

FARM WOMEN : WORK AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

THE CHANGING NATURE OF FARM WOMEN'S WORK ROLES
UNDER
THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

September 1979

MASTER OF ARTS (1979)
(Sociology)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Changing Nature of Farm Women's Work Roles
 Under The Industrialization of Agricultural
 Production

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NUMBER OF PAGES: xiii, 333.

ABSTRACT

This study is an exploration of the relation of farm women to agricultural production. Data were collected on the work of sixty farm women from Bruce County, Ontario, with the aim of determining whether Canadian farm women are losing their role in agricultural production within family farm enterprises. Older and younger women from large and small beef and dairy farms were included in the sample. Data were collected on both housework and farm work.

Three central findings emerged concerning the performance of housework. First, the nature of housework more closely approximates its urban equivalent as household technology is adopted. Second, there is evidence of a decline in the performance of domestic production activities over time, with that decline most pronounced for the younger women. Third, the division of household labour by sex has remained relatively constant over time. Women continue to assume the primary responsibility for housework with younger husbands and husbands of employed women assuming an only slightly greater portion of the overall work load.

Women's role in farm work has declined over the last two to four decades. The younger women are now involved in farm work to a lesser extent than older women now, and their participation level is even smaller in relation to that of women twenty or more years ago. Women from small farms continue to

perform farm work tasks in greater proportions than women from the larger, more industrialized farms. Like their urban counterparts earlier in this century, farm women are found to be working increasingly further away from the center of economic production.

It is concluded that farm women's role in production declines with the advancement of industrialization. Finally, certain implications concerning the potential for devaluation and non-recognition of the economic contribution made by farm women are raised.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For a work that has taken over two and a half years to complete, it is nearly impossible to include all those persons who deserve mention here. Let me therefore begin with a general expression of gratitude to all of those who have offered suggestions, support, and concern.

More specifically I wish to thank Mac Bolton and Bob Ferguson from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Walkerton, and Willard Calhoun and Les Young from the Bruce County Cattleman's Association for their aid in respondent selection. For their comments on earlier drafts, I want to also thank Rhoda Howard, Ellan Derow, Peta Sheriff and Helen Abell. Mrs. Judith Anderson deserves the credit for the typing of several drafts, including the final one. And to the respondents, for their time, patience, and willingness to share, a warm thank you and expression of respect and admiration. They are all remarkable women.

Special thanks go to the members of my committee. To Dr. Charles Jones for his direction through what often seemed a maze of methods and analyses. To Wendy Weeks, a special expression of gratitude for her always constructive criticism and advice, and for the strengths and insights she has offered during my many years as a learner at McMaster. To Dr. Marylee Stephenson, supervisor, for her encouragement, support, and friendship throughout. Gratitude is also owing to Dr. Stephenson for her central and extensive role in the establishment of a

women's studies program at this University. It is to my sincere regret that she will no longer be here to encourage and direct future students wishing to pursue the Sociology of Women as part of their scholarly endeavours.

Finally, to Anna and Cady, for their love and support through it all, what can I say? You know.

While it is, as I understand it, common practice to extend appreciation for help and direction in this space, it seems only appropriate to also make note of those who merit mention for their hinderance and/or establishment of barriers to academic progress. To this purpose I wish to draw attention to McMaster University on two counts. First, in an era where the use of sexist or generic terms has long since been recognized for its damaging and destructive effects on the position or advancement of women in society, McMaster University persists in the publication and distribution of contracts and directives containing a pervasive sexist bias. For example, the "Guide for the Preparation of Theses" prepared to aid in the completion of works such as this one, consistently makes reference to students/scholars as 'he' and their work as 'his'. One is subsequently led to question whether McMaster precludes the possibility of women attaining this level of academic standing.

Second, I, personally, cannot help but view the dismissal of Dr. Stephenson as more than a direct blow to the success and appeal of the women's studies program here. That is, it appears as only one incident in a much larger pattern of increasing

conservatism following in the wake of financial constraints and cutbacks. One can only wonder why it is, so often, the most creative, imaginative, and/or inquiring scholars who are the first to suffer the consequences of such cutbacks. One can, further, only wonder what the future may hold for the next generation(s) of graduate students given the changing personnel involved in their selection for graduate positions and given the changing balance of faculty available for consultation and supervision of graduate work. In this light the loss of Dr. Stephenson to the women's studies program is only one step in an increasingly frequent and pervasive pattern, seemingly, designed to foster a conservative and unquestioning bias in academic pursuits.

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INTRODUCTION

In contemporary usage, the term 'work' refers almost exclusively to the behavior of those who are ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE PAID LABOUR FORCE. By implication, anyone who is not paid for his labour, IS NOT REALLY WORKING. This narrow and misleading conception of work creates a false distinction between 'workers' and 'non-workers'. It also demeans the value of labour performed by any individual who is not financially rewarded for his or her efforts, and it categorically devalues the contribution of women.

Council on Rural Development Canada,
Rural Women's Study (1979:3)

The importance of the relationship between the work in which one is engaged and the concomitant social value assigned to persons on the basis of that work has been firmly established (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: chapter 6; Smith, 1977; Vipond, 1977; Morton, 1971; Blumberg, 1974; Benston, 1977; Oakley, 1974; Johnson, 1974). That changes in the nature or demands of the economic system lead to changes in women's work and women's status is, similarly, well documented. As Holter summarizes:

The sociological, anthropological, and social-psychological theories all seem to point - ultimately - to changes in the requirements of the economic system as the prime moving forces in shifts in sex roles or changes in the status of women. (1972: 154)

An examination of the relationship between women and the production activities in which they are engaged can, therefore, reveal certain important indicators of women's position in society.

The greatest majority of research which has dealt with this relationship between women's status and women's work has been focused on urban women. Very little has been written on rural women. In fact, Joyce and Leadley in their review of the research needs of rural women have detailed precisely this gap in knowledge concerning "the relationship of women to the means of production in rural areas, to see how economic forces affect women." (1977: 14)

The large corpus of historical rural sociology from the first three decades of this century contains a few references to the role of rural women in farm production during that period. Typically, these early discussions suggest that the farm woman's direct participation in agricultural production provided the basis for her equal partnership in the family-based farming enterprise.

The relatively small body of contemporary literature on farm women reflects a radically different perspective. Kerr (1976), Kohl (1976a, 1976b, 1978), Joyce and Leadley (1977), Taylor (1976) and the recent publications on farm women by the Council on Rural Development Canada (CRDC, 1979) and the Saskatchewan Department of Labour (1977) all suggest that the work roles of Canadian farm women are now severely undervalued. The only nation-wide study of Canadian farm women lists the following as its first conclusion:

In view of the fact that most rural women play a major role in the social and economic well-being of their communities, every effort must be made to:

a) recognize the value of their contribution (whether paid or unpaid), and b) to promote a change in attitudes toward the meaning of work so that the term itself would refer equally to paid and unpaid forms of labour - rather than being exclusively associated with the world of paid work. Such action would ultimately enhance the status of rural women who more than any other single group are occupied in forms of labour that are receiving no direct financial recognition and which continue to be socially undervalued.

(CRDC, 1979: ix)

In the relatively short time span of forty to fifty years the social recognition assigned to the work of farm women has diminished. How can these two disparate views be reconciled? How can this transformation in the status of rural women be explained? The purpose of this research is to examine reasons for the devaluation of farm women's economic contribution. An exploration of farm women's relation to agricultural production will be undertaken, in accordance with the materialist analysis which places work at the center of such transformations. A review of relevant literature suggests that the industrialization of urban production lead to a decline in urban women's relation to and role in that production process. Recent literature on contemporary agricultural production suggests that farming is now being 'industrialized' in ways very similar to urban patterns five to ten decades ago. It is hypothesized that the patterns of change now evident in agricultural production can be identified as having played a primary part in the shrinking role of farm women in farm work. Finally, as farm women become less directly linked to the center of economic production within the family farm enterprise, it is suggested that their work and the social value assigned to them as persons undergoes a devaluation process.

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. The Sexual Division of Labour

The organization of production in Canada as well as in other countries has undergone major transformation as the result of industrialization. So too have ideas about work and the location of economic production been altered with industrialization. More important, perhaps, for the purposes here, the sexual division of labour - the way in which work is divided between men and women - has also been changed with the industrialization of production.

The aim in this review of literature is to examine certain crucial transformations in the way production has been organized and delineate the effects of these changes on the work roles of women. Consequences for the perceived economic contributions of women and the concomitant social value assigned to the labour of women both in and outside of the home will also be considered.

Four general points, however, ought to be made about the sexual division of labour in any given society before going on to note the transformations in production pertinent to this research.

First, the division of labour based on gender appears to be a universal characteristic of all human societies (Lloyd,

1975: 4; Bender, 1967: 499; Brown, 1970: 1075; Eichler, 1975: 224; Heath, 1958: 77; Holter, 1971: 5; Hartmann, 1975: 137; Epstein, 1970: 20). In a thorough study of different farming systems in the developing countries, Boserup (1970) found each society to have a clear sexual division of labour but as Lloyd (1975: 4) points out, "there is no common pattern of sex roles across societies." Boserup says:

Both in primitive and in more developed communities, the traditional division of labour within the farm family is usually considered 'natural' in the sense of being obviously and originally imposed by the sex difference itself. But while the members of any given community can think that their particular division of labour between the sexes is the 'natural' one because it has undergone little or no change for generations, other communities may have completely different ways of dividing the burden of work among the sexes, and they too may find their ways just as natural. (1) (1970: 5)

Second, despite substantial variations in the types of tasks assigned to each sex among various cultures (Holter, 1971: 5; Epstein, 1970: 21; Mead, 1963), it appears to be a nearly universal pattern which assigns to women significantly more responsibility for childbearing (Eichler, 1975: 227; Bell, 1974: 621), and household care (Bell, 1974: 621). Men assume major responsibility for governing, hunting (Gough, 1974: 32; Chodorow, 1971: 261) and the provision of sustenance needs (Eichler, 1975: 224). Walker's research shows that women in the United States follow this universal pattern, in that they assume the primary responsibility for household tasks such as meal preparation, child care, and marketing (Walker, 1972; 1973; 1974). That the division of labour in Canadian society also

follows a similar pattern has been documented by Meissner (1977), Harvey and Clark (1975: 7), Clark and Harvey (1976).

Third, "it is society and not sex that determines men's work and women's work." (Bell, 1974: 621) The relationship between the needs of the economic system and the division of labour by sex has been well established in both research and theoretical literature (Chodorow, 1971; Smith, 1977; Lloyd, 1975; Szymanski, 1974: 722; Meissner, 1977; Morton, 1971; Etzkowitz, 1971; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978). Eichler (1975: 227) and Holter (1971: 5) both suggest that in Western societies, the demands of the labour market at any given point in time are strong determinants of the division of labour by sex.

Fourth, it is crucial to note that a simple division of labour by sex (or along any other dimension) need not result in inequality. As Oakley (1974: 61) aptly points out, "differentiation is a neutral word". The fact that some work is denoted as 'women's work' and other work is denoted as 'men's work' does not automatically mean a distinction by worth or value. Thus, in some societies the tasks assigned as appropriately 'women's work' are essential to survival and no less 'productive' than the work carried out by men.² Where inequality enters is in the social value assigned to the persons engaged in that work.³ Finally, the social value assigned to labour does not always reflect the 'real' economic value or degree of 'productiveness' entailed in, or resulting from, the work in question.

While the division of labour by sex has remained relatively constant over the last three decades in Canada (Armstrong and

Armstrong, 1978: 14), there occurred many changes in the nature and location of production with the advance of industrialization much earlier in this century. Those changes progressed at different rates in rural and urban areas and were different for various sectors of the economy. It is therefore important to examine, separately, the consequences of industrialization in their relation to urban women's work apart from those for the work of rural women.

What follows is a review of relevant literature outlining these transformations. It is structured by both the consideration of time and the urban/rural dimension. First, the organization of production in traditional rural society will be presented. Second, there will be an examination of the role of women in traditional agricultural production. Third will be a delineation of the major trends in urban women's work in the home as it was altered by the forces of industrialization. Fourth will be the presentation of the central effects of industrialization on women's labour force participation. Moving into a more contemporary time frame, a review of recent changes in agricultural production in Canada will be performed. Finally, there will be presentation of existing data about rural women's role in production and the raising of several crucial research questions about the potential parallels between urban women's work in the past and the present work of farm women.

B. Historical Perspectives

1) The Organization of Production in Traditional Rural Society.

In pre-industrial Canada, the greatest majority of persons lived in rural areas. In 1871 the rural population comprised 78% of the total population of the country and it was not until the second decade of this century that the urban population outnumbered the rural (Census of Canada, 1971, Vol. 8, part 2: 852). While no data exists on the proportion of the rural population which was actually on farms⁴ there remains little doubt that the greatest majority of the rural population in the mid-19th century was to be found on farms.

Early pioneer life in Canada for the most part was a matter of subsistence.⁵ While it is probably true that complete self-sufficiency was rare (Nelson, 1957: 22), the central goal among farm families was to produce as many goods for family use as possible (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 58). The production of agricultural products was mixed or general in nature in order to cover the range of family subsistence requirements (Beers, 1937; Cowan, 1976: 1; Barkley, 1976: 812; McKie, 1968: 6; Abell, 1970: 185; Whyte, 1970: 5). Milk, eggs, meat, cheese, vegetables, fruit, grain and fibre were normally all supplied by the family farm economy. Agricultural implements were of the most basic type (Reaman, 1970: 29; Abell, 1968: 16) and the work itself entailed a high degree of strenuous physical labour.

Markets existed from the earliest times in Ontario⁶ and any surplus was either exchanged with neighbours for those things which were not produced (Nelson, 1957: 21), or sold at local markets for cash to pay taxes and purchase the manufactured goods which the family could not produce itself. It should be remembered however, that the production of surplus was very rarely

a central goal. Rather, the aim was to produce a variety of goods to meet as many needs as possible. Labour was the main input into production and there existed very little need for cash.

Labour on these early farms in pre-industrial Canada was supplied almost entirely by family members except during the peak periods of planting and harvesting when assistance was often received from neighbouring farms (Abell, 1968: 16). Under these conditions the farm family had a clearly defined division of labour. Men and boys were responsible for barn and field chores plus some home duties such as splitting and piling firewood and carrying water for stock and family use. Women and girls were assigned all household tasks, garden and orchard work, as well as farm duties such as milking and the care of poultry. (Abell, 1968: 16; Bailey, 1915: 348) Women and girls also helped with other farm tasks when needed. Thus, there was 'men's work' and 'women's work' but an important point is in order here. While men rarely, if ever, laboured in the domestic sphere, women's work spanned the gap between farm work and housework. Farming and living were seen as synonymous (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1965: 381; Beers, 1937: 592) and portions of what was traditionally defined as 'women's work' were to be found in both locations.

The traditional farm family of the 1800's was an independent economic unit which had full ownership and management control of the land which it operated (Gilson, 1962: 1). The pioneer heritage of "family interdependence in work and living based on

entrepreneurship, independence and a moral and economic value on hard work underlies the agricultural fundamentalism" which has justified attempts to protect the institution of the family farm. (Abell, 1968: 16) The Jeffersonian ideology concerning "the virtue of men working the land that they themselves possessed" (Barkley, 1976: 812) was rampant in the 1800's and the family farm has been nearly deified.

While there is little Canadian rural literature (Whyte, 1970: 1), much American rural sociology was devoted to the praise of that institution. Thus, family farm life was extolled as the ideal environment for everything from raising children in order to "develop in them the qualities that make for an unusually fine type of manhood and womanhood" (Gee, 1942: 626) to the development of a "more stable, more responsible, and more democratic government." (Gilson, 1962: 10) It has further been "considered especially for the spiritual, social and political vitality (that it has) contributed to our civilization" (quoted in Bennett, 1967: 453) and Sorokin and Zimmerman, two prominent rural sociologists of the early part of this century, saw the family farm as "the beginning and end of rural social organization" (1931, Vol. 2: 4).

While Fuguitt is probably wise in cautioning us about the ease with which we "idealize older ways of life gone by" (1963: 247), the family farm and farm family of the mid-19th century North America did, in fact, constitute a highly integrated unit of intensive kin and primary group relations (Abell, 1975: 375) with the ability to perform most tasks with a high degree

of self-sufficiency (McKie, 1968: 6). Production was subsistence oriented and labour-intensive with the greatest part of that labour being supplied by family members.

2) The Role of Women in Traditional Agricultural Production.

The family was the primary economic unit in pre-industrial Canada. Emphasis on the production of subsistence meant that the contribution of labour by all family members was indispensable to the continued survival of the family as an economic unit.

Early settlers in America established a division of labour similar to their European tradition which usually placed men in agriculture and women in domestic production and in some farm tasks (Baxandall, Gordon and Reverby, 1976: 2). While there clearly existed a division between men's work and women's work, equal value was placed on the labour of each sex (Vanek, 1974: 118). Women's role in domestic labour was very different from what it has become in the latter part of the 20th century.

Housework, as we know it today, was almost non-existent. Ehrenreich and English suggest that, by today's standards, pre-industrial revolution women were "sloppy housekeepers" (1975: 9). Housecleaning was more likely to be an annual activity rather than the daily or weekly routine it now demands. Meals were simple and repetitive, clothes were changed infrequently and the laundry was allowed to accumulate for a month and sometimes longer. (Ehrenreich and English, 1975: 9). There were many other chores which kept these women occupied from dawn to dusk.

The pre-industrial rural home was a tiny manufacturing

center demanding of its female labourers a "wide variety of skills and an endless capacity for hard work." (Ehrenrieck and English, 1975: 9) The managing of large gardens and orchards was the responsibility of the farm wife and every year the Ontario farm wife would typically 'do down' hundreds of quarts of fruits and vegetables for winter consumption (Reaman, 1970: 53). Clothing was also manufactured by the farm woman in traditional rural America. Fibres were spun, woven and sewn into family clothing, and deerskin, cow, and horse hides provided leather for boots and coats. Quilting bees were frequent where neighboring women would gather and communally work on blankets and rugs (Reamann, 1970: 65). MacMurchy stated that a variety of household industries were performed by the women in pioneer families:

One old woman who died not many years ago told how she used to bake in an oven out-of-doors and had dyed homespun with butternut. The soap cauldron stood on the levelled stump of what had been once a forest tree. Candles were moulded in iron moulds.

(quoted in Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 59)

Reaman quotes a passage from a letter from "A Farmer's Wife" who lamented the fact that labour-saving devices could not be found to help her in her labour as they had in her husband's work. She talks of her husband returning to their home in the evening from his work and watching her sewing and stitching "night after night, winter and summer until near midnight." (Reaman, 1970: 114-115)

In addition to the domestic production of food and clothing, farm women were expected to actively participate in

farm work. It appears as though there were certain farm tasks which were assigned to women almost exclusively. Dairying as a commercial enterprise did not exist until the last quarter of the 19th Century but farm families kept a few cows to provide cream for the butter or cheese which were made by farm women. Sufficient fowl were kept and managed also by women to provide eggs and meat. Thus, care of poultry, milking and separating cream were part of the farm woman's daily routine - farm activities which appropriately fell within the realm of 'women's work.' In addition to these daily chores, farm women frequently helped their partners with field work. Glazer and Waehrer (1977: 41) suggest the farm wife to have been a co-worker in farm tasks while Sorokin and Zimmerman (1929: 363) state that the rural wife often helped with specific tasks such as plowing, planting, seeding, harvesting, threshing and cattle breeding. The active and frequent participation by farm women in farm work is noted by many other authors as well (see Baxandall, Gordon and Reverby, 1976: 14; Oakley, 1974: 14-15; Ball, 1975; Baker, 1964: 102; Bell, 1974: 621).

The economic contribution made by the farm woman to her family cannot be disputed. She manufactured the majority of her families needs and as Kohl (1976: 67) states, no matter what her home responsibilities, "women were also important labour resources in the building of the enterprise." Surplus produce was sold to purchase ready-made goods and staples and a great deal of this surplus was from the wife's management and production of poultry, eggs and dairy products. She was,

therefore, not only an important producer, but also participated in whatever small-scale market activities existed. Her activities in this respect helped her to bring in whatever cash income was possible and "allowed her independent sources of money from the sale of surplus"(Smith, 1977: 24). As Dorothy Smith also illustrates, the farm wife was an important manager of the activities occurring on the family farm. She quotes this passage from Nellie McClung's autobiography where she describes the farm on which she spent her childhood:

An Ontario farm, in the early eighties, was a busy place, everyone on our farm moved briskly. My father often said of my mother that she could keep forty people busy. She certainly could think of things for people to do. Maybe that was one reason for my enjoying the farmyard so much. I loved to sit on the top rail of the fence and luxuriantly do nothing, when I was well out of the range of her vision. Mother herself worked harder than anyone. She was the first up in the morning and the last one to go to bed at night. Our teams were on the land and the Monday morning wash on the line well ahead of the neighbours.

(Quoted in Smith, 1977: 24)

The life of the 19th century rural Ontario woman was "not, as myth might have it the bucolic existence that we commonly associate with life in less complex times. Rather, it was a life characterized by the prospect of being physically, mentally, and emotionally drained by the time most modern women are busily contemplating a second career." (Ball, 1975: 3) The dual expectations concerning housework and farm work provided the basis of a dual work load and as Kohl points out, constitutes the basis of the farm women's "double burden" (Kohl 1976: 67). Bartlett is probably accurate in pointing out that the farm

woman understood these expectations well, but, as he states, "they had in common a way of life covered in one word: toil." (quoted in Kohl, 1976: 32)

While Smith (1977: 23) is wise to point out that there was likely a wide variation in this form of farm family organization, one point remains clear throughout the literature on early, pre-industrial farm women. Their work, in contrast to the contemporary view of women's work, was 'productive'. They produced tangible goods for both family consumption and small-scale market exchange. As Griffith (1976: 14) suggests, "the value of woman as economic partner in the struggle for existence was a matter of general agreement." Galbraith (1973: 78) echoes the same opinion in stating that in "pre-industrial societies, women were accorded virtue for their efficiency in agricultural labour."

Their labour was recognized as 'real work' and socially recognized as indispensable to family survival. The fact that twice as much land was allotted to colonists who were married as to those who were single (Clark, 1920: 293) gave public recognition to women's economic contribution. The urgent requests of single farmers for wives to be brought from Europe offer further evidence in support of the indispensable contribution of women to the family-based economy. In a typification of the farm family in central New York, Beers states that on a checklist which each marital partner completed separately, each gave the other credit for helping earn the family income (Beers, 1937: 596). Cook illustrates the same opinion with respect to

the Canadian situation in stating that the Prairie women were granted the vote with little fight because, "...since they had to play the role of equal partner in pioneering conditions, their husbands could hardly fall back on the argument of the different spheres." (Cook, 1973: 16; see also, Gorham, 1976: 36)

Johnson (1974: 17) gives evidence of the same value placed on women's work in the early nineteenth century Ontario farm family. He says that the death of the farm wife, "when no adult unmarried female children were available to take her place, resulted not only in personal loss, but severe economic hardships as well. Men remarried quickly, not merely because of loneliness, but because of economic necessity."

Armstrong and Armstrong illustrate precisely this same opinion in quoting from Nellie McClung, the story of the death of a Manitoba farm woman:

I remember once attending the funeral of a woman who had been doing the work for a family of six children and three hired men, and she had not even a baby carriage to make her work lighter. When the last baby was three days old, just in threshing time, she died. Suddenly, and without warning, the power went off, and she quit without notice. The bereaved husband was the most astonished man in the world. He had never known Jane to do a thing like that before, and he could not get over it. In threshing time too!

(quoted in Armstrong and Armstrong 1978: 58-59)

The close physical link between and interdependency of the farm family as an economic and domestic unit prohibited a distinction between 'work' and 'home'. The farm wife did essentially the same work as her husband, working most of the

time together or side by side with him in the same environment, at the same place (Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929: 363). She performed "indispensible functions in an agricultural economy" and despite a division of labour by sex, she "worked in close association with others both outside the home and within it to produce the necessities of daily life" (Chafe, 1976: 10).

This division of labour assigned certain tasks to men and other tasks to women but that division did not clearly follow the home-farm distinction. The woman's work was to be found in both spheres and there seems little doubt that her work was socially valued in both spheres. Clark (1920: 290-293), in reference to the pre-industrial British situation, along with Johnson (1974: 15-17) and Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: 58) who discuss the Canadian situation, all agree with Vanek (1974: 118) who says of the United States that, "it seems unlikely that anyone would regard the bread, butter and clothing made by the women as any less valuable than the man's work in the fields."

C. The Changing Nature of Production: Urban Patterns

1) Industrialization and Women's Work in the Home. With the onset of the industrial revolution in North America began the radical alteration of women's economic role in society. Previously, rural women occupied a central role within the family unit as co-producers of family subsistence goods. As rural to urban migration increased the size and numbers of cities, large proportions of the total population were no longer involved in agricultural production.

An increasing physical gap between rural and urban

populations also marked the differentiation of life styles as the changes involved with industrialization were much slower to spread into still-isolated rural areas. The time lag in the spread of urban influence into rural areas is well documented and it is for this reason that separate consideration must be given to the effects of industrialization on the work of urban, apart from rural women. While the scene was set for future work patterns of Canadian women around the turn of the present century, the urban women who were involved in this transition were a small proportion of the total number of females in Canada. The majority of women during the Industrial Revolution in Canada resided in rural areas and for the most part, remained uninvolved in the labour force struggles of their urban sisters.

It is difficult to determine precise dates for each of the changes brought about by the industrialization of production in North American society. Significant temporal variations exist both between countries and among individual regions within each nation.⁷ It is, similarly, difficult to sort out which of the two trends of urbanization or industrialization can be seen as the causal variable in any of these transformations. Advancing technology and migration from rural to urban areas occurred more or less simultaneously (Whyte, 1970: 26) and their consequences can perhaps best be viewed as overlapping to a great extent.

It is possible, however, to roughly estimate the period within which the major transformation to be outlined below occurred.

The trend toward an urban society in Canada has been a continuous process since the middle of the last century. It was not until around 1927 that more than 50 per cent of Canada's population was urban. It can reasonably be assumed that it was in the period of 1850 to 1930 that the majority of changes in urban women's work associated with the combined forces of urbanization and industrialization took place.⁸

While the central focus here is on the evolution of women's work roles in Canada during the period of industrialization, the forces that shaped labour force participation by Canadian women, and the general patterns and nature of work established during this process, were similar in other countries as well.⁹ As Eichler's analysis indicates, the process of change from sixteenth century Germany, through frontier America and into the twentieth century Canadian household were relatively comparable (Eichler, 1976a). Similarly, as Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: 57) contend, housework has come to vary little in industrialized capitalist countries.

As an increasing proportion of Canada's population became urban, so too was a greater proportion of economic production of goods located in urban areas. Like economic production in rural areas however, the early phases of urbanization were still characterized by family-based economic units. The pre-industrial city in Canada was probably very similar to what Clark has described for England. She says that cities were characterized by 'Family Industry', an organization of production in which

the "family becomes the unit for the production of goods to be sold or exchanged." (1920: 6) She focuses on two main characteristics of Family Industry in its perfect form - "first, the unity of capital and labour, for the family ... owned (the) tools and themselves contributed the labour; second, the situation of the workshop within the precincts of the home." Under this system the family, as in rural society, and like the Old Colony family in Plymouth County which Demos describes, was "first of all a business - an absolutely central agency of economic production and exchange" (Demos, 1970: 183). Each family unit was more or less self-sufficient and the work of all of its members was equally central in providing for their fundamental material needs. This is certainly true for the working classes where "all members of the family were expected to contribute to the family income" (Alexander, 1976: 64).

The most important trait of this production scheme was the situation of the work within the home. As Demos states, "work indeed, was a wholly natural extension of family life and merged imperceptibly with all of its other activities." (1970: 183) Given this situation, women assisted their husbands in their work and children were apprentices to their father. Barbara Laslett gives an example from the New York cigar-making industry where five people in an apartment made cigars including the mother and children and she describes a similar condition for France:

There were no professional premises, either for the judge or the merchant or the banker or businessman. Everything was done in the same room where he lived with his family. (quoted in Laslett, 1973: 481)

For Canada, Michael Katz in his study of the people of Hamilton in the nineteenth century found statistics which indicate that as many as one third of the male population were self-employed while as high as forty per cent of the households in the city combined the function of place of work and place of residence in 1851 (Katz, 1975: 22).

Under these conditions, women's work was an integral facet of the production process. Alexander, in her analysis of women's work in London from 1820 to 1850, suggests that although a woman's work in the home may have varied in type from that of her husband, it was considered to be "no less vital" (1976: 77). The combination of work and home allowed women to participate in the family business as well as perform her traditional domestic duties which Brown contends is the central pre-condition for women to participate in subsistence activities (1970).

As industrialization in Canada proceeded from 1850 on, its single most profound consequence was the disintegration of a family based economy and the subsequent separation of home and work. Both Demos (1970) for the United States, and Katz (1975) speaking of Canada assign greatest significance to this singular consequence of industrialization. The production of goods and services formerly combined within households was divided into public and private spheres (Meissner, 1976: 59). The demand for efficiency and rationality in the organization of industrial work combined with increased technology and the

greater availability of machines, removed the production of many goods from the home and into the public sphere. Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: 59) suggest the factory system to have replaced household industries to the extent that family production was becoming a memory by the turn of this century.¹⁰ They quote Secomb who illustrates that the division between public and private spheres created a major division of labour which now began to follow gender lines:

With the advent of industrial capitalism, the general labour process was split into two discrete units: a domestic and an industrial unit. The character of the work performed in each was fundamentally different. The domestic unit reproduced labour power for the labour market. The industrial unit produced goods and services for the commodity market. This split in the labour process had produced a split in the labour force roughly along sexual lines - women into the domestic unit, men into industry.

(quoted in Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 59)

Thus, the greatest majority of men and a minority of women followed production into the factories. The consequences of this division of labour by sex and the further influence of industrialization within the domestic sphere were primarily responsible for the radical transformations of the work that remained in the home to be performed by women.

First, in the urban setting, the home itself was no longer considered the primary sphere of production. Undoubtedly some women continued to do piece work and contract work for manufacturers in their own homes.¹¹ However, the greatest majority of urban women who remained in the domestic sphere were for the first time in Canadian history involved in activities

which were socially considered as peripheral to economic production. Women remained in the home to care for children and to manage the household while men began to sell their labour in return for a wage.

The first areas of production to be industrialized were frequently those spheres traditionally considered women's work, i.e. textiles and garments. As early as the 1890's, Eatons offered a large selection of ready made men's and children's clothing and a full selection of ready-made women's apparel appeared ten years later. Leslie (1974: 81), quoting from an Eatons catalogue (dated 1892-93), indicates the deliberate discouraging of home production: "Women will come to it sooner or later. There is no good reason why costumes and wrappers shouldn't be bought ready-made and worn satisfactorily." One year later, the 1893-94 catalogue carried this note:

As a matter of fact a women can't afford to kick a sewing machine and clutter up the room at home making underwear for the little you pay here for finest. We've got to get you into the notion of buying ready-made. (quoted in Leslie, 1974: 81)

Another major area of production traditionally defined as 'women's work' to be removed from the home and into the sphere of public production was the preparation of food. Undoubtedly some urban women continued to make their own bread, preserves and so on, but Leslie further indicates that in the 'grocery' section of Eaton's 1894-95 catalogue a wide assortment of "teas, coffees, jams, jellies, canned fruits, vegetables, meats, and fish" were offered. In 1896 a separate groceries catalogue was published which became semi-monthly in 1907 (Leslie,

1974: 81). Cowan's work indicates that canned goods were available by the mid-1800's in the United States, but it was not until the 1920's that they began to be used extensively (Cowan, 1976: 8).

The main burden of household duties was assumed by women as men entered the paid labour force (Myrdal and Klein, 1956: 91). Women were manufacturing fewer and fewer tangible goods which constituted the "substitution of maintenance, consumerist and managerial tasks for the more productive tasks that once occupied homemakers." (Ehrenreich and English, 1975: 7) Opposition increased between "the private, economically 'non productive' life of the home, and the public world of wage- or salary- earning work" (*italics added*) (Oakley, 1974: 10). The term 'work' began to refer exclusively to only that labour which received a wage in return. The consequence was a substantial decline in status and social recognition of labour carried on in the private, domestic sphere. Leslie describes the new view of domestic labour:

It was not considered an integral part of the economy, and to a large extent was excluded from economic and political discussion. It was 'non-productive' service labour; it took place in the home and depended upon a personal relationship between employer and employee; it involved no significant outlay of capital and produced no direct product. In a society based on the production of commodities for sale and profit, domestic labour was progressively devalued as production was removed from the home.

