studies and family farming.

In the study of the organisation of farm production, the concepts of simple commodity production (SCP) provided a guide for the following theoretical discussions and concepts. SCP defines a variety of types of small-scale production for the market, based on family or household labour and property. In this type of production there is a close connection between capital and labour. In studies of Western agriculture, little attention has been paid to SCP in more advanced capitalist economies since the 1980s and early 1990s (Marsden, 1991; Bernstein, 1988; Goodman & Redclift, 1985; Mooney, 1983; Djurfeldt, 1981), even though the commodity process of the agricultural sector has been restructured during recent decades (Pini & Leach, 2011; Bock, 2006; Schwarzweller & Davidson, 2000).

Although SCP provides conceptual guidance in the study of family farming, resting on strict dichotomies within the traditional theoretical framework of political economy produces major challenges to analytically transcend spheres and categories of the family farm (O'Hara, 1998; Marsden, 1991; Whatmore, 1991). Thus, it is important to consider ways in which the gendering of work and ownership more subtly shapes the organisation of farming and reproduces inequalities (Mohanty, 2003). Notably, the exploration of women's experience as domestic workers has challenged the orthodox concepts of labour and drawn attention to the complicating factors of the family as a sphere of exploitation and struggle. However, the women and the men involved in family farming should not be perceived as homogeneous categories (Morris & Evans, 1999). The lives of men and women in rural areas differ from those of their urban counterparts, as well as differing between different rural areas (Forsberg, 2010; Javefors Grauers & Eskilsson, 2003). As the main field of feminist and gender research to date has primarily focused on urban regions, it is important to explore the interrelations between different types of social division and the ways they combine to form specific social hierarchies within rural areas.

The ideals of rurality and rural livelihood are of deep political interest and are embedded in the identity of the nation, e.g. through its spatial separation

from the urban (Anderson, 2006; Ching & Creed, 1997). The rural landscape stands as a symbol of continuity, and with its work and production on the land is attached to the past and a product of history (Edensor, 2002; Cubitt, 1998). Whatmore (1991) argues that mainstream society continues to legitimise the subordination of woman through romanticised narratives that misinterpret rural women's ties. Two key gendered elements of these romantic ideals are wifehood, reinforced by the patriarchal labour process in rural ideologies, and the assumed "naturalness" of heterosexuality, rural life and community (e.g. Gorman-Murray *et al.*, 2012; Little, 2003; Little, 2002). Even though there are differences between countryside and town, it is important to acknowledge the problematic aspects of re-emphasising differences between rural and urban (Forsberg, 2002; Forsberg, 1996). To progress beyond the ideological assumptions and understanding of rural life, it is crucial to take people's narratives of their life and work experiences as a point of departure, by studying family farming from an emancipatory perspective (Woods, 2005). For the purposes of the present thesis, this involved putting labour at the centre of the study. The labour process, with its theoretical linkages to critical social sciences and research practices, provided conceptual space to examine the reproduction of gender inequalities of family farming in terms of exploitation, power, resistance and social justice (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993; Acker, 1990; Braverman, 1974). Labour process theories are mainly utilised in Papers II and IV in their quantitative and qualitative explorations of the organisation of labour and time. In demanding an interdisciplinary effort, the political economy approach helps to better explain agricultural change and moves beyond the farm (Marsden, 1988). It facilitated the quantitative studies of the distribution of material resources and the contemporary agrarian structure in Papers I and II. By adopting a feminist standpoint epistemology, the concrete experiences of women and men constituted the starting point for the production of knowledge about the family farm labour process (Hartsock, 2003; Collins, 1990; Smith, 1987). The standpoint feminist epistemology guided the more qualitative studies in Papers III and IV in the examination and understanding of the social and material positions of men and women in agricultural space and the interconnection between different temporalities. The critical dialogue between Marxist and feminist scholars, mainly conceptualised in material feminism (Hekman, 2010; Alaimo & Hekman, 2008), provided theoretical insights to transcend dualism in examining the interrelation between social and material, subject and object, work and property in the materiality of the labour process. This perspective is present in all papers, but best developed in Papers I and III through the exploration of the interrelation and embodiment of social and material relations.

4.1 Family farming

The concept of family farming has attracted much attention and debate within academia for decades. However, the theme is more than just the subject of purely academic enquiry. The theoretical attention to this field during the last decade has substantially decreased, despite its continued importance in both the research and political area (Ds, 2004). The CAP constitutes a large item in the budget of the European Union. The work on defining family farming has clear political implications. The concept of the family farm “is as much ideological imagery as it is socioeconomic fact” (Bennett *et al.*, 1982, p. 112). The concept is, and has been, a vital element of the EU and Swedish agricultural funding systems and agricultural policies (Flygare & Isacson, 2011). The preservation of family-structured European agriculture has frequently been raised by the European Commission (Gray, 2000; Hill, 1993). Despite other predictions, the agrarian sector is still dominated by family-based production (Flygare & Isacson, 2011; Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002). These two factors, together with the strong male domination and control of the sector, clearly raise the importance and value of extended gender research on the concept and practices of family farming. The aim of gender mainstreaming underlines the incorporation of a sociological perspective in the research process (Rees, 1999). Friedmann (1986b) stresses the importance, in studying family farming, of “looking at the relations of and in production – at the contradictory unity of property and labour and at patriarchy – for the origins and effects of ideology” (Friedmann, 1986b, p. 191). Shortall (2002) notes that the patriarchal relations, history and kinship of family farming are likely to be damaging to both men and women.

4.1.1 Definitions

The academic debate on how to define the family farm can be summarised to categories of broad and narrow definitions. The broad definition of the family farm, originally constructed by Gasson and Errington (1993), describes the “family farm business” according to the following six elements, based on the relationship between the farm and the associated household.

- Business ownership is combined with managerial control in the hands of business principals.
- These principals are related by kinship or marriage.
- Family members (including these business principals) provide capital for the business.
- Family members, including business principals, execute farm work.
- Business ownership and managerial control are transferred between generations with the passage of time.

- The family lives on the farm (Gasson & Errington, 1993, p. 18).

Gasson and Errington (1993) point out that ownership and control are more important than the number of labour hours spent on the farm. A primary concern has been the development, mechanisation and capitalisation of agricultural production, so as to reduce the need for human labour input. The one-man farm (Bailey, 1973) is an example of where the need for family labour has been eliminated by mechanisation, but where the family control of the farm persists. Gasson and Errington claim, therefore, that the importance of work has declined and hence their definition of the “family farm business” is primarily based on property relations and control, rather than on the dominance of the family within the labour force (Gasson & Errington, 1993, p. 18f).

Following the traditions of Chayanov (1986), Djurfeldt (1996) criticised the definition of Gasson and Errington and argued that they miss the comparative advantage of non-fixed labour costs for family farms. Djurfeldt suggests that labour should be a more vital criterion in the definition of the “notional family farm”. According to Djurfeldt’s narrow definition, the family farm is characterised by its requirement for family labour to reproduce the farm and family/household (Djurfeldt, 1996, p. 341; Djurfeldt & Waldenström, 1996). However, Hill (1993) centres on family labour as the essential defining characteristic of the family farm. Djurfeldt combines this with what he calls the “reproduction criteria”. The narrow definition of Hill (1993) can also be problematic, since it excludes part-time and diverse farming, where there is a lack of on-farm labour input compared with off-farm income. Hill’s labour use criterion only stresses the division between family labour farms and labour-hiring units. In addition, Blekesaune (1996, p. 8f) argue that narrowing the concept of the family farm makes it more difficult to separate the farm and the family in an analytical sense, something that was not obvious in the present work. This thesis argues that both the narrow and extensive definition of the family farm have their advantages and the ability to capture different segments within the large variety of family farm businesses. The attempt by Djurfeldt (1996, p. 340f) to produce a definition that is “context free” creates an illusion of universalism is strongly repudiated here, although the British context is clearly apparent within the criteria of Gasson and Errington. Within the Swedish context, the work-related approach (Djurfeldt, 1996; Djurfeldt & Waldenström, 1996; Djurfeldt, 1994) is more suitable, despite the loss of a narrow definition. Hill (1993, p. 360f) points out that on the basis of Gasson and Errington’s criterion, nearly all farms in Europe would be classified as “family farms”. Hedley (1982) stresses that the term ‘family farm’ is a misnomer, since the farm is often owned by the senior male of the family, which belies the real ownership structure. To better understand family farming

in relation to capitalism, Bernstein (2010a, p. 93) makes a distinction, in a similar way, between family-owned, family-managed and family-worked farms. He concludes that ‘family-worked farm’ provides the strongest meaning to a family farm and the only one where exploitation of the farmer might be possible, while the other two forms can be fully capitalist enterprises.

On the basis of these debates, this thesis emphasises abandonment of the homogeneous perception of family farming and makes an analytical distinction between these different forms and concepts. This means that the various definitions have an analytical contribution, but that the definition of Gasson and Errington “may be more useful to economists”, as Djurfeldt (1996, p. 344) points out, while his might be more useful for sociology studies. This argument supports a more pragmatic use of definitions based on the aim and purpose of the research on family farms. In this thesis, the diversity and complexity of the concept are situated and discussed. The contextual factors of Sweden and the theoretical framework are used to emphasise the interrelation of family and work within the concept of family farming. However, due to the varying definitions used in research, a more pragmatic approach was used in the general discussions. The Blekesaune (1996) criticism of gender-blindness extends, in my view, to both these definitions, something that does not disqualify them, but clearly raises awareness of their limitations, and therefore calls for theoretical complements in the area. By placing the question of labour at the centre of this study and including sociological and feminist traditions, this thesis acknowledges the significance of labour in the gendered relations of family farming. Thus, the work of Djurfeldt and colleagues was both theoretically and empirically influential in the work. The family labour approach was adopted in Papers II and IV, while in Papers I and III a more general perception was used due to lack of data on the labour input of the farms in these studies.

4.1.2 Agrarian change and relations

The family farm is one of the most long-lasting cultural and historical phenomena in Western societies. Despite technical and industrial developments, the family farm continues to be the primary production unit within the agrarian sector (Flygare & Isacson, 2011; Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002; Friedmann, 1986a; Friedmann, 1986b; Goodman & Redclift, 1985). In various parts of Europe, when industrialisation took root, production was reorganised and slimmed down to make it more cost-effective and the productivist food regime became embedded in farming (Flygare & Isacson, 2011; 1993; Friedmann & McMichael, 1989). The ideology of Fordism reshaped society and its production in many ways (Djurfeldt, 1994, p. 213ff). Despite this

development, the family farm as a production unit has stood the test of time in both capitalist and post-socialist countries (Whatmore, 1991; Whatmore *et al.*, 1991).

The development and future of the family farm, in the context of capitalism, has been a hotly debated topic in the academic field for decades. The agricultural sector differs between various countries and regions owing to historical, local and spatially dependent factors. The international debate on this academic theme is bounded by these circumstances. The two main unanswered questions are: If large-scale production is superior to family production, why has the family farm not disappeared in agriculture? and Is family production able to co-exist with large-scale agricultural production under capitalism?