(Leslie, 1974: 73)

Women's work in the home was not waged-work and was, for the first time, seen as outside the location of 'real'

economic production. Housework became devalued to the point of 'non-work'.

The differentiation between 'women's work' and 'men's work' grew larger as the male domain of waged- (and therefore valuable) work became more distinct. Oakley suggests that the increase in the proportion of women occupied solely as housewives is associated with the rise of the belief that woman's place is, or should be, exclusively in the home. She makes a clearer distinction here and links the idea of 'woman's proper sphere' directly to the growing distinction between public and private spheres: "The doctrine that women's place is in the home is peculiarly the product of a period in which man had been lately displaced from the home as his work place." (Oakley, 1974: 44) She further remarks that a division of labour between husband and wife meant that the husband became the main breadwinner, and the wife, the main child rearer, living off and providing for her children out of, the earnings of the man.

The interdependency of family members earlier associated with Family Industry and self-sufficiency of the family as an economic unit was declining. Hartmann (1976: 152) argues that the new organization of industry, in removing work from the home, served to increase the subordination of women, since it served to increase the relative importance of the area of men's domination. Clark (1920: 304) echoes a similar contention in arguing that men became less dependent on women for industrial production while women became more dependent on men economically.¹²

Isolation of the housewife was an additional consequence

of the separation of sexual spheres of activity. Women began to carry on their work in the home with increasingly little contact with others. The School Act of 1871 required all school districts to provide free schools by means of local taxation and also made school attendance compulsory for children aged seven to twelve. Even contact with children was made less frequent through their school attendance.

Industrialization enlarged the world outside the home for men chiefly by expanding the range of occupations open to them, but for women, Oakley states, "it has meant an involution of the world into the space of the home - our window on the world is looked through with our hands in the sink." (Oakley, 1974: 32) Captivity of women within the home is increased as the housewife role becomes dominant in the lives of women and separates her from other roles and other worlds beyond the home.¹³ Women have been excluded from the public sphere, the sphere of male activity where, as Smith says, "history is made to happen."¹⁴

It is clear that housework is as time-consuming as always (Vanek, 1974; Meissner, 1977; Walker and Wood, 1976; Cowan, 1976), but the nature of the work itself underwent radical alteration near the turn of the century. Ehrenreich and English in a review of this changing nature suggest that "with less and less to make in the home, it seemed as if there would soon be nothing to do in the home." (1975: 10) Educators, popular writers and social commentators began to evidence concern over the growing void in the home during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The creation of the Domestic Science Movement appears to have been

the response. Andrews and Andrews (1974: 314-315) contend that the original goals of the movement were congruent with the aims of many of the more radical feminists of the late 1800's. They quote a passage from Catherine Esther Beecher, the chief proponent of the Domestic Science Movement written in 1851:

It is ORGANIZATION - the organization of women AS women, which is to secure our sex the advantages of which they have unjustly been deprived, and which is to redress the deep wrongs that have so long and so heavily oppressed them.

Ehrenreich and English, on the other hand, quote passages from the speeches of Ellen Richards, the founder of the movement, which suggest that the concern over the void noted above may have been the primary cause of concern:

I must reiterate (that home life) has been robbed by the removal of creative work...the care of children occupies only five or ten years of the seventy. What are women to do with the rest? ... You cannot put them where their grandmothers were, while you take to yourselves the spinning, the weaving, the soap-making. The time was when there was always something to DO in the home. Now there is only something TO BE DONE.
(quoted in Ehrenreich and English, 1975: 11)

The home was considered the cornerstone of social order and many feared it to be in imminent danger of dissolution as women had less and less to do. Ehrenreich and English suggest that the Domestic Science Movement was a direct response to these fears, and addressed itself to the filling of this void. This movement under the direction of chemist, Ellen Richards, began holding annual conferences in 1889, "to study the economic and social problems of the home and the problems of right living."

Regardless of just what the original goals of the Domestic

science Movement may have been, support such as the following, quoted by Ehrenreich and English (1975: 16) from the Ladies Home Journal of 1911 suggest that the movement did aim to secure social stability.

As a matter of fact, what a certain type of women needs today more than anything else is some task that 'would tie her down'. Our whole social fabric would be the better for it. Too many women are dangerously idle.

The result was the attempt to professionalize housework - justified in the name of science. On this both Ehrenreich and English and Andrews and Andrews agree:

When the grand meaning and hidden power of her ordained sphere dawn upon her in their full force through (sic) scientific study, then she (woman) will not sigh because Nature has assigned her special duties which man has deemed safe to be trusted to her instincts, yet in reality need for their performance the highest scientific knowledge.
(quoted in Ehrenreich and English, 1975: 17)

The germ theory of disease advanced in the 1870's by Pasteur and Koch set off a wave of public anxiety about cleanliness, and cleaning was, thus, transformed into a moral responsibility. The following quotes taken from Ehrenreich and English (1975: 19) indicate the new view of housework. Its neglect became tantamount to murder and/or child abuse:

There is nothing in hygiene she cannot comprehend, and too often does she realize this and begin to study it when, too late, she stands beside the still form of some previous one, slain by one of the preventible diseases that in the coming sanitary milleneum, will be reckoned akin to murder.

Hygeia baby bottles were 'safe' and would not 'carry germs to your baby'. Fly-tox bug killer was presented as the one line of defense for an otherwise 'defenseless' child... Women were told to follow

the dictates of 'health authorities' who 'tell us that disease germs are everywhere'. Lysol divided the house into an assemblage of minutely defined dangers, so mothers were told that they should be aware that 'even the door-knobs threaten (children)... with disease.'

The role of manufacturers by advertising their products in the manner exemplified above, was, no doubt, a significant one in encouraging women to raise their standards of work performance.¹⁵ The result, as Cowan (1976: 16) suggests, was a rise in the guilt feelings of women:

If I had to choose one word to characterize the temper of the women's magazines during the 1920's, it would be 'guilt'.

The greater availability of household machines and gadgets¹⁶ (cf. Cowan, 1976; Andrews and Andrews, 1974; Ehrenreich and English, 1975; Vipond, 1977), combined with the application of the principles now associated with Taylorism,¹⁷ led to a massive rise in standards for housework from the late 1800's through to the 1920's. Housework, by the 1920's was becoming 'professionalized' and approximating a full-time occupation (Chafe, 1976: 10). The "whiter than white syndrome" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 71) was becoming a reality.

The range of child care duties normally subsumed under the term 'housework' did not escape the pattern of rising standards either. Child care, too, was to become 'professionalized' in the early decades of this century and the increasing emphasis on the importance of early childhood socialization demanded that more time and attention be given to children in the home (Eichler, 1976a: 14-17; Cowan, 1976: 13).

A further consequence of the separation of work and home with respect to children has to do with a rising conflict between paid work and child care. As noted above, when production was centered in the home, older children participated in the family enterprise and more importantly, the care of young children could easily be combined with family work. When industrialization moved work out of the urban home a conscious choice had to be made by women between work (outside the home) and child care (Leser, 1958: 109). Males could unquestioningly combine family and work roles, but women were now faced with an either/or situation. The decision to have children for many women concerned about the 'proper' development of their children precluded the possibility of paid employment outside of the home. For the first time women were approaching the 'ideal' of being primarily wives and mothers, and as Rossi and Bettelheim have pointed out, it was only in the twentieth century that childrearing and homemaking became a full-time occupation for women (Chafe, 1976: 10).

The transition in the nature of housework during the period of industrialization from the middle of the last century to the 1920's has had significant consequences for the ideology concerning the value of both 'women's work' and women in general. Housework became separated from the sphere of the manufacture of commodities (Zaretsky, 1977: 67) as production was removed from the home. The work performed in the public sphere became waged-work and the definition of 'work' itself came to mean only

that labour which was rewarded by a salary. As a consequence, housework which does not result in a wage came to be considered 'not real work' and therefore, of substantially less value. Thus the socially recognized economic contribution of housework becomes non-existent. As Galbraith (1973: 79) suggests, what is not counted in monetary terms is not noticed. The exclusion of the occupation houseworker from the Pineo-Porter scale of occupational prestige in Canada provides indication of the non-recognition of the work at this point in time.¹⁸ The implications of the devaluation and non-recognition of housework go further, however, than the devaluation of the work done by the greatest majority of women in this country.

The link between social worth assigned to a person and the work in which that person is engaged has been well established. Thus, when the work which someone performs is not recognized or is seriously devalued, so too is the worker. Benston (1977: 218-219) summarizes the argument as follows:

In a society in which money determines value, women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore valueless, is therefore not even real work. And women themselves, who do this valueless work, can hardly be expected to be worth as much as men, who work for money. (19)

Not only is the social worth of persons assigned to a large extent on the basis of work and its social value, but so too is the worth which one assigns to one's self. Thus, women's self concept and self recognition have been involved in this devaluation process as well. Armstrong and Armstrong

(1978: 159) raise some important questions about women's ideas about themselves as they relate to housework:

What does it mean to women's self concept to work continuously at jobs which must be done but quickly disappear, to know that millions of others can also perform these tasks equally as well, to know that even if they become more highly skilled, there will be little relationship between their work and their financial rewards, and to know that to quit would drastically change their lives without significantly improving job alternatives elsewhere?

The prevalence of the answer to the question, "Do you work?" in terms such as, "No, I'm just a housewife," suggests some answers to the questions raised above.

The transition of the domestic labour of women from pre- to post- industrial society has been great. The relation of the work of women to economic production has been altered. Separated from the place of 'real work', the majority of women engaged in housework have seen standards rise, housework become devalued, women in more general terms become devalued, and have devalued their own economic contribution. Industrialization also had a number of consequences for the work which a minority of women pursued in the paid labour force.

2) Industrialization and Women's Paid Labour Force Participation.

The period of industrialization after 1850 in Canada saw the removal of production from the home and into the public sphere of market activities. The separation of work and residence left the majority of women isolated in the home while rising standards of housecleaning and child care transformed homemaking

into an endless round of repetitive maintenance and service duties. For those women who were in a position to leave the home²⁰ and enter the male domain of market activities, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, important patterns were established in the nature of their work, of which, many can still be discerned.

First, much of the early factory production developed in those areas for which women had traditionally been responsible in the home. Perhaps the prime example of this trend can be seen in the situation of domestic servants in the late 1800's. As Leslie suggests, "domestic labour - housework and childcare - has traditionally been women's responsibility, and domestic service offered large numbers of women a wage for the same work they had always done." (1974: 71) As Table 1 (in Appendix A) indicates, domestic service remained the largest single female occupation in Canada until 1941 and while the percentage of women in personal service has declined since 1901 (see Table 2, Appendix A), this type of work has remained a female dominated occupation.

Women's work in the textile and garment industry offers a similar example of women following their traditional areas of work into the paid labour force. By the 1920's, a number of ladies' garment factories had been established in Toronto which Catherine McCleod (1974: 310) contends "thrived on the cheap labour of unskilled female workers." Other working women were dressmakers, seamstresses or milliners and Katz, in

his study of Hamilton, Ontario found 72% of working women engaged in domestic service while 14% were employed in the latter three occupations above in 1851 (1974: 57).

In a review of prostitution in Toronto at the turn of the century, Lori Rotenberg suggests that these women who turned to prostitution did so primarily because of desperate economic necessity. At that time, wages for women were set on the assumption that the woman was living at home, dependent on parents or husband for support (1974: 47). Because she was not usually considered the 'chief bread-winner', her earnings were viewed as a secondary source of family income, while it was assumed that men required higher wages in order to support their families. Vipond (1977: 119) suggests that the assumption that women did not seriously seek careers in the same way as did men further justified the differential wages paid to each sex. Klein and Roberts (1974: 264) further contend that perhaps the differential wage also served to reduce competition from women for paid jobs because the wages paid to women made their survival near impossible in the job market. Vipond (1977: 120) and Alexander (1976: 63) both state that the numbers of women who were self-supporting or attempting to also support dependents were substantial. Based on the Annual Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries for 1889, Rotenberg (1974: 47) estimates that a female worker over the age of sixteen without dependents earned an annual surplus of \$2.43 over and above her cost of living. For those women who were attempting to support

dependents, it was virtually impossible to earn a living, subsistence, wage and Rotenberg estimates an annual deficit at \$14.23 for these women.

The pattern of differential wages for women and men based on the above assumptions became common practice. In the teaching profession in 1858, headmasters were paid \$700.00 annually while headmistresses received only \$400.00 annually (Graham, 1974: 182). This trend in the teaching profession has been documented by Graham for Toronto during the period of 1850 to 1930.

Ramkhalawansingh suggests that the similarity between women's work in the paid labour force and housework resulted in the former also being considered as unproductive labour (1974: 264). She examined the 1891 census which lists the ten leading female occupations as: servant, dressmaker, teacher, seamstress, tailoress, housekeeper, launderess, milliner, and saleswoman - all of which had previously been done by women in the home, all of which were poorly paid, and all of which were viewed as being characterized by personal service. Even school teachers, the first 'profession' for women, were considered as a 'special class of servants'. Thus Graham suggests the nature of teaching was service-oriented and the Superintendent for the Book District in 1848 declared that "in his opinion, most female teachers were not superior to household servants", while another educator asserted that teachers were treated as "mere hirelings, seen as engaged by school trustees essentially as labourers." (1974: 185-186)

Nursing, like teaching, was poorly paid and considered service work like unpaid work in the home. Judi Coburn, in a history of nursing in Ontario (1974: 155) suggests that nursing, "like housework, ... teaching small children and tending the poor was 'esteemed as familial labours of love'." Nursing was merely an extension of work women do in the home for free and therefore, not 'real work'.

The devaluation of women's work seems to have become all-pervasive through the period of industrialization. The separation of work and residence led to a subsequent devaluing of work in the home. Home management was removed from the sphere of 'production' and transformed into maintenance and personal service duties. In the labour force, those occupations which were 'acceptable' for women were characterized, like women's work in the home, by personal service. In 1911 and 1921 the Census of Canada adequately demonstrated "the low value generally placed on domestic work by allowing all workers, paid or unpaid, to be described as 'gainful worker' UNLESS they were engaged in housework" (quoted in Leslie, 1974: 115). Domestic service, nursing, and teaching were all viewed as mere extensions of women's 'natural' abilities. Despite the fact that the greatest majority of working women were single and therefore in desperate need of a living wage, the pattern of differential salaries for males and females became thoroughly entrenched.

Like their work in the home, urban women's work in the labour force was not seen as economically valuable since women

have generally been excluded from those occupations which are directly involved in the production of tangible goods for exchange.

Increasing numbers of Canadian women have entered the paid labour force since 1891 and greater numbers of married women have moved out of the home and into the work force since World War II (see Tables 3 and 4, Appendix A). The rapid growth of the white collar sector has created a demand for women workers but female participation in the work force has remained 'marginal' - in low paying, low status, and low skill jobs.

The segregation of occupations by sex has changed little in terms of the types of jobs seen as appropriate to each sex, and McDonald (1977: 181) states that the gap in wages and salaries paid to men and women is increasing. Women's position in the paid labour force is still characterized by many of the same traits noted above as having been applicable in the early decades of this century. Women are paid less than men even where their work is similar (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 163); their work is characterized by low skill, low prestige, little room for advancement and the absence of fringe benefits. The majority of women still work out of economic need (Connelly, 1976; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 148-149) and the rationales for women's lower wages 'fit' no better now than in 1920.

Despite the increasing numbers of, particularly married, women who have entered the paid labour force in recent years (cf. Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: Chapter 2), the division

of household labour in Canadian families has changed little (Meissner, 1977; Clark and Harvey 1976).²¹ The assumption of paid work for most women therefore means the assumption of a 'dual' work load and longer hours of work than men. When men do help with housework, it is usually with those tasks which are most 'discretionary' or which most closely resemble leisure (Meissner, 1977: 166).

In contrast to popular opinion, (cf. Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 14, Clavan, 1970: McDonald, 1977: 181) the problems associated with women's paid labour force participation have not improved very much over the last seven decades and in some respects the situation is getting worse. Wherever women are found working, their labour is valued and rewarded less than that of men. In contrast to the pre-industrial Canadian setting where women were an integral and valued partner in production, post-industrial women have become viewed as marginal to the production process. The actual value of their contribution²² is rarely noted and women themselves, have been devalued as workers.

D. The Changing Nature of Production: Rural Patterns

1) Recent Trends in Canadian Agriculture. The combined forces of industrialization and urbanization²³ initiated strong patterns of rural to urban migration beginning around the middle of the last century. Cities began to grow in size and numbers as increasing technology encouraged the removal of production from the home and transferred it to the factory. Studies of the

formation of early factory work in Britain and the United States²⁴ have documented the changing organization of labour from the early development of industrial work.

The changes associated with the growth of industrialization quickly altered the nature of urban life while rural areas were slower to feel the effects of such changes.²⁵ Thus, differences between urban and rural regions increased and persisted well into the twentieth century and a large corpus of rural sociology was devoted to the delineation of such differences.²⁶ The rural/urban dichotomy was later to become less distinct as, for reasons such as better transportation facilities and the spread of mass media into rural areas, the values and goals once associated only with urban life began to alter rural life. Many rural sociologists began to predict the death of the family farm as the result of spreading urbanization, and this fear became especially strong in Canada as a few large scale farming operations began in Western Canada in the first two decades of this century.

The apprehension around the status of the family farm became particularly acute during the profound economic distress of the 1920's, and Gilson (1962) suggests that the position of the contemporary farm family in Canadian agriculture has more recently become the focus of widespread concern.²⁷ It seems as though many can simply not understand how the family farm has survived serious economic limitations and the ever-growing number of changes it has had to accommodate in order to continue. It has, in fact, survived, although the contemporary family

farm is far from the subsistence-oriented, independent economic unit it was before 1850.

Many of the changes delineated below, through which the farm family and family farm have gone, had very early beginnings. Thus Dürkheim (1933) in his work on the division of labour, originally published in 1893, noted that as early as this in France, agricultural production had not escaped the forces of technology leading to a greater specialization and division of labour. Beers also noted the beginnings of commercial agriculture in his typification of the New York farm family published in 1927. Similarly, rural to urban migration (which left a smaller proportion of persons involved in agricultural production and a consequent demand for increased production from those who remained in farming) began to increase well before the turn of this century (Mendras, 1960).

As is the case for most of the changes outlined in this review, it is difficult to assign exact dates due to national and regional variations.²⁸ Let it suffice to say that these early transformations occurred in process with their beginnings in the latter half of the last century and ranged into the first two or three decades of this century.

A few of the most important early changes in rural life have already been noted. Fewer persons remained in agriculture as rural to urban migration increased. Communication in the form of the daily or weekly newspapers, combined with the later invention of radios began to bring many values previously associated only with urbanized society into the homes of formerly

isolated rural people.²⁹ Better transportation facilities, when reaching into isolated rural areas provided better access to a greater number of markets and the demand for fresh produce, as well as raw materials for manufacturing industries, substantially increased. The demand for more efficient production also increased as the fewer persons who were still involved in agriculture were required to produce goods for a greater percentage of urban persons no longer engaged in subsistence activities.

Advancements in technology and scientific knowledge began to influence agricultural production in many ways similar to their consequences on the organization of work in urban centers earlier. Spaulding (1959: 224) noted the importance in recognizing "the parallelism between the transition from the guild to the factory in industry and the transition from subsistence farmers to the 'factory in the field'." Thus, the beginnings of increasing mechanization, specialization, surplus production, reliance on capital, decreasing labour requirements and so on, all dimensions of the advancing industrialization of production, can be seen as paralleling those trends which occurred earlier in urban centers.

Each of these transformations occurred at differing rates in various regions³⁰ and no systematic collection of information on their early progress in Canada exists. It was not, however, until the post World War II period that the most profound effects of technological advance were felt in rural

Canada (Whyte, 1970: 2). Because of the great escalation of change which began in the late 1940's, the remaining part of this discussion will be confined primarily to the last three decades in Canada.

In the same way that the early beginnings of the changes in agriculture could be seen as extensions of patterns which were first established for industry in urban areas, so too can the changes in agriculture after World War II be viewed as extensions of the earlier patterns or the increasing spread of urban-based technology and scientific knowledge into rural production. Barkley suggests that the "dramatic changes in agricultural production have stemmed from changes in production practices, most (of which) come in response to major changes in technology" (1976: 814). Abell, in noting the time-lag between industry and agriculture, states that there is an underlying link between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of the economy. Thus it is "many of the practices once found only in industry (which are now) being advocated and accepted as part of modern agriculture" that leads agriculture to become more businesslike and less "a way of life" (1970: 195).

The patterns to be reviewed here fall within three roughly defined areas. First to be discussed are changes in demographic structures and the farming population; second are the changes in the larger organization of agricultural production; finally are the changes in production techniques which can be more or less confined within the dimensions of the family farm

itself.

a) Demographic Transition. Urban to rural migration has been a continuous process beginning in the middle of the last century. It was not until 1927, however, that a greater proportion of Canada's population was located in urban regions (Abell, 1975: 368). By 1976, only 4.6% of Canada's total population resided on farms (See Table 5, Appendix A).

Statistics for Ontario evidence an even further decline in the proportion of rural-farm population in this province. Table 6 shows that in 1976, only 3.5% of the population in this province resided on farms.

Associated with the declining proportion of the rural population, is the decrease in numbers of individual farm operators. In Canada, since 1941, the total number of farm operators has declined dramatically from 673,800, to a low of 338,578 in 1976 (see Table 7, Appendix A). As the numbers of farm operators have declined, so too have the number of farms (see Table 8, Appendix A).

The total land occupied for agricultural production has, like the numbers of operators, been declining in this century. While the national trend has not shown a steady pattern, the amount of farm land in Ontario decreased by nearly seven million acres in the thirty-five year period between 1941 and 1976 (see Table 9, Appendix A). The implication of this decline is that increased quantities of products must be produced on a decreasing quantity of land.

While the number of farms has decreased, as evidenced by the declining number of farm operators, the average size of farms in Canada has increased. The average size of Ontario farms at the beginning of this century was approximately 105 acres (McKie, 1968: 9). By 1941 the average farm size had grown to 126 acres and Table 10 (Appendix A) shows a further rise in acreage to 174 acres by 1976.

Statistics for the national situation show a similar increase, but the pattern is more marked due to the inclusion of the Prairie Provinces where the average farm size has, at any given time, been higher than in other parts of the country (see Table 11, Appendix A).

b) The Larger Agricultural Production Process. Two patterns of change in the overall production of agricultural commodities are of particular importance here. The first is vertical integration, the definition of which, Abell quotes as "the combination of two or more successive stages of production and/or distribution under the ownership and/or control of a firm" (1970: 208). Within this process, what is central for the purposes here, is that the farmer is no longer in control of the entire process of production, processing and distribution of goods. Rather, the latter two stages have been taken over by others and 'agri-businessmen' have also begun to play an important role in production. Farmers rarely, for instance, grow their own seed for the next season's crop, while pesticides, fertilizers, and so on are also produced by persons or firms

other than the farmer.

Similarly, the processing of some farm commodities such as the separating of cream from milk, traditionally done by farm women, is no longer done within the confines of the farm family. What is implied here, then, is that not only are other people involved in the overall production of agricultural commodities, but the production process has been fragmented, and specialized with the farm family being engaged in a reduced portion of that process. This should not be viewed as having left the farm family with little to do however, because, as will be discussed below, the demand for increased productivity and other factors have served to provide the farm population with much to do.

c) Recent Changes in Production Within the Family Farm Enterprise.

Mechanization has been, perhaps, the greatest change to occur in the production of agricultural goods by farm families. At least partially the result of the demand for increased productivity, combined with the increasing developments in, and availability of, machines, mechanization has substantively altered the nature of agricultural production. Table 13 (Appendix A) indicates the increasing prevalence of a number of different machines on Ontario farms from 1951 to 1976. For instance, in 1951, 84.9% of the farms in this province owned tractors. In 1976, the figures indicate that the number of tractors is now over double the number of farms. Also the percentage of farms owning grain combines in 1951 was only 8.8% while the 1976 figure indicates that nearly one third of all farms in this province

had such machines.

The newer machines being acquired are larger, more complex, and more efficient. Table 14 (Appendix A) indicates that Canadian farmers are continually purchasing larger tractors. These machines can typically cover more land in less time with a subsequent reduction in the demand for strenuous physical exertion (Abell, 1975: 367).

Labour intensity of the production process has been significantly reduced due, to a large part, to the substitution of machines for labour. Abell (1970: 201) reviews two types of data to indicate the decreasing need for labour resulting from the substitution of machine power. The Prairie Province evidence the most dramatic transition where the workers per farm fell from 1.54 in 1951 to 1.37 in 1961 at the same time as the average acreage to be worked by those persons increased from 498 to 609 acres. Second, the percentage of persons engaged in agriculture fell from 25% in 1946 to only 10% in 1961. Thus a central result of increasing mechanization is the reduction in the number of persons required to accomplish the same amount of (or more) work within a finite growing season.

Substitution of capital for labour has also been a significant pattern in contemporary agricultural production. The acquisition of machines and the adoption of new technology require capital investment. Table 15 (Appendix A) indicates there to have been more than a five-fold increase in the amount of money spent in the purchase of machinery by farmers in this

country in the period between 1949 and 1976.

The use of farm credit is another indicator of the extent to which capital is an important input into the contemporary agricultural production process. Abell states that in the ten year period, from 1951 to 1961, the amount of farm credit outstanding nearly doubled (1969: 201).

Specialization, rather than the diversified 'mixed' farming practices of last century, is now the norm. Typically the contemporary farmer is a specialist, engaging in a limited number of farm enterprises. Abell (1970: 202-207) accounts for this transition in a variety of ways. Of these mechanization and new scientific knowledge are central.

Machines, themselves, are more specialized and the most economic use of machines often means that farmers will have dropped several of their enterprises to concentrate more efficiently on a few or a single one.

The development of new scientific knowledge is also important in the transition from mixed to specialized production for two reasons. First, Abell says, diversification to protect against uncertainties due to inadequate knowledge was no longer as attractive with the application of new technologies and information. Second, it made more sense to concentrate on those enterprises for which the soil and climate were best suited. Thus, the interplay between new developments in machinery and scientific knowledge typically leads to greater specialization.

Finally, implied in all of these other changes is the

transition from the production of subsistence to the production of surplus for exchange. No longer is the goal of most farm families that of producing goods for family consumption. Rather, the aim is to produce large quantities of single commodities for cash sale.³¹ Specialization, mechanization, and scientific knowledge all combine to increase gains in productivity. Table 12 (Appendix A) shows that, prior to World War II the labour of one farm worker supplied food and fibre for eleven persons.³² By 1962 this level had risen to 31 persons, while Abell (1975: 68) quotes the 1972 production level of one farm worker as supplying food and fibre for 40 other persons.

While rural sociologists have been predicting the certain demise of the family farm in North America since the first decade of the twentieth century (Gilson, 1962: 1) the family farm has managed to survive amidst a century of massive social change. The family farm and farm family in Canada have undergone substantial reorganization and have been required to constantly adapt to changing conditions in a changing society. As Abell (1975: 376) has suggested, the continued survival of the family farm in Canada depends to a large extent on its continued ability to adapt to change.

2) Women's Position in Agricultural Production: A Replication of Urban Patterns? The changes in urban women's relation to production throughout the period of industrialization in urban areas have been outlined. The sum total of those transformations

in women's work is that women's economic contribution has since gone unrecognized and unrewarded as valuable to the maintenance of their family and society. They have been relegated to the worst jobs both in and outside of the home and are to be found in positions furthest away from where production takes place and "where history is made" (Smith, 1977).

The time lag between urban and rural areas has meant that the changes associated with industrialization in urban centers at the beginning of this century were much slower to spread to rural regions. It is, therefore, only more recently that the changes following from industrialization have become most apparent in agricultural production. While many of the changes in farming had early beginnings, it has only been since World War II that the greatest degree of change can be seen in the production of agricultural commodities.

There are fewer persons engaged in agriculture and smaller farms have been disappearing rapidly as a full one quarter of the farms recorded in the 1961 Census were no longer in existence in the 1971 Census (Abell, 1975: 372). Those farmers who have resisted changing their production techniques have found they simply cannot compete with the volume and quality of goods produced by their more modern neighbors. As Kerr has suggested, three options have been open to farmers. Some have gotten larger, utilizing more land, bigger machinery and more chemical fertilizers, pesticides etc. Other farmers, those remaining small, have attempted to avoid the debt (incurred by those who have chosen the first option) by pouring in extra labour

and seeking off farm employment. The only other option remaining has been to give up and get out of farming (Kerr, 1976: 11).

The contemporary family farm³³ is still a family enterprise in that the majority of labour is supplied by unpaid family members and most of the managerial decisions reside with the operator and his family.³⁴ Abell cites data to indicate that while the number and proportion of farm operators in agriculture have declined since 1954, the proportion of labour supplied by unpaid family members had increased slightly as of 1967. She emphasises further that despite the rise in numbers of commercial farms, the unpaid family labour force has held proportionately constant, indicating that the labour of family members is found on commercial farms as well as on the relatively 'uneconomic', low-income farms (1969: 18-19). While family labour is therefore an important resource in Canadian farming, the similarities between the changes in urban production earlier, and the contemporary changes in agricultural production raise a number of crucial questions about the potential for change in the farm woman's role in farming.

There is an absence of information on women in this and other societies (Bernard, 1973; Huber, 1976; Millman and Kanter, 1975). There is an even greater absence of information on rural women (Joyce and Leadley, 1977; Abdullah, 1978; Kerr 1976: 1; CRDC, 1979; Kohl, 1987: 50). What information does exist, however, points to changes in the involvement of farm women in farming as the production process itself is transformed.

In a review of changes in agriculture and their effects on women in developing countries, Nash (1977) found the primary consequences to be a loss of women's role in production. Bukh (1978) confirms this decline from her study of women's farming activities in Ghana. First (1967) detailed a similar pattern in Poland. Van Allen (1974) found African women to have been left behind in the process of increasing demands for specialized knowledge and skill as the nature of agricultural production became industrialized. Kate Young (1978) reports a decline in her study of the economic roles of women in rural Mexico.

All of these cross-cultural data point to what may be a standard consequence of the industrialization of agricultural production. Women appear to lose their central role in farming as farming itself is altered. The parallels between this more recent information on rural women and the historical data on urban women's work under the changing nature of urban production are quite clear. The central question raised by these data is, what about the role of Canadian farm women? Will they too experience a decline in farm work as farming itself is transformed?

Like rural women elsewhere, there is an extreme dearth of information on Canadian farm women. There are some data, however, which indicate that Canadian farm women have, until quite recently, continued to assume a substantial degree of responsibility for farm work. Abell (1954) in a study of 202 farm operators from two regions in central Alberta in 1952 found women to be active in farm work tasks. Ninety four per cent

of the women in that sample did one or more farm tasks while 78% took care of poultry, 69% cleaned milking equipment, 61% were active in milking, and 48% participated in keeping farm accounts. She reports that farm production increased with the presence of adult women (wives) over the production on farms run by widowed, divorced or separated men.

Abell also reports data from her survey of 352 farm families in Ontario in 1959. She found 97% of these women to report the performance of one or more farm tasks. They turned in a considerable amount of work, measured in 'man-equivalents'. Half of the farm women contributed an average of at least two months of farm work while a quarter of them averaged some five and one half months of farm work annually.

Kohl's work in Saskatchewan found women to participate actively in farm work tasks in the period of 1962 to 1972, with only two out of 85 farm women in 1962 making no contribution to the enterprise at all (Kohl, 1976a: 92-108).

A larger and more recent survey in Saskatchewan represented well over 16,000 farm households in 1975-76. In this study, 68% of the farm women reported farm work between May and November and 55% reported farm work between December and April. The amount of time spent in farm work ranged from half time to well over the average of 37 to 40 hours per week (reported in Saskatchewan Department of Labour, Women's Division, 1977: 3-4).

Kerr's study of 721 Ontario farm women in 1975 found the average farm wife spent 339 hours (or eight and one half 40 hour weeks) operating farm machinery each year. Seventy-five

percent of the women in her sample helped with barn chores regularly and 28% actually took charge of the barn work on a regular basis. (Kerr, 1976: 6-7)

The only nation-wide study of the work of Canadian farm women reports equally high levels of participation in farm work. The Council on Rural Development Canada (CRDC) studied women from 408 family farms across the country in 1977-78. The study reports 92.4% of the sample as active in farm work tasks with an average number of weekly hours ranging from 23.4 to 30.7 devoted to the enterprise (depending on the woman's participation in the paid labour force).

There remains little doubt that farm women continue to participate actively in farm work tasks but two questions are raised in light of the urban patterns set as a comparative framework in this study. The first question has to do with recognition. Are farm women being socially, monetarily, legally rewarded for their economic contribution?

Kerr raised this question in her 1976 work and answers affirmatively, but only in a negative sense. Quoting from a 1972 study of "Corporate Farming and Vertical Integration in Ontario" by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, she concludes that those firms which took over family-run poultry farms discovered that they could not manage, financially, as well as the family-run operations, simply because the higher costs of labour (over unpaid family labour) offset their profits. She concludes however, that from a social or legal perspective,

women's farm work is not recognized. The reason suggested for this non-recognition is that society undervalues women's contribution because, "like housewives, most farm women work for free." (1976: 13)

According to the 1971 Census, there are nearly three times as many female as male unpaid family workers in all industry divisions. Of these, agriculture has by far the greatest number of unpaid female workers,³⁵ the data for which do not even include all of the female farm workers who reported anything less than twenty hours of labour per week. (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 40-41)

Like the majority of other unpaid work done by women in this society, what is not counted in monetary terms is effectively ignored (Galbraith, 1973). Both the national study by the CRDC (1979) and the Saskatchewan Department of Labour report (1977) place the highest priority on policy which would begin to indicate and reflect the real value of the economic contribution made by farm women.

Kohl also notes the prevalence of rural sociologists and agricultural economists in ignoring women's farm work activities. She states that "even where farm women perform important ENTERPRISE (farm) tasks, they are not usually taken into account by management specialists as economic contributions since the activities of women outside the wage market are considered 'personal services' donated to husbands and children." (1978: 50)³⁶

Legally, a farm woman's contribution to the farm is not recognized and, in fact, such recognition in monetary terms is almost prohibited. Canadian tax laws prohibit a farmer from allowing wages paid to his wife to be utilized as a tax deduction. The fact that he can make such a claim for deduction in the amount paid to his children, but not his wife indicates the absence of equality which is built in to the legal system in this country in reference to women. Because of this legislation, it is highly impractical to pay women for their work and without a salary, farm women cannot be eligible for either worker's compensation or Canada Pension Plan benefits.

The original decisions in the widely-publicized Murdock and Rathwell cases further indicate the very recent level of non-recognition of the farm woman's work (see Taylor, 1976; Saskatchewan Department of Labour, 1977; CRDC, 1979 for more detail).

The Saskatchewan Department of Labour publication also suggests that like housewives, farm women undervalue their own contribution:

Although two thirds or more of all farm women between the ages of 16 and 70 reported working on the farm, 75% reported 'no contribution' in response to the question asking for the percentage of the farm income attributed to the (farm woman). (1977: 4)

In contrast to data presented earlier which suggested that women's work on the farm was traditionally recognized to be as equally valuable as men's labour in the fields, it must be noted that women's economic contribution to the family farm

enterprise seems to have become secondary, and in legal terms, non-existent. In this sense, women's farm work, like housework as Kerr (1976) suggests, and like women's waged-labour, is both socially and economically rewarded unequally in relation to men's labour.

In relation to the farm woman's overall work load in contrast to that of the urban woman, data indicate that most farm women work much harder. Blood (1958: 171) found, in a comparison of urban and farm women, that the farm woman consistently performs a larger share of all tasks considered 'feminine work' than urban women. Other evidence from the same study showed that in addition to carrying a larger share of the household tasks, farm wives engage in more home production of consumer goods than city wives. The fact that Canadian farm women continue to be engaged in extensive levels of domestic production is supported by more recent data from both the CRDC (1977: 16-17) and Kerr's (1976: 8) study. In conclusion, Blood stated that "farm wives exceed city wives in the work they perform in traditional feminine spheres and in many masculine role areas." (1958: 171)

It is precisely this set of 'dual expectations' that Kohl explores in her major work on Saskatchewan farm families (1976a) and in two other works entirely devoted to this issue (1976b; 1978). By defining the farm portion of the enterprise as equivalent to the public sphere, and the household as the private sphere equivalent, she states that the agricultural enterprise "creates a social situation where women...become

active participants in what is defined ideologically as the man's world..." (1976a: 4-5). The participation of women in both spheres sets the conditions for farm women to assume the burdens of a dual work load in the same way that urban women have more recently been viewed as they seek paid employment while at the same time continuing to perform the main part of housework (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 55; Meissner, 1977).

Like urban women, farm women's work is not valued or recognized for its economic contribution. Like the many urban women who have recently begun to participate in the public sphere of paid work, farm women have traditionally assumed the dual burden of work in both the private sphere of housework and domestic production and the public sphere of farm work.

The second question which is raised by the urban framework of changes in women's work under industrialization has to do with women's loss of role in production. Urban women became increasingly separated from the center of economic production as industrialization moved work into the public sphere. Evidence from other countries cited earlier suggests that the same pattern of decline may be occurring in the roles of farm women. The question here becomes, what will happen to Canadian women's role in and/or relation to agricultural production as industrialization increasingly alters the nature and organization of farming? Will Canadian farm women, like their urban counterparts several decades earlier, and like their rural counterparts in other countries more recently, be phased out of production

as the work itself is transformed by the forces associated with industrialization?

The central causal variable in this potential shift in farm women's work is the changing nature of production. Several studies indicate that the organization of farm work, itself, does, in fact, influence the degree to which women will be involved in farm work.

Abell's study in 1959 indicates that, while the difference was small, changes in the nature and/or size of the farm operation led to changes in women's assumption of farm tasks. A greater number of women began to do less farm work as the farm changed in size while over half of the women in the sample said they were doing less farm work in 1959 than they had when they first became a farmer's wife. There is evidence of a decline in women's role in production both over time and due to changes in production techniques.³⁷

Kohl similarly notes that differences in production techniques influence women's role in farming. Where the enterprise becomes more mechanized and machine power is substituted for family labour, family members, including women have less to do in farm work. On the other hand, where the farm practices have remained labour-dependent, more demands are made on women's time. (1976a: 93) Like Abell (1959) Kohl also found women's participation in farm work as a labourer to decline over the ten year span of her data.

There exist secondary data from the United States which

support these Canadian findings. The major emphasis of this research has been on decision making in the farm family, but, also addresses women's work roles.

Sawer (1973: 412) states that while several studies have found substantial evidence of joint decision-making between husbands and wives, most husbands apparently assume the major responsibility for decisions directly related to the farm business. Wilkening as early as 1958 found that as socio-economic levels increase, evidence points to a greater degree of specialization in decision making roles with husbands tending to become less involved in household decisions while wives decrease their participation in farm decisions (1958: 187-192). Sawer's data lend further support here. She found a negative relationship between socio-economic status and farm wives' decision making role. The two indicators of socio-economic status which yielded a significant relationship were income and farm size. As the size of the farm increased and/or the greater the income, the role of women in decision making became smaller (1973: 420).

Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1968) found a positive correlation to exist between the wife's involvement in decision making in the farm sector and her participation in farm tasks. They also, like Sawer, found a negative relationship between gross farm income and the wife's involvement in farm decisions. Support is thus lent to the hypothesis that with increasing size of farm business, the greater is the differentiation in decision making roles between farm and household (Wilkening and Bharadwaj,

1968: 36), and importantly, "the higher the social and economic status the greater the specialization... in task performance."
(1968: 44)

Murray Straus (1958) had suggested a similar correlation between highly commercialized farms and a greater rigidity in male domination in the economic farm sphere. Straus found the women on high success farms to be more active in food preparation and less active in farm work roles which Burchinal (1964) suggests to be evidence of an increasing sex-linked division of labour. Straus drew an interesting analogy between the 'high success' farm woman and the successful corporation wife, suggesting that women on high success farms are more able to "play a supportive and complementary role in helping her husband meet the many decisions, difficulties, and frustrations which arise in developing a new farm." (1958: 64) While the 'complementarity' of the wife assuming a 'supportive' role smacks of the Parsonian analysis concerning the 'functional' advantages of an expressive/instrumental split in family roles³⁸ the urban parallel is an interesting one.

Like the urban woman decades earlier, evidence suggests that farm women may be losing their economic role as farming becomes increasingly commercialized. As farms become large scale, profit and surplus oriented, mechanized, specialized, and capital intensive, farm women may find themselves increasingly 'phased out' of the center of economic production within the family enterprise. It has already been noted that farm women's work is neither rewarded nor recognized equally, relative to

the work of men. Like their urban sisters, farm women show evidence of devaluing their own contribution.

While there is relatively little data on the work roles of farm women, what does exist shows evidence of decline. The industrialization of agriculture which became most striking in the post World War II period is still in progress and it can be anticipated that the trend will continue. The urban parallels and existing data on farm women point to a decline in involvement by farm women in agricultural production.

Helen Abell, in a summation of the anticipated implications of the modernization of agriculture, originally published in 1966, suggested that, within the farm family:

It can be conjectured that the modernization of agriculture will further separate the functions of farm operation and of homemaking. With increased mechanization, specialization, and decision making geared to more technical aspects of production, the traditional role of farm women as partners with their husbands in farm operation will change and/or disappear. The role of the rural wife will merge into that of the urban wife. (1970: 213)

What Abell seems to be predicting here is a public/private split between farm and home. The result, she suggests, will be the separation of women from the farm operation - the public sphere equivalent of economic production - a separation which will place her more exclusively within the realm of the domestic, private sphere. Exactly what Abell anticipates when the role of rural wife merges into that of the urban wife is not clearly stated. The urban parallels established as a comparative framework here can permit some hypotheses in this respect.

The central research questions set for this study have to do precisely with Abell's prediction. Broadly defined, the aim is to determine on a preliminary basis, whether any of the urban patterns outlined above can be detected within the roles of farm women as farming itself is transformed. More specifically, an examination of women's role in contemporary agricultural production will be conducted in order to assess the potential for those urban parallels to be replicated in the rural division of labour by sex.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

The final research design was determined primarily on the basis of theoretical concerns. The choice of variables and the decisions about sample selection criteria were grounded in a number of assumptions which will be outlined here before moving on to a discussion of the data collection and analysis.

The central hypothesis of this study is that certain consequences for the work of farm women will follow from the increasing industrialization of agricultural production. Industrialization of farming has been the primary independent variable around which this research is structured. Industrialization, however, is a general term used in various places to include any number of separate dimensions or forces. When used here in the context of recent changes in agricultural production, four related patterns are implied: 1) increasing farm size, 2) increasing mechanization 3) a shift from labour to capital intensity and 4) advancing specialization. All of these patterns have been discussed in detail in the preceding chapter. They require only brief re-statement here before going on to outline how each of them functioned to shape the research design.

Farm Size

The average acreage of farms has increased in Ontario

in the last several decades. Thus, the average size of farms in Ontario in 1951 was 156 acres while the 1976 average was 192 acres.¹ Average farm acreage is only one method to measure changes in the average scale of farm operations. Other measures such as the average number of stock per farm, the average number of acres cultivated per farm and so on can all be utilized as indicators of changing production scale. It is a logical assumption however, that these measures are interrelated in the sense that increased number of stock for instance, would necessitate a subsequent increase in acreage required to feed extra head of cattle, sows, or whatever the stock in question happens to be. On the other hand, a farm which has increased in acreage is likely to have increased in stock size and so on.

Mechanization

As the size of a farm increases in terms of added acres, it is likely that the acquisition of larger, more complex machinery will become necessary in order to cultivate, plant and/or harvest the additional acres within a finite growing season. Conversely, the efficient operation of large machinery can be maximized only on large scale farms where the profit margin is sufficient to offset the initial cost of purchasing the machinery itself.

The increasing mechanization of agricultural production has been equally well documented and needs no further support here.²

Shift from Labour to Capital-Intensive Production Methods

Following from the trend toward increasing mechanization

is a concomitant reduction in labour requirements. A task which traditionally required eighteen to twenty men in its completion can now be done by one or two men with the aid of advanced mechanization. As machines are substituted for labour, there occurs a shift in emphasis within the production process from labour to capital intensity. It is clear that the purchase of more land, larger machines and so on requires capital investment and, for most farmers, the use of farm credit. For those farms on which decisions have been made to increase scale and productivity, there will most likely follow a shift from labour intensive to capital intensive production methods.

Specialization

The final pattern subsumed under the more general term of industrialization of agricultural production which is of particular relevance here is specialization. As outlined in greater detail earlier, the term specialization can be used to refer to two distinct patterns. First, it implies the focusing of production into one or two specific enterprises and the deletion of other endeavours to which soil and/or machinery is less suited. In this sense specialization is well advanced on the majority of farms in this country.

Specialization, in the second sense, has to do with the application of modern scientific or technological information and methods. New developments in machinery, fertilizers, hybrid seeds and so on are in process and have been or are being adopted

at various rates by individual farm operators. It is therefore anticipated that specialization in its second meaning will vary among any group of farms, but, as a process, is most likely to advance directly (though not necessarily uniformly) with farm size, mechanization and so on.

It is difficult to determine the extent of temporal sequence among these four related patterns of change in farming. For instance, the questions of which comes first or last are not easily answered. What is important here though, is that all four trends are integrally related and that, on an already-established large scale farming operation, they are all likely to be present in advanced stages. In other words, regardless of which follows which, on any given large scale farming enterprise, it is expected that one would find large machinery, a greater emphasis on capital input into the operation and an advanced degree of specialization.

8. Theoretical Issues Affecting Methodological Design

Following from the theoretical literature and evidence outlined in the preceding chapter, five issues and/or questions have been isolated for specific study. Each of these played an important role in shaping the research design and therefore require further presentation and discussion before the description of the sample stratification, and selection procedures.

1) Farm Scale. It was necessary to stratify the sample along a dimension which represented the extent of industrialization

of individual respondents' farming operations. To this purpose, farm scale was chosen as the central variable representing the extent of industrialization.

It is assumed that on the very large scale farming operations included in this sample, the three associated patterns of increased mechanization, labour-to-capital intensity and advanced specialization will be present to a greater extent than on any of the small scale farms in the sample. While it is expected that a fair degree of variation within each sample category (by scale of operation) will exist for each of these three dimensions, it is assumed that this variation will be substantially less than that between the sample divisions based on farm scale. That is, while the scale of operation or degree of specialization would vary among the large farms in the sample, this variation would be substantially less than the extent of difference between the large farms (as a group) and the small farms (as a group).

These assumptions have certain corollaries. On small scale farms, it is anticipated that the three patterns of i) increased mechanization, ii) labour-to-capital intensity and iii) advanced specialization will not have progressed to nearly the extent of those on large scale farms.

i) Small scale operations, having, by definition, less acreage could not be in a position to utilize large complex machinery for several reasons. While the price of such machinery is prohibitive even for large scale farmers, the use of farm

credit could, theoretically, make such machinery available to smaller farmers. However, given that larger equipment is designed to be most efficient when used on large tracts of land, it is unlikely that investment in such could ever be returned in a small scale situation. In addition, if fewer acres need to be cultivated, harvested and so on, the larger machinery designed to cover more land in less time is not likely to be needed.

ii) Where mechanization is less advanced and the farm itself has remained relatively small, it is assumed that the need for family labour will remain high. Where machines have not been substituted, the production process is likely to continue to be labour intensive. Not having recently purchased more land or newer/larger machinery, the small scale farm is likely to have a smaller demand for capital input into the production process.

iii) The decline in diversified farm production is well-advanced for the majority of farms in this country. The mixed farm typical to Ontario fifty years ago has almost disappeared.³ Thus, regardless of farm scale, the majority of farms now concentrate production into one or two specific enterprises. It is anticipated that little variation by farm size will occur along the dimension of specialization in this sense.

It is, however, expected that a variation in the degree of specialization, in its second sense, will be present between two farm size groups. Because the adaptation of the newest or

most modern farming practices is generally associated more closely with large scale farmers⁴ it is expected that small scale operations are more likely to be involved in more traditional forms of production methods.

Given the anticipated differentiation by scale of farm operation, farm size has been chosen as the primary independent variable representing the differentiation in agricultural production. Thus it is expected that, if the central hypothesis concerning the effects of industrialization on the work of farm women is accurate, changes resulting from industrialization ought to be more apparent in the work of women on large scale operations. A comparison of the work of farm women on large farms against the work of women from small farms will enable the delineation of certain effects of industrialization as farms have grown in size, become increasingly mechanized and so on.

It would be useful to understand what the work of farm women consisted of at an earlier period. To this purpose the sample design was also shaped by the introduction of a second independent variable.

2) Historical Perspectives. A comparison of the work of farm women by farm size can offer information about the extent of difference in work roles which presently exists on farms differentiated by the extent of industrialized farming techniques. This type of analysis, however, cannot suggest the extent to

which work roles have changed over time, or changed since an earlier stage of industrialization.

It is difficult to speak of a starting point for industrialization as this is a gradual process, progressing at different rates in different regions. For instance, the Prairie Provinces saw the beginnings of specialization, increased farm size and utilization of larger machines at an earlier date than Ontario. However, it is safe to say that the greatest degree of change in farming practices has occurred within the last twenty to thirty years in this province - the post World War II period. A comparison of the work of women twenty to forty years ago should therefore offer insight into the extent of change resulting primarily from the industrialization of agricultural production.

As noted earlier in this work, very little historical data exist on the work of farm women, particularly Canadian farm women.⁵ Abell's work (1954) is perhaps the only data with which comparisons could be made and even this information was collected at least a decade after the advance of industrialization of agriculture was well underway in this province. In order to understand more fully, the ways in which the work of farm women has changed, this sample is stratified by length of time as a 'farmer's wife'. Contrasting the type and extent of work done by farm women 20 to 40 years ago with the work being done by those same women now will provide information on the nature and extent of change in these farm women's work. This data

will offer insight into the transformation which have occurred in the past two to four decades and also provide a somewhat more solid idea of what the work of farm women was in the past.

There is, however, another side to this type of contrast in that changes over an individual woman's life cycle, her family stage, and the effects of her aging cannot be easily separated from the changes due to other forces associated with the changing organization of the farm itself. In order to control for these other factors, a third variable has been introduced into the sample design.

3) Life Cycle and Aging Effects: The Variable of 'Age'. By including in the sample a number of 'younger' women who have more recently begun their careers as 'farmer's wives', an attempt can be made to control for life cycle changes over the life span of the older individual women. A comparison of the past work of the 'older women' within the first five years of marriage, with the present work of 'younger women' within the first five years of their marriage is an attempt to control for other variables such as aging, ages of children, and to some extent, the length of time in which the farm has been in operation. Thus, for instance, if it were found that the type and extent of farm work done by the older women in the past was greater than the work done by these same women, now, the effect could be the result of changes in farming practices, or could equally be the result of their extended age, the age of

their children and so on. However if the work of the older women in the past is also different from the work of younger women now (who would be at approximately the same life cycle stage) then the differences are more likely to be the consequence of the changing organization of the work itself.

4) 'Age as Experience'. The inclusion of younger women in this sample will aid in the control of variables such as aging, but will introduce another variable which deserves consideration here. In a comparison of the present participation in farm work between the 'younger' and 'older' women, the variable of experience with farming and changes in farming techniques will be introduced.

Older women will have lived through the increasing influence of industrialization on their family farm. Bit by bit they will have seen their operations be altered by the four forces of industrialization noted earlier in this chapter. In contrast, however, younger women starting out on farms now will face an entirely different situation. They will enter a farming operation which is generally more specialized and mechanized than any of the older women's farms twenty or more years ago and this will be even more marked for those young women on large farms.

It is assumed that this 'experience', by the older women, with changes in farming, will have provided them with time or opportunity to adjust to those changes - a chance which the younger women are less likely to have had. Whether or not this variable of experience would in fact, be influential could

not be determined prior to research. However, the potential effects were recognized and considered in the analyses of the data. Therefore, when a comparison by 'age' (older vs. younger women) is performed, the reader should keep in mind that the 'experience' variable may be in operation. Quantitative analysis is not sufficient to sort out the degree to which this variable is important. The qualitative data, however, should aid in the process of determining whether the time to adjust to changing farm production by the older women has in any way altered their role in farm work activities.

5) Farm Type. This final section is concerned with the type of farming operations to be included in the sample. While each farm type involves many identical farm tasks, there are a few specialized tasks which are only performed on certain types of farms. For example, milking is not performed on beef farms. Similarly, because most beef cattle operations in Ontario purchase their next generation of calves from 'cow/calf' ranchers in the Western provinces, breeding cattle is not a task required on the majority of Ontario beef farms. For the most part, the specific tasks selected for inclusion in this research were those likely to be done on either type of cattle farm. Tasks such as milking however, which constitute a major or important activity in the overall farming operation have been retained.

The two farm types of beef and dairy operations were originally selected on the basis of their being the two most prevalent farm types in this province. Of the 67,613 farms

(with sales of \$2500 or more) in Ontario in 1976, 33.7% were beef or hog farms and 23.1% were dairy farms (Agriculture Canada, 1978: 56). However, because the profit to be made in beef farming in the past few years has declined, many beef farmers have added some form of hog farming in order to supplement their income. It is most probably for this reason that the statistics quoted above have not been separated by beef and hog operations and it was for this reason that the decision was made to include beef/hog combinations in this research.

This should not be interpreted as evidence of a lower level of specialization, for the definition of specialization need not be confined to mean a single-enterprise operation. The addition of one other enterprise to any existent farm is not likely to radically alter the general method of farming or the level to which that particular operation had already been industrialized.

Finally, it should be noted that there were no hypotheses originally generated concerning the consequences that the type of farm might have on the work of farm wives. The possibility that women's role on different types of farms might vary was left open and the two major types of operations representing slightly over 50% of the farms in this province were included to allow any potential variation in women's work by farm type to surface.

C. Sample Stratification

The sampling unit in this study is farm women. The total quota sample consisted of sixty respondents, stratified along three separate dimensions which follow from the theoretical issues discussed above.

First, the sample was divided in half by farm size. That is, one half of the women were to be from very large scale operations while the other half were to be from relatively small scale farms.

Second, the sample was stratified by farm type with half being from dairy farms while the other half were from beef or beef/hog farms. Equal numbers of respondents from each of these farm types were also from large and small farms. Thus, the sample was divided as follows:

	Large Farms	Small Farms
Beef Beef/Hog	15	15
Dairy	15	15

Finally, in order to build in the other three dimensions of an historical perspective, life cycle and aging effects, and the length of experience with industrialization, the sample was stratified by length of time married. That is, 40 (66%) women were to have been married at least 20 years to one farmer, while the remaining 20 (33%) women were to have been married five years or less.⁶

With the quota sample further stratified by the length of time married, the final sample design was as follows:

	Large Farms	Small Farms
Older Women	10 Beef 10 Dairy	10 Beef 10 Dairy
Younger Women	5 Beef 5 Dairy	5 Beef 5 Dairy

D. Sample Selection Criteria

Absolute limits were established along a number of dimensions for this quota sample. Each of the 60 respondents were required to meet each of the following conditions as the basis for their inclusion in the sample.

1) Family Farm. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, there has been substantial debate about the definition of a 'family farm'. For the purposes of this study, each respondent had to meet each of four basic criteria with respect to the organization of their family farm operation.

First the operator had to be full-time. While it is true that the proportion of part-time or 'recreation' farmers has increased in recent years, the effects of a husband⁷ working off the farm would be sufficiently extensive to mask the effects of industrialization on the division of labour within the family farm enterprise. For this reason it was decided to select only those respondents from farms whose primary operator was such

on a full-time basis.

Second, because the central concern here was to determine the effects of industrialization on the work roles of women, it was important to know whether there had been any major shifting of responsibility for farm work to other members of the family unit. It was decided to restrict the sample to those farms where the majority of labour was supplied by the family. Operations where the main part of the total labour input was supplied by hired personnel were excluded as this type of situation would again, alter our perception of the changes in women's work as farming itself has changed. For the most part this decision is in keeping with recent trends in the agricultural labour force because, as Abell points out, the proportion of labour supplied by the family unit has increased since 1958 (1975: 368-370). Restriction of respondents to this form of labour input then, is representative of the majority of family farm operations.

Third, the definition of 'family farm' for the purposes of this research was restricted to those farms where ownership of the enterprise remained in the hands of the family unit. Thus, any farms where the operator was working for another individual or company were excluded. This does not mean of course, that operators who were renting additional acreage were not represented in this sample. On the contrary, many, especially large scale, farmers rent land in addition to the acreage they own. What is meant here, is that the family was

to be self-employed as opposed to merely working for someone else.

Finally, in keeping with the above discussion, any farms which were owned and/or operated by a non-family corporation were excluded. However, it was decided to include the cases where two or more nuclear family units within a broader kin network amalgamated to form a family company or corporation. For example, a case where a father and two sons had formed a family corporation for financial reasons was included in the sample.

It is certainly true that having more than one nuclear family involved in a single farm enterprise will necessarily effect the division of labour among the larger kin network included in the corporation. However, the prevalence of this type of partnership among extended family units has increased in recent years in response to the need to expand the scale of the farm operation. Rather than incurring the tremendous debts involved in purchasing, equipping, and stocking a farm from scratch, it is much more viable for one or more sons to enter into a partnership among themselves or to join with their father in an already established farm enterprise.⁸ Thus, while we can logically expect that the division of labour and the role of women within this form of extended family farm may vary from the single nuclear family enterprise, the increasing predominance of this form of farm organization required its admission to the sample. The questions around the changes in women's role in such farms are important to examine in light of the increasing

formation and prevalence of these family farm corporations.

The reader should not confuse this variety of FAMILY based unit with a 'company' farm. The latter refers to an enterprise owned by a non-family based company which may or may not be operated by one or more non-related nuclear family units. The former refers specifically to a family-based farm organization which has incorporated for financial reasons, but remains within the ownership and control of the (extended) family unit.

All farm operations of which the 60 individual respondents were members, were required to fall within these four limits concerning the definition of a 'family farm'.

2) Farm Type. As discussed earlier, two types of farms are included in this study in order to determine whether the farm work done by farm women might vary according to farm type.

Beef and dairy farms were selected as they represent the two most common types in this province as well as in the region where the study took place. However, as mentioned above, the increasing tendency for beef farmers to add some form of hog farming to their operations suggested the practicality and sense in including this type of operation in the sample. However, all beef-hog combinations were required to be primarily beef operations which had more recently included the hog enterprise as a supplementary endeavour. These farms will subsequently be termed 'beef' farms but the reader should keep in mind that beef-hog combinations are included under this label.

3) Farm Size. The scale of the farming operation was a crucial variable in the selection format and it was hypothesized that the three patterns of mechanization, specialization and labour-to-capital intensity would vary by the scale of the operation. As noted earlier, there are various tools one can employ in measuring the scale of a farm operation. The criteria utilized in this research were determined primarily out of practical considerations. The author could gain access to only very select data due to the issue of confidentiality⁹ and therefore the measures employed here were determined for the most part by the type of information available. The selection criteria for farm scale varied by farm type. The measures used for dairy farms will be discussed first.

i) Dairy Farms: The scale of production on dairy farms is perhaps best measured by the quantity of milk produced on any given farm. The relationship between the quantity of milk produced and other variables such as herd size and the acreage to support the milking herd is a direct one with some allowance for variation in soil capability, quality of the herd itself and the efficiency of the operator.

In consultation with the Agricultural Representative for the Ministry of Agricultural and Food for Bruce County, the cut-off points in selection criteria were determined as follows:

Large Dairy Farms: There was no upper limit placed on the quantity of annual production. The lower limit for large farms, was established at an annual production rate of 500,000 pounds

of milk. Again, within the variance due to the quality of the herd, and so on, a farm producing this quantity of, or more milk, per year would require a milking herd of 55 or more head and roughly, 300 acres of land.

Small Dairy Farms: The lower limit placed on small farms was set at 200,000 pounds of milk per year. This would guarantee a minimum herd size of roughly 20 milking cows and the likelihood of sufficient profit to maintain a family without necessitating supplementary off farm work by the operator. A production level lower than 200,000 pounds per year would increase the possibility of including part-time or 'recreation' farmers in the sample.

The upper limit for small farms was established at 300,000 pounds of milk per year which still falls within the range of relatively small scale production. The 200,000 pound gap between the upper limit of small farms and the lower limit of large farms is sufficiently great to ensure a substantial difference in scale between the two farm size categories. That is, even the smallest of the large farms would be 60% larger than the largest of the small farms.

ii) Beef Farms: Unlike the situation for dairy production in this province, records on beef production per farm are not available. Thus a measure other than annual production was required in order to estimate the scale of production on cattle/hog farms. In consultation with the president of the County Cattleman's Association it was decided to use the average number of stock per farm as the criterion for selection by farm

size with the limits set as follows:

Large Beef Farms: As in the case of the dairy farms, no upper limit was placed on the number of stock held by large beef farmers. The lower limit was set at 500 head of beef in a straight beef operation. For those large farms that also raised hogs, the lower limit of 400 beef cattle and at least 200 hogs was set. These limits would ensure the necessity of, roughly, at least 300 to 400 acres of land to support herds of this size or greater.

Small Beef Farms: The lower limit on small beef farms was set as at least 100 head of cattle or 75 beef cattle in combination with at least 100 hogs. This limit was set to help ensure the inclusion of only full-time farmers and decrease the likelihood of off-farm employment of the operators.

The upper limit for small beef farms was established at no more than 300 beef cattle or 250 head of cattle combined with no more than 100 hogs.

Like the criteria for dairy farms, the gap between the upper limit on the size of small farms and the lower limit of the larger farms was sufficient to ensure that even the smallest of the large farm category would be approximately 60% larger than the largest farms in the small farm group.

4) Age. The restrictions placed on the age (length of time married) of individual respondents were much less complicated than those on farm size and require only very brief statement here.

The 40 'older' women had to have been married to one farmer for at least twenty years and no maximum limit was set on the length of time married. The twenty year limit was set in order to cover the bulk of the changes resulting from changing farm practices which have occurred in this region within the last twenty to thirty years. The restriction placed on the younger women was simply that they had to have been married to one farmer for five years or less. This would ensure that the data collected on their present work would be from approximately the same life cycle stage as the data collected from the older women concerning their first five years of marriage.

E. Selection Procedure

The conditions placed on this quota sample made the selection of respondents rather difficult. Although there were nearly 3,000 census farms¹⁰ in Bruce County in 1976, the limits that were set for this study concerning farm size, farm type, and length of time married, substantially reduced the number of potential respondents available for interviews. It was only with the most appreciated help of the Bruce County representative of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the president and the vice president of the local Cattleman's Association and two Milk Inspectors, that master lists of potential respondents could be compiled. The procedure varied by farm type.

1) Dairy Farms. As noted in the preceding section, production

records are kept for all dairy farms which deal in any way with the Ontario Milk Marketing Board. Direct access to these records could not be gained due to regulations around confidentiality. However, once limits were set on the size of the dairy farms to be included in this research, the Ministry representative was able to compile a list of farmers whose operations fell within the established farm size limits.

This list of names was then discussed with two local milk inspectors who visit each farm in the county on a regular basis and who therefore, have a personal knowledge of the approximate age or length of time married of each farm operator. Those persons who were definitely known to fall outside of the established length of time married limits were dropped from the list of potential dairy farm respondents. Any person about whom there was doubt as to the length of their married time were retained on the master list until contact was made with them.

Through this process a total of 85 potential dairy farm respondents was collected. Of the four sample categories within the dairy farm group, the numbers of potential respondents were as follows:

Sample Sub-division	Number of Potential Respondents	Number of Respondents Required to Fill Quota
Large dairy farm, Older woman	27	10
Small dairy farm, Older woman	33	10
Large dairy farm, Younger woman	9	5
Small dairy farm, Younger woman	16	5

2) Beef Farms. Unlike the situation for dairy farms, there are no centralized production records kept on beef production by farm. The process of locating potential respondents in the beef farm category was, therefore, more difficult.

Contact was made with the president of the Bruce County Cattleman's Association to which the greatest majority of beef farmers in the County belong. From his membership list, the President was able to put together a list of farm operators who roughly fell within the farm size and length of time married restrictions.

Contact was then made with the vice president of the same organization who was able, on the basis of his personal acquaintance with many of the respondents, to add or delete the names of those persons that he knew did or did not meet the quota sample limits.

From this procedure, a master list of beef farmers was compiled with a total of 79 names of potential respondents.

Within the beef farm category, the number of names which fell within the size and length of time married restrictions were as follows:

Sample Sub-division	Number of Potential Respondents	Number of Respondents Required to Fill Quota
Large beef farm, Older woman	23	10
Small beef farm, Older woman	29	10
Large beef farm, Younger woman	9	5
Small beef farm, Younger woman	18	5

The names of all respondents within each farm type division were placed in alphabetical order and names were selected randomly for initial contact. An introductory letter was sent to each of these women at two week intervals. That is, 20 letters were sent out every two weeks so that this initial contact would not be too far ahead of the next contact by phone.