According to the predictions of Marx (1976) and Lenin (1946), the long-term forces of capitalism will result in the centralisation of agricultural capital in the hands of an agricultural bourgeoisie, while SCP will become marginalised. Marx argued that:

“[the] peasant who produces with his own means of production will either gradually be transformed into a small capitalist who also exploits the labor of others, or he will suffer the loss of his means of production [...] and be transformed into a wage worker. This is the tendency in the form of society in which the capitalist mode of production predominates” (Marx, 1969, p. 407f)

The transition theory claimed that the total market integration of family farming, where the most competitive farms will survive, results in social and economic polarisation of the agricultural structure. In the Marxist-Leninist view, the family form of production merely constitutes a transitional phenomenon before total polarisation and industrialisation, based mainly on large, rationalised production units. Marx (1976, p. 627) writes that “centralisation completes the work of accumulation by enabling industrial capitalists to extend the scale of their operations”. However, the work of Marx (1976, p. 627) and Lenin (1976; 1964; 1946) on the issue of the development of agricultural sector has been criticised for its technological determinism and assumption about the eventual disappearance of peasantry. Nevertheless, in contrast to the predictions of rapid concentration and centralisation of agricultural production by Marx, Lenin indicated one highly relevant factor in the development of agriculture in capitalism: the differentiation of the peasant household. This observation allows a theoretical understanding of the role of women in agriculture (Sachs, 1983; Hill, 1981) and that of part-time farmers (Buttel, 1983).

Already at the end of the nineteenth century, Kautsky (1988) saw the existence of family farming and the growing penetration of capital as

complementary rather than contradictory processes. He predicted that this process in future would lead to simple commodity production (dependent on family labour) and large capitalist farms co-existing. Like Kautsky, Lenin and others, Friedmann (1981; 1978) sought to distinguish the development of agriculture in capitalism from other spheres of the economy. However, persistence theories propose an alternative explanation for the survival of family farms in Western economies, based on various factors and characteristics (Friedmann, 1986a; Goodman & Redclift, 1985). Chayanov (1986) argued that the family farmers, “middle peasants”, are more resilient than polarisation theorists assume. He emphasised that family farms have different motivations, social relations, sources of labour power and propensity for self-exploitation (also conceptualised as underconsumption (Kautsky, 1988) or the plunder of labour (Lenin, 1946)). The persistence of family farming has, as Bernstein (2001, p. 30) points out, mistakenly been taken as an indication of the absence of class differentiation, rather than being “one kind of outcome of class differentiation”. The debate on family farming and how capital penetrates farming was renewed in the 1970s and was cast in similar terms until the 1990s (Marsden, 1991; Marsden *et al.*, 1986; Friedmann, 1981; Friedmann, 1978; Mann & Dickinson, 1978). However, the differing social and economic context of the different contributions to the discussion is of great significance in understanding and interpreting the debate on SCP and family farming.

One defining characteristic of capitalism lies in the separation of property and labour, with the monopoly of the means of production on one side and the sale of wage labour on the other. Friedmann (1986a) emphasises that the labour process and property relations are specific to the family enterprise in capitalist economies. Property and the labour are combined within the walls of the household, something that does not stipulate that ownership of the means of production be equal (Bernstein, 1988). Friedmann argues that the basis of inequality is to be found in gender and age relations. The production is organised through kinship, with a division of labour by gender and age (Flygare, 1999; Sjöberg, 1996; Bjerén, 1987). Whether or not the family farm hires additional labour or family members work outside for wages, “their relations in production [the labour process] distinguish them from capitalist enterprises” (Friedmann, 1986b, p. 187). In their inability to reproduce themselves outside the relations and processes of capitalist commodity production, peasants become simple commodity producers. Their existence is later conditioned by the same relations and processes, and is internalised in the organisation and activity (Bernstein, 2001). By controlling the access and distribution, the capitalist mode of production reduces the farmer to the status

of proletarian who works at home. Davis (1980) argues that the myth of independency obscures the fact that the labour of the family farm is exploited in a similar way as that of piece-workers in industry. The structure of the market processes sets the exploitative relationship between capital and the family farm, with contract farming as its “purest” form. Already in the 1920s, Chayanov described how capitalism penetrates agriculture through credits and financing of farm circulating capital, which “turns farmers into a source of manpower working with means of production belonging to others” and turns agriculture “into an economic system controlled on capitalist principles by a number of very large enterprises” (Chayanov, 1991, p. 7).

Through the process of agricultural industrialisation, risks and pressure are directed downward to the local farm. This induces trends of differentiation and new patterns of dependency, triggering processes of re-peasantisation. According to van der Ploeg (2008, p. 6f), repeasantisation is an expression of the “fight for autonomy and survival in [a] context of deprivation and dependency” and is a process that occurs both in the developing world and in industrialised countries. In this struggle for the survival of family farms outside agribusiness, studies have shown that women, as a strategy, increase their level of self-exploitation (Heather *et al.*, 2005; Teather, 1994). In the context of the family farm, this emphasises the dual processes of exploitation of farm women and the flexible view of their labour.

Although family farms interact with the capitalist economy, they are not fully exposed to the same external pressure as capitalist enterprises. One of the reasons why the family farm can survive as a non-capitalist form of production is the “labour-price advantage” (Koning, 1994, p. 172), the ability to provide cheap labour, irrespective of income, and to do so highly flexibly in response to changes in labour demand, the economy, time and the working environment (Friedmann, 1986a; Long, 1986b; Reimer, 1986). The labour process on the farm is costly to supervise and control, both in terms of pace and quality, in comparison with the factory (Bernstein, 2010a). The kinship relations of the family farm stipulate an advantage of family labour over wage labour in agriculture. Another reason is that agricultural production is highly time-demanding, which makes the profit rates low and unattractive for external investors. It is not only the amount of labour time but also the non-identity of labour time and production time that makes farming less interesting for capitalist investors (Mooney, 1982; Djurfeldt, 1981; Mann & Dickinson, 1978). In agriculture, the production time exceeds labour time through the ecological process of farming (the natural growth of plants and animals), something that differs depending on the environment, soil and animals (Mann & Dickinson, 1978). In this process, capital is “tied up” in fields and animals

until harvest or slaughter. Due to environmental factors there is an uncertainty in profit levels and profit realisation. As a result, there is a flow of risk downstream that is absorbed mainly by family farms (Bernstein, 2010a). They try to minimise these risks through the process of industrialisation: controlling, standardising and speeding up production (Ploeg, 2008, p. 5f; Bernstein, 2001).

The lack of access to land on the open market is another obstacle to capital penetrating agriculture. The burden of ground rent lowers the levels of profit and encourages capital to leave family farms to adsorb its cost (Djurfeldt, 1981). Goodman & Redclift (1985) point out the tendency of capitalist development in agriculture to undermine the significance of land in production. However, production of animals “on concrete” and plants in glasshouses, or even in laboratories, has changed the use of land (Djurfeldt, 1994; Friedmann, 1986a; Newby, 1980). The advances and innovations in land-saving and productivity-enhancing technologies, such as hybrid seeds and plants, have not been able to decrease the importance of land. Together with the development of technologies to reduce the input of labour, these have “singularly failed to confirm the classic prognosis of the superiority of capitalist forms of production in agriculture” (Goodman & Redclift, 1985, p. 242). In the present thesis the emphasis is on the integration of inequalities in the production and everyday world, so the wider understanding of agrarian change and relations constitutes an important intersection of the work performed.

4.1.3 The basis of family farm production

The concept of simple commodity production defines a variety of types of small-scale production for the market, based on family or household labour and property. Marx (1969, p. 407) raises the question: “What then is the position of independent handicraftsmen or peasants who employ no labourers and therefore do not produce as capitalists?”. In this type of production there is a close connection between capital and labour. Friedmann (1986a, 1986b) argues that SCP can be distinguished from capitalist production because relations within farm families are non-commodified. According to Friedmann (1981, p. 13), the SCP “has no class relation within the enterprise”. However, this should probably be rephrased as “the capitalist class relations are present, if not in their archetypal form, within the enterprise” (Goodman & Redclift, 1985, p. 237). In early class analysis in rural social science, Newby (1972) underlined the difference between rural and urban contexts. The urban stratification, according to Newby, is created by occupations in the industrial environments, while the rural is a consequence of property ownership (Newby, 1980; Newby, 1972). Mooney (1983) argues that a complete understanding of class in agriculture requires an understanding of the role that rationality plays in the

social relations of production. The combination of self-employment and wage labour, within the agricultural labour process, should not disguise the existence of capitalist class relations. The more struggling farms are more likely to engage in waged labour (Bernstein, 2001). Even though capital and labour are not separated in the production unit, the household, it becomes obscurantist to deny class relations when researchers have repeatedly shown that ownership and labour are detached in various cases (Shortall, 1999; Whatmore, 1991; Reimer, 1986; Sachs, 1983).

Although SCP provided a conceptual guide for the discussion here, it should be noted that the orthodox understanding of SCP poses major difficulties for the analysis of family enterprise and household production, since it rests on the divisions of political and domestic economy, home and work, and waged and non-waged work (Marsden, 1991). Feminist and Marxist scholarship has made an important contribution to understanding and challenging the general assumptions of non-waged work and gender relations (Glucksman, 2000; O'Hara, 1998; Hochschild, 1997; Whatmore, 1991; Bradley, 1989). However, feminist researchers have generally had little to say about women's participation in SCP in the West. Furthermore, the use of orthodox categories of either housewife or wage labourer, has, as in other parts of feminist theory, proven inadequate, deceptive and limiting (Whatmore, 1991). With its adaptation over the last decades, the concept of SCP provided a theoretical space to study the relations of and in farm production in the present thesis.

4.2 Doing gender

Language and concepts are closely related to methodologies, epistemologies and the general social and structural understanding of society. The risk of using the term "doing" is that it can reduce gender, as well as other social relations, solely to performances. The postmodernist notion of the social world entails difficulties in discussing social and economic structures as performances and representations. Collins (1995, p. 493) emphasises that this notion "strips the very categories of race, class and gender of meaning and then recasts the problems of institutional power in the apolitical framework of how we might 'do difference'".

The link between theory and politics originates from the need to explain the link between micro-level experiences and overarching macro systems. The field of gender studies is aimed at understanding oppression or, in the more polite language of academia, inequality (Acker, 2006). However, the theoretical accounts of objective gender structures have demonstrated their

limitations in the past. Therefore this thesis focuses instead on how gender differentiation is continually 'done' through social and material relations in farming processes, constituting asymmetric power relations and inequalities (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Cockburn, 1986). Exploring gender not as a noun, but as a verb; gendering, or an adjective; gendered, better captures the sense of process and diversity. This approach elucidates theorising as a political practice and its interlinking with power (McClure, 1992). It also detracts focus from the noun to the impact of the organisation of everyday world and institutions, emphasising its situated reproduction. Connell (1987, p. 103f) stresses that gendered relations are not an "ideological addendum" but "a deep-seated feature of production itself". On the same line, Acker (2006, p. 7) argues that class and capitalism are gendered through gendering processes and practices that are "integral to the creation and recreation of class inequalities".