The letter¹¹ explained who the author was, what the purpose of the research was, and what was to be specifically required of each respondent. It was explained that further contact would be made with them by phone within a set period of time.

The telephone contact was structured similarly for every respondent. Each woman was asked if she was interested and/or willing to participate in the study. When the answer

to this initial question was affirmative, it was then determined whether or not each woman did in fact, fit within the sample restrictions. For those few women who did not meet these limits, the reasons for their exclusion were explained and further contact terminated. For those women who did fit within the sample limits, more detail was provided concerning what was required of them in terms of the length of the interview and the nature of the research. When their questions had been answered, an appointment date was set at their convenience.

Of the total number of women contacted, nine refused to participate. Five of these were outright refusals for reasons unstated. Reasons were given for the remaining four refusals. These included, for instance, one family which was about to retire; in another situation, a family had recently suffered a barn fire in which their stock and feed had been destroyed.

For the most part, the women who were contacted were interested in the study and very willing to participate. For those women who did not fit within the sample limits and for those few women who had refused to participate, additional names were randomly selected from the master lists to fill the quota for each sample sub-division.

F. Sample Characteristics

As noted earlier there was space for a relatively wide variation along a number of dimensions within each sample division. The following discussion is aimed at providing the

reader with an overview of the characteristics of the respondents and their farming operations. Four separate dimensions will be covered here, starting with the average age and age range within each sample category.

1) Age. The reader will recall that there were no limits placed directly on respondents' age. Rather the defining variable was the length of time married. The 'younger' women in the sample were to have been married five years or less in order to provide a data set which would be roughly comparable to that collected about the older women's work within the first five years of their marriage. The life cycle stage was of central concern and no minimum or maximum age limits were established.

The older women were to have been married for a minimum of twenty years in order for their experience as farm wives to cover the two decades time span within which the majority of change due to industrialization has occurred. No maximum 'married time' was established. The rationale for this decision was based on the assumption that the wider time span covered by the research would allow for a greater range of experience of change within the older women's life spans. For this reason there resulted in a full 29 year range in the ages of the older women. The range in age within the younger women's group is 8 years and, as one would expect, is much smaller than that of the older group.

The age ranges and the average age within each of the 8 sample sub-divisions are presented in the following tables.

Age Range

	Large Farms		Small Farms	
	Older Women	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Women
	- years -			
Dairy Farms	43- 60	22- 30	40- 55	22- 28
Beef Farms	40- 57	25- 31	42- 69	22- 30

Average Age

	Large Farms		Small Farms	
	Older Women	Younger Women	Older Women	Younger Women
	- years -			
Dairy Farms	49.6	26.6	46.8	23.8
Beef Farms	45.3	26.4	50.9	26.0

The average age of all of the older women in the sample was 48.1 years while the average age of the twenty younger women was 25.7 years.

2) Farm Size. The farm size criteria for respondent selection varied by farm type. For dairy operations, annual milk production was the defining variable while for beef farms, herd size was chosen as the basis for selection. Because of the

variation in selection criteria and because the acreage required to supply nutrition to milk cows is different from that required to support a beef herd, there is no variable representing farm scale that can be compared across the farm type division. It makes sense to calculate an average herd size for all of the dairy farms and to similarly calculate an average herd size for all of the beef farms, in the sample, but these two figures are not comparable across the farm type of division.

Both of these calculations have been performed and the results are presented below along with the average annual milk production levels for each of the dairy farm sub-divisions.

Dairy Farms

i) Average Farm Size

Large Farms		Small Farms	
Older	Younger	Older	Younger
- acres -			
326	468	195	223
373		204	

ii) Range in Farm Size¹²

	Large Farms		Small Farms	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
	- acres -			
Smallest	200	340	100	100
Largest	450	625	200	275

iii) Average Herd Size

Large Farms		Small Farms	
Older	Younger	Older	Younger
- head of cattle -			
62	62	28	27
62		28	

iv) Range in Herd Size

Large Farms			Small Farms		
	Older	Younger		Older	Younger
	- number of cattle -				
Fewest	47	48		21	22
Most	100	100		33	31

v) Range in Annual Production¹³

Large Farms			Small Farms		
	Older	Younger		Older	Younger
	- pounds of milk -				
	per year				
Least	643,420	677,424		200,061	218,314
Most	1,473,241	1,361,132		278,834	288,503

vi) Average Annual Production¹³

Large Farms		- pounds of milk - per year	Small Farms	
Older	Younger		Older	Younger
797,782	893,091		267,233	235,442
829,552			256,636	

Beef Farmsi) Average Farm Size

Large Farms		- acres -	Small Farms	
Older	Younger		Older	Younger
904	870		379	283

ii) Range in Farm Size¹²

	Large Farms		- acres -	Small Farms	
	Older	Younger		Older	Younger
Smallest	450	600		200	216
Largest	1,520	1,100		465	400

iii) Average Herd Size

	Large Farms		Small Farms	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
	- number of cattle -			
Cattle Only	1093	815	269	192
	- number of cattle plus - number of hogs			
Cattle/Hog Combination	458 + 135	550 + 350	219 + 70	125 + 117

iv) Range in Herd Size

	Large Farms		Small Farms	
	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
	- number of cattle -			
Cattle only Smallest	500	500	125	150
Largest	1700	1700	300	225
	- number of cattle plus - number of hogs			
Cattle/Hog Combination				
Smallest	425 + 150	*	75 + 150	100 + 175
Largest	500 + 70	*	250 + 75	150 + 60

*not applicable, n = 1.

3) Length of Time Married. There was no maximum 'length of time married' restriction placed on the 'older women' group. All older women had to have been married a minimum of twenty years but the length of time married ranged from 20 to 47 years within this sample sub-division.

There was no minimum time married set for the younger women, but the maximum was established at 5 years. However, the proportion of young farm families on large farms is very small. The reasons for this are fairly obvious. Unless a son can start farming with his father on an already established farm enterprise, it is near impossible to build up a farming operation into anything near large scale (as defined here) in five years or less. Although the original master list of potential respondents in the sub-division of young dairy farmers on large farms totalled nine names, six of these did not meet sample restrictions. It was therefore necessary to stretch the limits slightly for this sample sub-division to include two women who were slightly over the 5 year married time limit. Thus, one of these women had been married six years and the other had been married seven years.

During the interviews with these women it was found that the division of labour had not changed in the previous two years for either of these women. Neither of them had children whose ages might have been high enough to enable them to actively participate in farm work. For the purposes of this study then, the organization and operation of these women's family farms and the division of labour within the farm family unit had

4) Partnership. As one response to the need to increase production scale in order to maximize profits in farming, the prevalence of partnerships both within an extended kin network and between non-related farm families has increased in recent years. Thus in 1951, 71.9% of all census farms in Canada were owned by the operator. By 1976 this proportion fell to 63.0%. On the other hand, in 1951, tenure by part-owner comprised only 19.4% of all census farms in Canada while 25 years later, in 1976, the proportion of part-owners had risen to 31.2% of all census farms.¹⁴

Because of the increasing prevalence of partnerships in farming, it was decided to include such farm organizations if they occurred in the sample through random selection and as long as they remained within the bounds of family ownership.¹⁵

As it turned out, a full 20(33%) farms in the sample were involved in a partnership form of tenure. This proportion is quite close to the national percentage noted above. The distribution of the partnership type of farm ownership across the eight sample sub-divisions is uneven and constitutes a rough pattern by farm size. The table below presents the numbers of partnerships and family corporations as they occurred in each sample sub-division. As one would anticipate, the numbers of partnerships are much higher in the four large-farm divisions than in the four small-farm sample groups.¹⁶

Dairy Farms				Beef Farms			
Large Farms		Small Farms		Large Farms		Small Farms	
Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger
3C*	4C			3C	3P		1P
	1p**		1P	2P	2P		

**P = partnership with one or more extended family members.

*C = legal corporation within the extended family network.

G. Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed in accordance with the central theoretical concerns of the study. It was divided into two distinct sections. The first section required the filling-in of blanks and charts by the interviewer with information (past and present) about the work that the women perform(ed), biographical data, and information about the organization of the farm operation itself. This first section was divided into five subsections which are briefly outlined below.

The first page of the questionnaire¹⁷ deals with biographical and background information on the women themselves, their families and the farm home. The questions about the number and age of children, the number of rooms in the household, the number of persons other than immediate family living in the home, and so on were included because of their potential relationship to the amount or type of work performed by the family members and on the division of labour. The questions in this first part were asked at the outset of the interviews because they are less personal and/or threatening and offered

the respondents time to become comfortable with the interviewer and the interview procedure.

The second page of the questionnaire was directed at the past-within the first five years of the older women's marriage. This section was deleted in the interviews with the twenty younger women. Questions about the organization, type and scale of the farm operation two to four decades earlier offer information about how the farms in this sample have changed. The questions dealing with help received for housework and for farm work, spare time and vacation activities also concern structures or patterns which may have altered the division of labour within the farm family in the past.

The next three pages of the questionnaire are the task charts. A time budget study was originally considered in designing this research. However, because change over time was an integral facet of the study's purpose, time budget data were not suited to this goal.¹⁸ The absence of a solid Canadian time budget data set for the work of farm women in the past meant that there could be no attempt to assess how the use of time by these farm women might have altered over the last few decades. It was therefore decided not to collect information on the amount of time spent by these women on the various components of their work. Rather, these task charts were designed to gather information on the division of labour. That is, to answer the questions of who did what work, who helped with which tasks, and how each kind of work (farm work,

house work) was divided among family members.

The seventy-four specific tasks chosen for inclusion in this research represent three broadly defined areas of work activities: housework, farm work, and 'other' work.¹⁹ Within each of these three areas are different types of work. A range of individual tasks were selected to represent each of these finer categories or types. The areas and types of work with representative tasks are outlined below:

AREA

<u>Housework</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Example of tasks</u>
	Cooking	cooking, dishes
	Shopping	shopping for food " for clothing
	Household/Maintenance cleaning	scrubbing vacuuming
	Household production	canning/preserving, sewing, pasturizing milk
	Child care	feeding infants, bathing infants, playing with children
<u>Farm Work</u>	Milking	getting cows from pasture cleaning milking equipment
	Barn chores	clean stable helping cows to calve
	'Light Field Work' (tasks likely to be performed by the use of relatively simple/ small machinery)	harrowing load/unload hay wagons
	'Heavy Field Work' (tasks likely to be performed by the use of relatively large/ complex machinery)	combining, plowing, seeding

AREA

	<u>Type</u>	<u>Examples of tasks</u>
<u>Farm Work</u>	farm business transactions	buying cattle
		selling cattle
		selling surplus feed
	farm accounts	financial accounts
		herd accounts
<u>'OTHER' Work</u>	Poultry	banking
		feed
		gather eggs
	Yard/Gardening/ Orchard	plant
		weed
		water
	Care of hired help	as is
	Cut/Wrap meat ²⁰	as is

In the questionnaire, the first 23 tasks are housework tasks. The next thirty-eight tasks are farm work activities. The final thirteen tasks are those assigned to the 'other' work area. The tasks as they appear on pages three, four, and five, refer to the past - how these tasks were divided among family members within the first five years of the older womens' marriages. They were omitted in the interviews with the twenty younger women.

The sixth page of the questionnaire is very similar to the second, but this section deals with the present. These questions were asked of all 60 women in the sample and concern spare time or vacation activities, which, again, might alter the division of labour within the farm family given that what is often done in one's spare time can appropriately be labelled work.

The final pages in the first section of the questionnaire are identical to the third, but deal with the present division of labour on the respondent's farms. This set of task charts were completed for all sixty women and makes up a data set for the present which can be compared to the information from the first five years of the older women's marriage.

The second section of the questionnaire consists of a set of questions aimed at obtaining qualitative data from the respondents. This latter portion was recorded on audio tape and permitted a more free and relaxed conversation between the interviewer and respondent. The questions were designed to obtain the respondents' opinions on how and why their work, and farming itself, had changed over time.

This final part of the questionnaire was designed primarily for the older women in the study. The questions concerning change over time could not be asked of the younger women and were omitted for those twenty interviews.²¹

The qualitative data collected on tape provided the author with a more solid basis from which to draw conclusions about the changing nature of farm women's work. Their first hand experience of change and their opinions expressed in response to these questions grounded much of the interpretation of the quantitative data collected in the first half of the interviews.

The questionnaire was pre-tested on a different set of five respondents²² two separate times to ensure that the

questions were aimed in the right direction. Task charts were structured three different ways and the final layout of these charts seemed to allow the fastest and most accurate recording of the division of labour within the farm families under study. The ordering of questions was also changed after each pre-test to facilitate the flow of conversation and to provide a rough temporal sequence to the overall interview.

H. Data Analysis

The data were coded and analyzed using SPSS procedures. The method of analysis used was cross tabulation among the various subgroups within the sample. More sophisticated analytical techniques were not employed given a) the level of the data b) the small sample size and c) the general level of trends to be examined.

Certain analyses were not performed on various portions of the total data set. These are outlined below.

Frequency Data: A finer breakdown of data on the division of labour into frequency of performance (1. always 2. usually 3. sometimes 4. rarely) was collected. Analysis of this frequency data is not included in this report.

Interesting patterns in the rates of performance of tasks did, in fact, surface. Within the area of housework activities, women were over-represented in the always/usually categories and men were over represented in the sometimes/rarely categories. For the farm work tasks, exactly the opposite pattern emerged. Women were under-represented in the always/

usually divisions while men were over-represented in these. This pattern in frequency of performance by sex is reflective of two broader trends. When men are found to participate in housework tasks, it is most often on an infrequent basis. For women in farm work, the corollary holds. When women participate in most (though, not all) farm work tasks, they do so on a less than full-time or regular basis. This trend in participation rates by women in farm work is less consistent than for men in housework.

The decision to omit the analysis of these data from the report was based on two considerations. First, the data set was also divided by a 'doing-helping' distinction. That is, data was collected on the basis of persons viewed as 'doing' the task or merely 'helping' with the task. This distinction, as defined and utilized here, and as explained to each of the respondents, includes a measure of frequency of task performance. Persons considered as 'doing' a task are those who not only assume a primary responsibility for the planning, initiation, and completion of each task in question, but also, are those persons who do so on a regular and frequent basis. On the other hand, persons considered to 'help with' a task are those persons who, when participating in an activity, do so in the sense of assuming responsibility for less than the total task performance and also, who do so on a less than regular or full-time basis. For example, in the task of cooking, it is a qualitatively different activity if one is to assume the primary responsibility for planning, beginning, cooking and serving the

meal than if one is to simply stir the gravy or carve the meat. The first aspect here is the 'doing' part, the second, merely the 'helping' portion. On this basis, the doing/helping distinction includes a measure of frequency of performance as well as a measure of the total responsibility assumed in the task.

Second, each of the tables which are presented in this work includes a considerable amount of data. The addition of the frequency data to these tables made them significantly more difficult to interpret.

Therefore, because a measure of frequency in task performance is implied by the doing/helping distinction, and, because the inclusion of the frequency data as collected would serve only to 'clutter' the tables without adding further elaboration on the division of labour, it was decided to not present these frequency data throughout the report.

'Other Work': The reader will recall that a set of 13 tasks which seemed to fit appropriately in neither the housework nor the farmwork areas was kept separate for analysis. Eleven of these tasks (excepting only care of hired help and yard work) are, or can be viewed as, aspects of domestic production of subsistence goods. Important patterns did, in fact, surface in analyses of these tasks. Rather than structuring a separate chapter for the consideration of these tasks, they have been discussed within the housework chapter under 'household production'. For details, the reader should refer to that section. Only brief mention is made of the help received from children

for housework tasks in the 40 'older' households. The analysis of these data are presented in the appendix to the housework chapter should the reader wish more detail.

Household Composition: Data were collected on the number of persons residing in each farm home, the number of rooms in each home, and the number of children and their ages. Analyses of these variables were not performed given the time limitations on and scope of the research. Let it suffice to say that there was only one household in which a person other than a nuclear family member resided and this was on a part-time basis. The person in question, an aged extended family member, did not participate actively in any of the tasks on a regular basis and will be given no further consideration here.

Spare-time Activities and Membership(s) in Formal Organizations: Analyses of these activities do not appear in this work, again, due to time limitations.

'Sharing': The category of 'sharing' of tasks between spouses has been retained for the data on housework, but deleted for the data on farm work performance. While a totally equal sharing of the primary responsibility for any task is likely rare, many women stated that for some housework tasks, this sort of division exists between themselves and their partners. However, the equal sharing of farm work tasks was not reported for farm work activities. Therefore, when men 'do' housework activities, some wives perceive this participation as an equal sharing of the task. No women suggested that they equally share any farm work

activities and the 'sharing' category was, accordingly, deleted in the analyses of farm task performance.

I. Research Limitations

There are a number of issues requiring mention here which have to do with the generalizability and/or reliability of this research. The reader should keep these points in mind when considering the data which follow.

There are a few tasks included in the research design which are not necessarily comparable over time. The tasks of threshing and combining are two of these. Threshing used to be the method used in harvesting grain crops two to four decades ago for the majority of farms in this province. Grain was cut with a machine called a binder, stooked by hand to dry, loaded onto wagons by hand and transported to the barn where it was put through a threshing machine. The straw was normally used for bedding (of livestock) and the grain was stored in grain bins for winter use. Now the same task of harvesting grain is done by a machine called a combine on the majority of farms. The combine cuts and threshes grain in one step. The straw is left in the field for fertilizer or to be baled and the grain is transported to barns by trucks or wagons where it is augured into grain bins by machine. The work is less physically strenuous and requires far fewer people and time in its completion.

Few people in the sample group used to combine in the past while few continue to employ threshing machines now. Inclusion of these tasks can provide evidence of changing farming

methods. However the fact that threshing is done rarely now while combining was done rarely in the past, reduces the numbers of sample cases from which to draw conclusions. The reader should therefore note carefully the number of farms where each of the tasks is performed before drawing conclusions about women's participation. For example, because, as will be seen below, only three farms thresh now, one woman who participates in this task constitutes 33% of the women from farms where the task is performed. Other tasks which involve this same problem to a greater or lesser extent are: pasteurizing milk for family consumption, breeding cattle (which is done less on beef farms), and the four tasks associated with poultry production.

Problems around recall and memory also need mention here. The older women were required to detail the division of labour on their family farms from a period of as much as thirty years ago. This may introduce some error into the data. However, the fact that only a very general level of information was required (rather than detailed data such as those in time budgets) will certainly have helped to moderate the degree of error in this respect.

A more serious problem with recall in this study has to do with the requirement that older women confine their responses to the first five years of marriage. When obvious mistakes of this nature occurred during the interviews, the investigator was able to point them out and remind the respondent of the need to speak only of the first 5 years. For example,

when a woman would say that she helped her children with homework when the children were too young to be in school, the error was easily noticed. For other tasks however, the potential error was less obvious, and little else could be done to ensure accuracy. This should be kept in mind when viewing the data from the past.

The data cover a time span of 20 to 40 years but do not bear on the intermediary years or life cycle stages - after the first five years but before the twentieth year of marriage. There are, for some respondents, as many as 30 years for which no data was collected. The questions of how the division of labour on these family farms may have changed as children became old enough to do many of the tasks cannot be answered from this research.

The reader should also remember that the sample size is relatively small (60) and that only two farm types were studied. Regional variations in farming methods are wide and industrialization has advanced further in some regions than in others.²³ That farming methods also vary by farm type is clear. The extent to which the patterns to be presented in this study can be generalized to other regions or farm types cannot be determined. A larger study with a wider scope in terms of farm types and geographical locations would be required to understand more fully the national situation in this respect.

The location of the study, Bruce County, Ontario, was chosen for practical reasons. It is the area where the author was raised and her personal acquaintance with numerous contact

persons provided the basis for the choice of Bruce County as the study site. The area has remained highly rural, relative to the province as a whole. The provincial data indicate that 5.1% of Ontario's population was rural in 1971 while in Bruce County for 1971, the figure was 28%. There are no cities in the county and the nearest city, Owen Sound, is 40 miles or more away from any of the farms in the sample. Thus the impact of urbanization is likely to be less than for regions closer to large urban centres.²⁴

Off farm employment opportunities for women is a case in point. Rural regions provide fewer of these and so one might question whether the off-farm work of women might be greater in regions which are closer to urban centers than in the region of study in this report.

Finally, the type of data calculated here can allow conclusions about the division of labour on family farms, but do not indicate the amount of work being discussed. That is, women are noted as participating in tasks but there is no way to estimate what this means in terms of hours or days of labour. Only a time budget study would clarify these questions. Even time budget research would not be very useful concerning estimates of change over time given the added problems of recall at such detailed levels of data collection. There are a few time budget studies that one can use as general reference points,²⁵ but the degree of applicability of these data to the respondents in the present research is unknown. However, given that the aim of

this study was to determine, on a preliminary basis, the direction in the extent to which farm women were/are/will be involved in agricultural production, the more general level of data presented below presents few problems.

CHAPTER III

HOUSEWORK

A. Introduction

An examination of farm women's work roles in the domestic sphere is somewhat peripheral to the central aim of this research which has been stated as the examination of farm women's role in agricultural production. However, because housework constitutes a major portion of farm women's overall work load, and following from the review of literature which detailed the changing nature of housework in urban centers, certain questions are raised with respect to housework in farm families. The research questions generated for this portion of the study fall into three broadly defined areas: the changing nature of housework in farm families; the farm women's role in domestic production of consumer goods for family use; and the sexual division of household labour.

Changing Nature of Housework: Industrialization in urban centers radically altered the nature of housework as production was removed from the home. Women were no longer located in the central sphere of economic production. The tasks which remained in the home became monotonous, maintenance and service-oriented. Increasing household technology reduced the drudgery involved in housework but did not reduce the time expenditures involved

in its completion. Rising standards resulting, at least partially, from the aims of organizations such as the Domestic Science Movement and the Home Economics Movement, combined with the moral imperative attached to household cleanliness served to turn household maintenance into a full-time job.

It is expected, due to the time lag between urban and rural areas, that many of the changes outlined for urban areas in the early decades of this century will more recently appear in rural homes. Thus it is hypothesized that rural women will have seen the nature of their housework change over the last 20 to 40 years in ways similar to those in urban households several decades earlier.

Household Production: As work was removed from the urban home, women who remained in the private sphere experienced a diminution of their 'production' activities. Mass-produced goods became increasingly available, often for a price cheaper than the cost of making the same goods in one's home. The increasing emphasis on consumption as a value in urban society also helped to reduce urban women's participation in household production of goods for family use.

Following from these urban patterns, it is expected that farm women will show more recent evidence of a decline in household production. Transportation systems have improved in rural areas over the last three to four decades making the purchase of ready made goods more possible on a more frequent basis. Mass media now enter rural homes and bring values

previously associated only with urbanized regions. While it has been suggested elsewhere that farm women continue to be involved in domestic production at rates higher than urban women (Blood, 1958; Abell, 1959; CRDC, 1979) it is hypothesized that a decline in this range of tasks will now be apparent in farm homes.

Division of Household Labour by Sex: The responsibility for housework and child care has been defined in Western society as, most appropriately, 'women's work.' As increasing numbers of urban women have entered the paid labour force in recent years, concern has been aimed at the assumption by women of two work loads - paid work and housework. Recent urban evidence indicates that the division of household labour between partners has not altered in response to the added demands on women by their paid employment (Meissner, 1977; Gunderson, 1976; Clark and Harvey, 1976).

Like urban women, rural women have been traditionally responsible for domestic duties as well as for assuming an important role in farm work. Kohl (1976a: 67) suggests that, in this way, farm women have always had a 'double burden' of work in that they have been responsible for work in the home as well as work in the public sphere - equivalent of farm work. Rural women, like their urban sisters have also begun to work in the paid labour force in increasing numbers although at a slightly lower rate than urban women (Gunderson, 1976: 95-98). One begins to wonder whether this paid labour off the farm will

provide the basis for farm women assuming a 'triple burden' of work. That is, will farm women simply add-on this other portion of labour to their already existent 'dual work' burden?

The research questions generated for the division of household labour follow from the urban data reviewed earlier. Despite the assumption of off farm jobs, it is hypothesized that farm women will continue to assume the major responsibility for household labour. The division of this labour by sex will have remained relatively stable regardless of farm women's employment status in the paid labour force.

B. The Changing Nature of Housework in Farm Homes

The older women in this study were asked to outline whether their housework had changed in any way since the first five years of marriage. Many of the responses to these questions provide evidence of both the nature and extent of change in housework, in these farm homes, over the last four decades.

In terms of the amount of housework, the responses were mixed. Of the 40 older women who were asked the question, thirteen (33%) said they are doing about the same amount of housework as within the first 5 years of their marriage, sixteen (40%) said they are doing less, and eleven (27%) said they now do more. Of the thirteen women whose housework has remained relatively constant in amount, all thirteen stated that the amount of time they spend in housework has also remained about the same. What is interesting here is that when a woman's work seems to have decreased in amount, the time spent on the work

which remains does not necessarily decrease. Thus, for the sixteen women who said they do less housework now than in the past, twelve (75%) said their time expenditures have not decreased accordingly, while the other four women (25%) stated that they actually spend more time at housework now than in the past. For the remaining eleven women whose housework has increased in amount, all said their time expenditures have similarly increased.

All forty women stated that the nature of the work had changed enormously over the last two to four decades. Almost all (95%) said that the work has been made easier. The reasons given for the reduction in drudgery previously associated with housework were numerous.

Of all of the various reasons which surfaced throughout the interviews,¹ the acquisition of washing machines and freezers was seen as the most influential in reducing the labour involved in housework.

Thirty-eight of the forty farm women in this sample (95%) now have automatic washing machines. In response to the question of how the new machines had altered their work, three different issues were raised. First, the task of washing clothes is less strenuous than it was before the acquisition of automatic washers. For many women with no hydro or water on pressure, washing used to mean a substantial amount of hard physical work:

You didn't have hydro - you washed with a - well, at the very first, I washed with a washboard, and then with a machine that you had to push back and forth to - you had to be with it all the time you

washed. And then, too, years back you didn't have water on pressure, you had to go out and pump your water and carry it all in that you needed. It was more, harder work.

Along with the reduction in physical labour has come a reduction in the length of time one has to spend at one time on washing clothes. From most of the accounts, it appears that washing was a weekly chore which took a whole day to do:

Well, the other old thing that I used - it was terrible. Well, I had no hot water either so I had to heat all my hot water before I could even think about doing washing, and then you had to have the old wood stove going because I didn't have the electric stove here for years. And by the time you got the washing done, it was a full day's job.

The third benefit of automatic washing machines noted throughout the interviews was that one can put a load of washing in and go and do something else while the washer is in operation.

Oh, it's wonderful. If it broke down today, I would have to get another one right away. It saves so much time from the old ones we had to use. A wash is something that you can do and go do something else. You can go lay down for a while if you are tired and get up when the thing rings...

A reduction in the drudgery of housework was also noted by almost all (88%) of the women in the 'older' group with respect to the acquisition of freezers. Only two women had freezers within the first five years of their marriage. Foods which needed to be frozen were placed in storage lockers in a creamery in the nearest town.

It is much handier - it saves me a lot of trips to town. Before we used to keep our meat in a cold storage box in town and you never used to have what you wanted when you wanted it. And you could never bring too much out if you didn't have

a place to keep it. Now we have two freezers - one for vegetables and one for meat.

Canning was the alternative method of food preservation and it seems that the 'putting down' of hundreds of jars of preserves was the norm for most farm women in the past. The use of freezers (all farm families in this study have at least one freezer, many have two, and a few mentioned owning three) to preserve food has reduced both time and energy:

Oh, the freezer is great! I don't have to do near as much canning as I used to. I used to do 2 to 3 hundred jars every year. Canning takes a lot of time and then, too, it doesn't always suit you to do the canning on a certain day whereas the freezer - you can do it right away. It's probably cut my time by half.

It saves me more than half you know. Like, I don't preserve any fruit or vegetables anymore - I just bring it in and put it in the freezer. The only thing I have down there (cellar) are pickles in jars.

Other household machinery noted for its benefits in reducing the hard work traditionally associated with housework, in the past, were refrigerators, electric stoves, and dishwashers. One woman in this sample has a microwave oven and the change in the nature of cooking from the use of an old wood-burning cook stove to the use of a microwave oven is clearly enormous.

The acquisition of more modern household conveniences such as running water and hydro were also noted by many women as having reduced the amount of labour involved in doing housework. Finally, remodelling of farm homes themselves has changed the nature of housework. New flooring was mentioned often as

a factor in this type of change:

I used to wax every week - I scrubbed and waxed these floors and it wasn't just these two floors (pointing to two areas of the kitchen). I started in the living room and I came out here and I scrubbed and waxed and now I do it once a month. Before it was around the highchair and that - there'd be a disaster area and stuff like that and a lot more running in and out. I think this has made an awful difference. And I think the waxes are better and the floors are a lot better than they used to be.

Similarly, remodelling of floor space or the rationalization of kitchen design has helped a number of these women to make better use of their time and energy:

My dishwashing - we had a crazy little sink over in that corner (pointing) and there wasn't much space for putting your dishes and it just seemed that everybody was working on top of everybody there, trying to do the dishes. Now I have a dishwasher...but even when I do my dishes at the sink, I've got all this new counter space - I didn't used to have any counter at all here before, and, well, that makes it so much easier to do.

From these examples it can be concluded that for the farm women in this study, housework has changed over the last two to four decades. The possession of machines as well as task performance vary from household to household, but almost all women noted that housework has become easier and less physically strenuous.

While the data from this study cannot detail how every task has changed or be more precise about the extent of change, it appears that, with the acquisition of machines, the modernization of kitchen space, new developments in flooring and so on, housework becomes physically easier. As data from urban areas have shown, technology has reduced much of the drudgery

of housework, but does not necessarily reduce time expenditures.

Of the forty older farm women in this study, 38 (95%) stated that they have seen their standards in housework rise since the first five years of their marriage. New machines make higher standards possible, and some even require maintenance or cleaning that was never required before:

We used to have that old cook stove (wood burning) and it was black on top and when something spilled over, you never had to worry about wiping it right up 'cause it just didn't show. Now look at that stove over there (points to an electric range). It's white and every time some little thing spits or boils over you gotta wipe it right up or it looks awful. You never used to do that.

The task of washing clothes is another task mentioned often as one for which standards have risen. Families have more clothes and wear them for shorter periods of time before they get washed. Perhaps these rising standards help to explain why time expenditures have not always diminished in cases where the work has become easier and even in some of those cases where women estimate that they do less work than previously. The issue of rising standards in the performance of housework activities has been well documented for urban areas. It appears that over the last 2 to 4 decades farm women have also seen standards rise in the performance of domestic labour.

The 'professionalization' of child care noted as an urban pattern which changed notions about the 'proper' care which children require was also noted by a few (18%) of the farm women in this study.

We started our day around 5:30 in the morning and I would get up and go down to help with the milking and the kids would still be in bed. You never thought much of leaving them alone while they were sleeping back then. Girls wouldn't do it now - they'd think we were terrible mothers, but we didn't think twice about it then. I'd usually come up during the milking to see if they were awake and if they weren't, I'd go back down and finish up. If they were awake, I'd wrap them up and bring them down to the barn with me - sit them in a manger until I was finished with the chores. Girls don't do that now though.

Another woman echoes similar opinions on the change in attitude around child care:

I know the younger women, if they have young children, they won't take them with them when they go out (to the barn). They won't do that. I see it. Even if they have one child they have to get a babysitter for every little thing. We used to take our children down to the barn with us. I feel the children now are taken care of so much with no hardships to put up with - it's too easy. Everything is coming too easy. I see it with my own grandchildren.

While these changing ideas about child care have come too late to effect the older women's work, for their children are grown, the rising standards around child care will certainly effect the work of the present and future generations of younger farm women.

Most of the discussion on the changing nature of housework in farm homes thus far has been focused on outlining the way in which rural housework is becoming increasingly like its urban counterpart. There are however, a few specific tasks which remain different in farm homes from the same task as it is performed in most urban homes. These need mention here.

Shopping for clothing and food are tasks which remain

different on farms due to the distance from stores. Certainly, roads have been improved and trips to town are more frequent than in the past. However, travelling up to 20 miles to purchase goods is quantitatively and qualitatively different from the trip to a nearby corner store for most urbanites. Cleaning, washing and cooking also remain different in most farm homes, primarily in the sense of amount. While standards vary from home to home, the nature of farming continues to keep these tasks somewhat different than they are in urban homes.

Cleaning the house was noted by most older women as a more difficult chore in farm homes due to the continual 'bringing in' of dirt, and bits of straw, hay or chop in one's clothing. Washing of more dirty clothing was also noted as constituting a difference between farm homes and urban homes. Comments such as the following were common throughout the interviews.² They illustrate the point that the nature of farming as an occupation influences the nature/extent of housework in farm homes:

A woman in town has no idea how hard it is to keep a farm home clean when your husband comes in and takes his boots off after he's been working with straw, or in the chaff or in the haylage and he walks in on the rug there. And the washing - the amount of washing. He gets his clothes so dirty - those clothes he wore today sorting the cattle - they look like he was right down rolling around in the mud. I had to take 3 pails of water outside and sweep them down and rinse them off before I would even think of putting them in the machine. And when he is in the dirt and in the spring when the dust is so bad, the bedding gets so dirty. We shower every day and still can't keep ahead of it.

We are always tracking in bits of straw or something after us and the mud this past year has been out of this world. And I had hardwood floors in here until a year ago and the dirt just kept the finish

ground off of it all the time. I could be cleaning it all the time and never be able to keep it looking good.

(Women in town) don't have these stinky, smelly clothes coming in and for another thing, like here now (pointing to the living room) they could have a nice new chesterfield, and it wouldn't get dirty but we have to go into leather or vinyl because there's no way you're going to ask your husband to change his clothes every time he walks in the door. They do wear overalls, but it's still really hard to keep things clean.

Finally, cooking for some, if not most, farm women, remains different than the same task in urban homes. Larger families, the occasional³ presence of hired help, the value placed on (nutritious) meals, and the combination of housework with farm work serves to make cooking different for farm women.

I have to cook here for extra men, but that only happens for a few brief periods in the year - say, for two weeks in haying and a few weeks in corn or something like that. But that certainly adds work at night time. I have to make sure there is something around to cook and you can't feed hired help just leftovers. Sometimes I get it all ready in the morning before I go to work.

The problem I find when things are busy is to keep enough things in that cupboard that when I come off the swather at the same time as my husband is shutting down some other machine - we come in the house and I hustle and am washed, have the stove on and we sit down to eat ten minutes later. Now he might pick up the paper and read and I always think the woman gets the raw end of the deal because he can slip away for a few minutes and rest and I have to clean up....

C. Household Production

It has been contended that farm women continue to perform a range of domestic production activities which have been discontinued by most urban women. However, it was anticipated

that the data from this research would indicate a process of decline in these activities over the last 2 to 4 decades. While the data collection focused primarily on who does what rather than who does how much of each activity, there are certain indicators from this research to support the hypothesis outlined above. Some of the evidence cited below suggests a process of change (decline) over time for the older women, while other data suggest this process of decline to be greater or further advanced for the 20 younger women in this study.

Nine specific tasks which fall within the range of household production have been selected from the 74 tasks included in the research. Table No. 1 below, presents the findings of this study with respect to these tasks.

There are four of these 9 tasks which show relatively little change over the last two to four decades in the proportion of farms on which they are performed. Sewing, baking, canning/preserving and gardening continue to be performed on the greatest majority of the 40 farms by the older women. Data for the other five tasks however, indicate a decline in task performance.

Pasteurizing milk for family consumption,⁶ home butchering,⁷ keeping poultry, marketing eggs⁸ and orchard work are all done on significantly fewer farms now than in the past. Evidence of decline in the performance of these tasks holds for the 40 farms on which the older women reside indicating a decline over the last 2 to 4 decades. The three tasks of home butchering, keeping poultry and marketing eggs show that, within

Table No. 1 Household Production

TASK	<u>PAST</u>				<u>PRESENT</u>							
					Older Women				Younger Women			
	Farms No.	Applic- able *	Women Partic.**		Farms No.	Applic- able *	Women Partic.**		Farms No.	Applic- able *	Women Partic.**	
		%	No.	%		%	No.	%		%	No.	%
Sew	36	90	36	100	32	80	32	100	16	80	16	100
Bake	39	98	39	100	40	100	40	100	20	100	20	100
Pasteurize Milk	10	25	10	100	1	2	1	100	2	10	2	100
Can/ Preserve	40	100	40	100	40	100	40	100	17	85	17	100
Butcher	40	100	22	55	8	20	6	75	-	-	-	-
Keep Poultry	31	78	29	94	12	30	8	66	1	5	1	100
Market Eggs	21	53	21	100	3	7	3	100	-	-	-	-
Garden	40	100	40	100	39	98	39	100	18	90	18	100
Orchard	21	53	15	71	11	27	7	64	5	25	3	60

*Number and % of farms on which the task is performed.⁵

**Number and % of women who participate in the task on farms where the task is performed.

the time frame of the present, the proportion of younger households in which the tasks occur is even less than the proportion of 'older' households in which the tasks are performed. That is, fewer older women now do the tasks than they did in the past, and, proportionately, even fewer younger women than older women perform these same tasks now. Further to this contrast between younger and older women, while the older women continue to perform the two tasks of food preservation and gardening at equal or nearly equal rates respectively as in the past, the proportion of younger women engaged in each of these activities is slightly lower. Proportionately fewer younger women than older women engage in the domestic production tasks of gardening and canning/preserving at the present time.

A more detailed study would be needed to determine whether any change in the amount of these goods being produced has occurred. There is no way to determine from the present data, whether any of the 60 women now do more or less of the tasks than in the past. However, the data do indicate that proportionately fewer older women do five of these tasks now than in the past and that three of those 5 tasks are now done by even fewer younger women.

Given that the proportion of women who no longer engage in these household production activities is relatively small, it appears that the decline is neither radical nor all-encompassing. However, it can be concluded that a decline in the domestic production of household goods is apparent over time and for a sub-group of these tasks, the process of decline is further

advanced within the sample category of younger farm women in this study.

D. Division of Household Labour by Sex

Farm women have traditionally carried a double work load. They participated in both farm work and housework. Increasing numbers of farm women are entering the paid labour force but it is expected that the division of housework by sex will have remained relatively stable. It is hypothesized that farm women will continue to assume the major responsibility for housework tasks as has been the case for urban households.

1) Overview: Women and Housework. Table 2 (Appendix C) presents an overview of the participation of the 60 farm women in the 23 housework tasks covered by this research. Setting aside for a moment the bottom 8 tasks involving child care, it is apparent that farm women continue to assume the major responsibility for household labour. For all fifteen of these tasks, well over 50% of the women perform the activity without help from anyone.

The 'sharing' distinction will be retained for housework.⁹ For the majority of tasks there are a few women who are noted as sharing the major responsibility with another person but this percentage ranges only as high as 15% of all women (in the task of shopping for food). Thus, at the most, 15% of the women share some of the tasks. For the majority of housework activities, women remain responsible for the planning, initiation, and completion of the tasks.

There is a fairly wide range in the number of women who receive help from another person - typically from children for the older women, and at a much lower rate, from some husbands. Pasteurizing milk is a task done exclusive of any help by the 3 women on farms where the task is performed. At the highest level, 26 (43%) women receive help with the task of cooking. The tasks of laundry, ironing, sewing, and mending are the tasks with which very few women receive help.

For five tasks (cleaning up after meals, dishes, sewing, vacuuming, and canning/preserving) there are a minority of cases where someone other than the farm wife assumes the primary responsibility, leaving the women to participate only at the level of helping. The proportion of cases ranges only as high as 5% in the task of doing dishes. The proportion drops for the other four tasks: cleaning up after meals (2%) sewing (4%) vacuuming (3%) and canning/preserving (2%).

Finally, there are five tasks in which a number of farm women do not participate at all (on the farms where the tasks are performed). Vacuuming is the task with the highest non-participation rate where 7% of the women are not represented at any level of task performance. The proportion drops for shopping (3%), laundry (2%), scrubbing (2%) and sewing (2%). It ought to be noted here that one woman is prevented from performing the first three of these last four tasks due to a physical disability.

Child Care: In the bottom 8 tasks included in the range of

child care activities, the picture is slightly different. Women are less overwhelmingly represented in the 'exclusive' column meaning that more help is received (at both levels of sharing and helping) with child care tasks than most other housework activities. For example, the task of disciplining children is done on 35 farms but only four (11%) women do this task exclusively. Similarly, on the 24 farms where children are played with, only 3 (12%) women perform this task alone, while most women receive help from or share the task with another person (typically, husbands).

At the level of sharing, substantial proportions of women share the responsibility for most child care activities. Disciplining children is the most highly represented task in this column where 18 (51%) women share the task, usually with their spouse. Playing with children also ranks high on this dimension where 12 (50%) women share the task, again, typically with their spouse. Having children 'tag along' after a parent (Child Tags-Adult) ranks third in this column with 12 (43%) women sharing.

At the level of receiving help with tasks, child care, like other housework activities, appears to involve a fairly wide variation. Only two (7%) women receive help with having a child tag along behind, while 12 (50%) women receive help from someone for minding children on the 24 farms where the task occurs.

Two women are noted as helping with the tasks of playing

with children and disciplining. One woman does not participate at all in each of the three tasks of minding children, disciplining, and having a child tag along behind.¹⁰

In terms of the overall range of housework activities, it is clear that the majority of farm women in this study assume the major portion of work. This is congruent with the central hypothesis for this section - women continue to be responsible for domestic labour.

2) The Participation of Husbands in Housework. Chart No. 3 (Appendix C) graphically represents the participation of the 60 farm husbands in housework activities. Involvement at both levels of 'sharing' and 'helping' are included here. There were only two tasks of the 23 covered in this study for which any number of men, alone, assumed the primary responsibility. Four husbands play with children exclusively, receiving help from no other persons. These four men represent 17% of the husbands from the 24 farms on which this particular task occurs. Disciplining children was the only other task in this situation, where 13 (37%) men do the task without help from anyone else on the 35 farms where children are still sufficiently young to need such attention.¹¹ No husbands, alone, assume the primary responsibility for any other housework tasks.¹²

The discussion of husband's participation in housework will be less detailed than that for women. There are a number of general points to note about these data. Again, setting

aside the child care activities, the first point to be made is that relatively few men are found to be active at either level of 'sharing' or 'helping'. Second, a greater proportion of men are found represented at the helping level rather than the 'doing' level of task performance in 14 of the 15 housework activities in question. Less than 4% of all 60 men are found sharing any of these 14 tasks. Grocery shopping is the only task where greater proportions of men participate at the sharing rather than helping level.

The proportion of men who help with each of these tasks is only slightly higher than those who share, ranging from 3% (washing, scrubbing) to 13% (shopping for clothes). No men are represented at either level in the five tasks of baking, pasteurizing milk for family use, ironing, sewing and mending.

It is concluded that the participation of husbands in housework is relatively minimal and where husbands do participate, it is most often in the role of helper rather than in the role of sharing the primary responsibility for the task.

Throughout the range of child care tasks, a greater proportion of men are found to be active. The data indicate four tasks for which a greater proportion of men are found to share, rather than to help (play with children, help children with homework, disciplining, and having children tag along behind). For these four tasks, a greater degree of sharing by men is found than in any of the other housework tasks. At the level of sharing primary responsibility, the range in men's participation is from 6% (feeding and bathing infants) to 63%

(discipline). At the helping level, four tasks show more men helping than sharing (feeding infants, bathing infants, minding children, reading to children) with a range in this participation from 18% (bathing infants) to 42% (minding children).

It is concluded that when men are found to participate in housework activities it is most likely to be in the tasks associated with child care. The range in participation by men in child care activities at the combined levels of sharing plus helping is from a low of 13% for feeding infants to a high of 88% for the task of disciplining children.

It should be pointed out here that of the men represented in child care tasks, a greater proportion of these will be younger men. In this sample there are more younger men who have children young enough to require the performance of most of these tasks.

3) The Influence of Age:¹³ The Participation in Housework by 'Older' versus 'Younger' Men.¹⁴ Analyses were performed in order to determine the extent of difference in the present participation in housework between the two sample divisions of older and younger farm husbands. The distinction between sharing in the major responsibility for the tasks performance and simply helping with a task is maintained throughout this analysis. The involvement of men in housework at the sharing level will be discussed first.

Table No. 4 (Appendix C) presents the number and percentages of men who participate at the level of sharing in the

23 housework activities covered in this research. Two patterns become clear upon examination of these data. First, the range of tasks in which any of the older men is represented, is much smaller than that for younger men. There are 14 tasks (cooking, cleaning up after meals, dishes, baking, pasteurizing milk, ironing, sewing, vacuuming, mending, straightening the house, canning/preserving), for which none of the 40 older men share a primary responsibility. The equivalent for younger men is 9 tasks (baking, pasteurizing milk, ironing, sewing, mending, vacuuming, scrubbing, straightening, canning/preserving). This difference can be explained in 2 tasks by the absence of the tasks being performed in the households of the older men (feeding infants, bathing infants).

Second, the percentage of younger men who share in household tasks is consistently higher for the 15 'non-child care' tasks than the percentage of older men represented. The pattern is less consistent for the range of child care activities where older men appear in greater proportion in four of six tasks which are performed in any of the 40 'older' households. The numbers of men are relatively small, however, and caution must be exercised in interpreting these data.

Overall, at the level of sharing household responsibilities, younger men are represented in greater proportions and for a wider range of tasks. The pattern is less consistent within the 8 tasks dealing with child care.

At the helping level, the same patterns hold and, in fact, the difference between older and younger men is much

greater. Table No. 5 (Appendix C) presents the evidence from this study on men helping with housework by 'age.'

Older men are found to help with only 6 (cooking, dishes, shopping for food, shopping for clothes, straightening the house, and disciplining of children) of the 23 tasks studied. On the other hand, younger men are found represented in 17 tasks.

In terms of the proportion of men noted, in all but one task (shopping for food where the proportions are equal) the percentage of young men represented is far greater than the percentage of older men.

Overall, younger men are found to help with a greater range of housework activities and they are represented in greater proportions than older men in 16 of the 17 tasks with which they help.

4) The Variable of Farm Size: Women and Housework. The central hypothesis of this research is that the changing nature of agricultural production will influence farm women's role in farm work. Because it is assumed that larger farms will be industrialized to a greater extent than small farms, it is further anticipated that the influence of the industrialization of farming will have a more marked effect on the work of women from large farms. As will be outlined in the following chapter, farm size is proven by this research to be an important determinant of women's role in farm work. One might therefore

question whether the farm size variable will in any way alter women's housework or the sexual division of domestic labour.

Given that there are only 24 hours in a day, it is reasonable to suggest that women's increased or decreased participation in farm work may influence the performance of women's work in other areas. Data from the analysis of the farm size variable in its relation to women's performance of housework are presented in Table No. 8 (Appendix C).

Two points can be drawn from these data. First, farm size appears to have little effect on the assumption of responsibility for domestic labour by farm women. The proportions of women from each farm size group are equal or nearly equal for all 23 housework tasks. Second, the range of activities performed by the women in each sample group varies only slightly with the variation being inconsistent over the range of 23 tasks. That is, pasteurizing of milk and canning/preserving are done by more women on small farms while sewing is done by more women from large farms.

It is concluded that farm size has little or no effect on either women's assumption of responsibility for housework, or on the range of the tasks performed in farm homes. Further, the analysis of husband's participation in housework activities by farm size showed no variation.

One can reasonably question why the farm size variable is relatively meaningless for the role of women in housework when it does play a major part in determining women's farm work

involvement. How can it be that the assumption of significant amounts of additional (farm) work has little effect on the occurrence of other work activities? There can be a number of suggested reasons as to why no variation is found in this study.

First, the majority of housework tasks included in this research are not 'optional'. While they may be reorganized or compressed as other duties require, they, for the most part, must be done. Second, such reorganization may occur in many farm homes as other demands on women's time/energy change, but the nature of the data collected here does not bear on this type of change. For instance, while cooking, cleaning and so on must be done sooner or later, the data here do not cover changes in the amount or in the standards of work performance. Rather, these data only prove that when the tasks are done, it continues to be women who do them.

Historical time budget data on farm wives in the United States indicate that women's total working hours do not vary substantially with increased demands of farm work, but that a trade-off occurs. Wasson (1930) found the hours spent in homemaking to vary only 42 minutes per week despite large increases in the demands of farm work during the peak spring and summer months. Rankin (1928: 6) found the same pattern. "As already suggested, housework goes on relatively unaffected by weather and season, which stop or reduce the men's farm work at times." Arnquist and Roberts also found that total working hours remain relatively stable but that housework gets set aside

when other demands increase: They conclude:

The consistency in the average length of the work week regardless of the type of farm or season, with the exception of winter, seems to indicate that to a certain point, when the need for helping in the farm work is great, as in the spring, the time is taken from her house-keeping time. Several housekeepers said, "During the time I must attend to baby chicks...I have to let much of the housework go."

(Anquist and Roberts, 1929: 13-14)

The qualitative data from the present study strongly suggest that the farm women in this research perform the same sort of trade-off. When farm work demands are high, housework must wait. It gets done eventually, but not necessarily when or to the extent to which it otherwise would have. All but one women in this study stated that farm work comes first, that housework often has to wait until a space is free for its completion.

If (husband) is busy, I have to do all the running - go to get oil someplace for the hydraulics or some part or something, but I still got to do the cooking...(the housework) waits for me - it has to wait 'til I get home to do it because the farm work comes first.

But when a part on the machinery breaks down, I have to run and leave at a moment's notice to go and get it and it does make a difference in my work. It just has to wait 'til I get back to it.

I leave it. I go out immediately because I've always done that and if they come in and ask me for help, they don't want it in an hour from then, they want it right now....The busier the men are the busier I am because I do a lot more little chores for them. Like for example, on Monday morning....I left the house at a quarter after nine and I wasn't back in the house until five to twelve. Fortunately I had a meat loaf in the oven so I wasn't long getting a meal ready for lunch.

It appears, from the prevalence of quotes such as these throughout the present study, that a time budget study would find the same kinds of compressing and 'juggling' of tasks now that Wasson, Rankin, and Arnquist and Roberts found fifty years ago. The present data cannot bear on these potential patterns. What remains clear, however, is that the variable of farm size has little effect on either the range of tasks performed or on the assumption of primary responsibility by farm women for housework whenever it does not get done.

5. Historical Perspectives.

a) Women and Housework over time. To this point, discussion has been focused on the present division of household labour. The reader will recall that data were collected on the division of labour from the first five years of the 40 older women's marriages. This data set allows a perspective on how the range of tasks performed and the division of that work may have altered over the last 2 to 4 decades.

Table No. 9 presents the findings of this research on the older women's housework performance from the past, in contrast to the younger women's present housework participation. These two data sets are confined to roughly the same life cycle stage, both being from the first five years of marriage. Two general conclusions can be drawn from this analysis.

First, there appears a relatively small decline by the younger women in the performance of three tasks which fall

within the range of domestic production activities. These trends were outlined in more detail earlier, and need only brief review here. Pasteurizing milk was done by older women in the past on 10 (25%) farms while the same task is done by younger women on 2 (10%) farms now.¹⁵ Sewing was previously done on 36 (90%) of the 40 farms in the past while the same task is now done in 16 (80%) of the 20 'younger' households. The preservation of food was done on all 40 (100%) farms in the past while it is done on only 17 (85%) of the 20 younger women's farms now. While the decline in the proportion of farms on which these tasks are performed is relatively small, it is concluded that slightly fewer younger women are now engaged in domestic production activities than was the case for the 'older' women when they were at roughly the same life cycle stage 20 to 40 years ago.¹⁶

Second, on the farms where each of these 23 tasks was performed, women are found to assume the primary responsibility for their completion. In the sense of housework being 'women's work' little has changed over the last 20 to 40 years.

b) Husbands and Housework. The previous discussion of men's role in housework concluded that while younger men are found to participate in housework activities in slightly greater proportions than older men, the overall amount of help received from husbands remains relatively small. From the data presented in Tables No. 10 and 11 (Appendix C), it appears that the amount of help received from husbands, now, is greater than it was in the past.

Table No. 10 (Appendix C) presents the numbers and percentages of older men who shared housework activities within their first five years of marriage in contrast to the sharing of housework by younger husbands now. While the absolute numbers of men represented here are small (reflecting the relatively minimal amount of participation being discussed) the proportion of younger men is greater for 11 of the 15 tasks in which any men participate(d). The tasks of shopping for clothes and straightening the house were shared by, proportionately, slightly more men in the past. The two tasks of disciplining children and having children tag along behind were shared by significantly more men in the past. Overall, it appears that, at the level of sharing tasks, younger husbands are now assuming more responsibility for housework tasks than in the past.

Table No. 11 (Appendix C) presents the same comparison, only this time, at the level of helping with housework activities. The patterns of change at this level of task performance are less clear. Younger husbands are now represented in 17 of the 23 tasks while the older men are represented in 16 of the 23 tasks. Of the 19 tasks in which any number of men appear, 11 (58%) have slightly more younger men helping now than was the case 2 to 4 decades ago. For the remaining 8 tasks, the pattern is reversed with proportionately more men having helped in the past than younger men now.

Overall, it is concluded that in terms of the range

of housework tasks in which men participate, a very small increase has occurred over time at both levels of sharing and helping. For a small majority of tasks at both levels of task performance, a proportionately few more younger men now share and help with housework than did men in the past. The change over time in both of these contexts is small and reflects only a minimal increase in the overall participation of men in housework.

6) Farm Women's Paid Labour Force Participation and the Sexual Division of Housework. Of the 60 farm women in this sample, 15 (25%) work off of their farms in the paid labour force. Nine of the 15 positions are full-time and 6 are part-time.¹⁷ Of the fifteen women who work off the farm, 12 (80%) are younger women and 3 (20%) are older women.¹⁸ Women's participation in housework remains relatively stable despite the assumption of off farm work. That is, the majority of housework remains 'women's work' regardless of other demands on their time/energy although one cannot determine from this data whether their housework gets 'compressed' as the result of these additional demands.¹⁹

In terms of the participation of husbands in housework according to the employment status of their wives, a variation is apparent. Urban findings suggest that men's involvement in housework changes very little when their wives go out to work. The data presented in tables 12 and 13 (Appendix C)

indicate that farm husbands do take on added responsibilities when their spouses also work off of the farm.

The numbers of men in the sub-group of husbands whose wives work off the farm are very small. Caution must be exercised in viewing percentages.

Table No. 12 (Appendix C) presents the comparison of men's participation in housework activities at the level of 'sharing'. Proportions of the husbands whose wives work off the farm are higher for 9 (60%) of the 15 tasks where any men are represented. In terms of the range of activities, the pattern is reversed to a small extent with husbands of non-employed farm women being represented in 13 tasks and the other group of men being represented in 12 tasks.

Given that the total is small for the sub-group of husbands whose wives work in the paid labour force ($n=15$), the patterns noted here for the level of sharing are not striking. The differences in sharing housework tasks between the two categories are minimal and inconsistent.

At the level of helping with housework, the patterns are much stronger and consistent (See Table No. 13, Appendix C). The husbands of women who work in the paid labour force help with the housework in greater proportions and in a wider range of tasks than those men whose wives are not employed. The former group is represented in 17 tasks while the latter group is represented as helping with 13 tasks. In all of these activities the proportion of husbands whose wives are employed

is greater than for the other group of men. The difference in proportions ranges from a low of 3% in the task of shopping for food to a high of 82% difference in the task of reading to children. Again, caution must be exercised in interpreting these data given the small number of persons in the sub-group of husbands of employed women. The patterns are consistent, however, and it is concluded that the paid labour force participation of farm women appears to encourage their husbands to assume a greater part of housework tasks than husbands of women who do not work off of the farm. It should be remembered, however, that this added participation operates almost entirely at the level of helping rather than sharing. This means that women, regardless of their paid-employment status, continue to assume the primary responsibility for housework activities.

E. Conclusions

The nature of housework has changed over the last 2 to 4 decades in the farm homes covered in this study. The drudgery previously associated with domestic labour has been reduced by the application of technology in the form of machines and the acquisition of services such as hydro and running water. Rising standards of task performance in both housework and child care activities can perhaps help to explain the absence of a consistent decline in time expenditures even in those homes where the work load is perceived to have declined. For the most part, where the most modern household technology has been adopted, housework in rural homes increasingly re-

sembles the urban counterpart. The four tasks of cleaning, washing, shopping and cooking remain different in rural homes due to the distance from urban centers and/or due to the nature of farming as an occupation.

There is evidence of a decline in the performance of household production activities by the farm women. Of the 9 specific tasks studied in this range of activities, only one (baking) continues to be performed by all women in the study. Six tasks evidence a decline in the proportion of farm homes in which they occur (sewing, pasteurizing milk, home butchering, care of poultry, marketing eggs and orchard work). This decline holds over time for the 40 older women in the study as well as across generations between the younger and older women. The pattern of decline is further advanced within the younger sample group for the two tasks of gardening and canning/preserving. These tasks all continue to be done by women in the homes where they are presently performed.

The sexual division of household labour has remained relatively constant. Women remain responsible for the assumption of duties associated with housework and most women do most tasks without aid from anyone. When husbands do participate in housework it is most typically at the level of helping with rather than sharing household labour. Husbands are found to participate in greater proportions in child care tasks than in any other housework activities. Younger husbands tend to participate at slightly higher rates than older husbands with

there being evidence of a slight increase both over time (older husbands - past, versus younger husbands - present) and across generations within the present (older husbands - present, versus younger husbands - present). The latter pattern holds only at the level of helping. The variable of farm size was found to have no effect on the division of labour but it is suggested that a reorganization or compression of housework tasks is likely to occur when other demands on women's time/energy increase.

Women's entry into the paid labour force leaves farm women with the 'dual burden' of housework and paid work and may even constitute the assumption of a 'triple burden' for those women who also do farm work. More husbands were found to help with housework when their wives work off of the farm although this increase remains relatively small and exists only at the helping level. At a more general level, the assistance received from husbands for housework is minimal and the greatest majority of farm women continue to assume the primary responsibility for housework and child care activities. This finding is very similar to most recent urban data reviewed earlier.

CHAPTER IV
WOMEN AND FARM WORK

A. Introduction

The central focus of this research is to determine women's role in agricultural production as the nature of that production is altered by the forces associated with industrialization.

The urban patterns outlined earlier for the period around the turn of this century indicate industrialization to have played a crucial part in the diminishing role of urban women in production. Farming is now undergoing similar transformations. It is expected that farm women will evidence a decline in agricultural production in a manner similar to their urban counterparts fifty or more years ago.

Four forces associated with advancing industrialization have been suggested as most important in this process of decline. a) Increasing production scale as a pattern in contemporary farming is well-documented b) as farms increase in size, machinery is substituted for labour. Machinery allows the covering of more ground in less time and serves to permit further increases in production scale c) as mechanization and the purchase of additional land require capital input, there occurs a concomitant trend to rely more heavily on capital (rather than labour) inputs into the production process.

Increasing reliance on farm credit has been equally well-documented as a more recent trend in Canadian agriculture d) Farms have become specialized in two senses. First, the concentration of efforts into one of two enterprises and the 'phasing out' of less profitable endeavours has left the traditional mixed farm of 50 years ago almost non-existent. Second, the increasing availability of scientific and technological innovation has required the farmer to become a specialist in the application of modernized farming practices. For example, greater availability of chemical fertilizers, pesticides hybrid seeds, and larger, more complex machinery have all demanded that the contemporary farmer continually adopt new methods in his farming operation.

It is hypothesized that all of these patterns in contemporary agriculture will work together in such a way as to result in a decline in women's role in production on family farms. A reduction in labour requirements will lead to a decreased need for women's help with farm work. Without the knowledge and familiarity with the day to day operation of the family farm that one maintains through active and frequent participation, it is expected that farm women will become less able to perform many farm work tasks on the (less frequent) occasions where her input may be needed. These two trends will work together in such a way as to also reduce the need for her to learn about the newer practices being adopted. This is not to say that farm women are not able to learn, but

rather, that there will be a decrease in the demand for her to do so.

It is expected that comparison of the role of farm women in agriculture over time will reveal a decline in that role, particularly in the tasks which are most highly mechanized or specialized. Because part of this anticipated decline could be attributed to the effects of aging and life cycle changes, a control group has been included in the research design. Data from this group of 20 younger farm (women who will be at a roughly equivalent age and life cycle stage as the women were in the past), compared to the data from the past will help to explore and/or eliminate the influence of those intervening variables. If a decline is still apparent, it is more likely to have been the result of changes in farm methods due to advancing industrialization.

To further test the role played by changes in production itself, the sample is stratified by farm size, used here as an indicator of the level of industrialization. It is expected that the farm women from the larger, more industrialized farms will evidence a more marked decline in their role in agricultural production than the women from the smaller farms. If this hypothesis is accurate, the relationship between changes in farming and changes in women's role will be more firmly established.

B. Historical Perspectives: Overview of Women's Role in Farm Work in the Past

The forty older women in this sample provided information on their participation in farm work from 20 to 40 years ago.

The data were confined to the first five years of each women's marriage. The major acceleration of changes associated with the industrialization of agricultural production has occurred in the post World War II period. Most of these data from the past will, therefore, be confined to a period prior to or at the very beginnings of that escalation process. This information will indicate the rates of farm work performance by women in the past and provide a comparative data set for the information collected on women's present participation in farm work tasks.

Table No. 1 (Appendix D) presents an overview of these data from the past. The data are divided by the level of participation in farm work into columns representing the number and percentage of women who 'did' farm work, and those who 'helped' with farm work. The final columns represent 'combined' data which includes the numbers and percentages of women who participated in farm work at either level.

A number of facts and patterns can be drawn from the data on Table No. 1 (Appendix D). First, at the 'doing' level the proportion of women appearing varies by type of task. The four tasks associated with milking (get cows from pasture, milk, clean milking equipment and feed calves) show relatively high rates of participation at the 'doing' level. The second cluster of tasks in which the proportion of women represented is high is the range of 'farm accounts' tasks at the bottom of the table (particularly, herd records, writing letters, phoning, financial records, and running errands for farm

business purposes. In all of these activities many women assumed a primary responsibility for the task's performance.

The tasks for which women's participation at the doing level was consistently low in the past are the field work and business transaction tasks (plowing, cultivating, discing, harrowing, driving tractors in general, fertilizing, marketing and buying cattle, buying feed, selling surplus feed) and the task of machinery maintenance. For these tasks few women in the past assumed a primary responsibility.

At the helping level of participation in farm work, the patterns are very different. First, in general, the proportion of farm women represented as having helped with farm tasks is much higher for the majority of activities than the proportion of women who assumed the more central role of 'doer'. Second, the tasks with which the fewest women helped are frequently those noted as also having few women represented at the doing level. Thus, breeding, operating the harvester, combining, threshing, seeding, fertilizing, marketing cattle, buying cattle, buying feed, buying machinery, selling surplus feed and machinery maintenance also have relatively few women represented at the helping level.¹

The final columns present the sums of all women who participated at either level in each of the 38 farm work tasks. Two general points require note here. First, the proportions of farm women involved in farm work in the past are quite high. Second, at the combined levels, the participation continues

to vary by type of task. The percentages range from zero in the 2 tasks of selling surplus feed and combining to 82% for the two tasks of milking and feeding calves and 100% for the task of cleaning the milking equipment. The percentages continue to be relatively low in the range of 'heavy' field work tasks² such as plowing and seeding and for the business transaction tasks such as buying feed and machinery.

Overall, relatively high proportions of women participated in farm work in the past. Many assumed the primary responsibility for certain types of tasks and many others participated at the helping level in nearly the full range of 38 tasks covered by this study. Women's contribution to the farm enterprise through labour inputs were extensive twenty to forty years ago.

C. Change Over Time in Women's Role in Farm Work (Older Women Only)

A comparison of the data from the past with the present work of the same 40 farm women will provide information on the ways in which farm women's farm work has altered during a period of major transition in the work itself. The reader should bear in mind, however, that the variables of aging and changing life cycle stages are also operant in this analysis. Whatever changes can be detected cannot be conclusively viewed as resulting solely from changes in farming although this variable will be in operation as well.

Table No. 2. (Appendix D) presents the data on the 40

older women's participation in farm work from the past and the same women's present participation, both at the 'doing' level. Mention should be made here of the evidence in this table which indicates changes in farming methods before going on to discuss women's participation in the work.

Data on the occurrence of 5 specific tasks provides information on both increasing specialization and the more widespread use of more recent, complex machinery. Milking used to be done on 38 (95%) of the 40 farms 20 to 40 years ago. The same task is now done on only 23 (58%) of the 40 farms belonging to 'older' farm families now. A similar decline is evident in the occurrence of two other tasks: calving used to be done on all 40 (100%) farms in the past and occurs on only 29 (73%) of those same 40 farms now. The keeping of livestock, other than that defined as the central farm enterprise, occurred on all 40 (100%) farms in the past. The present figure is only 15 (38%) farms where the task now occurs. The decline in the performance of these 3 tasks points to increasing specialization. Only 3 beef farms keep milk cows now. Calving occurs on all 20 dairy farms but on only 11 of the 20 beef farms. The keeping of other livestock in addition to the central farm enterprise has been 'phased out' on 25 (63%) of the 40 farms within the last 4 decades. As anticipated the specialization of family farms into one or two main endeavours is well-advanced for the farms in this study.