A number of feminist scholars have raised an important issue, namely that we need to return once more to the question of materiality (e.g. Grosz, 2010; Ahmed, 2008; Barad, 1998). Questions of matter play an important role in addressing the direct object of feminist research – the differences of and for men and women. The social world and the body have in past theoretical work been reduced to discursive practices. Hames-García argues that:

"the body is something more than an inert, passive object on which ideology inscribes meaning, but rather it is an agential reality with its own causal role in making meaning" (Hames-García, 2008, p. 327)

This calls for an acknowledgement of material forces and objects (Grosz, 2010, p. 50). Hekman (2010, p. 3) suggests that the new materialism is an attempt "to do what the postmoderns claim but fail to do". In the feminist debate, this theoretical turn has resulted in an increased discussion about the role of the body, as a material object, in social relations and in individual perception and experiences. In the field of rural gender studies, the body has received some attention (Brandth, 2006; Little, 2003; Little & Leyshon, 2003; Saugeres, 2002c; Bryant, 2001). The concrete and embodied experiences of women provide the starting point of the research process and knowledge production (Hartsock, 2003; Smith, 1987). Their concrete experience consists of what they do, e.g. nursing/mothering (Chodorow, 1978), domestic labour in their own household (DeVault, 2004; DeVault, 1991), caring for the children of others (Collins, 1990), and caring for their own children from afar (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997).

According to Marx, society is made up of individuals whose subject position and economic relations determine their material location in advance. The point is that these social arrangements are complexly determined by a range of factors that, through their interaction, give society its particular

structures. The understanding of society's and individuals' actions has to transcend the boundaries of economics where people's behaviours and actions can only be understood in relation to their economic circumstances. It is much more than economic rationality that keeps people in farming (Burton *et al.*, 2008). The crucial question according to Reich (1972, p. 19) is not why the starving steal or the exploited go on strike, but why the majority of the starving do not steal and the majority of the exploited do not go on strike. Acker (2006, p. 53ff; 2000) argues that feminists must re-read the concept of economy in a more active and dynamic way, in an attempt to theoretically question the traditional understanding and use. A similar challenge has been issued within rural gender studies (Bock, 2006; Shortall, 2006; Whatmore, 1991). In the past, the narrow understanding of economy was only able to cover a limited share of economic activities and relations, leaving out e.g. non-waged labour (Waring, 1988; Oakley, 1972) and women's farm labour (Flygare, 1999; Whatmore, 1991; Sachs, 1983). Acker (2006) stresses the use of the concepts exploitation, inequality and labour in the research process, by illuminating diverse experiences of economy, class and labour – an approach integrated into the present thesis through its emphasis on comprehensive understanding of gender inequalities in production and the everyday world.

4.3 Organisation of labour on the family farm

Work constitutes a central role in our society and everyday life. Life in society is, to a great extent, stipulated by the individual relation to work, primarily defined as waged labour, both in the sense of employed or unemployed and the type of work. Work is often projected as the goal and purpose of life (Paulsen, 2010). In the first volume of *Das Kapital*, Marx (1976) underlines that work should not be considered the means, but rather the aim, of capitalism, which through consumption creates more work. Work and the labour process are thus both the result of, and a basis for, the reproduction of capitalism. Although Marx concentrated his analysis on the logic of industrial capitalism, he argued that reproduction of the working capacity of individuals was necessary to capitalist enterprise. Scholars from different fields, inspired by the Marxist understanding of labour, have continued the study of work and its part in organising the societal and material world (Cockburn, 1991a; Whatmore, 1991; Bradley, 1989; Phillips & Taylor, 1980).

Capitalism, and its social relations, is created and reproduced through the labour process. Inequality, alienation and exploitation are, as Marx argued, part of the capitalist division of labour. In *The Poverty of Philosophy*, a critical

reply to the anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1996), Marx draws up his view on history and society:

“M. Proudhon the economist understands very well that men make cloth, linen or silk materials in definite relations of production. But what he has not understood is that these definite social relations are just as much produced by men as linen, flax, etc. Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social relations. The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist” (Marx, 1975, p. 103)

The Marxist debate during the twentieth century was dominated by questions on the capitalist accumulation process and its crisis, leaving the work-related issues untouched. The unions and the working-class movements, alongside the welfare state, have fought for a more equal distribution of the surplus of capitalism. Braverman (1974), in his book *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, is critical of the turn of both the social movements and the theoretical field. He argues that much more attention must be paid to the social relations in capitalism. The call for more extended analyses of the labour process has been taken on by Marxist theorists, primarily during the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. Wardell *et al.*, 1999; Smith & Thompson, 1992; Knights & Willmott, 1986; Long, 1986a; Burawoy, 1979). With its primary focus on labour, the present thesis follows the epistemological argument of Whatmore (1994); that understanding gender relations in family farming, through the organisation of the farm labour process, can provide deeper insights into the wider political economics of agriculture.

4.3.1 The labour process

The Braverman analysis of the labour process has been a source of inspiration to studies of the experience of work and its organisation. Labour is an inalienable property of the individual. The body and the thought cannot be separated from the person possessing them, in the same way as essential activities such as eating, drinking and sleeping cannot be carried out by someone else. In the same way, a worker does not surrender to the capitalist his or her capacity to work. In the exchange, the only way for the capitalist to profit in this transaction is by setting workers to work. The surplus of the labour belongs to the capitalist, but what workers sell and capitalists buy “is not an agreed period of amount of labor, but the power to labor over an agreed period of time” (Braverman, 1974, p. 54). Since work cannot be bought, Braverman emphasises that the capitalist control of the labour process is

essential to understanding the production of surplus, as well as social meaning and relations. Burawoy (1979, p. 92f) points out different management strategies to create consent, sometime under threat, around the labour process. A management strategy that makes workers, more or less voluntarily, participate in their exploitation bears a resemblance to the self-exploitation in family farming (Chayanov, 1986). In the expanding of the service and information sector, the control and nature of work has been a topic of inquiry. The role that emotions and affects have in this control and the internalisation of exploitation has been raised by feminist and Marxist scholars (Clough & Halley, 2007; Hardt & Negri, 2004; Hochschild, 2003; Rose, 1983).

The processes identified by Braverman (1974), Wright (1978) and Burawoy (1979) as characteristics of capitalist production could be useful in analysing the social relations of production by which capital penetrates SCP in agriculture. Feminist scholars have raised a critical debate about the “sex-blindness” of Marxist theorists (Hartmann, 1979). However, Bradley (1986) underlines that the labour process should be regarded as an highly gendered process, which is shaped by space (Forsberg, 2010; Little, 1994). There is a general tendency within the group of classical Marxists to obscure and play down the role of patriarchy in capitalism. Knights and Willmott describe the feminist critique of Marxism in the following way:

“In identifying forms of domination, oppression and exploitation based both on gender and class, research has challenged Marxism to take account of patriarchal power and its relationship to capitalist production and reproduction” (Knights & Willmott, 1986, p. 4)

In this thesis, the labour process provides conceptual space for difference, heterogeneity and regional variation, furnishing theoretical linkages to critical social sciences and research practices dealing with questions of exploitation, gender, power, resistance and social justice.

4.3.2 Gendered organisations and inequalities

Marxism as an analytical tool within feminist scholarship has been debated since the 1960s and continues to be a topic of discussion. Harding (1981) considers that Marxism is inherently incapable of dealing with non-economic relationship and that an attempt to integrate gender only will result in reducing gender to class or vice versa. The romantic image of the male-dominated professions, “workers”, and the gender-blindness of Braverman’s analysis have been the target of feminist criticism. These theories and analyses are based on the experience of labour in these contexts, excluding e.g. the agricultural and service sector. This criticism of Braverman and labour process analysis is important to take into account. However, the criticism should not be used as a

reason to disqualify the analysis, but rather, as Geschwender and Geschwender (1999) argue, indicates a need to engage in a feminist reading to develop the theories and methodologies. One important contribution of Braverman is his emphasis that all waged labour is exploitive in capitalism and is central in the production of inequalities. Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) underlines that inequalities are not only the discrimination of subordinate groups, but also part of production.

“Racial and gender segregation are intertwined with the very fabric of work, influencing not the allocation of people to the jobs but the character of jobs and workplaces themselves. They are organizational processes, independent of race or sex of the individuals who populate workplaces” (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993, p. 4).

On the same line, Connell (2000, p. 25) argues that a “capitalist economy that operates through a gender division of labour is, necessarily, a gendered accumulation process” and Acker emphasises that the organisation in itself is a gendered process:

“To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. Gender is not an addition to ongoing processes, conceived as gender neutral. Rather, it is an integral part of those processes” (Acker, 1990, p. 146).

The reinforcing basis for social difference through the division of labour was emphasised by the feminist and anti-racist movements of the 1970s. Occupational structures were recognised as shaping and reproducing social relations in such a way that viewing jobs as “empty places” to be filled by anyone was no longer possible (Hartmann, 1979). However, this issue also included the acknowledgement of non-waged labour, mainly unpaid housework (e.g. Oakley, 1972), and its recognition as work (Reimer, 1986; Sachs, 1983). In the Marxist-feminist approach to inequalities and labour adopted in the present thesis, these later developments are important in transcending the spheres of the family farm and the various socio-economic modes.

In legitimising the gendered division of labour on the farm, the ideological definition of jobs and skills is essential. Philips and Taylor (1980, p. 79) argue that “skill definitions are saturated with sexual bias” and “far from being an objective economic fact, skill is often an ideological category imposed on certain types of work by virtue of the sex and power of the workers who perform it”. Housework has historically been seen as a biological extension of

natural female behaviour and therefore has not been recognised as a skill (James, 1989). In farming, the reproductive labour is subordinate to the productive labour (Flygare, 1999, p. 219). Thus, work has been synonymous with the labour undertaken by men (Hill, 1981, p. 373), meaning that women's labour, both in the household and on the farm, was considered of less importance (Flygare, 2008). In some studies on farming, women describe their role and hard manual labour as merely "helping out" (Götebo Johannesson, 1996; Scott, 1996; Anderson & Jack, 1991). The technical division of labour on the farm displays the gendered relationship between skills and technology (e.g. Wajcman, 2004; Sommestad, 1992; Cockburn, 1991a; Glucksmann, 1990) and its embodiment of the male farmer (Saugeres, 2002b; Brandth & Haugen, 2000; Liepins, 2000; Brandth, 1995). Cockburn (1985, p. 12) notes that "technology enters into our sexual identity: femininity is incompatible with technical competence". The direction of technological development reflects existing gender relations. Technology is always a form of social knowledge, practices and products – a result of conflicts and compromises within the context of distribution of power in society (Wajcman, 2004; Wajcman, 1991a; Cockburn, 1985). According to Bradley (1986) and Wajcman (1991b), the reorganisation of the labour market and the feminisation of work are closely interlinked with technology and the degradation processes (Braverman, 1974). In the context of the thesis, the sorting and structuring of various tasks and labour are of great significance due to the low exchange rate of farm labour and the lack of visibility in different parts of the farm labour process.