The second point to be drawn out of Table No. 2 (Appendix

D) deals with the increasing use of more modern machines in farming practices. There were 38 (95%) farms which used to harvest grain by using a threshing machine in the past. Now, there are only 5 farms (13%) which continue to use this method for grain harvests. On the other hand, the increasing use of combines, the most modern of grain harvesting equipment, is evident in that combining now occurs on 33 (87%) farms of the 38 farms where grain is grown.

Within this context of the changing nature of agricultural production, there is evidence in Table No. 2 (Appendix D) of a decreasing involvement of women in farm work activities. Setting aside for a moment the 7 bottom tasks involved in farm accounts, a decrease in the proportion of women participating at the 'doing' level is evident in 20 (65%) of the remaining 31 tasks. There are only 3 tasks for which this pattern is reversed in that breeding, harrowing, and marketing cattle are done now by a (very) slightly greater proportion of women than in the past. Eight tasks (calving, combining, plowing, cultivating, discing, fertilizing, buying cattle, and selling surplus feed) continue to be done by equivalent proportions of women, although it should be noted here that three of these (combining, plowing, and selling surplus feed) are equivalent only in the sense that no women are represented as participating in the past or now. The greatest proportionate decline in women's participation exists for the 5 tasks of cleaning milking equipment, getting cows from the pasture, milking, baling

hay and loading/unloading hay wagons. On many farms, the first two tasks and a portion of the last task will now be done by machines, almost completely eliminating the need for labour input.³

For a majority of tasks, excluding the 7 farm accounts activities, women's involvement has declined. The reader is reminded that part of the reason for this decline is simply a matter of increasing age of the women in question and not entirely the result of changing farming methods.

The 6 tasks included in the range of the farm accounts' section comprise the only type of farm activity in which there has been a consistent increase in involvement by farm women. The increasing business-orientation of farming now requires a greater amount of time and energy in the completion of these tasks. As farms get larger and farmers deal more with other agencies (i.e. fertilizer companies, seed companies etc.) there is generated a much greater amount of paper work. Keeping records on the milking herd is absolutely mandatory for dairy farmers.⁴ Keeping financial records is now performed on all 40 farms and demands substantial expenditures of time in its performance.

While some women have ceased their assumption of the primary responsibility for many farm tasks, women's participation at the 'doing' level has increased for the bookkeeping tasks covered by this study. Many farm women are assuming the primary responsibility for 'white collar farm work' tasks in

the same way that their urban counterparts assumed the majority of the white collar positions generated by the increasing bureaucratization of urban production.

At the 'helping' level of participation, the decline in the proportions of women involved in farm work is more striking. Table 3 (Appendix D) indicates that there remain greater numbers and proportions of these 40 older women 'helping with' rather than 'doing' farm work. Within this involvement, a decline is apparent. Again, setting aside the farm accounts tasks, there are proportionately fewer of the 40 older women represented as helping with 23 (74%) of the 31 farm tasks now than in the past. The amount of decline varies from a low of 3% difference (in the tasks of machinery maintenance and milking) to the greatest amount of difference in the tasks of loading/unloading bales (22% difference) harrowing (25% difference) and feeding calves (32% difference). There are three tasks (feeding livestock, marketing cattle and machinery maintenance) for which the proportionate difference is minimal due to the fact that few women helped with them in the past. In this sense, a major decline would be impossible given that the starting point for comparison (past participation) was so low to begin with.

There are two tasks for which the proportions are equivalent in that no women are represented for either time period (combining, selling surplus feed). There are only 5 tasks for which the pattern of decline does not hold. The

differences (in this opposite direction) are relatively small for seeding (2% difference) buying cattle, (2% difference) buying feed, (5% difference), buying machinery (2% difference)⁵ and the care of other livestock (15% difference).

Overall, it is concluded that a decline over time in women's involvement in farm work at the helping level has occurred within the sample group of 40 older women.

For the farm accounts tasks, the patterns of change are not consistent. For the tasks of writing letters, phoning, and running errands, women's participation has increased in the same way as was found at the doing level. For the other 4 tasks in this range (herd records, banking, paying salaries to hired help, and financial records) the proportion of women represented has declined. It should be noted here that many of the women have moved from a secondary participation rate at the 'helping' level to a primary involvement at the 'doing' level. The decline in proportions represented here, therefore, means a greater participation rather than a cessation of involvement. This type of change, from a lower to a higher degree of involvement does not occur for any of the other 31 farm tasks covered in this study.

It is concluded that the level of participation by many farm women in farm work tasks has diminished. Farm women, 20 to 40 years ago, were involved in a wider range of tasks and in greater proportions than is now the case. Women's farm work performance remains highest at the helping level although a decline in this form of involvement is also apparent.

Increasing numbers and proportions of women are now performing the range of farm accounting and paper work tasks than was the case in the past. Of the women involved in these latter activities, the majority assume a primary responsibility for the tasks' completion.

The decline which is indicated here cannot be attributed solely to changes in farming methods for aging and life cycle variables have also been operant within the time frame under study. Comparisons of the work of women in the past with the present work of a control group of younger women will help to sort out whether changing farming practices have been a determining factor in this pattern of decline.

D. Change Over Time and Across Generations: 'Older' Women (past) and Younger Women (present)

The data set collected for the 20 younger women is from a life cycle stage roughly comparable to that of the data collected from the older women in the past. The ages of the women themselves and their children will also be roughly equivalent between each of these two data sets.

If a decline over time is apparent from the level of women's participation in the past to the level of participation of the younger women now, the change is less likely attributable to aging or life cycle variables. It is hypothesized that younger women will be performing farm work tasks to a lesser extent than was the case for the older women in the past (when they were 'younger'). Tables No. 4 and 5 (Appendix D) present

the analyses of the data on farm work performance by the older women in the past and the younger women now.

Table No. 4 indicates the numbers and proportions of women doing farm work. Setting aside the seven farm accounts tasks, the data indicate that proportionately fewer younger women now do farm work than the 40 older women did in the past. This decline holds in varying degrees for 17 (55%) of the 31 tasks in question. The amount of decline varies by task with a small variation of 3% for the 7 tasks of working in the hay mow drawing wagons for harvest, cultivating, discing, harrowing, driving tractor and machinery maintenance. The tasks for which the greatest decline in women's involvement has occurred are the 4 tasks associated with milking. These tasks were done by more women in the past than any other of the 31 tasks now being examined. Milking was often seen as women's work and it is in this and associated tasks where the greatest proportionate decline has occurred. These four tasks show the younger women's participation to be less by the following proportions: getting cows from the pasture, 29%; milking, 43%, cleaning milking equipment, 50%; and feeding calves, 31%.

There are 8 tasks (26%) for which the pattern is reversed, indicating that proportionately more young women now assume a major responsibility for their performance than did the older women in the past. For all 8 of these tasks the amount of difference is consistently small: clean stables

(5%), calving (8%), breeding (7%), seeding (2%), fertilizing (2%) marketing cattle (2%), buying cattle (2%) and buying feed (5%).

Finally, there are 5 tasks for which there is no difference in the proportions of women represented between these two groups. The two tasks of inoculating and buying machinery are/were done by 5% of both groups of women. The other three tasks indicate no women to (have) be(en) involved in their performance.⁶

At the level of 'doing' farm work, a decline in women's involvement is apparent even where the effects of aging and life cycle variations have been controlled. The decline is most extensive for the tasks associated with milking - the tasks traditionally defined as most appropriate for women's involvement.

The seven farm accounts tasks also show a decline in women's participation which is contrary to the pattern of increase over time outlined for the older women above. Banking and running errands are done by more younger women now than by women in the past. The other five tasks show a decline in the proportion of younger women represented. The amount of decline for each of these 5 tasks is as follows: keeping herd records, 23%; banking, 5%; writing business letters, 5%; phoning for farm business, 10%; and keeping financial records, 19%.

While many of the older women have ceased to be involved in many farm work tasks at the doing level, most have increased

their involvement in farm accounts work. Fewer of the younger women however are participating in farm work. The range of tasks in which these younger women are represented is also smaller than that for the older women. This pattern of decline also holds for 5 of the 7 farm accounts tasks.

Table No. 5 (Appendix D) presents the same comparison at the 'helping' level of task performance. The pattern of decline is even more striking than was the case at the doing level. Proportionately fewer younger women are represented as helping with 26 (84%) of the 31 tasks now than older women who helped with each of these tasks in the past.

There are only 5 tasks for which this pattern of diminishing involvement does not hold. Three tasks evidence a reversed pattern where getting cows from the pasture, cleaning the milking equipment and caring for other livestock are now helped with by 16%, 7% and 3% more younger women respectively.⁷ The other 2 tasks are equivalent in the sense that no women from either group are represented in the tasks of combining, and selling surplus feed.

The seven farm accounts tasks indicate a mixed or non-consistent pattern. The decline outlined above holds for two tasks (banking and writing letters) while the reverse pattern holds for the other 5 (keeping herd records, paying salary, phoning, keeping financial accounts and running errands for farm business). Like the older women now, younger women appear to be represented more heavily in some of these tasks than all

other farm tasks except for those associated with milking.

It is concluded that the hypotheses concerning a decline in women's participation in farm work has been supported. Given that this pattern holds for the younger women, it is suggested that life cycle and aging effects do not play a central role in this decline. Rather, it is tentatively suggested that the lessened role of women in farm work is to a large part due to the changing nature of the work itself. That is, women's farm work involvement has decreased, during a period of radical transformation in the nature of agricultural production. Like urban women earlier, as production becomes increasingly industrialized, many of the tasks traditionally considered to fall within a sphere of female-appropriate work, become relegated to a sector where women's participation is diminished. On the other hand, as production becomes larger in scale and increasingly bureaucratized, an increase in white collar, paper work is generated. Like their urban counterparts, farm women have increased their participation in this type of work as the amount of work itself increases.

E. Women's Present Participation in Farm Work - The Variable of 'Age' and 'The Experience Rationale'

That women's participation in farm work has declined from the level at which it was 20 to 40 years ago is supported by data collected in this study. Fewer older women and proportionately fewer younger women are engaged in farm work now than previously. It was hypothesized earlier, that the older farm women could continue to perform a wider range of farm work

in greater proportion than the younger women. The rationale operating in this assumption is termed the 'experience rationale'.

Older farm women have lived through and experienced the changes associated with the industrialization of agricultural production over the last 3 decades since World War II. For these 40 older women, the changes have occurred gradually and it is suggested that they will have had both the time and opportunity to adjust their roles accordingly. For the younger women the situation will have been quite different. For the greatest majority of younger women in this study, they will have begun their careers on farms which have already been influenced by the forces of industrialization. These farms will have been much more advanced along the dimensions of mechanization, specialization and so on than was the case for any of the farms 40 years ago. The younger women will have had little chance to learn new skills or acquire the more technical knowledge now required in contemporary farming. Without the opportunity to adjust to or learn about these changes on a gradual basis, it is suggested here that the younger women will be presently involved in farm work to a lesser extent than the older women presently are. This anticipated variation ought to be most clearly evident for the tasks which are now likely to be most 'industrialized'. Tasks which are now most likely to require advanced technical knowledge, specialized skills and/or the use of more complex machinery are anticipated

to have the fewest younger women represented. It is expected that the corollary will hold for older women. It is hypothesized that the older women will be more strongly represented than younger women in this range of tasks given their added time for learning and adjusting.

Table No. 6 and 7 (Appendix D) present data on the present farm work participation of the 40 older women in contrast to the present farm work of the 20 younger women in this study. Table No. 6 which presents the numbers and proportions of women from each of these two simple groups, indicates that at the doing level, the above hypotheses are not clearly supported. At the doing level, there are very few women from either sample group represented in the majority of tasks. Particularly in the range of field work tasks and business transaction activities the numbers of women range only as high as 3. The paucity of representation here can be viewed as partial support for the influence of industrialization. The tasks where the fewest of any women in this sample appear are those which either require the greatest degree of technical knowledge or the greatest amount of skill and familiarity with the operation of complex machinery. However, the percentages suggest that older and younger women are represented in roughly equivalent proportions throughout this range of farm tasks. At the doing level, it appears, contrary to the expectations, that more older women have not maintained 'a hand' in the more industrialized farm work tasks than younger women.

Within 2 other types of tasks - those associated with milking and those associated with farm accounts - the numbers of women represented from both older and younger categories are higher. For these eleven tasks, the hypothesis concerning the 'experience rationale' is supported. Older women are represented in all 11 of these tasks in higher proportions than the younger farm women. In the tasks where women's participation was high in the past, more of the older women have maintained a portion of their previous role. Younger women have not begun to assume the primary responsibility for these tasks in proportions as high as the older women.

It is concluded that at the doing level of task performance, only partial support is found for the 'experience rationale' postulated to be operant in this analysis. The tasks which are likely to be the most industrialized are the tasks where the fewest women are represented. For these tasks the 'experience rationale' does not hold in that roughly equal (and very low) proportions of all women are found to participate at the doing level. Within the two types of tasks where women's participation was high in the past, the proportion of older women represented remain higher than the proportion of younger women.

Table No. 7 (Appendix D) indicates that these patterns are reversed at the helping level. Given that greater numbers of all women participate in farm work as helpers rather than doers, the numbers and proportions of women represented here

are generally higher and more reliable for comparisons. At the helping level, support is found for the experience rationale.

Looking only at field work and business tasks for now, there are 20 tasks which are of particular interest. Tasks number 33 through number 54 (excluding care of other livestock and driving tractor⁸) represent the range of field work tasks and business transaction tasks covered by this research. Within these 20 activities, older women are represented in 18 while younger women are represented in 11. Where older women are represented, it is in higher proportions than younger women for 13 (65%) of these 20 tasks. Younger women are not represented in greater proportions than older women for any of these tasks. There are equal proportions of women from each 'age' category for 7 (35%) tasks. Within the field work and business transaction tasks older women are represented in greater proportions and for a wider range of activities than younger women.

For the remaining barn chores, milking and farm accounts tasks, the patterns are mixed. More younger women are found to help with milking and associated tasks than older women. This is reversed from the doing level where proportionately more older than younger women were found to participate. For the farm accounts tasks, more older than younger women are found helping with 3 tasks (banking, writing letters and running farm errands) while a greater proportion of the younger women are found to help with the 4 tasks of helping herd records, paying salaries, phoning, and keeping financial records.

It is concluded that, where the numbers of women are great enough to be reliable for comparisons, the 'experience rationale' is supported. Despite the extended age of many of the older women, greater proportions of them are represented for the tasks which are likely to require the greatest degree of technical skill or specialized knowledge. These are the tasks for which the fewest women (from both 'age' categories) are represented. Within this low level of involvement, the proportions of older women are consistently higher.

It is suggested here that the 40 older women have had greater time and opportunity to adjust to or learn the skills required in the completion of these tasks. Younger women, entering a farming operation which is likely to be further industrialized than any of the 40 farms in the past will not have had a chance to gradually adapt to the newer farming methods. The quantitative data alone, however, cannot provide more detail about the ways in which this 'experience rationale' may operate. More attention will be given to this issue in the following chapter which draws heavily on the qualitative data for interpretation of these results.

F. The Variable of Farm Size

Increased production scale is an integral facet of the industrialization of any production process. Agriculture is no exception in this respect. The majority of farms in this country have expanded to include more acreage and more livestock over the last 40 years. Some, however, have increased

to a greater extent than others. Given a finite growing season, larger, more efficient machinery is typically employed to cultivate, seed, fertilize and harvest the additional acreage within seasonal limitations. The use of larger, more complex machinery normally reduces labour requirements and increases capital expenditures. Increased production scale is therefore associated with increased mechanization, increasing application of the most recent specialized technological innovations, and increasing capital (versus labour) intensity.

Farm size is used in this study as an indicator of the level or degree of advancing industrialization attained on the 60 farms in this study. It is assumed that the 30 larger farms will be further along the continuum towards the industrialization of agricultural production than the 30 smaller farms. The latter group is assumed to have a lesser need for large, complex machinery as they have, by definition, fewer acres to cover within the finite growing season.

The hypotheses for the analysis of the effects of farm size on women's work roles are as follows. First, it is expected that more women on small farms will be participating in farm work at both levels of helping and doing. Because farms are likely to be less industrialized and by definition smaller in scale, there will be a greater need for women's labour, rather than a tendency on these farms to substitute machine power for family labour. Also, the machinery is less likely to be large scale and complex and therefore more easily

handled by those women who are required to operate it on a less than regular basis.

Second it is expected that women on small farms will participate in a wider range of farm tasks. For the reasons noted above, women's participation will be required for more tasks. Alternately, women on large farms will either not be required to participate regularly because of the substitution of machines for their labour, or, the irregular need for their labour will leave them inexperienced in the handling of many of the larger, complex machines.

Third it is expected that fewer women on large farms will be participating in the range of 20 field work and business transaction tasks than women from the 30 smaller farms. Not only will the range of activities be greater for women on small farms, but the types of tasks performed by these women are more likely to extend into the range of field work and business tasks where the machinery is smaller than that used on large-scale operations, and the demand for specialized skill may be lower.⁹

The data on the present involvement of women in farm work at the doing level indicate that farm size is an important determinant of the extent to which women participate in farm work activities. Table No. 8 (Appendix D) presents the number and proportions of women who 'do' each of the 38 farm work tasks covered by this research according to the size of their farm.

Of all 38 tasks, women from large farms are represented in 21 (55%) while women from small farms are represented in 32 (84%). The proportions of women from small farms are higher than those of women from large farms for 23 (61%) of the 38 tasks. This pattern is reversed for only 6 (16%) tasks where more women from large farms do each of the tasks of milking, calving, care of other livestock, banking, paying salaries and keeping financial records. Nine (24%) tasks show equivalent proportions of women to be involved with six of these being equivalent at the level of no participation by any women (driving tractor for harvest, combining, plowing, driving tractor, selling surplus feed, and machinery maintenance).

Within the total range of farm work, at the 'doing' level of task performance, women on small farms are more highly represented in greater proportions and in a wider range of tasks than women from large farms. The hypotheses set for this analysis further stated that it was expected that the participation by women from small farms would be more likely to extend into the farm-business tasks and the field work tasks than the work of women from small farms. Within the range of 20 tasks which are most likely to involve the use of larger, more complex machinery or which require the application of specialized technical skills the hypotheses are supported.

Women from small farms are represented in 15 (75%) of these 20 tasks (bale hay, load/unload hay wagons, work in the hay mow, operate harvester, draw wagons during harvest,

threshing, cultivating, discing, harrowing, seeding, fertilizing, marketing cattle, buying cattle, buying feed, and buying machinery). While the proportions remain relatively small for all women in these tasks, the fact that women on large farms are represented in only 5 (25%) of these tasks lends support to the hypotheses outlined above.

There remain five tasks where no women are represented within the 20 tasks in question here. One additional task (draw wagons for harvest) has equal proportions of women from each farm size category represented. For all of the remaining 14 (70%) tasks, the proportions of women from small farms are greater than those of the women from large farms. There are no tasks for which this pattern is reversed.

At the 'doing' level of participation in farm work, the hypotheses established for the effects of farm size on women's performance of farm tasks are supported. Women from small farms are represented in greater proportions than women from large farms for a majority of the 38 tasks covered here. The women on small farms are also represented in a wider range of these 38 tasks. Within the 20 tasks which are likely to be industrialized to a greater extent on large farms, the patterns of participation by farm size are even more striking. Women on small farms are represented in greater proportions for 70% of these 20 tasks and are also represented in a greater range of these activities than their counterparts from large farms.

Table No. 9 (Appendix D) indicates that all of these hypotheses are also supported at the 'helping' level of participation in farm work. Of all 38 tasks, women from small farms are represented in 33 (87%) while women from large farms are represented in 29 (76%). There are 20 tasks (53%) for which the proportions of women from small farms are greater than those of the women from large farms who help with any of these tasks. This pattern is reversed for 11 (29%) tasks (getting cows from pasture, milking, cleaning milking equipment, driving tractors for harvest, cultivating, discing, keeping herd records, banking, paying salary, writing farm business letters, and running errands). The remaining 7 (18%) tasks have equivalent proportions of women from each farm-size group represented. Three of these (combining, threshing and selling surplus feed) remain equivalent at the non-participation level where no women from either group help with these 3 tasks.

Within the range of 20 tasks which are most likely to be the furthest of industrialized tasks on larger farms, this pattern of greater participation by women from the smaller farms holds for the 10 (50%) tasks of baling hay, loading/unloading hay wagons, working in the hay mow, plowing, seeding, fertilizing, marketing cattle, buying feed, buying machinery and machinery maintenance. There are only 3 tasks (15%) where this pattern is reversed (driving tractor for harvest, cultivating and discing) and 7 tasks (35%) were equivalent proportions of women from each of the 2 farm size sample

divisions are represented.

In terms of the range of tasks with which women help within this sub group of 20 activities, women from small farms are represented in 17 (85%) tasks while women from large farms are represented in 14 (70%).

Overall, it is concluded that the hypotheses for women's participation in farm work by farm size are supported for both the 'doing' and 'helping' levels of task performance. Women from small farms are represented in greater proportions than women from large farms in a majority of tasks. They also participate in a wider range of the 38 farm work activities covered by this research than women from the larger farms. These findings also hold for the sub-group of 20 tasks which are likely to be the furthest advanced in the industrialization process, particularly on the larger farms. On smaller farms where labour requirements are likely to remain higher, and where machinery will be smaller and less complex, women participate in greater proportions and in a wider range of these 20 tasks. On the other hand, on large farms where larger and more complex machinery will have replaced the labour requirements to a greater extent, women from these large farms participate in fewest of these 20 tasks, and at lower rates.

The decline in involvement in farm work at both levels of doing and helping with farm tasks is furthest advanced for the women on large farms. In support of a central hypothesis of this research, women, from farms where industrialization

is further advanced, participate at the lowest rates and in a much smaller range of tasks than women from farms where industrialization will be least-advanced.¹⁰

G. Conclusions

It was hypothesized that women's role in agricultural production would decline during a period in which industrialization radically altered the nature of that production process. Historically, farm women assumed a central role in farm work activities. They were traditionally responsible for the performance of tasks such as milking, and poultry and egg production, as well as being responsible for helping with the full range of other farm work tasks as required.

The majority of the forty older women in this sample during the early years of their marriages participated in most farm work tasks, assuming the primary responsibility for selected tasks within the total range of farm work activities. Many of these same women now participate less in farm work tasks and are represented in a smaller range of activities. The older women are now found to participate more as 'helpers' rather than 'doers' except in the range of farm accounts tasks where most women who participate do so at the level of assuming the primary responsibility for the tasks' performance. Given the extended age of some of these women, part of the decline may have been primarily the result of aging effects rather than changes in the work itself.

In order to control for the variables of aging and

life cycle difference a control group of 20 younger women were included in this study. These women are found to participate at roughly equivalent rates of 'doing' farm work as the older women now. While, in general, they 'help with' more than 'do' farm work, they are found to participate less at the level of helping with farm work than the older women. This finding suggests that the older women have been able to 'keep a hand in' farming (despite the effects of industrialization and aging) to a greater extent than the younger women who have more recently begun their careers as farm wives. It is suggested that the older women's opportunity to adjust to the changes in farming methods and their greater time span in which to learn more gradually about new production techniques have enabled them to retain portions of their previous involvement. On the whole, younger women now participate in smaller proportions and in a smaller range of farm work tasks than women in the past. These younger women also help less with farm work than the older women now. Support for the 'experience rationale' is, therefore, indicated.

The variable of farm size is found to play an important part in determining the extent to which farm women are involved in agricultural production. Larger farms are further industrialized in the sense of using more, larger, and more complex machinery. The greater substitution of machines for family labour on the larger farms leads to a greater emphasis on capital

inputs into the production process. The more prevalent application of recent technological and scientific innovations also creates a heightened demand for technical knowledge and specialized skills on the part of those persons now engaged in farm work.

Fewer women on large farms are found to participate in farm work than on small farms and the range of tasks in which these women are represented is also smaller than the range of tasks for which women on small farms are represented. These patterns also hold for the range of tasks which are likely to be most mechanized and specialized on the larger farms. All of these trends hold for both doing and helping levels of task performance.

On farms where the industrialization of agricultural production is likely to be advanced the furthest, women's participation in farm work is lowest. Within the total range of the 38 tasks covered by the research, the proportions of women found to participate (at both 'doing' and 'helping' levels) are the smallest for those tasks which are likely to be the most mechanized and/or specialized. Therefore, while a general decline over time is apparent in women's role in agricultural production, that decline is most apparent on farms and in tasks where industrialization is most advanced.

It is concluded that the industrialization of agricultural production has lead to a decline in the role of farm women in that production process. The decline in the role of

farm women in agricultural production is similar to the decline in involvement of urban women in economic production several decades earlier. Also, like their urban sisters, farm women are increasing their performance of 'white collar' farm work as increasing amounts of that work are generated by larger scale and bureaucratized production processes.

The quantitative data presented here cannot detail the precise ways in which industrialization, in its many forms, has altered women's role in agricultural production. Further exploration of the effects of the four specific forces commonly subsumed under the general term of 'industrialization' will be presented in the following chapter. The qualitative data gathered from the 60 women in this sample will aid in the process of further understanding how industrialization has led to a declining role of farm women in agricultural production.

CHAPTER V

QUALITATIVE DATA AND INTERPRETATION

A. Introduction

The quantitative data presented in the preceding chapter point strongly to the conclusion that the majority of the hypotheses generated for this research are accurate. Farm women's participation in farm work has declined over the last two to four decades, with that decline furthest advanced within the range of tasks which are most highly industrialized. The variations in women's involvement in farm work by 'age' and by farm size indicate that the pattern of decline is further advanced for younger women, and for women from large (and therefore more industrialized) farms.

Industrialization, however, is a general term which includes a number of separate dimensions. For the purposes of this research, it has been defined to include the four specific patterns of increased production scale, increasing mechanization, advancing specialization and the shift from labour to capital intensity. It appears from the quantitative findings that where industrialization is furthest advanced, the fewest women are found to be directly involved in production. Little understanding of how each of these four separate patterns operate can be gained from the quantitative data alone.

The reader will recall, however, that the research design included a second part in addition to the quantitative data

collection. The second portion of the interviews consisted of determining the attitudes and opinions of the respondents toward the changes in their own work. These discussions were recorded on audio tape and comprise a substantial corpus of qualitative data that can be utilized in the interpretation of quantitative patterns. Not only were the respondents requested to outline how their work roles had changed, but of particular relevance to the immediate discussion, they were asked about how agricultural production, itself, had changed in their own experience and further, why their own work had changed.

Portions of the interviews with the respondents will be presented throughout the following discussion. These excerpts should aid in the process of determining how the respondents themselves have experienced the changing nature of agricultural production. Their perceptions of farming and of their own role in farming will help to 'round out' the understanding of how the four separate dimensions of industrialization have functioned in the process of decline in question.¹

Qualitative data from these sixty interviews will be used in the following ways. First, excerpts will be presented to illustrate the nature of farming as it was two to four decades ago from within the perspective of the forty older farm women in this study. Second comments from the respondents will be presented to outline the roles of women in farming two to four decades ago. In accordance with the literature reviewed in the first chapter, the respondents suggested that their

involvement was not only helpful, but, for the most part, necessary and essential to the success of the small, family farm enterprise.

Of the 40 farms belonging to the older women in this sample, almost all began as the stereotypic 'small mixed family farm'. Only 7 (17%) farms could have been considered 'large' relative to that time period, twenty to forty years ago in that they were larger than 20 acres. Typically, the farms under study, began at 100 to 150 acres in size with 3 of them being less than 100 acres.

Seven women made reference to the fact that large farms are a relatively recent phenomenon. Quotes such as the following suggest that, in the past, farmers could expect to support a family on a small farm:

The small family farm is already out now pretty well. The small 100 acre - you used to be able to start out on just a 100 acres. It's not possible now. I don't think you could support a family on a hundred acres. You just can't do it, whereas, in the past, that's how everybody started out and they could do it then.

Mixed farming used to be the norm in that 39 (98%) of the 40 farms were involved in two or more major farm enterprises. Specifically, 4 (10%) farms kept two types of livestock, 13 (33%) farms kept three types, while 22 (55%) farms had 4 or more types of livestock. Most typically, the 40 farms began with 5 to 15 milk cows, 10 to 20 beef cattle, 3 to 10 sows with litters, and 90% of them also had 50 to 150 chickens (hens and/or roosters). In addition, all of these enterprises involving various forms of livestock cultivated at least two or

three types of field crops, most often pasture plus hay, and grain crops of sufficient quantity to support whatever livestock was owned. Only one farm was specialized in the sense of being involved in a single form of livestock production.

The increasing specialization of farming in the last few decades was mentioned by many older women. They talked about the pressure to specialize for the sake of increased profits whereas the keeping of several types of livestock in the past was part of what made the small family farm a viable economic unit:

It used to be that everybody had a bit of everything. Now you usually just raise one thing - you're either beef or you're dairy or you're hog - you don't have the variety and the self sustained business right on your own farm where we used to have a bit of everything. That was a family farm to me where farming the other way is - well - a business.

Farms just aren't like they used to be, and if it is, they have another (off-farm) job because they would have no standard of living whatsoever. When you had a few pigs and a few chickens and milked a couple of cows and got your cream check and egg check and that bought everything that you needed plus the odd bit of clothing that you needed and you still had some left over to pay the taxes. But those days are gone.

The machinery on these small farms, if any, was small and relatively simple by today's standards. Nine farms (23%) used horses rather than tractors to do the work. Twenty-eight farms (70%) used binders and threshing machines to harvest their grain crop while, in comparison, only five (12%) still use this form of equipment for the task. The nature of the work and, to a great extent, the nature of the machinery (where used),

required the labour of many persons. Nine women referred to this aspect of farming in the past in suggesting that many more hands were required to do the farm (outside) work:

...moving from hayloaders to bailers and elevators to put it up in the mow. The machines do it and so you don't have to have extra help. Cutting wood - you've got chain saws now whereas it used to be - bring it up in a pile from the bush and buzz it and it'd take, five, six, seven men maybe two or three days, and threshing was the same.

We always figured on the help of 16 or 18 men to get our corn off and now our 3 men can do it all by themselves and fill 5 barns - it used to take 16 or 18 to fill just one.

Many, if not all, farm activities in the past required many hands for their completion. As production was labour intensive and relatively unmechanized, the work required substantial physical exertion. Seventeen (43%) respondents noted that farm work several decades ago meant hard physical labour:

We used to milk by hand and now we have the pipeline and don't have to carry the milk. Then of course, the harvesting has changed too. You don't have to stook the grain and you used to have to - when it was a wet year - take it and throw it apart and dry it and put the hay on piles and now we don't have to do any of that. The machinery has made it easier. Years ago you used to have to walk behind the horses in harrowing and I used to get pretty tired walking behind the harrow all day but now, you can just sit on the tractor all day....

The stables, I would clean them out with a fork and a wheel barrow - that was hard work where now, all you have to do is push a button with the stable cleaner. There's no strenuous work to it at all. The same with the silo unloader - you press the button and let the thing fill up and feed it that way. Before you had to fork it all out of the silo by hand.

The nature of farm work twenty to forty years ago was

far different from what it is on most farms today. Several themes surfaced frequently in the interviews concerning the typical family farm in the past and the work that was required. Farms were small and mixed. The machinery was small and simple and most farm tasks remained labour intensive. Many people were required to complete the tasks and the work involved was often, physically strenuous.

2) Women's Role in Agricultural Production in the Past. The labour intensity of farm work twenty to forty years ago meant that many hands were required to do the tasks necessary in the day to day operation of the family farm. While some farms did possess a few of the earliest farm machines such as binders and threshers, the demand for labour remained heavy even with their use. In this type of labour intensive production, the work of farm women was evidently needed, and often essential to the successful operation of the family enterprise.³ Eight respondents noted that their contribution to the family farm was required to a greater extent in the past than is the work of women now.

Oh, there used to be a lot of women who really helped with the harvesting and everything. Not a whole lot now, but years ago, there used to be a lot of women who went out and did that work. They had to - who else was there to do it - to help when they needed help?