4.3.3 Time and space as organisational factors

Time is one of the central themes in the discussion about the quality of contemporary life (Adam, 2004; Hochschild, 1997; Robinson & Godbey, 1997; Adam, 1995; Hochschild & Machung, 1989). Since the first half of the 1990s, it is possible to talk about a "temporal" turn within social sciences, although time was a topic during the whole twentieth century (Hassard, 1990). Work-time, unsought and like time in general, has been a frequent subject of research, often inspired by Thompson's writing (Thompson, 1977; Thompson, 1967). He describes how time becomes an instrument for social control used as a means of class subordination, imposed by employers on their workers (Thompson, 1967). Feminist scholars have re-read the Marxist understanding of the organisation of time within capitalist production from the basis of criticism of women's unpaid work. The organisation of time must, according to feminist researchers, be analysed not only in relation to the capitalist modes of

production, but also from various social relations (Glucksmann, 2000; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Davis, 1980).

Time is an fruitful concept in the study of the farm labour process, which includes a number of different forms of exchange (Ploeg, 2008; Long, 2001). Within the setting of social relations in everyday life, time is bought and sold within a larger context than the relations of wage labour. Time constitutes an integral dimension of power in social relations, with the result that the exchange may be unequal and with elements of exploitation. A great many labour activities are performed without any exchange of money and financial dimension (Glucksmann, 1998). The exchange of time represents only one part of the general processes of the social organisation of time. Embedded in the social relations, the structuring and sorting of time are situated in the historical contexts and interconnected with other forces. Time is organised based on the value of different types of time, its location of the day and flexibility. Outside farming, standard working hours and a forty-hour week over five days are still, in some sense, the norm, but have changed somewhat during the last two decades (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000). This in turn shapes family farming through their interaction with the surrounding society. The increased number of dual-earner families has been the source of discussions and studies of the “dual burden” or “second shift” in the field of sociology (Stockman *et al.*, 1995; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Hartmann, 1981; Oakley, 1972). In the farming context, the debate has been extended to the “third shift” of wage, domestic and farm labour (Price & Evans, 2005; Gallagher & Delworth, 1993), followed by the structuring and sorting of men’s (Ds, 2004; Stueland *et al.*, 1997; Pfeffer, 1989) and women’s off-farm labour (Kelly & Shortall, 2002; Oldrup, 1999; Deseran & Simpkins, 1991; Godwin *et al.*, 1991). The increased flexibility has created conflicts between work and family (Grönlund, 2004; Hochschild, 1997).

Both time and space are embodied in the historical context (Adam, 2003), and gendered socio-economic relations and division of labour produce a sexually specific embodiment of subjects (Grosz, 1995), with regional differences in gender relations as a result (Forsberg, 2010). It is important to emphasise that time and space are co-constructed (Harvey, 1990) and therefore not separable (Cragg, 2005), reinforcing the temporal and spatial organisation of social relations. As emphasised by Lefebvre (1991), social relations are constituted in space and of space, and therefore temporality should be conceptualised together with spatiality (Massey, 2005, p. 89). In the case of agriculture, the premise that place matters (Pini & Leach, 2011; MacDonald *et al.*, 2005) has a double meaning, reflecting the spatial and natural conditions of farming (Bernstein, 2010a, p. 89f; Harvey, 2006). The spatio-temporal

situation of family farms, which are often inherited by the husband and located outside urban centres, far from public services, involves specific processes of subjectification.

Glucksmann (2000) examined the concept of temporality, which she defined as “an element of all social relationships, processes and structures, an integral aspect that is both constitutive of them and constituted by them” (Glucksmann, 2000, p. 108). The aim of the concept is to denote the distinctive structure of time, in its various instances. The structure of time, temporalities, is almost infinite due to the different form of organisation and structure. Clock time, as the primary temporal control, only represents one type of temporality. Everyone is frequently involved in different temporalities that intersect and collide with each other, and have an experience of time. The experiences of family farming differs with respect to temporality, the temporal and spatial structure of work/time and how flexibility is managed across different socio-economic modes, bases (paid or unpaid, market or non-market and formal or informal) and spheres (public and private). Glucksmann argues that people’s empirical experience is the only way to gain knowledge about temporalities, but that experience is not all there is to it. Temporalities constitute social relations, in the same way as they are also constitutive of social relations (Glucksmann, 2000).

Glucksmann also emphasises that we, instead of observing at each separate sphere, need to look at the “total social organization of labour” (TSOL), which is all the labour undertaken in society, irrespective of whether it is waged labour or not (Glucksmann, 1998). The social processes of the family farm are a mixture of various forms of temporalities, divisions of labour and material relations. When studying the different form of temporalities and their role in a larger context, the TSOL is a fruitful concept for understanding family farm activities and organisation in the economic sphere. In the present thesis, the temporal and spatial perspective provided conceptual space to study the sorting and exchange of labour across different socio-economic modes, bases and spheres – a theoretical and analytical linkage that is vital in the contextual situation of Swedish family farming.

4.4 Resources and materiality

“We presuppose labour in a form in which it is an exclusively human characteristic. A spider conducts operations which resemble those of a weaver, and a bee would put many a human architect to shame by the construction of its honeycomb cells. But what distinguishes the worst of architects from the best of bees, is that the architect builds the cell in his mind before he constructs it in

wax. At the end of every labour process, a result emerges which had already been conceived by the worker at the beginning, hence already existed ideally. Man not only effects a change of form in the materials of nature, he also realizes his own purpose in these materials” (Marx, 1976, p. 283f).

Property is essential to farming and a central source of power in family farming (Shortall, 1999). In the debate on family farm characteristics and survival, property has been identified as one of the most vital factors in family farm production and social organisation (Friedmann, 1986b; Goodman & Redclift, 1985). The control of and access to property, mainly in the form of land, is one of the factors that constitutes and reproduces the social relations of the farm and also the rural area in general (Shortall, 1999; Rees, 1984; Newby *et al.*, 1978). Farm land has economic and symbolic values that are interconnected with the reproduction of rural masculinity (Saugeres, 2002a). In the past decade, the importance of resources has been re-emphasised in the focus on farm diversification and co-production of resources (Ploeg, 2008). The significance of property has also been raised in rural geography (e.g. Blomley, 2004; Whatmore, 2003). Blomley stresses that researchers in general and geographers in particular have to “take property more seriously” based on the effect property has on the public space (Blomley, 2004, p. 614).

Engels (1985) identified the source of women’s oppression as the appropriation of private property by the husband and claimed that the oppression of women and of classes are intimately connected, and neither can come to an end until the basis of private property ownership has been abolished. On the same line, Barlow (1986, p. 311) argues that property relations should be seen “both a cause and an outcome of class and social struggles”. Rees underlines that focusing upon one part of capitalist production, agriculture, may hide the totality of contemporary processes operating in or adjacent to the area, both spatial and economic (Rees, 1984, p. 34). The conversion of land into a commodity – as a form of private property – is one of the defining characteristics of capitalism. The protection of that property by the state, property rights, can be understood as the protection of a liberty in a liberalist understanding, or the protection of a key source of social inequalities in a Marxist understanding (Shortall, 1997).

Access to land has been identified as essential to farming in many studies (Ploeg, 2008; Djurfeldt, 1994; Friedmann, 1986a; Goodman & Redclift, 1985; Newby, 1980) and is therefore one of the factors that shapes the role of the women in agriculture (Shortall, 1997). In a classical work in British rural sociology, Newby *et al.* argues that:

“The importance of land as a factor of production in agriculture, and the significance of agriculture in rural society, make property a far more important

feature of the stratification system the either occupation or income per se” (Newby *et al.*, 1978, p. 26)

Shortall (1999) raises the social aspect of access and control of land. She argues that landownership has a central role in the creation of social meaning in the rural context. The landowner continues to be recognised as the farmer, which means that farm women become invisible (Shortall, 1997). The materiality of the family farm is articulated in the social relations of the labour process and realised through the technology, the property and the natural conditions of the farm (Bernstein, 2010a; Goodman, 2001). Thus, a material feminist ontology offers ways of looking at land ownership and resources constituted by focusing on the materialities of bodies, things and spaces (Bennett, 2010; Hekman, 2010; Barad, 2007). It establishes a radical break with both universalism and dualism, emphasising that “matter and meaning are not separate entities” (Barad, 2007, p. 3).

Property rights are a social relation (Shortall, 1999) and consist of the rights to manage the property, to assimilate the yield from it and to change its form and content (e.g. by sale). The property itself is not just an object, but also a subject that embodies the social relations of class (Newby *et al.*, 1978) and gender (Goody, 1976). Newby *et al.* (1978, p. 25) argues that the ideologies of property ownership naturalise the inequalities of the countryside and contribute to the gendered inequalities of farming being taken for granted (Flygare, 1999; Shortall, 1999). The importance of property, primarily land, in farming, is acknowledged in this thesis, which views property as an non-passive and neutral entity that structures and embodies the social relations of family farming. In relation to property, the situated agrarian change and the contextual preconditions of Swedish family farming have a crucial impact that shapes the gendering of family farming.

4.5 Family and kinship

Engels (1985) places monogamous marriage and the increased meaning of blood ties at the centre of the male domination and control of property. In later research, the importance of kinship, blood ties and family in rural areas have received attention. The research mainly addresses the relations in production (e.g. O'Hara, 1998; Whatmore, 1991) and of production, in the latter case primarily focusing on the patrilineal transfer of land and property (e.g. Lidestav, 2010; Shortall, 1999; Haan, 1994). Friedmann argues that the family is patriarchal and that the family enterprise is “a battleground over patriarchy, where property is immediately at stake” (Friedmann, 1986b, p. 192). The conflict over property is no small matter in a capitalist society.

The social connection between farming and the identity of the family excludes single farmers from the societal understanding of the farmer (Nordström Källström, 2008) and emphasises how the organisation of sexuality is dependent on time and space (Wittig, 1992). According to Rubin, sexuality that is considered 'good', 'normal', and 'natural' should ideally be "heterosexual, marital, monogamous, reproductive, and non-commercial. It should be coupled, relational, within the same generation, and occur at home" (Rubin, 2008, p. 109). The traditional family ideal is formed through a combination of marital and blood ties, based on heterosexual couples who produce their own biological children (Little, 2003). Such families are authoritarian in structure, with a clear and fixed sexual division of labour. Advocates of an idealised view of the traditional family regard it as a private haven, united by emotional bonds of love and caring, with a structure naturalised and legitimatised by state-sanctioned heterosexual marriage (Laskar, 2005).

Marriage and the family are two of the institutions most heavily critiqued by the feminist field. However, feminists have been ambivalent critics of the family. The problematic position of women in families has been a target of criticism and regarded as a basis of agency or independent action (Delphy & Leonard, 1984). Progress in the lesbian and gay rights movement raised the question of same-sex marriage and partnership, which in turn revived debate on the concept of family (Okin, 1997).