I certainly had to do more then than I am doing now because I used to have to go out and milk by hand and help outside with the farm work. We didn't have all these automatic things then. Now we have milking machines and pipeline milking

and stable cleaners and things that one man can do by himself. Back then all of those things took the two of us to do and it needed me out there helping. Now he (husband) can run those machines - that equipment by himself and I don't have to go out near as much now.

There seemed to be more work for me to do then. I done my housework at night and I worked in the fields during the day. I had all the chores to do too and so I took the children to the barn with me and did what had to be done there.

Along with the fact that women's labour was generally needed more when the work was still highly labour intensive, there were certain farm tasks which were clearly considered 'women's work'. That is, activities which were consistently assigned to the farm woman as her tasks exclusively.

The caring for poultry was most frequently assigned to women. Ninety percent of the 40 farms kept poultry in the past and over 80 percent of the farm wives looked after gathering, cleaning, and grading the eggs. Milking was, similarly, a task seen as most appropriately women's work where 31 women (82%) out of the 38 farms where the task was done, were consistently involved in this task. Similarly, separating the cream from the milk, for sale, was seen as women's work where all 38 women were assigned this task as well as cleaning the separating equipment after its use. Feeding the calves was also most often a task done by the farm wife where 82 percent of the women are represented as having participated in this activity. Twelve women noted these types of tasks as most appropriately women's work:

I had all those hens to look after every day and ducks too, and then in the fall I'd have maybe a 100 ducks and a bunch of roosters to kill and that was a big job.

When we first started out we didn't have as much livestock but we didn't have near the equipment (we have now) so therefore I spent a lot of time - and we had a lot more chores like, small chores, like feeding chickens and feeding pigs and feeding cattle and little calves which were all good jobs for women to do and so I did a lot of those. Now, all we have is beef cattle and they are all fed by the feed truck and it is loaded by a loader...to do those things...so I don't have to do those things any more.

Four respondents also noted that the performance of many of these tasks considered to be 'women's work' provided farm women with their own money.

That's one thing about years ago when we had cows and hens, the women got the cream check and the egg check and you had your own money to handle where you don't have your own money nowadays which is different and I don't like it as well.

I think that one thing that has become a problem for farm wives over the years is farm wives have sort of felt that they are getting less independence financially. It used to be that the farm wife would have her own pin money from the eggs and the cream because that was all her work. Now they don't do those things anymore and so you sort of have to ask for every cent you get.

Typically, the tasks assigned exclusively to women were tasks done by hand, without the use of machines. Mechanization of farm production 20 to 40 years ago had not yet advanced to any significant degree. It has been noted earlier that 22% of these 40 farms used horses rather than tractors within the first five years. The machines that farm families possessed at that time were very small and relatively simple. The tractors were small and easy to manage. Farm women were often required

to use these machines on a regular basis. Little training was required in their use and none of the respondents suggested that the machinery used within the first five years of their marriage prohibited their participation in any farm work tasks.

Well, with the mechanized equipment - like, when we started on the farm we still depended on a team of horses - we had a small tractor, but we still had a team of horses that did most of the work. I didn't use the horses too much though, but I did drive the tractor - that small one we had.

The farm was much smaller scale then and that makes a difference. We didn't have any of this big machinery in those days and what we had I could run.

The need for women's labour in the daily operation of the family farm appears to have made being a farm wife a full-time occupation. Labour intensive production meant that women's involvement in farm work was necessary, and, as one woman reported above, the need for capital was minimal. Most family subsistence needs were met by the production of a wide variety of goods on the farm and the little surplus that was produced (often, by women) was usually sufficient to purchase the few goods they could not produce themselves.

The great majority of farm women in the past were farm wives by vocation. Relatively few worked off the farm. Six women (15%) had worked off of the farm prior to their marriage. Of these six, four were teachers, one was a nurse and one was a telephone operator. Three of these women continued to work off the farm when they married and two of these women still teach school now. The other three women quit their jobs when they were married to become full time farm wives. Several

women commented on the small numbers of women who continued to hold paying jobs and suggested that for those few women who had had careers prior to marriage, quitting their work seemed to be the typical thing to do.

I think at one time, not very many women did work off the farm at all and if you did, you automatically quit when you got married to help their husbands on the farm.

And there are more farm women today who work outside the farm where our generation, no one worked - I shouldn't say no one, but very few, especially farm women, worked outside the farm. If they would have worked (off farm) they would have had to hire extra help and on the small, 100 or 200 acre farms you can't afford it. There's no way we could have afforded to pay a full time hired man because there would have been nothing left for us to live on.

Summary

Women's work in agricultural production in the past was essential to the success of the small, mixed, family farm enterprise. The farm women participated directly in production and was (often) exclusively responsible for certain farm tasks. Despite the taxing physical exertion required in the performance of many farming activities, the woman's contribution was seen as not only appropriate, but necessary. There remains little doubt that the work of farm women as little as 2 to 4 decades ago, was recognized and valued for its contribution to the survival and success of the family enterprise.

C. The Nature of Contemporary Agricultural Production

The purpose of this section is to outline the changes in farming practices from the respondent's perspective. Many

comments surfaced throughout the interviews which pertained to the ways in which agricultural production has been altered over the last four decades. More specifically, comments from the respondents will be used below to illustrate the ways in which the four forces associated with industrialization have changed the nature of contemporary farming methods. Mention of these forces appear below in order of the frequency with which they surfaced during the qualitative data collection.

Mechanization, the increasing prevalence of larger and more specialized machinery was mentioned by 36 (90%) of the forty older women as a central factor in the changing nature of agricultural production. References to advancing mechanization in modern farming took three forms. First, the women noted that the machines had changed in size. The three women quoted below reflect this opinion:

The biggest change in the last twenty years has been the size of the equipment and machinery that they have. I know when I first came down here (this women is from the West), out home they were into bigger machinery out there because the size of the farms and the fields here at that time were much smaller than they were out home. But the machinery here now has changed a lot from what it was then and it's all gotten big - like it is out West.

The machines - look at how big they've got. When we first started here, all the tractors that everybody had - not just us - they were small but now - there's no comparison at all....

Well our farm has really got mechanized and all the machinery is so big and awkward. We used to have a little wee tractor here and I used to help with that one all the time, but now the machinery is so big....

The second form in which these comments concerning mechanization took shape had to do with the increasing complexity of the newer machines. Frequently linked to the larger size of the equipment, the respondents noted the accompanying complexity of the machines now available to the farmer:

You can't just go and sit down beside a cow and let your thoughts wander. You've got to know how to run that piece of equipment and you've got to keep your mind on it.

The tractors they've got now! They have so many gadgets on them - I don't know what's what any more.

It used to be that we would put our twelve year old boy on the tractor and have him pull loads around the fields. But the equipment and everything is getting so big and complex now, you really have to know what you're doing to be safe.

The third form that these comments took concerning increasing mechanization had to do with the sheer numbers of machines - that there are more and more machines designed and acquired every year.

Years ago we had a tractor and a plow and a seed drill and harvesting equipment - all simple things - things we grew up with. Now, things changing as they are, it's hard to keep up. There's always something else we need to buy. New machines, or bigger, or better.

Back when the stable had to be cleaned out with a wheel barrow and a fork, of course you couldn't keep 400 cattle, but now that can all be done with the tractor and loader. We can keep more cattle now, but the more cattle you have, or need, the more machinery you have to have to keep up with the work.

With a lot of land you have to have big machinery to get over it and accomplish - like with the amount of corn that we have this year, we had 400 acres of corn which meant that the machine he

(husband) used last year wasn't going to get it off in time so he had to invest in a self-propelled machine, and it's a good thing that he did or we wouldn't have got our corn off. It is just a vicious circle. Now I don't know about next year, whether it will be bigger yet - this year was the most corn we have ever had and it all depends on whether he can get more land.

From the respondent's perspective, increasing mechanization has progressively altered the nature of agricultural production over the last few decades. Few tasks have remained untouched by this trend and the respondents noted the ongoing mechanization of farming most frequently in reference to how the work has changed.

Increasing production scale was also noted by the majority of older women as having altered the nature of farm work in their own experience as farm wives. General references to the expanding size of family farms were made by 5 respondents. An additional 15 women linked the need to increase acreage or production scale to the 'profit orientation' which seems to now characterize farm practices.

The thing is that you need so much - you pretty well need 50 or 60 cows just to farm. And then, you need to feed all those cows and so you need way more than 100 acres to do that.

For a farmer to make a go of it, you have to get bigger and better. Now you couldn't live on six cows - you have to have more. Say you get an implement - well, it's way too costly to try and run that equipment on just a little bit more land. So you get more land and then you need more cows.

The size of the farm has got to be 100 acres now. The family farm has got to be big now to make it. Even a farm of 450 acres isn't even big enough - the output (expenditure) is so great that you just don't have enough return to cover them. It's going up to the 1000 acre mark to make it go.

The increasing scale of agricultural production has substantially altered the nature of farming practices on the family farms in this study.⁴

The third major theme frequently appearing throughout the older women's accounts of the changing nature of farming was increasing capital intensity.⁵ The profit-motive has replaced the 'way-of-life' orientation of the family farm. The increasing use of farm credit and the necessity of incurring debts were mentioned by many women in this study.

The debt for a young couple wishing to start farming is massive. While it certainly helps to be able to enter into a partnership with a parent, or to slowly take over a parent's farm, the need to invest in more and/or larger machinery and land can hardly be avoided by most. The need to invest in newer machinery and/or more land on the already established family farm also requires the use of credit although perhaps not to the same extent as for the young couple just beginning.

Comments from the respondents which referred to this increasing capital intensity occurred frequently throughout the interviews. Women saw the need for their farms to get bigger in order to maximize profits and some of these women went on to discuss the massive capital expenditures required to expand production scale:

Well, you try to buy more land so things will be a little easier so you go to the bank and borrow money. Then when your check comes in (from marketing a herd of beef cattle) you start to pay off that amount but when the money runs out from that check, you have to go to the bank to borrow

and when you're next check comes in you go and pay the bank off and then you start over again.

They say you have to go into it in a big way or you won't make it and then you have so much borrowed that you spend all your life trying to pay it off. And to increase your stock (herd size) - to get a good cow it will cost you \$1000.00 and then that cow could get sick and keel over tomorrow and you still have to pay off that money.

The situation of young couples trying to begin farming provided the main focus for comments relating to capital intensity. Nineteen (48%) of the older women talked about the difficulties of the younger people they saw around them who were incurring such large debts to begin. Some of these comments were addressed to the cases where a son attempts to take over a family farm. While this situation is probably more favourable than trying to begin independently, the capital investment required is still problematic:

There's no way a young man - whether he be a farmer's son or whatever - that he can go out and buy a farm, buy machinery and stock it and ever hope to pay it off in a lifetime. And yet it's not fair to expect a man - a father - who has worked his farm for 30 years to say, "Here it is", because he has to get the next 30 years of his life out of that too. If he retires, he has to buy a home and have an income - this has all really changed in twenty years.

I hope there is some way we can work him (son) in gradually because there's no way a young fellow can pay the how many thousands for the farm and then their stock and equipment over and above that. There's no way he can start out with that debt and it's only if we can work him in some way that we're going to be able to save this family farm right here and this is a farm that has come from Crown land and has stayed in this family for more than a century.

My feeling is that it is going to get harder and harder for young fellows to get started into farming unless they have somebody to back them up because of the expense. It's terrible. First they have to have the price of the farm alone, and they have to buy machinery and stock and then, buy their quota. You can hardly make a living in beef farming and to go into dairy, you have to buy all your milking equipment and that runs into a lot. The interest is so high on the loans that how is a young fella going to make ends meet with that kind of debt? Some of them have to clear 20 to 30 thousand a year just to pay the interest. And if they keep cutting the quota the way they have it's hard enough for us to keep going - how's he gonna start?

Many younger women echoed a similar sentiment in discussing how difficult it had been for them to recently begin farming. Although the partnership form of tenure is prevalent among younger couples on large farms, they too have experienced the pressures associated with the capital intensive nature of contemporary farming. The two younger women quoted below reflect an opinion which surfaced in almost all twenty (95%) interviews with the younger women:

It's awful for young people to start in now. It's way over \$100,000 if you have to set up for milking maybe 80 to 85 thousand just for the land and another 50 thousand for your milking equipment. How many young people do you know who would step into debt like that? I know what the mortgage rates are and what the interest rates are and how much you have to borrow. I don't think you ever get it all payed off and its really frightening. People don't know what it costs to buy a new tractor or a combine, you know, and you can spend a fortune on just your machinery, let alone your land...it's really difficult. You just ask anybody who is just starting out or is thinking about just starting out, they just don't know what to do.

Who can start farming today? It's really hard to get going. The capital outlay to get started is just crazy and one wonders what's going to happen.

If they don't inherit a farm or go into a partnership with his father like we did, how can they afford it?

Specialization, the final pattern noted as having particular relevance in this research was mentioned less frequently by respondents. Perhaps this is representative of the fact that specialization into one type of farm enterprise has advanced to the point where it is a taken-for-granted fact. As stated earlier, all but one farm of the 60 covered in this study are specialized into a limited number of livestock endeavours.

The prevalence of mixed farming in the past was noted by several older women. In the discussion of how things used to be, there is an implicit reference to how things have changed and therefore, an implied reference to the specialized nature of farming now. In addition, five women did make direct reference to the increased specialization of contemporary farming. The following excerpts are reflective of the overall sentiment, stated or implied, concerning specialization in contemporary agriculture:

And specialization - like back when we first started here, we had a couple of cows to milk, we had pigs and calves and chickens. Not too many people still do that any more.

And specialization is coming more and more. Now, take an example - when people come from the city to the farm they expect to see chickens and ducks and turkeys and cows and pigs and sheep and horses. We don't have any of those things - just beef. It's not economical to have all that now.

Specialization, taken in its wider definition, the presence of

specialized machinery, cultivation and harvesting techniques and the application of specialized scientific knowledge, is similarly, well-advanced on these farms. Specialization, not only in terms of livestock, but crops grown to support that livestock have become specialized as well. These issues were noted by a few women too:

We are buying more seed corn than we used to and we buy our hay in the fall. We have our own haylage, but that's another thing about specialized farms - we have a farmer that we can buy all of our hay and straw from. He delivers it on his own trucks and the price is cheaper than what it would cost us to buy the machinery and do it ourselves.

We have to specialize, and in the beef business, you don't do things the simple way that we used to. You don't just give the cattle a bale of hay and some chop. You have to use all these other things - supplement everything. And fertilizer - you even have to supplement manure when you spread it on the fields. Everything is so complicated and precise and everything cost so much now.

You have to specialize in the machinery that you run. I don't run the combine simply because it is a specialized piece of equipment and it should be a one man operation. I run the baler because I know it and its little unique tricks that it does. There are so many things that you have to know about each one that you have to specialize. Each one is different and you have to know what you're doing.

Summary

The nature of contemporary farming has been discussed with reference to the way production and production techniques appear from the viewpoint of farm women. The four central trends in agricultural production which were outlined for particular study in this research have been reviewed. It was suggested earlier that these specific patterns would have particular

consequences for the farm woman's role in farm production. Comments drawn from the interviews have illustrated the effects of these patterns on the nature of farming now. The ways in which farm work is done, the methods used and so on are seen by these women to have changed enormously over their own life time and the following sections will present the ways in which these changes have influenced women's role on the farm.

D. Women's Role in Contemporary Agricultural Production: The Case of the 'Older' Farm Woman

To this point, discussion has focused on the nature of agricultural production, past and present. During a period of major transformation in farming, women's role in that production has been found to have declined. The remaining part of this chapter will deal with that decline.

Quantitative data from this research indicated that the patterns of decline in women's role in farming varied by the 'age' of the farm women, and by the size of the farm on which she resides. The following discussion will be divided accordingly. The situation of the 'older' farm woman will be considered first; the situation of younger farm wives will be second; third, a discussion of the variable of farm size will be presented.

For the majority of older women in this study, their role in farm work has diminished. This pattern holds in terms of there now being, generally, fewer women involved in most farm work tasks. The pattern also holds in the sense that the women who continue to participate, do so in a smaller range of

tasks. There is a small minority of older women who have increased their participation in farm work. These women will be viewed here as exceptions to the general pattern and will be considered after a discussion of the more prevalent trend.

The aim throughout this chapter is to come to a more detailed understanding of the ways in which industrialization has effected the 'place' of farm women in farm work. Drawing on the qualitative data, the reasons given by the women, themselves, for their declining role will be reviewed.

1) Women's Diminished Participation in Farm Work: The General Trend. A majority (78%) of the 40 older women in this study stated that they now do less farm work tasks than was the case within the first five years of their marriage. The reasons given by the respondents for this decline varied. The explanations given by 9 (29%) of these 31 women, whose participation has declined, have relatively little to do with the nature of the work itself. These explanations will be outlined below.

Aging: One woman stated that her involvement in farm work activities has declined in recent years solely because of her age. As one might have anticipated in a study of this sort where no upper age limit was set on respondent selection, the extended age of this woman has made it, for the most part, impossible for her to be actively involved in most farm work tasks.⁶

Ill-Health: Two women suggested illness as the primary reason for their declining involvement in farm work while

another woman stated that the combination of sickness and her age had reduced her participation in farm work tasks.

Family Labour Changes: Three women suggested that the primary reason for their decreasing participation in farm work was that one or more sons had returned to the farm to work on a full-time partnership basis. This added family involvement in the enterprise had reduced the amount of work that these women are now required to do. While this is, to some extent, evidence of a reorganization of production, it has little to do with industrialization or changes in the nature of the work itself. Rather, it has to do with how the work is now divided among family members and a subsequent reduction in the need for women to participate.

We have things much handier but, I find I have more time to keep my house. I really do much less farm work now that (son) is home full-time - I do a lot less. I used to have to go out and drive (tractor) when he was away, but now that he's here, I don't have to do anymore of the field work.

Well it was mainly seasonal work that I did then (within the first five years) especially in the summer time - field work. I'd go to the barn too if (husband) was away or sick or something like that. But now I don't be out doing that work at all and I suppose the reason would be that our boys have grown and have filled that role. (This woman is a school teacher and this is the reason why most of her help with farm work occurred during the summer months).

Two women suggested that the reason for their lessened farm work role was due to the fact that their husbands considered farm work to be inappropriate for women's participation.

Milking and - well even going to the barn - I very rarely even go to the barn now, unless it's just to see when they get their new cattle in or just to give them a message - other than that I don't go to the barn...My husband tells me that there's no place down there for me. He doesn't really want me down there. He doesn't think that that is a place for a woman - in the barns. He's always told me that. Even when we first got married he didn't believe in my going to the barn. He thought that was a man's job. He didn't think the barn was any place for a woman.

When this woman was questioned further about why it was only recently that she had reduced her farm work activities, given this attitude in her family, she replied:

Well, because we were hard up and we didn't have the money to get extra help to help him and so I tried to help him as much as I could. Now we have hired help, and I won't say that we are making any great amount of money but it is a lot easier on the farm than it was years ago. Like, when we started on the farm we still depended on a team of horses - we had a small tractor, but we still had a team of horses that did most of the work. Now with all the mechanized equipment there is a lot less need for labour so him and the hired man can do all of that by themselves.

The other woman who gave a similar reason said:

I can recall the odd occasion where I have driven a tractor to bring in hay - only where I moved from one bale to the next, but you could count (those times) on one hand. Other than that I've never done tractor or field work. I would sometimes go out after the cows and help to shoo them in and that sort of thing, but I was never really asked to go out and do any work. I know you'll find that strange but I was never expected to do that here.

The nine women, discussed so far, gave reasons other than those of the changing nature of the work itself as the explanation for their declining involvement in farm work. Of the 31 women whose involvement has declined over the last 2 to

4 decades, the remaining 22 (71%) women noted various aspects of industrialization as the primary causal variable in this process of decline. Thus, for 71% of the women whose farm work has diminished over time, industrialization is perceived as having played a central role in that decline. The specific reasons given by these 22 women are as follows:⁷

Specialization and Reducation in Labour Requirements

Three women suggested that they were doing less farm work now than in the past because their help was no longer needed. The decreased requirement for their labour was linked to changes in production methods, specifically, specialization in the sense that they had cut out other forms of livestock, and begun to keep only beef cattle. Because of this specialization, their husbands could now do most of the work on their own.

Well, I used to do a lot of milking and I used to feed the calves. And we had hens that had to be cleaned out periodically and fed. I used to have to clean out the pigs too, but not very often. But our methods of farming have changed. In the last few years we have only had beef cattle. We have smaller cattle in the barn at the other place, and my husband finishes cattle here at this barn. So, he can pretty well look after things himself.

Mechanization and Decreasing Labour Intensity

Two women noted that while the presence of older children had reduced the amount of work they had to do, they added a second factor to their lessened work role. That is, they felt that the machinery that they had recently acquired reduced the amount of work to the point where they were simply needed less.

The children are helping more now but a few years ago, before we got our big tractor, I used to be out a lot in the spring doing the seeding, but during the last few years with this big tractor they can get over the ground a lot faster and so I don't have to be out that much any more.

Well, (son) is home and he does a lot of the work but we have things better organized here too. We have done a lot of things here and spent a lot of money because our boy wants to farm so we have changed things the way he wants them. We went and borrowed money and put in a stable cleaner and bought a combine and all of those things. We used to have to stook and thresh and I used to do all of those things but now I don't 'cause all of that is much easier and my husband and (son) can look after it themselves.

In addition, three other women noted the machinery, alone, as being responsible for the decreasing need for them to be actively involved in farm work:

Well, I think the equipment has got bigger and they don't need the number of people that they used to need for all these jobs. We used to have smaller machinery and it took us longer to get over the land - get the work done and so they need me less often now they have bigger tractors.

We only had a little tractor then and - well, we started out with horses and we stooked and threshed and all of that. I used to help out with those things and sometimes even spell them off on the harrowing. But now, with this new tractor, it can cover so much more ground that he can get it all done by himself. And the combine - I don't run that but that's a one man job and so I don't do that anymore either - the stooking and that.

Mechanization and Specialization

Two women, noted above, linked specialization to a reduction in the need for women's labour as smaller endeavours such as poultry production were 'phased out' of the farm enterprise. Five other women, also noted above, stated that

mechanization had resulted in a reduction in need for women's labour through the substitution of machine-power for labour. Twenty-four women stated that the machinery itself had become more specialized, more complex and larger. All twenty-four of these women stated that the newer machinery is 'frightening'. Fourteen of these 24 women actually stated that this 'fear' keeps them from performing many farm work tasks. The following excerpts reflect a theme which was very common throughout the interviews:

I wouldn't even want to try and drive any of the tractors that my husband has bought in the past few years.

The parts that I've been involved in yes - but I could run the binder before, but I sure wouldn't try running the combine. Now, I wouldn't say I couldn't, but I'm a little afraid to.

I'm nervous around the machinery, even to drive a tractor. The first tractor we had, well, it was just a small one and I used to drive it, but now I'm even scared to go on a tractor because they are too big.

Every one (tractor) we have you drive different and the big one, I'm scared of it, I guess. I don't drive it and I don't know why - I just don't feel like I can drive it.

Well, there's no way I'd touch those machines. You'd have to have a course on it or have to know how to use it. There's not one of those things that I'd ever get on without - you'd need I don't know how many lessons to learn the do's and don'ts of them. You just don't see any women driving those big machines - at least I never have.

I don't drive the tractors as much as I used to and I think they are more dangerous now than they used to be. They are more complicated and I haven't even driven the big tractor that we have - never even learned how to drive it.

The fear of the bigger and more complex machinery being utilized on farms now seems to have kept many farm women from being more involved in farm work. Of the twenty-four women who noted a 'fear' of the specialized equipment, all but three added one or both of the following qualifying statements.

Fifteen women suggested that they felt they could adapt to the larger machinery if they were required to do so. However, they, like other women noted earlier, stated that the machinery has replaced the demand for their labour to such an extent that they simply don't have to try to overcome their fear and discomfort:

I think, if I felt I was needed out there, I would and could do it, but with the bigger machinery, they just don't call on me as much to drive these tractors and do field work like I did before....With all of this big machinery that we have here, I'm just not needed that often, but when I am needed, I go out and do what I can.

It's not that I think I couldn't drive them, but they just don't need me to even try.

I think if I had to drive the machines I could, and that I'd adapt quite easily but the way things are set up here with the equipment and everything I just don't have to.

The second qualifying statement that was added by 15 of the 24 women who talked about their fear of the machines is very closely linked to the decreasing need for their labour. Because they are required to use these machines so irregularly, the time that elapses between these occasions makes it difficult to stay familiar with the operation of the equipment. This idea is also linked to the increasing complexity of the machines themselves and the fact that each machine, even each tractor,

is different in its gears, capabilities and so on. These 15 women said that if they used the machines on a regular basis - if they 'stayed at it' - like their husbands do, they could do the work with little problem.

See, the problem is that they ask me to drive maybe - oh, I'd say, maybe four times a year on a tractor and I'm nervous and afraid I'll do something wrong. If I was needed out there more and if I was used to the machinery, I'd be fine, but they put me on a strange tractor and they say "Drive it" and I hate to be stupid and say, "How do I start it?" So, I get on it and I'm nervous.

I feel that if I was at it all the time I could do it but it frightens me to get on one of those big tractors if I haven't been on it for a few months - it's like starting all over again. If I were at it every day it would make an awful difference but I'm not because I'm not needed every day out there.

If I had to do it I'd jolly well remember how to do it but I haven't had to for so long that I'd have to have a great big chart there in front of me 12 hours a day to remind me what buttons to push and what gears to use.

He's got a 5,000 Ford tractor with 65 hp - well, someone that's been used to driving a tractor and does it every day - you can handle these things, but, I myself, I just have to get on it once in a while and by the time I've got done with it, I've just nicely got used to it. Until then you're so damned scared of it, you're afraid to open it up. I cultivated the back field for corn this year and I was done before I had enough confidence in myself that I could handle the tractor because it's so much bigger than I used to use.

Of the total of 24 older women who mentioned their fear of, or discomfort with, the larger farm equipment, 21 added one or both of the qualifying statements exemplified above. Thus 21 of these 24 women (88%) felt they could learn to use the machines if necessary and/or that their discomfort would decrease

if they were required to operate the machines on a regular and frequent basis.

What is being said here, then, is that it is not only the size/complexity of the machines, but also the decreasing labour intensity, resulting from mechanization, which shapes these women's farm work activities. Thus it appears, for the greatest majority of women who have identified the mechanization of agriculture as a deterrent to their involvement in farm work, that it is the reduction in the need for their labour combined with the increasing specialization of the machines, themselves, which has limited their role in agricultural production.

Again, it is important to note here, given the context of the discussion of farm size which appears later, that the greatest majority of these women who have been quoted on their perception of the dual effects of mechanization on their work were from large farms. Further discussion of the effects of farm size on women's work will follow later.

2) Farm Women's Increased Participation: The Exceptions. When questioned as to whether they were doing more, less, or the same amount of farm work now than they did within the first five years of their marriage, 9 (22%) of the 40 older women stated that they were doing more now. It is important to note here that only 2 of these 9 women were from large farms. The first woman of these two has seen her participation change not primarily in amount however, but rather in what she does:

Well, I think I am doing more hours now than I did then really. It's hard to tell - at that time I did more field work so therefore I might (have spent) 3 or 4 or 5 days out continually, but now I work every day at the books (farm accounts). I think my time has not too much changed. I like to be busy so I always work anyway. I'd rather work than sit, so, I don't think my total time - oh, I may be putting in a little bit more now.

As is the case on most of the farms in this study, the task of keeping farm accounts has been assigned to the farm women. It is not unusual then that this woman has increased her time input to the family farm enterprise through the role of accountant/book keeper.⁸ While it is unusual that this woman's task of book keeping has increased to this degree, the primary reason for this is that her family is also involved in buying and selling beef cattle for other farmers. She is responsible for keeping records on this additional business and her situation should be viewed as atypical in relation to the other cases in this study. Similarly, it is important for the readers to note that the increased work role of this woman is confined solely to the farm accounts and does not extent to any other farm work task.

The second woman from a large farm who has seen her role in farm work increase suggested a reason which is an interesting exception to the discussion of mechanization presented earlier. This case suggests that in rare instances, changing production techniques may actually increase the possibility of women's involvement in farm work.

Well, as I said before, we used to work together with two neighbors and they could pretty well handle all there was to do. But he isn't working with the neighbors anymore. He's working with his brother and there is more work to do. There is more land to cover and more acreage to cover. And now that we have the truck now - our system is so changed that I can do more. Not being raised on a farm, tractors were really foreign to me, and I was always really nervous using any kind of farm equipment. But a truck, I felt familiar with the truck because I can drive a car and I felt familiar with the truck so I am able to drive it with a little more confidence.

It should be noted here that the machinery which has made it more possible for this woman to do some farm tasks is unlike the majority of modern farm equipment most recently available. As this woman goes on to say, the other farm equipment is frightening to her in the same way as other women have discussed:

That machinery makes me nervous. It's not that I think I couldn't learn to drive it if I had to, but not being familiar with it, it does scare me and so I don't do any of that work out in the fields.

In terms of the other 7 women who stated that they are doing more farm work now than in the past, one or the other of two reasons were consistently given as explanations. First, three women explained that their increased participation was simply the result of there being more work to do. As farms have grown in size - even the small farms in this sample are generally larger than the majority of farms were twenty to forty years ago - there is more land to cover within the finite growing season.

Well, there is more ground to cover where, when we started, there would be maybe a field of wheat and maybe a field of grain and a field of hay and all the rest would be pasture. Now our 265 acres here are all in crop - completely - all of it which means a lot more work in the spring with all that ground to get ready and seeding and spraying.... We have a lot more to do in the same time that we had...There's no comparison in the amount of feed we grow. That big silo is always full and we feed cattle from it all year round.

Well, I think mostly because we have a bigger operation now and so we have more work to be done... Once we get our calves in the fall, I'm out helping every morning and I help in 2 or 3 barns. We never had this many chores to do before and I feed the hay or chop. I used to feed the cows when we had them but we only had a couple of them.

I'm doing more because in the earlier years we didn't have as much to do - we weren't as big so therefore I'm doing more.

Second, the other four women who are doing more farm work now than in the past all gave the same reason - their children have grown and they feel they have more time free to be outside than they did within their first five years of marriage.

Outside, farm work, I'd say maybe a little bit more because I don't have the little kids I had when I started. I can do more although I don't go to the fields. There's the milkhouse mainly, and the calves, that's really about all.

As far as the outside farm work goes, I guess I've done more in the last few years than I did in the first five years because the children were too small for me to work out too much.

One final note is important here in terms of the added work that these nine women do. As suggested in a number of the comments, the extra work performed by these women is confined to a small number of specific tasks - barn chores, farm accounts, and tasks associated with milking. Only one of these

women has increased her participation in any of the field work tasks and the reason stated for this increase has to do with one piece of farm machinery which is unlike most now used in contemporary agriculture.

3) The 'Experience Rationale': Factors Contributing to the Maintenance of Older Women's Role in Production: The comparison of the present work of older farm women with the present work of younger farm women can permit a number of conclusions concerning the potential for participation in farm work by the next generation(s) of farm women. While this type of contrast then allows some insight about the direction of change for the future, it also enables a further understanding of the extent of change in the work of older women over time. Because each sample sub-division by age was equally divided by farm size, it can be seen that each category as a whole (all 'older' vs. all 'younger' women) will represent groups within which the effects of farm size will roughly cancel each other out. Thus the level of industrialization within each of these categories will vary substantially but that level will be roughly comparable between the two groups.

In a comparison by age, therefore, within the time frame of the present, the variable which makes these two categories separate is the length of time as a farm wife ('age' as used here). Thus, while it was important to note the extent and nature of decline in the older women's participation in farm

work over time, it is also important to understand why they have maintained such a relatively high level of involvement in farm activities.⁹ This is particularly so in light of the very low levels of involvement by younger women and in light of the substantial difference between the two groups by age in its usual sense.

It might be questioned, therefore, why it is that despite the extended age of many of the older women and in light of the effects of industrialization of production on their work which have been outlined thus far - why it is that these women continue to participate at such relatively high levels? The theoretical hypothesis that was relevant to this anticipated pattern had to do with 'experience' with, and adaptation to change. It was assumed that because these women would have had two to four decades of time to adapt to the changing nature of farm work, they would be able to continue to do some tasks that younger women would likely never begin to do.

The quantitative data indicate that the hypothesis concerning these older women's maintenance of an active role in farm work was accurate, but no comments reflected the expected reasons for this continued involvement. There were, however, four recurring themes which surfaced frequently throughout the interviews which may offer some suggestion as to the reasons for these women's continued involvement.