The role that kinship plays in family farming, both in the labour process and in property relations, is rooted in the family unit. Kinship has been identified as one of the central organisational factors of the family farm that distinguish it from the capitalist organisation of production (e.g. Haan, 1994; Friedmann, 1986b). The social and material relations of kinship produce a complex web of blood and feelings. These relations have been naturalised as primary social organisation factors in modern society. Haan points out that:

"kinship alludes to general ideas about the meaning of 'blood,' descent, collaterals and so on. It includes ideas about equality, authority, and solidarity, and is often so ingrained in people's mind that it is almost felt to be 'natural'" (Haan, 1994, p. 33)

Blood, as the material base of kinship, reproduces the purity and innocence of this relationship. The idea of kin, the example given by Haan, estranges it from other social relations and hierarchies. In the same way, Collins (1998) points out the naturalisation of social hierarchy in families of origin. She argues that social hierarchies are perceived as natural because of their resemblance to processes within the family.

The dual materiality of kinship and property creates a fundamental link that is reproduced by the transfer of material resources in families. Flemseater and Setten (2009) argue that kinship and property are co-constituted. Flygare (1999, p. 366) argues that inheriting the farm also includes the inheritance of social relations and the relation to place. In the present thesis, the family constituted a cornerstone in the concept of family farming and the main production unit in Swedish farming. The relations of and in production thereby comprise the farm family in various farm definitions and typologies.

4.5.1 Inheritance and transfer of property

One of the primary issues within rural gender studies and family farming research is the patrilineal transfer of land and property, usually from father to son. Property and ownership play a central role in the reproduction of social relations (Haan, 1994; Whatmore, 1991). In both agriculture and forestry, property and its acquisition are regulated by customs and traditions. Shortall (1999) argues that property provides easier access to other core resources of farming. Access to knowledge, organisational resources, customs, social practices and political power are, according to Shortall, all connected to land ownership. In order to conduct farming activities, it is vital to have access to land, but property is not equally accessible to all, since most farmers acquire their land through inheritance. Property in most of Western Europe and North America is transferred within families, in a nearly closed system (Lidestav, 2010; Flygare, 1999; Törnqvist, 1995; Gasson & Winter, 1992). The small amount of land available to be acquired through the market constitutes an obstacle for alternative paths into farming (SCB, 2011c; Ciaian *et al.*, 2010). Almost 80% of Swedish farm families are relatives of earlier owners during the 1990s (Djurfeldt & Waldenstrom, 1999). The transfer of land is deeply rooted in customs and traditions, with the result that women rarely inherit land and take over the business. The most common entry point for women to farming is through marriage (Shortall, 1999). Furthermore, despite the inequities within the system, women who marry into the farm often perpetuate the customs and thereby transfer the land to their sons, a process that starts with early socialisation (Bjørkhaug & Blekesaune, 2008; Flygare, 1999; Whatmore, 1991). The distribution of property within farming is not only crucial for influence and access to land-based activities, but also produces and reproduces the image of the male farmer, as opposed to the farmer's wife or female farmer (Fischer, 2007; Lidestav & Nordfjell, 2005; Brandth, 2002; Shortall, 2002; Flygare, 1999; Whatmore, 1991). Men tend to benefit from these processes of succession, but the strong traditions sometimes push the male successor into a struggle to fulfil his destiny of farmer's son and, later, of farmer (Price, 2010a;

Nordström Källström, 2008; Ramírez-Ferrero, 2005). Although it constitutes an important part of the succession, little has been written about farmers' retirement decisions (Gasson & Errington, 1993).

In most Western countries, laws and regulations support equal inheritance between sons and daughters. However, in practice, it is still the sons who are primarily given property (Barclay *et al.*, 2007; Flygare, 2001; Flygare, 1999; Haugen, 1994). In research, Price (2010b) notes that there has been great resistance to feminist theories in explanations for the persistence of patrilineal patterns. Other scholars have pointed out farm work as a practice that is interlinked in the succession process, where gender relations are reproduced based on the gendered division of labour, both in terms of ideology and the transfer of knowledge and skills (Errington, 2002; Flygare, 1999).

Sons and daughters have officially had equal inheritance rights for more than 150 years in Sweden. Nevertheless, various customs and regulations have deprived women of their rights to acquire, administer and inherit property. It was not until 1950 that women truly had full legal rights to inheritance (Niskanen, 2000). These conditions have strongly shaped current social relations in forestry and the family farm, partly because a considerable proportion of current owners acquired ownership during a time when administrative law was not enforced (Lidestav, 2001). Thus, Swedish history of administrative law has shaped and influenced Swedish rural society and its social relations, due to the key role that property and its transfer play in rural production (Lidestav, 2001; Niskanen, 2001). The present thesis acknowledges that property is not a small matter in capitalism in general and farming in particular – an argument underlined by increasing land prices and low circulation of land on the open market.

5 Summary of Papers

Supported by the constructed theoretical framework, Papers I-IV each contribute to the overall aim of the thesis, namely to analyse how gender inequalities are reproduced, in a Marxist-feminist understanding, within the Swedish family farming, by providing answers to the three different research questions. These research questions pay particular attention to the material relations, division of labour, distribution of resources, embodied spaces and temporality of Swedish farming – issues that are examined in Papers I-IV.

In order to enhance understanding of the material relations of family farming and its interrelation to farming women's engagement with agriculture, Paper I examines the gendered distribution of land, farm management and farm economics by adapting a modified political economy approach to analyse survey data collected by the Federation of Swedish Farmers. In order to provide insights into the structural positions of men and women in Swedish family farming, Paper II scrutinises the gendered processes and temporalities of agrarian structure by examining the contemporary debate on the concept and by operationalising an agrarian typology, using data from the Swedish FADN. In order to improve current knowledge on the embodiment of the farm labour process and agricultural space, Paper III analyses the gendered understanding of occupational health and safety in Western agriculture and how the organisation of labour affects women's exposure to risks and their knowledge about injury prevention, by adopting a systematic literature review. Finally, in order to improve understanding of gendered and embodied subjectivities in family farming, Paper IV investigates the temporalities, the temporal and spatial organisation of the labour process, of dairy farming by adapting an temporal approach based on qualitative experiences of men and women.

5.1 Gendered Resource Access and Utilisation in Swedish Family Farming (Paper I)

Gendered material relations and farming engagement are two important intersecting themes when examining the relations and practices of family farming in a northern Swedish rural context. However, conventional analysis and perceptions of the economy conceal the contribution of women within families, in businesses and in the labour market. In previous research, attention to gender has mainly focused on either the resource access or farm management. In general, there have been few such studies of Swedish family farming. During the past decade, rural gender studies have concentrated on women's identity creation in the farming context and their business activities. This body of research has provided great insights into women's agency and practices in farming and in a context shaped by gender inequalities. However, much less attention has been given to the material basis of their agency and farm management. Therefore Paper I explored the significance of capital in farming women's engagement with farming and the effect of gendered distribution of resources on farm management in Swedish family farming.

To analyse how access to resources has shaped women's farm engagement and management, the study drew on the theoretical foundation of material feminism. The analysis was based on survey data from the Federation of Swedish Farmers. Using descriptive statistical analysis, the gendered relation between access to land, different types of business activities and farm ability to provide income for the household was analysed.

The results revealed the significance of access to land to farming women's engagement and their income generation. In general, farms managed by women have much less access to arable land (15 ha) than farms managed by men (36 ha). The results also revealed some geographical differences in the gendered distribution of resources. Through cross-referencing the data on men's and women's land holding with average land prices in different regions, the analysis indicated a gendered difference in land holdings in terms of both location and value. Taking the economic and productive factors of farming into account, the land value of men's holdings was more than 2.5 times higher than women's. This gendered difference was accompanied by differences in engagement in business activities, number of business activities and farm ability to generate income for the household. The study concluded that the unequal distribution of land shapes women's farm engagement and management and has a clear impact on their ability to provide income for the household through their farming activities. Although that only a limited share of the farms was able to provide the main income for the household, the proportion among men's farms was twice the size of women's.

Paper I thereby challenges the one-sided focus on women's identity articulations and activities without analysing the material basis for their actions, especially in a resource-intensive sector such as farming. Rather, future studies need to examine the intrarelations between material and social relations embodied in family farming. Paper I demonstrated the significance of the gender-unequal distribution of resources in farming and its social and economic consequences for women. Based on the results, it called for reconstitution of farm-related entrepreneurial research, rural development policies and rural gender studies from a new material feminist approach. Combining access to resources with social forces and embodied experiences in the research process would constitute the important entry point in understanding the gendered social relations, resistance and situated knowledge of family farming.

5.2 Gendered time in Swedish family farming: Operationalising an agrarian typology using the Swedish Farm Accountancy Data Network (Paper II)

The agricultural sector has undergone extensive changes since the height of the academic debate on the concept of family farming. In general, this concept and the Swedish agrarian structure have received limited attention of late. Previous studies exhibit a lack of gender perspective, thereby emphasising the necessity to further analyse the gendered relations of agrarian structure and the family farm and explore the utilisation and diversity of the concept and gendered processes and relations of the farm unit. Therefore Paper II examined the theoretical debate on the definition of family farming from a gender perspective, based on the agrarian structure of Sweden.

To explore the Swedish agrarian structure, a situated typology based on labour use was operationalised using empirical data from the FADN. The work drew on a dialogue between previous related work and the theoretical foundation of feminist and labour process work. Using a temporal perspective, the gendered positions, labour process and temporalities of Swedish family farming were analysed based on its social, material and spatial relations.

The results revealed a workable, fruitful typology of the Swedish agrarian structure suitable for future comparative studies. By defining four types of farms based on labour use; part-time, one-person, family-labour and labour-hiring farms, the operationalisation demonstrated the resilience of family labour farming (51.1%) and the stability of agrarian structure over the past two decades. The analysis revealed the persistent dominance of family labour and even signs of an increase in its importance in parts of the sector. Although still

representing a limited share, farms hiring labour increased during the study period. The results demonstrate gendered time in the farm labour process, the different temporalities involved and their interconnection between gender and various spheres. In general, women are engaged in more time-demanding production than men (61./55.7 h/ha), are more dependent on family labour (39%/23% of total labour input) and the value of their production is about 33% less in relation to their labour input.

Paper II thereby contributes to existing research on Swedish family farming and paves the way for longitudinal studies to monitor and analyse changes and transformations of the agrarian structure and labour process over time, e.g. to identify patterns of feminisation and masculinisation. It also challenges the homogeneous and universal perception of the concept by demonstrating its gendered implications and diversity based on social, material and spatial relations. Paper II thereby complements previous studies on the concept by providing empirical support through a Swedish case study of the gendered relations of the agrarian structure and labour process.

5.3 Gendered agricultural space and safety: Towards embodied, situated knowledge (Paper III)

Changing conditions, technologies and labour markets have shifted the gender division of labour on the farm. Women have taken on off-farm labour, but have also increased their involvement in agriculture. Nevertheless, the work and occupational risks of women have received less attention in research and are in fact almost invisible. The spatial division between on-farm, off-farm and domestic work is one contributing factor to this situation. However, empirical data on gender in this field are important, although the theoretical understanding of gender and the social organisation of labour is limited. Research on occupational health and safety can provide an important basis for the development of knowledge bodies, spaces, work and division of labour in working life in general and agriculture in particular. The different situations and contexts of agriculture require knowledge regarding the processes and positions of farming. In terms of gender mainstreaming, a gendered understanding of risk exposure and injury prevention in agriculture is relevant from three perspectives: democratic, i.e. equal rights and opportunities for men and women; economic, i.e. reducing the incidence and associated cost of injuries; and productivity, i.e. using diversity as a basis for innovations. Therefore, Paper III explored the gendered understanding of occupational health and safety in Western agriculture and how the embodied positions on

the farm can affect women's exposure to risks and their knowledge about injury prevention.

To examine the body of research and the gendered understanding of occupational health and safety in Western agriculture, a systematic review was made of research on the topic over the past two decades. Based on the sampling criterion, a number of key words and a two-phase approach, around 100 articles were analysed and reviewed. In the subsequent analysis, the embodied positions on the farm and how this can affect women's exposure to risks and their knowledge about injury prevention were explored. The findings were discussed and framed in a dialogue with a standpoint feminist theoretical framework in order to produce a more comprehensive understanding of health and safety in agriculture through improving and refining methods.

The review uncovered a body of knowledge primarily based on quantitative methods and a limited number of studies and contexts. The perception and understanding of gender was very variable and sometimes highly problematic. In the analysis, mainly based on multivariate studies, gender was often found to be conceptualised as a risk factor in itself. However, the review also identified an important foundation for future studies in previous research and this, together with an interdisciplinary approach, can contribute to the exploration of the embodied processes, knowledge and materiality of the social and material relations in farming.

Paper III thereby challenges the present systematic use of the gender concept within the research field by showing the importance of the organisational approach in studying the materiality of the agricultural labour process. By revealing the importance of women's embodied experiences and the gendered division of labour, Paper III draws attention to the "body politics" of agriculture and the gendered organisation and space of farming in terms of power and inequalities. It points out the need for further gender research using qualitative methods to increase knowledge and understanding of the gendered relations, bodies and situated knowledge of agricultural spaces.

5.4 Managing flexibility and expectations: Lived experiences of spatial-temporal relations in Swedish family-based dairy farming (Paper IV)

The Swedish agricultural sector has been reshaped by economic change and restructuring of the labour market in recent decades, but is still dominated by family farms dependent on family labour. Therefore, the farm labour process is mainly constituted by the social relations of the household to which it is temporally and spatially interlinked through the farm. In previous research

within rural sociology, the concept of temporality and time attracted limited attention. With the help of in-depth interviews with men and women on dairy farms in Sweden, Paper IV explored the potentialities in social analysis of family farm relations and sought to open up ways of thinking and conceptualising gendered time and division of work in farming. Exploration of husbands' and wives' experiences of temporalities constitutes an important element in unravelling the gender relations of family farming and can provide fruitful insights into the lived realities of the agrarian labour process. Paper IV examined the lived experiences of the family farm labour process through the temporal-spatial relations in dairy farming.

The analysis drew primarily on Glucksmann's (2000) conceptual framework on temporality in the total social organisation of labour (TSOL). Rather than merely focusing on the organisation of farm labour, Glucksmann suggests that the social structure of time (temporality) constitutes an important analytical tool for revealing the organisation of everyday life and the reproduction of gender inequalities in the interrelation between various types of labour. Paper IV therefore analysed how the labour was organised and structured on the dairy farms studied and how that shaped the embodied positions of men and women on farm level. The analysis was based on 16 semi-structured interviews with the husband and wife on eight dairy farms in a restricted area of the county of Västra Götaland. Dairy farming was chosen as the case study because it is a common farm enterprise in major parts of Sweden. The case study area was chosen for its prominent position of milk production and its resemblance to the national average. For maximum variation, the farms were strategically selected based on criteria related to the farm and their involvement.

The results showed that control of time management is an important factor in family farmers' perception of their profession, but that the ability to manage time is structured by the different temporalities of men and women. They also showed how changing temporal and spatial conditions, e.g. in public services, and economic conditions causing e.g. farm expansion, have increased the involvement of women in agriculture and increased their responsibilities for care, domestic and consumption labour due to the geographical locations of the farm. Reinforced by patriarchal relations, the material relations embodied in the farm, in terms of family home and husband's business, structure the temporalities of each family member and impose specific types of flexibilities. The gendered division of labour on the farm, in the household and across different spheres produces a specific set of spatio-temporal relations that manifests itself in differing experiences of everyday world, time, space and responsibilities between farming husbands and wives.

6 Discussion and conclusions

In addition to development of the analytical framework and methodological approaches, the overall purpose of this thesis was to analyse how gender inequalities are reproduced, in a Marxist feminist understanding, within the case of Swedish family farming. The work addressed three main research questions: 1) How do access and the distribution of material resources and value shape the positions and activities of men and women in family farming? 2) In what ways do the organisation and structuring of the family farm labour process shape the embodied positions of women and men and the gendered understanding of the family farm? and 3) How do the situated agrarian change and contextual preconditions affect the gendering of Swedish family farming? The following sections analyse the findings presented in Papers I-IV in light of these three research questions. In the final section, the implications of the results are discussed and suggestions for future research and scholarly challenges are provided.

6.1 The gendered economy and distribution of resources

The effect of access and the distribution of material resources and value on the gendering of family farming was examined in Papers I and II. One of the novel contributions of that work was the re-reading of political economy in a more active and dynamic way. The advantages, possibilities and ability of this approach to provide conceptual space for exploring the interrelation between material relations and gendered processes were demonstrated using monetary values in Papers I and II, and from a temporal perspective in Paper IV. Throughout the results, the feminist standpoint approach provided vital insights into issues of exploitation and inequalities within the economic processes through men's and women's diverse experiences of economy, differentiation and labour (Paper IV), and their various farming activities (Papers I and II). In

this way, the exploration of gender relations in family farming conducted in this thesis, through the organisation of the farm labour process, provided advanced insights into the political economics of agriculture.

Men control the vast majority of the arable land in Sweden, and Papers I and II demonstrated the significant difference in access to arable land between men and women, illustrating the gendered distribution of resources within farming. The results also revealed a spatial stratification, with larger gendered differences in the more productive areas in the south of Sweden. Based on regional land prices, Paper I revealed the unequal distribution of resources and value between male- and female-operated farms, with e.g. a 2.5-fold difference in land value.

Owing to the increased market demand for agricultural products, together with the areal subsidies granted through CAP, prices for agricultural land continue to increase. In a country such as Sweden with average low land prices, the impact of the areal subsidy is higher (Ciaian *et al.*, 2010), adding to the gendered stratification of land value. In this context, the issue of access to land becomes even more significant as the effects of unequal distribution increase. The growing capitalisation of farming, raising food prices (Ploeg, 2010b; Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002; Bernstein, 2001), a system of taxation which subsidises capital investments and expansions (Buttel, 1983), and increasing demand for organic food and products (Ploeg, 2010a; Scialabba & Hattam, 2002) thereby raises barriers for female farmers with less resources to enter into agriculture or to expand their existing farm business. As a result of these circumstances, the interrelation between the gendered labour process and the traditional succession process becomes an even more crucial way into farming. Furthermore, Papers I and II showed that socio-economic differentiation and the politics of redistribution are still highly significant in family life in general and in family farming in particular. At a time when great focus is put on reinventing resources (e.g. Ploeg, 2008), it is vital to acknowledge the gender-unequal distribution of land resources in farming and thus disclose the embodiment of family farming in its interrelation between material and social relations. Within research with a greater focus on personal resources, such as various skills and knowledge, this thesis contributed an important insight by underlining farming's gendered relations. Reinforcing the "body politics" of agriculture, the gendered difference in landholding, as others have previously shown (Wigren-Kristoferson & Johnson, 2013), decreases women's chances of receiving government subsidies and access to credits.

In previous studies, the significance of access to land in farming and the engagement in different farm business activities has been emphasised (Bernstein, 2010a; Djurfeldt, 1994; Friedmann, 1986a). Paper I confirmed

these conclusions and illustrated the gendering of the relations. Both in terms of labour input and land, the results showed gendered differences in farm size. Papers I and II both showed that compared with men's farms, women's farms are more labour-intense. One of the main explanations provided for this is that men and women are involved in different farm business activities, with men generally being more involved within primary production, e.g. cultivation of cereals, sugar beet and oilseeds, while women are more often engaged in service provision and various forms of animal production. The gendering of farming is also geographically imbalanced, with men's farms more frequently situated in the more productive areas, e.g. the southern plains area of Sweden. Thereby, the present thesis illustrates similar gendered differences and segregation within farming as in other sectors when it comes to engagement in various business activities, economic values and spheres (cf. Karlsson & Lönnbring, 2005; Holmquist & Sundin, 2002; Sundin & Holmquist, 1989), but also the gendered interrelation between different farm business activities and the access to land.

The thesis showed how the gendering of family farming affects men's and women's farm enterprises, with a lower degree of specialisation and less diversification in terms of number of business activities on women's farms compared with men's. The relationship between number of farm business activities and access to land shown in Paper I confirms previous claims about the significance of land in processes of diversification and co-production of resources (e.g. Ploeg, 2008; Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002). This thesis also demonstrated the gendered effects of this relationship and shed light on the gendered aspects of autonomy and strategies such as diversification in decreasing dependency on financial and industrial capital.

In previous research (Fraser, 1997), the matter of income has been shown to be highly related to women's independence and socio-economic differentiation. In the present re-reading of political economy, the gendered economy of family farming is emphasised in Paper I, which showed that twice as many men's farms are able to provide income for the household. These relations are even more apparent in the gendered interrelation between access to land, the number and type of farm business activities and the farm's ability to produce income.

The thesis also showed how the concentration of value, on individual farms and by regions, reproduces and materialises the gendered material relations and how the gendered gap in land access shifts in relation to various locations within the same context. It thereby highlights the significance and emphasises the connection between different economic, spatial and local conditions and the gendered material relations of family farming. The re-reading of economy

revealed the importance of asking what the different labour is used for, linking the local organisation of the labour process to processes beyond the individual farm, disclosing the interconnection of various temporalities between different spheres and the gendered modes of intersections between time, value and economy. Use of the material feminist lens helped to understand and explore matters of causality, motivation, agency and subjectivity and revealed the co-constructiveness of arable land and farming.

6.2 The gendered farm labour process

The impact of the organisation and structuring of farm labour on the gendered positions and understanding of family farming is explored in Papers II, III and IV. In developing a theoretical framework for the labour process that is not structural-deterministic, but comprises the agency of people, this thesis provided a strong approach to explore how gender inequalities are reproduced in Swedish family farming. The approach highlighted the interrelations between inequalities and the organisation of labour and provided conceptual space for difference, heterogeneity and regional variation in the study of family farming. The results showed the importance of work in materialisation of the social relations of the family farm and the reproduction of gender inequalities (cf. Lidestav, 2010; Flygare, 1999; O'Hara, 1998; Whatmore, 1991). Furthermore, treating all labour undertaken, irrespective of by whom, where and how, as work, enabled a more holistic analysis of the spatial and temporal organisation of the labour process and the situated positions of men and women within it. In theoretical terms, the development of the temporal perspective in farming constitutes an important novel contribution of this thesis to the international field of research. The results illustrate the specific conditions and relations of the farm labour process that differentiate it from other temporalities outside farming – a feature that adds to farming men's and women's divergent understanding of the modalities of life and the theoretical basis for studying the everyday world of people in farming.

Paper III and IV showed that the gendered division of labour contributes to men's and women's different temporal, spatial and physical experience and understanding of the farm labour process; its organisation, temporalities and spaces. They also showed how the gendered division of labour constitutes a basis for articulation of power through the structuring of time and space. The structuring of men's and women's everyday worlds, through the farm labour process, is both constitutive of, and constituted by, spatial and temporal relations. As a result of the gendered division of labour, men and women in family farming are exposed to different environments, expectations and

psychosocial and economic pressures – a situation that reproduces the gender inequalities and shapes the gendering of family farming in Sweden.

The other main contributions of the thesis lie in the theoretical development of analysing materiality and how the various physical spaces are embodied and contribute to the gender inequalities reproduced in the farm labour process. The empirical contribution on this theme is the gender analysis of occupational health and safety research in Paper III. That paper revealed that the structuring of the farm labour process within physical spaces and tasks, both on and beyond the farm, exposes men and women to certain hazards, and they are therefore at higher risk of specific injuries and illness. The present state of knowledge and understanding of gender within this field contributes, in general, to make women's labour and situation on the farm less visible and, more specifically, the risks associated with women's labour less often the target of safety actions and programmes. Paper III's gender perspective on health and safety not only provided knowledge on women's positions, but also a more comprehensive understanding of gendered actions and perceptions, including those of men, and how to incorporate this knowledge into the development of new and more effective safety strategies and interventions. Supported by the results of Paper IV, the thesis showed how the spatial and temporal structuring and sorting of labour undertaken across different spheres and socio-economic modes situates men and women in unequal positions in the farm labour process and thereby contributes to the reproduction of gender inequalities in family farming. This combined understanding of the structuring of the social and physical aspects of the farm labour process revealed how materialised experiences of farm work and its risks, problems and consequences differ between men and women. However, Paper III also illustrated how these differences are not acknowledged in current research within the field, which imposes the male body as a "universal authority, for every-body" and reproduces the understanding of the body as a passive and neutral entity (Cockburn, 1991a). The thesis provided insights into the social, material, spatial and temporal embodiment of the farm labour process, structured by conflicts and power in various processes of "body politics" (Witz *et al.*, 1996) and in the physical design of tools, technologies and machines, as well as farm safety measures and prevention programmes (Paper III). Previous research has shown that the development of technologies in other processes and contexts has brought about a shift in the gendered organisation of the farm labour process. Paper IV supported these previous findings and emphasised how new technologies, such as automatic feeding and milk robots, alter both the spatial and temporal organisation of farm production and family life.

In its main contributions, the thesis illustrated the interconnection between the gendered division of labour and the technical and spatial divisions shaping the spatial and temporal differences between men and women on the farm. Men are primarily situated out in the field and perform work tasks that involve the use of machinery. Their labour is undertaken to a lesser extent across different temporalities and socio-economic bases. Wives are responsible for undertaking domestic and care work in the household, but also tasks outside the domestic sphere, in the form of regular consumption work and in relation to childcare. The temporal and spatial dichotomy of the farm and the household, production and provision and men's and women's work reinforce a heterosexual labour division. The perception of the "compensatory relationship" of men and women in the farm labour process underlines this division of labour, structured by heterosexuality and male dominance, and highlights the fact that the embodiment of farm work is both gendered and sexual. Reinforced by patriarchal relations, the material relations embodied in the farm, in terms of the family home and the husband's business, structure the temporalities of each family member and impose specific types of flexibilities. Supporting previous findings outside farming, this thesis showed how women's working patterns are more diverse than men's in Swedish family farming, both in terms of time and tasks. Women are often engaged in multi-tasking, especially across different temporalities and spheres. This positions farm women at the centre of clashes between different temporalities, spheres, multiple responsibilities and expectations, something shown in previous research (e.g. Wajcman, 2008; Glucksmann, 2000) and in this thesis do have consequences for the quality of time. This balanced flexibility, usually structured by others, results in women having less control over their work and work situation. The relation between labour undertaken in different spheres was shown to constitute a source of conflict, mainly articulated in relation to care and farm labour (Paper IV). However, Paper III indicated that this relation also has consequences for women's embodied understanding of agricultural space and the risks within them.

The flexibility of the farm labour process, imposed by the social relations and the rhythms of agro-ecological processes, e.g. harvesting and calving, is mainly structured around the temporality of the farm husband, which results in the wife, children and employee/s constituting the flexible labour – shaping the temporalities and positions of these groups (Paper IV). Although it is difficult to talk about control in a conventional meaning within family farming, the material presented in this thesis underlined how the male dominance shapes the structuring of the labour process – reproducing the male domination over women's labour. Paper III also underlined the embodiment of flexibility with

its physical consequences (harm) and the multiple responsibilities that entail limited experiences and knowledge of specific tasks and work on the farm. Therefore this thesis found no signs of a renegotiation of the sexual division of domestic labour or farm labour (Papers II and IV) (cf. Brandth, 2002; Kelly & Shortall, 2002; Blekesaune, 1996). The responsibility for the family forces women to expand the multiplicity of temporalities in which they work and the greater flexibility intensifies pressure on work.

Paper II showed the small proportion of hired labour farms in the Swedish agrarian structure, even though the study was based on the sample of commercial farms. This emphasises the persistence of family labour farms and justifies generalising the results of the thesis to Swedish farming in a wider sense. Papers I and II showed that the dependence on off-farm labour is still strong in a number of categories within family farming (cf. Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002). They also showed that the level of dependence differs between regions, revealing differences in spatial relations between farm production, public services and the regular labour market. However, women's engagement in off-farm labour is often dependent on the family farm's need for labour (Paper IV). The difference can partly be explained by women's labour having a higher use value than exchange value, unlike men's labour. However, it is important to underline that the division of labour is not only a result of economic relations, but is also reproduced by social relations embedded in traditions, bodies and spaces of various contexts, something that has been emphasised in previous research (Forsberg, 2010; Silvasti, 2003; Flygare, 1999; Massey, 1994). By underlining these geographical and contextual differences in the organisation and structuring of the farm labour process, this thesis also demonstrated the diversity in how gender is being done and the gendering processes of farming. This finding opens the way for studies on the interrelation of other social relations and processes within and beyond the family farm.

As illustrated in the thesis, men's and women's engagement in farm and off-farm labour is dependent on geographical factors and on access to public services and the local labour market, with its gender-segregated labour structure, in various parts of Sweden. This confirms previous findings that women more often engage in off-farm work within the service/public sector, while men mainly go in for contracting and driving (Ds, 2004; Stueland *et al.*, 1997; Pfeffer, 1989). In previous studies the decreased profitability within farming, where the farm income is only able to support one person, has been identified as one factor driving engagement in off-farm labour (Bjørkhaug & Blekesaune, 2008; Blekesaune, 1996; Almås & Haugen, 1991). In addition, Papers II and IV showed that the importance of farm labour increases during economically challenging periods or in the expansion of farm production.

However as discussed earlier, the undertaking of labour across different temporalities and socio-economic modes, e.g. off-farm labour, can lead to conflicts and clashes which destabilise family relationships (cf. Gunnarsdotter, 2005; Gray & Lawrence, 2001; Götebo Johannesson, 1996) – a situation that contributes to the decision of wives to increase their involvement in farming and thereby their presence on the farm.

Regarding the spatio-temporal conflicts of parenthood, Paper IV showed that the spatial and temporal separation of the farm and the household seems to have a vital impact on these conflicting demands and expectations, and the blending of different temporalities. This confirms the materialisation of the spatial and temporal relations in the property of the farm. Based on the gendered division of labour, the articulation of power through the sorting of time exemplifies the different experiences of temporalities between men and women. In Paper IV, the different temporalities of dairy farming were shown to reproduce the sorting of time, sexual division of labour and social relations of the family, the agricultural sector and society.

However, it is important to underline that the labour process not only is a process of inequalities and exploitation. It is also a process filled with solidarity, love and people that are proud of their profession and work. Kinship constitutes the organisational basis for the farm labour process that is materialised in the farm property, both in term of feeling and value (Paper IV). The control over the labour process is there for articulated differently depending on family or hired labour (cf. Bernstein, 2010a). In the latter case, the close relations and the more extensive integration of hired labour in the family structure are shown, in Paper IV, to be one way of exercise control (cf. Newby, 1972). In a similar way as Braverman (1974) underline the importance of understanding the capitalist control of the labour process, the male control of the farm labour process, as emphasised in Paper IV, is of equal significance in the case of family farming. The kinship, the spatial interrelation between the farm and the household together with the “organized flow of activities through time” (Ploeg & Long, 1994, p. 15) could be regarded as the material basis of organisation, or management style in the term of Burawoy, (1979), that makes both farm men and women participate in their own exploitation or self-exploitation (Chayanov, 1986). This further emphasise the argument of Burawoy (1979, p. 30); that labour process “must be understood in terms of the specific combinations of force and consent”, and stress the role of kinship in these relations. The results of mainly Paper IV illustrate that the farm labour process in many terms resemble the exploitive processes of women in unpaid domestic work and paid care labour (e.g. Clough & Halley, 2007; Armstrong & Armstrong, 2005; Rose, 1983), but where the emotional responsibility for the

family is combined with e.g. animal welfare and the generational place (the farm). In this thesis, resistance is mainly practiced in relation to external factors and actors, such as to reduce the dependence on hired labour (Paper II & IV) to decrease economic risks and increase control of the labour process.

6.3 Situated agrarian change and contextual preconditions

Novel information on how the situated agrarian change and contextual preconditions affect the gendering of Swedish family farming was provided by Papers I, II and IV. These theoretical and empirical examinations demonstrated the diversity and plurality of the family farm concept in the Swedish context. They also revealed the limitation of the concepts generally used and their differentiation in relation to the social, material, geographical, ecological and spatial conditions. In the field of gendered relations and processes, this thesis supported the conclusion that the general term 'family farm' constitutes a misnomer (cf. Hedley, 1982). As shown in Paper II, a wider range of analytical categories is needed to achieve a more situated understanding of the reproduction of inequalities and imbalance of power through the structuring of the farm labour process and ownership (cf. Whatmore, 1991). The best choice of categories to use mainly depends on the aspect of family farming under study. Definitions such as 'family-owned', 'family-managed' and 'family-worked' farms relate to different processes in family farming. This thesis showed that the term 'family labour farm' provides the strongest meaning for family farming in the Swedish context. With the focus on family farm labour, the 'family-worked' definition is the only form where exploitation of the farmer might be possible (Bernstein, 2010b) and the process of self-exploitation is most significant (Chayanov, 1986). The family-owned and family-managed farms can be fully capitalist enterprises where the exploitation of external farm labour is a more crucial characteristic of the social and material relations than e.g. kinship. Inclusion of these definitions in the present thesis would have shifted the centre of study from the family to an even wider conceptual context. Paper II demonstrated a gendered difference in organisation of the farm labour process, including the use of hired labour and the dependency on family labour. Male-operated farms used hired labour to a larger extent than female-operated, and were thereby less dependent on family labour. Within the Swedish agrarian structure, the results showed an increase in the proportion of hiring labour farms during the past two decades.

Papers I and II confirmed the high proportion of farms dependent on off-farm income and the continuing central position of part-time farming in the Swedish agrarian structure (cf. Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002). The results also

illustrated the gendering of family farm economics by showing that farms operated by men are twice as likely as female-operated farms to be able to provide the main income for the household. In relation to this, the farm's ability to reproduce itself is a relevant characteristic, not in least in the spatial, temporal and material relations across different spheres and socio-economic modes. However, it also leads to access to public services and the local and gender-segregated labour market having a crucial impact on changes in farm activity (cf. Fuller, 1990).

Although profits may not be a prerequisite for the reproduction of the family farm (Djurfeldt & Gooch, 2002), its future sustainability depends on its ability to increase its production (Blekesaune, 1996, p. 50). The increased capitalisation and market integration of Swedish farming is increasing the pressure on accumulation, i.e. the exploitation of labour driven by the need to expand the scale of production and increase productivity. Together with the processes of commodification, raising the cost of entering farming and reproducing costs of capital in farming, this development contributes to the process of socio-economic differentiation. The spatiality of this process, materialised in the location and in agro-ecological processes, was shown in Papers I and II. The geographical differences in agrarian structure in Sweden, with the largest differences between the more productive southern plains and other regions, were demonstrated in Paper II. There were also signs of a more stratified agrarian structure in the plains region, while family labour farms occupied a more dominant position in the forested and northern regions of Sweden. The interconnection between the sphere of provision and production, a relation that imposes problems in a historical landscape constituted by smaller production units, was shown in Paper IV. The lack of separation between these spheres contributes to limited access to arable land, due to farmers continuing to occupy their farms after retirement.

However, the resilience of family farming and the stability of agrarian structures over the past two decades are also illustrated in the thesis. The dominance of family labour in the farm structure has clearly persisted and there are even indications that its importance may have increased in recent decades. The thesis therefore contradicts the claim by Errington and Gasson (1994, p. 295) that "the use of family labour has become a less distinctive feature of farm organization" and therefore is a "less relevant criterion for defining the family farm". The increased dependence on family labour emphasises its flexibility as a non-fixed cost in the struggle for autonomy. In this context, the strong downward pressure on local and regional food production from the market and larger retailers (Ploeg, 2008; Ploeg *et al.*, 2000) is pushing the flexibility of family farming back to the household (Friedmann, 1986a) and

shifting the different interconnections across the socio-economic mode (Glucksmann, 2005). These increasing risks serve to increase the dependency on the family in the farm labour process (cf. Wright & Kaine, 1997), and thereby intensify the exploitation of family labour. In these processes of agrarian change, this thesis raises the question of whether the gendering of family farming leads to increased exploitation, and not just the naturalisation of the inequalities created by capitalism in general and farming in particular.

In the process of globalisation, the market integration of family farming and the division of labour across different spheres and socio-economic modes, this thesis highlighted the theoretical importance of extending the research perspective beyond the farm, both in terms of the situated individual farm and agriculture in general. When examining the reproduction of the farm labour process and the gendered relations of the total social organisation of labour, the results demonstrated the need to move beyond the family farm in the analysis of agrarian structure. This confirms the claim made by Shanin (1986, p. 19) that the family farm “must be understood in terms of labour and capital flows which are broader than agriculture”.

Paper IV showed that technological developments in farming are altering the relations of the labour process and rationalising work in time and space by introducing different spatial and temporal organisation of labour. They have thereby extended or blurred the spatio-temporal boundaries of the working day in a sector where these boundaries are already almost invisible (e.g. Niskanen, 1998). However, despite the rationalisation, the flexibility of family farms and the autonomy in work management, Paper IV showed that this does not seem to result in farmers spending less time working. Previous research has claimed that new technologies “raise new possibilities for the ‘annihilation’ of space and time” (Lockie, 2006, p. 35). However, Paper IV indicated that new technologies and the appropriation of the farm labour process, through the rationalisation of actions in time and space, have mainly contributed to a shift in spatio-temporal relations and imposed new temporalities. With increasing farm size and the introduction of new technologies, the temporalities and the spatial and temporal relations of farming are tending to take place in increasingly industrial forms. New technologies, such as automatic milking systems, were developed and introduced to save time in a context where time is money. This is mainly achieved by controlling time, i.e. controlling the seasonality and variations of dairy farming. Through rationalising the labour process and enforcing flexibility to adapt to the arable patterns of production, service and consumption, the control of time in the production process should be regarded as an integral part of industrial capitalism (cf. Adam, 2000). This thesis and previous research (e.g. Pettersson, 1996; Sommestad, 1992;

Cockburn, 1985) show that new technologies bring new tasks and skill sets, reshaping the social relations and temporalities of the family farm and the agrarian structure.

6.4 Future research

Considering the limited body of studies and research approaches on gender inequality in the Swedish farming context, there is a need for a wider strategy including methodological and theoretical development. The fruitfulness of mixed-method research in supporting a more comprehensive understanding of family farming was demonstrated in this thesis. In interdisciplinary work, the labour process and the political economy approaches, framed in a feminist tradition, helped to examine the social and material relations and processes of family farming on various level and the interrelation between – an approach that can be further explored for future research. The approach provided important insights that transcended the dualism in examining the interrelation between social and material, subject and object, work and property in the materiality of the labour process. The importance of combining quantitative and qualitative methods, e.g. in studying both the experiences and the quantification of temporalities in farming, was highlighted. However, the interdisciplinary approach has to be further developed to include the collaboration between social and natural sciences.

The utilisation and exploration of contemporary knowledge and existing survey systems and data sources can be useful in future longitudinal and comparative studies, both nationally and with other EU member states. Previous research has highlighted the problematic aspects of non-context sensitive comparative studies within farming (e.g. Blekesaune, 1996), but situated comparative studies still have their advantages in the process of understanding structural relations and identifying context-specific aspects and effects on the gendering of family farming. This thesis demonstrated the benefits of a political economy approach in examining agricultural change and moving beyond the farm (Buttel, 1983), situating future studies within the flow of the “food chain”, from the farm, urban and food industry (Bowler & Ilbery, 1987) or globalised food systems (Goodman & Watts, 1997; Marsden & Arce, 1995; Whatmore, 1995).

Longitudinal studies based on this approach could help to monitor and analyse the change and transformation over time in farming, e.g. processes of differentiation, patterns of feminisation and masculinisation, redistribution of land ownership etc. Future studies of the gendered impacts of agrarian change in Sweden should combine the labour process and the modified political

economy approach with qualitative and quantitative data, e.g. longer time series. As shown in the thesis, this field of research needs to increasingly combine and develop quantitative and qualitative methods for facilitating a more comprehensive and situated understanding of the gendered relations of Swedish family farming.

One of the most important changes in family farming (Blekesaune, 1996), off-farm waged labour mainly undertaken by women, has increased in importance for the reproduction of the family farm. The exchange value of farm labour and the gendered division of on- and off-farm labour demand further examination of how the changing conditions affect the labour process and the distribution of resources within the farm household. Future research therefore needs to pay more attention to the relation between labour undertaken in different spheres and socio-economic modes (cf. Gunnarsdotter, 2005; Götebo Johannesson, 1996) if it is to provide a more holistic and advanced understanding of gendered relations in family farming.

The scope of this thesis was primarily limited to the family on the farm, with the main focus on its gendered and sexual relations. Thus less attention was paid to other social relations in direct connection with the family farm, e.g. the increased reliance on migrant and seasonal labour in agriculture (Hagevoort *et al.*, 2013; Reynolds *et al.*, 2013; Jentsch, 2007). It is important to understand gendered inequalities in relation to these other social relations too and therefore future research needs to examine not only how family farming is gendered, but also how it is racialised, sexualised and class-coded. This will help uncover all the processes of gendering and its interrelation with other social processes and division of labour. This type of research is vital for a better understanding of the various positions of women in farming; as self-employed farmer, family member, hired labour, permanent or temporal, citizen or migrant worker etc. The use of a temporal perspective in this thesis provided important knowledge and insights on the structuring of the labour process across different spheres and socio-economic modes. Together with the emphasis on the farm labour process and the political economy of agriculture, more attention must be paid to the relation of family farming from a temporal and spatial approach in order to improve our understanding of the gendered, classed and embodied subjectivities in this context.

The gendered and unequal distribution of land and value within Swedish farming and the significance of access to land and its various effects on farming were clearly demonstrated in this thesis. Tendencies for differentiation in terms of land value within Swedish farming were also demonstrated. Future studies need to examine the distribution of resources and its effect on farming in terms of access to subsidies, credits and business networks. Increasing land

prices in some regions and the transfer of most arable land within the family emphasise the need for research on the material relations of the family farm household.

The thesis reminded us that the body and the material world are not empty or passive entities, but are co-constituted and shaped by gendered and economic processes and practices. By emphasising the internal effects of property relations for the social relations of farming, this thesis revealed the gendered embodiment and situated knowledge of family farming. It also underlined the importance of further studies on embodied experience of farming and interrelation of material, temporal, spatial and social factors in agricultural space. The favouring of the male body in agriculture, through e.g. the design of tools and the division of labour, imposes its “universal authority, for every-body” (Cockburn, 1991b). This structuring of agricultural space and bodies could be seen as way of practising “body politics” (Silvasti, 2003). The concept of “body politics” and excluding processes and practices of agricultural space calls for more extensive studies to develop situated and embodied knowledge of safety consciousness and improved technological design. The shaping of different bodies through the intersecting forces of inequalities in the temporal and spatial organisation of the farm labour process needs to be acknowledged and explored further in order to better understand the various positions, processes and experiences of agricultural space and the male domination of farming.

To establish a radical break with both universalism and dualism by theorising the co-constitutiveness of cultural discourse and materiality in the context of family farming, further research of the type suggested by Hekman (2010) and Barad (2007) is needed. In-depth exploration of the materiality of farming, with its interrelations between material and social, nature and technology, time and space, objects and meaning, will require interdisciplinary research that transcends the division between social and natural sciences.

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