The Fear of Boredom: After a life time of hard work and extremely long work days, the thought of retirement¹⁰ for many of these

farm women was unpleasant. For those women who planned to stay involved in the farm in the cases where sons would take over, comments about retirement were less negative. They planned to either stay in their present house or move to another farm house already owned by them. Thus, they could continue their gardening and outside work (lawn, flowers etc.) and even maintain a familiarity with the farm operation.

However, for those women for which retirement would mean moving away from the farm into town, retirement raised unpleasant thoughts. Many women stated they would never live in town but a small amount of land on the outskirts of town would be okay. The central concern expressed frequently was the fear of boredom. What would they do with all of that time? Having been so busy with their housework and farm work, they hadn't developed other interests and hobbies. A few women looked forward to the chance to do so, but for most, the possibility of 'free time' was not seen in a positive light. Fourteen women (25%) made comments such as those which follow and the implication may be that where 'free' time could be a possibility, they choose to continue working at whatever they can to avoid 'idleness' or boredom.

We're going to retire soon but right now I'm just riding along here. I wouldn't want to live in town, I don't think 'cause it could get very boring. When you've had an active life all your're life - you just wonder what would you do with all that time.

I think I'd become bored in town, I really do, because once you've got your house clean, you have to go and find something to do...I always

think it's a healthy life when you've always got something to do. I think it's the people that have nothing to do that have the problems.

I think if you get everything done that you want to do, I don't think you're satisfied. I think it's good to have a little more in front of you than you can handle.

Retirement? No, I don't want to move into town. Even my weekends here are boring - they are long when you don't have work to do. You feel so much better when you work every day.

The Value in Hard Work. Eight women noted that they felt that hard work is good for people. They took pleasure in working long and often hard hours and to some extent, many continue to work long hours for this very reason. These comments often followed comments like those above and only two of the forty older women mentioned regrets about the amount of work they had had to do in their lives.

I have a friend in Toronto who was saying that in the supermarkets, they won't let a lady even pick up a 25 pound bag of potatoes. Well! I think it would be good for them if they did a little bit of that because, they get so weak because they never do anything! You need heavy work to stay healthy.

I think we have more heavy work on the farm but I always believed that you get physically tired when you're not enjoying what you're doing. There are times that I keep going and I wonder where the energy comes from but I think I feel better for doing that.

Probably I've been criticised for doing as much work as I do but there's something inside me that gives me pleasure in working hard and seeing things grow. There's a challenge there and I think the woman who works in town never sees the finished product like we do....If I had to do it all over again, I'd marry a farmer again and I would probably work just as hard. I have no patience for

people who are not keen on doing a good day's work. I feel sorry for them more than I curse them because they have never known the joy of the effort - that's it - the joy of the effort.

The 'Habit' of Working: Nine women discussed the fact that they have continued to work hard not necessarily because they have been needed to do so, but rather, because it's what they've always done. Related to the fear of not having work to do, they suggested that working hard is all they have known and continue to do so almost as a way of life.¹¹

I like going to do the barn chores. It's a different atmosphere and it's almost a break. A lot of people say, "with all those kids, why do you go to the stable?" but I find it a pleasure to me. If you've been brought up with it, you feel funny if you don't do it. It's your life, you've been with it all your life and so you look forward to it.

I often think that people who live in town, they don't really know what a day's work is. It's amazing that there are so many things they can't seem to do whereas those of us who live on a farm, you just go ahead and do all of the things that need doing. It's what you've always had to do and you just keep doing them.

I think we generally work longer hours here because I think a person's lifestyle works around their husband's work. In the summer time he works at night too to get the seeding done and like that. Well, I'm not going to just sit around and do nothing. When you're used to working longer hours you just keep doing it.

Sometimes we have to work overtime on Sundays and at night to get the farm work done, but it just becomes routine and that's just the way it is. It just becomes automatic that I go out and look after whatever needs to get done....

The Tradition of Working Together. One final theme surfaced frequently throughout the interviews with the older women.

Fifteen (28%) women discussed the way in which the work on their farms gets done.¹² The 'working together' theme was mentioned most often.

These older women discussed the fact that the farm was a family endeavour with everyone having a part to play. Working together as a family or as a couple was often praised for its resulting family or marital solidarity. When something needed to be done, the routine has always been that everyone helps in its completion and like the 'habit' issue noted above, this is the way it continues to be. Thus, even when her husband could do a particular task alone, a woman may often go along to help where she can, to be a 'companion' and/or just so they can be together.

We've always worked together and you know what has to be done so you just go and do it. We're odd - we've been married 25 years and we've never had a fight. Things just get done. You sense that he wants this done so you go and do it.

Anyone who wants to be a farm wife - they have to have lots of ambition and the courage to do anything that comes along. And its got to be between two people - if you don't pull together like a team of horses and share the work, it just won't go. One's pulling one way and the other's pulling the other and you just won't go anywhere.

Most of the time we just go out and do what we can automatically - do what needs to be done. We were always together and we took our children with us all the time - all trying to share whatever there was.

Even though I may spend the whole morning outside doing farm work I like that bit of extra exercise and I think it is good for us to be working together. And I think you get a stronger feeling of ties to your family by helping out as much as possible.

From these comments, it is possible to suggest why many of these older women have 'maintained a hand in' farm work in spite of the forces which would make that less necessary, or even, less possible. While most of these same women expressed earlier concerns about the machinery and some of these women even said they felt needed less, they continue for various reasons to find things that they can do - places to be useful.

Out of habit, fear of idleness, a joy or pleasure in hard work and/or a lifelong tradition of sharing work, many women continue to maintain a portion of their original role in production. It was stated earlier that in understanding the reasons why these women continue to do so many farm tasks, one might better suggest indicators of future patterns. What is meant here is that the younger women in this study - the next generation of farm women - did not reflect these sorts of attitudes. It appears for the majority of younger women that they are involved in an 'all or nothing' situation. While a few younger women on small farms perform many farm tasks, others from small farms and most on large farms do almost no farm work at all. They view their housework, child care and off farm work (where applicable) as 'their work' and the farm work as their 'husbands' work.' It is therefore very unlikely that many of these women will seek farm work to do if not requested to do so and it seems unlikely that they will develop the tradition of 'working together' that many older women have.

As industrialization has changed the nature of farm work, there follows a decline in women's role in production.

For some of the older women, they have maintained their farm work roles out of a decision or even a sense of obligation to do so. For the majority of younger farm women, this response to the changing demands for their input seems much less likely. One can therefore note the consequences of this difference for the future role of women in agricultural production.

Summary

For the greatest majority (78%) of older women in this sample, their role in agricultural production has declined. And, well over half of the women within this group specifically noted various dimensions of industrialization as the reason for that decline. Thus, the qualitative data utilized here lends a substantially greater degree of validity to the interpretation of the quantitative findings. That is, for the majority of older farm women, industrialization in its various dimensions can be viewed as a primary factor resulting in the declining participation of farm women in farm work.

E. Women's Role in Contemporary Agricultural Production: The Case of the 'Younger' Farm Woman.

1) Introduction. The situation of the younger woman who has just recently begun her career as a farm wife seems to be significantly different from that of a young farm woman two to four decades ago. The data presented in the preceding chapter point to a number of these differences. For instance, the majority of younger farm women in this study are participating much less in farm work tasks than farm women were in the past.

While this pattern holds for almost all farm activities, it is particularly marked for the range of field work and business transaction tasks. Despite the age differences between the older and younger women in this sample, a greater proportion of older women continue to participate in farm work than younger women.¹²

The aim here is to attempt to understand why these patterns occur. The nature of contemporary farming has been outlined earlier from the older women's viewpoint as they have experienced the recent changes. No specific questions concerning the nature of these changes in agricultural production were asked of the younger women so there is less qualitative data to draw on here in coming to understand their situation. However, several themes did surface during the interviews which were directed specifically at the situation of these younger women. Some of these issues dealt simply with how younger women see the nature of farming now and others dealt particularly with how the role and work of these women have been shaped by the organization of production on their own family farms.

The following discussion will attempt to bring these ideas together in order to understand the forces which shape the work roles of these younger women. To a lesser extent, attention will also be given to how the experience of the younger women is different from that of the older women. This should help to understand why the work of these younger women varies from the work of the older women.

2) Capital Intensity and Off-Farm Employment. Of the four recent patterns in contemporary agriculture which have been isolated for particular study here, capital intensity and the increasing need for cash was mentioned most frequently by the younger women in this research.¹⁴ The issue of financial barriers involved in beginning to farm was raised by 14 (70%) of these women. Five of these responses were general in nature and did not explicitly delineate the effects on the farm women's role in farming. The other nine comments, however, did involve a causal component. That is 9 (45%) younger women suggested that the increased need for capital in contemporary farming encourages young women to seek off farm employment:

It's so expensive to get going in farming that it's a hard, hard road and I think it's almost essential that she get some kind of job outside of the home so that she can make some money to help them get on their feet. It's only in that way that the farm income can be returned to the farm rather than for the house and that kind of thing.

I think, like in our case and a lot of others I see, you need the extra cash that the wife is bringing in. Even if she can supply grocery money, that's a big help.

It's just awful hard to start farming and I think this is why so many young farm wives work (off-farm) - is to help get them started. The price of a farm and stock and equipment is so much - like \$200,000 for a lot of them - that she just has to bring in money to help them get going.

A full 50% of the 20 young women in this sample have some form of off-farm employment and this proportion is four times greater than that of the older women. Only 2 of these 10 women who work off the farm suggested that they do so for

other than purely economic reasons. Both of these women have professional degrees and stated that their career interests played a central role in their decision to keep their jobs after they married. The other 8 women who have paid employment said that the reason for this was that they needed the extra cash to help pay off their farm debts.

It is suggested here, then, that the increasing demands for capital investment in modern farming have played a significant role in encouraging younger farm women to seek or maintain off-farm work. For 40% of the younger women in this study, the need for a supplementary cash income has influenced their decision to make their contribution to the family farm enterprise through off farm work. That is, it is now more practical or economical for many young farm women to substitute off farm work for their direct labour input into the family farm. The smaller participation rates of younger women in farm work can therefore be partially explained by the demands for a cash income resulting from the increased capital intensive nature of contemporary farming practices.

3) Mechanization and Decreasing Labour Intensity. As in the interviews with the older women, references to the increasing mechanization of farm work surfaced frequently throughout the discussions with the younger women. In response to the direct question about how each of these women considered mechanization to have influenced their own work roles several central issues

were raised.

Like the older women, these younger farm wives expressed similar fears and concerns about the larger machinery. Eight women (40%) suggested that the size and complexity of the most recently acquired machines on their family farms prohibited and/or discouraged their participation.

My husband thinks these new big tractors are a breeze with power steering and whatever and that it is no big chore for a lady to wheel a tractor around a field now. But I hate it. It has a cab on it and you can't see your wheels, you can't see your tires and they're so dang'd powerful that they're away on you before you - twenty years ago when I was on my grandfather's old Ford tractor, I was much more at ease. There are some jobs that I would just refuse to do, like, I would never pull the harvester because you get the tractor and the harvester and a wagon all hooked up together and it bothers me. And I'd never drive the swather - it's a pretty big piece of machinery.

All of the work here is very mechanized and the machines are so big - I can't get on any of those machines! - I wouldn't know what to do first!

Well, our farm is really mechanized. I think that is part of the reason why I don't do some of the farm work - the things where you have to use that equipment 'cause it is so big and awkward. Like, my dad had a little wee tractor and I used to help him at home all the time, but our machinery is so big that I don't even begin to understand it.

Four of these women who expressed concern about the machines also added qualifying statements of the same sort as the older women. That is, they felt that the machinery made it possible for their husbands to do many of the farm tasks alone and that they (the women) were simply not required to overcome the fears they had discussed.

I suppose if he needed me to be out there all the time, I would soon learn to use all of those machines but as long as he can do it himself, I don't have to, do I?

I used to do a lot of work on the - on my father's farm when I was young and it's not that I don't like the work or couldn't learn how to operate that equipment. It's just that he doesn't seem to need me as much and so I'm never out there enough to get over my fear.

Two other women added the qualifying statement that they felt they could do the work if their husbands took the necessary time to train them in the use of the machines. The problem being that because he would have to stay with her while 'training', it is just as practical for him to go ahead and do the work himself:

They (machines) make the work easier but it's just that you have to learn to run it and that takes time and for the time he'd spend teaching me, he might as well do it himself.

He just doesn't have the time that it would take to train me to get going at some of these jobs. Like, when you start any (off-farm) new job they take the time to train you to do the things that you will be expected to do but here, there's just not enough time for that. In the two weeks that he'd have to spend with me, training - he could have done the job by himself - so why bother?

In addition to these six women who added the qualifying statements to their expressed fears or discomfort with the machines, seven (35%) women noted that the machinery had made their own participation in farm work less necessary. The issue here has to do with decreasing labour intensity - the diminishing need for many hands to do the work - as a result of the substitution of machines for manual labour.

I was raised on a dairy farm and I milked cows as a teenager totally on my own 'cause haying had to be done. My memories of helping on the farm were almost such that I said "I'm never going to marry a farmer". I anticipated that I would have to help out here but there just hasn't been the need for me to do that...A lot of those jobs that people had to do with the old type of machinery have been eliminated so, in a lot of cases, it has simply eliminated the necessity for me to get out there and help with that work. So I think the reason why I don't do farm work is maybe the fact that because it is mechanized, it takes less numbers of bodies to do the same job.

Well, in my situation here, and in others I see around here, they (farm women) don't have to help even when they are home full-time simply because it's more mechanized than it used to be. Then you had to go out and help because there was more manual labour. Now, it's all done by machines and we don't have to go out.

Well, I just don't have to be out there. It used to be that the men needed all the help they could find - there was so much - such hard work all the time. Now when I go out, it's not to work but just to keep (husband) company because there isn't all that much for me to do.

I'm doing a lot less now than I did even three years ago. I was helping to feed the cattle both in the fields and at the barns. Well, that's not necessary now because they have the automated feeders. We've got feeders in all the barns now and he doesn't need me. That's kind of how you get pushed out...you aren't needed in a certain area anymore and so you get cut out of it.

Finally, in terms of the effects of mechanization on these young women's farm work, four of the women who were noted earlier as working off the farm stated that they were freed from doing farm work by the machinery so that they could, in fact, seek off farm work. Rather than being needed to stay on the farm and contribute their labour to the family farm enterprise via farm work, the decreasing labour requirements resulting

from mechanization had allowed them to work off of the farm and substitute their wages for their farm work input. Unlike the situation for many of the older women when they first married, the labour of the young contemporary farm wife may be less crucial to the success of the farm enterprise than the cash she can provide by working in the paid labour force. Increasing mechanization reduces the need for her help with farm work while the accompanying pattern of increasing capital intensity subsequently increases the importance of a cash income to the success of the enterprise. It appears that all of these patterns fit together in such a way as to decrease the likelihood of the young farm woman being as active in farm work as were young farm women two to four decades ago.

4) Partnership in Farming. As discussed in the methods chapter, the prevalence of family partnerships among young farm families appears to have increased in recent years. This pattern can be seen as a partial response to the need for massive capital investment to begin farming and, similarly, as a response to the advantages of large-scale production. The practicality of two or more nuclear families related by kinship entering a partnership to establish a viable farm enterprise is clearly evident in the proportion of such arrangements which occurred in this sample. As anticipated when the decision was made to include this form of family farm in this research, the existence of a partnership and the input of more

than one nuclear family into a single farm enterprise seems to have direct effects on the roles of the farm women.

Two younger women stated that the primary reason for their small level of (or non-) participation in farm work tasks was the fact that their husbands and their husband's partners could do most of the work themselves. This is precisely what one might anticipate, given that men are normally the primary operators, and therefore, the more men present on any farm enterprise, the less work to be left requiring women's help. What is interesting here though, is that the other six women who mentioned the partnership as diminishing the need for their own participation in farm work also noted the combined effects of mechanization. That is, the decreasing need for labour resulting from mechanization, combined with the presence of two or more male partners in the farm firm were seen as the crucial factors making the woman's work unnecessary:

They (partners) have enough help to do the work on the farm so I don't have to but even if I wanted to do some of that work I wouldn't be needed simply because it's so much more mechanized than it was at one time. Then, the woman had to go out and help with that manual labour but not anymore.

I don't think it's just our situation here. The other dairy farmers around here that I know, they are even more advanced than we are so therefore it's more mechanized and therefore doesn't require as much labour or help from the women. But even if we were alone - like, not working with his (husband's) brother and we still had the same equipment as we do now, I'd not be doing much more. Now, no doubt if we were just starting out, and we were alone, and we didn't have the big equipment, there'd be more manual labour and he'd need me to be out there. There's just not that much to do and what there is, they can do it themselves.

I think farms today are on a larger scale - at least this one in particular is - whereas, before it would just be the husband and wife and that was all. Nowadays farms are on a larger scale and more young farmers aren't just farming by themselves, but they still need all that big equipment and so I don't think there is as much of a need for her to do farm work.

Again, the way in which these patterns all 'fit' together seems to suggest that there is a decreasing likelihood on contemporary farms for women to assume any central responsibility for farm work activities. While many of the comments from these younger women were very close in tone and content to some of the ideas and thoughts expressed by the older women, the changing nature of farm work appears to have had a more marked influence on the work roles of younger women.

The need for capital is generally greater when establishing a new family farm given the necessity of buying land, machinery and stock all at one time. While it is true that even long-established family farms must frequently make use of farm credit to purchase new equipment from year to year, the level of debt incurred is not likely to reach that of the young farm couple trying to get a start in farming. The pressure resulting from indebtedness, combined with the decreasing need for the women's farm labour due to the substitution of machines for manual labour, work together in such a way as to encourage many young farm wives to seek off-farm employment. Similarly the prevalence of partnerships - the pooling of resources to start larger than any one partner could on his own - results in a further decline in the need for help from the women on

these farms.

It is therefore, suggested that while many of the same forces influence the participation rates of both younger and older women, the effects of these forces are greater, particularly when combined with the partnership form of family enterprise, for the younger woman. It is at least partially for these reasons then, that the decline in farm work activities is greater for the younger farm women, now, than for the older farm women, now, and certainly, much greater than for the younger farm woman of two to four decades ago.

F. Farm Accounts: White Collar Farm Work

To this point, the discussion of women's changing work roles has been confined primarily to the active farm work tasks of field work, barn chores and so on. Except for the one woman who earlier noted the massive increase in book keeping which also included accounting for a second family cattle business, no mention has been made of the farm women's role in keeping farm accounts.

As contemporary farming has become a business, there has been a subsequent expansion in the need to keep detailed and accurate records on both livestock (primarily for the dairy farmers) and financial matters. For example, the increased practice of purchasing seeds, fertilizer and pesticides, along with a complex system of fuel rebates and government subsidies make it crucial for the success of the enterprise to account for all expenditures and returns on the family farm. Similarly,

for the dairy farmer especially, the pressure to expand and increase production, combined with extensive health regulations imposed by the provincial government require that detailed and up-to-date records be kept on each cow in the milking herd. Registration of purebred cattle, breeding and calving records and so on, require a massive amount of time and energy and the responsibility of keeping financial and herd records is a significant one.

The range of activities involved in keeping farm accounts are, at this point in time, the tasks most frequently assigned to the farm woman exclusively. In addition many women in this sample assume the primary responsibility for this work.¹⁵ Thus, while the involvement of women in most farm work activities is now less than in the past, the participation of women has increased over the last two to four decades in the expanding paperwork sector of the family farm enterprise.¹⁶

The nature of the farm accounts work raises some interesting parallels with housework and urban women's paid work which deserve note here.

The task of accounting or keeping records on the herd is likely to be rather episodic in its performance. It is rarely done from start to finish in one single time span. The work can be started, left and returned to as one finds necessary or practical. Thus, it can be easily combined with the plethora of other household and/or farm duties for which the farm woman is responsible. In this sense, it 'fits' well

with child care and other tasks which require attention. In this light, the work has particular advantages. Being able to choose when and where and for how long one will work at these tasks provides women with a high degree of control over that work process. However there are more negative implications which similarly follow from this episodic characteristic.

First, as long as women are able to continue to combine other work activities with their traditional role expectations, they will never begin to question those traditional roles nor actively seek to establish alternatives. Thus, like part-time work and cottage industries also provide, the ability to simply 'add on' more work to an already demanding work load is never likely to encourage women to review their traditional work load and/or its remuneration (or lack thereof).¹⁷

Second, this episodic nature may contribute to the non-recognition of the value and complexity/skill levels of the work being done. Because it is likely to be done in rather short and irregular spurts like housework, others are less likely to recognize or be able to assess the total time and energy expenditures involved. Nor are they likely to conceptualize the degree of knowledge or skill required to perform those tasks.

Third and following from this potential for non-recognition, is the potential invisibility of the work itself. Like housework, the accounting work may become most visible only when not completed.

In addition to the episodic nature of the accounting work, the range of record keeping tasks may frequently be considered or perceived as never-ending activities. In this respect it is also like housework. Although there may be some sense of satisfaction derived at the end of each taxation year where its value becomes most apparent, for the remaining eleven months the task is likely to be perceived as 'never done'.

Like housework, the paper work in question here does not result in a highly visible or tangible product. While there are a few specific exceptions such as the resulting receipt of rebate checks and so on, for the most part, papers full of figures and notations are less tangible than, say, a field of corn which has just been harvested. The absence of a final product also contributes further to the invisibility and potential non-recognition of the work.

Finally, in terms of the housework parallels, the fact that the work occurs at home, to a great extent, in isolation from other workers performing similar tasks, means that there can be few standards, set working conditions or hours established for its performance. And, due to the isolation of individual workers, there can be little chance for collective awareness or bargaining power in changing the working conditions or its assigned value/remuneration.¹⁸

The very nature of the work involved in keeping farm accounts raises additional parallels to a significant proportion of the work which women perform in the paid-labour force. With

the ever-increasing production scale in urban work has come a massive increase in bureaucracy and the white collar sector of the economy.¹⁹ In a very similar way, as farming becomes more specialized and larger in scale, so too increases the amount of paper work required in the operation of the enterprise. In the same sense that urban women have moved into this white collar sector in greater proportions, so too are farm women assuming the greater proportion of responsibility for this work.

In both of these cases, urban and rural, the work that women perform is only indirectly related to the center of economic production. Like clerical and secretarial workers in urban settings, farm women are increasing their involvement in this indirect capacity. No direct or tangible products result from this labour as noted above and to some extent the work is service-oriented in nature. As the work itself becomes further detached from the place where 'production takes place', so too do the workers who are performing those roles. Thus, as the shifting location and nature of farm women's work is examined, clear parallels become apparent to its urban equivalent of white collar (and to some extent service sector) work, where the greatest proportions of urban women are to be found.

A number of crucial questions and implications can be raised as a result of these parallels to housework and paid-labour force work. Further attention will be given to the issues of women's power, value, and 'role in production' in the

following chapter after the discussions concerning the variable of farm size.

G. The Variable of Farm Size

To this point, discussion and interpretation of the quantitative results of this study have been confined to the variables of time (change over the last two to four decades) and 'age' (older vs. younger women now). The reader will recall however that the variable of farm size was a central determinant of the research design and important hypotheses were generated by the consideration of farm size as an independent variable in the changing work roles of farm women.

Farm size, when utilized here as an independent variable, carries with it a number of assumptions concerning advancing industrialization. These assumptions have been detailed earlier and require no further detail here.²⁰

The relevant hypotheses with respect to farm size are as follows. It is expected that the level of industrialization of agricultural production will play a central role in determining the participation of women in farm work. Thus, on farms where industrialization has advanced the most, it is expected that its effects on women's participation in farm task will be the most striking. The significance of this expected relationship between farm size and women's work goes further than simply establishing the effects of industrialization more firmly than has been done in the preceding sections of this chapter. In order to more clearly delineate the logic of this broader significance, portions of the research framework and

design, along with potential findings and subsequent interpretations, are presented below. The reader will note that the argument is incomplete in that various null-hypotheses are not included. Similarly, the argument is not fully hypothetical in that there are, within it, a blend of potential results (given alternate research designs) and actual results (in light of the existing research design). The purpose here is simply to illustrate and clarify the implications of the findings concerning the farm size variable rather than to structure a 'proper' statement of research questions. The argument has nine distinct points which span a range of time perspectives:

TIME FRAME

COMPARATIVE: PAST-PRESENT

- 1) IF, given the changing nature of agricultural production over the last two to four decades, it had been found that women continued to participate at a relatively standard level in farm work tasks, then, it could be hypothesized that the process of industrialization had little/no effect on the farm work roles of farm women.
- 2) IF, given the changing nature of agricultural production over the last two to four decades, women's work had changed, then, it might be concluded that industrialization had been a determining factor to this point in time. There could, however, be no indication of what might happen if industrialization continues. For example, women might have reached a 'balance' between production demands for her labour and any number of other demands a 'balance' between production demands for her labour and any number of other demands such as housework, child care, career interests, as well as the woman's own desire/choice to maintain a certain level of involvement in farm work. Even if the need for her input

into farm production had declined, she may have chosen to continue at a certain level of participation and could continue to do so irrespective of future changes in the nature of the work due to industrialization.

PRESENT

- 3) IF, a study of farms which were all at a relatively similar level of industrialization had been done (i.e. a study without the farm size component) and the findings indicated a significant variation in women's involvement in farm work, then, the personal choice model presented in (2) might be operant.
- 4) On the other hand, IF, a study such as this one had been done which included two sub-groups which were at different levels of industrialization and the results indicated a relatively standard level of women's involvement in farm work (irrespective of level of industrialization), then, the personal choice model presented in (2) might be operant.

However,

COMPARATIVE:

- 5) IF, given the changing nature of agricultural production over the last two to four decades, a relationship was found to exist to women's declining participation in farm work tasks

PRESENT AND

- 6) IF, that study also contained the variation by industrialization (farm size) component where the women in that sub-group of highly industrialized farms evidenced a continued pattern of decline in their farm work participation,

THEN

- 7) the relationship between the process of increasing industrialization and the subsequent continuation of decline in women's involvement would be more clearly established. Importantly, this indicator of continuation of change in women's roles would have direct implications for the next generations of farm women's role in agricultural production.

FUTURE

8) This future-indicator has even greater reliability in light of the findings of the present study, given, that older women have maintained a portion of their role in farm work because of habit or out of a tradition of 'working together' (Experience rationale)

AND

9) Given, that younger women are participating much less in farm work activities and are therefore, much less likely to develop that habit/tradition which has helped/encouraged the older women to maintain their role in production despite the changing nature of that production and despite the resulting decrease in demand for women's labour.

Points number 5, 8 and 9 have been supported by both quantitative and qualitative data presented thus far.²¹

Quantitative data have suggested that point number 6 also holds for the women in this study. The task that remains here is to gather qualitative data from the interviews and from the way in which other qualitative comments (which have appeared throughout the preceding sections) were patterned by farm size to further examine the contention that women's role in farm activities will decline even further on those large farms where industrialization has advanced to a greater degree. After having done that, the discussion will then return to the importance of the variation by farm size noted above.

There were no specific questions included in the questionnaire which referred to the effects of farm size on women's work roles. Thus, there are fewer comments to draw out of the interviews in order to more fully understand the influence of farm size. Throughout earlier discussions, however, brief references were made to variations in the frequency of

Comments from the respondents according to the size of farm in which they are involved. A review of these patterns is in order here with the purpose of indicating the extent to which their frequency and/or content vary by farm size:

- 1) Of the 9 older women who have increased their participation in farm work since the first years of their marriage, only 2 were from large farms.
- 2) Of the 24 older women who noted a general fear with larger machinery, 18 were from large farms.
- 3) Of the 6 older women who said they felt the need for their farm labour to be minimal, 5 were from large farms.
- 4) Of the 14 older women who made a direct link between increasing machine size/complexity and the subsequent decline in their farm work, 10 were from large farms.
- 5) Of the 10 younger women who work off of the farm, 7 are from large farms.
- 6) Of the 7 younger women who felt that their labour was not needed very much on the farm, 5 were from large farms.

In each one of these patterns, women on large farms are under- or over-represented in the direction hypothesized. More women on large farms drew reference to the changing nature of farming and more women on large farms expressed the opinion that these changes resulted in subsequent transformations in their own work. Any one of these seven patterns existing alone would not be terribly significant, but when they are taken altogether, the total picture suggests that whatever pattern exists for the majority of women, it will be further advanced within the sub-group of women from large farms.

As noted earlier, despite the fact that the questionnaire did not deal with the issue of farm size in any direct way, eight

comments were made throughout the interviews about farm size and its effect on women's work. These comments lend further support to the hypotheses that because industrialization is further advanced along a number of dimensions on a large farm, the effects on women's work will be more striking than on the work of a woman on a small farm. Most of these comments arose in response to the question concerning younger women's participation in farm work.

I think there would be an awful difference from what I had to do when I first started. The work is so much easier now and things are so mechanized, but if they have a big farm, that will make the difference. Like, if they have all the machines she might not have to work at all, but if they have a small farm she would have to work really hard.

Well, I think that the small farmer - the guy with the 100 acres and the one farm - that the girl will certainly have to - she will just have to get out there and do it. I honestly think that if my husband had a small farm of 100 to 150 acres and 50 to 100 steers or something like that, that the two of us would have to be out there day and night working together and (her child) would come with us and sleep out there because we would have to do that. But the way it is here with all the machines and the two brothers working together on this big place, I never have to go out - they don't need my work, like I said before.

Well, I don't think there are very many like us who just go out and buy one farm and try to make a go of it like that. But, for me, I have to go out there and help him. Like we don't have all the equipment that they have and there's a lot of things he just can't do by himself. If things go okay and - like, we get on our feet here - maybe we can get some of those things and I won't have to do so much, but right now I have to.

I think it depends on where they start. If they try it on a small farm and they're still back at the shovel and fork stage, then I can easily see that she's going to have to be involved 'cause the

guy can't do all of that kind of work on his own. But if they go bigger, then she's better to get an outside job and help pay off the things they'd have to get to do that.

From their own experience and what they see around them, eight women have suggested that the size of the farm is an important determinant of the farm woman's role in farm work. References to increased mechanization, specialization, capital intensity and decreased labour requirements on the larger farms were noted as influencing the need for the woman's active participation.

It appears clear that for the greatest majority of women in this study, farm size and the increased level of industrialization associated with larger production scale are important determinants of the extent of participation in farm work. Both quantitative and qualitative data are congruent in pointing to the effects of farm size on women's work roles and the larger significance of this finding require further discussion here.

The argument outlined above suggests that without the farm size variable in this study, the declining participation of older women could have been interpreted in many ways, or, could have been the result of a plethora of factors. More important, without the sub group of farms which are more highly industrialized, there would have been no indication as to the direction of the change in women's farm work participation from this point in time. For instance, women may have reached a balance between the demands for their involvement in farm

tasks, other demands on their time and energy such as housework, child care and so on, and their desire to maintain a certain level of participation in farm activities. While quantitative and qualitative data by the variable of 'age' indicate that younger women have not begun to participate in farm work as much as older women, there again, would be no suggestion that the pattern of decline might continue for increasing proportions of women or continue to a greater extent.

However, the inclusion of the farm size variable and the results of both quantitative and qualitative data derived from the analysis of this variable clearly point out that the process of decline is likely to be an advancing one. Rather than reaching a point of balance, it appears that, as more farms become industrialized and as the level of industrialization increases, the pattern of decline in involvement in farm work by farm women will continue.

Most farm women's participation in farm work activities has declined over the last two to four decades as industrialization has transformed the nature of agricultural production on the family farm enterprise. Older women have maintained a portion of their involvement out of a need to keep busy, a long-established tradition of working together and out of an appreciation of the merits of hard work.

Younger farm women, beginning their careers as farm wives are faced with a different situation. Many arrive into an already established enterprise where, even on small farms, industrialization has advanced to a great extent over what they

may have been familiar with on their parents' farms. For those who were not raised on a farm, farming practices will be foreign and the specialized skills, equipment and knowledge will present a greater barrier to their involvement than was ever the case for older women. Pressure to seek off farm employment due to the capital intensive nature of farming, along with the decreasing need for labour input will combine in favour of their substituting wages for farm labour as their contribution to the enterprise. It is therefore highly unlikely that many of them will ever form the same desire or sense of duty to 'keep a hand in' farm work as many of the older women have.

The industrialization of production is an advancing process most likely to continue to a greater degree on most farms and likely to effect, to this greater extent, increasing proportions of farms. The resulting consequences for women's involvement in the production process become more clear. With increasing industrialization of production comes a declining role in production for women. Because the data presented here indicate that both of these patterns will continue in the future, the suggestion is that the next generation(s) of farm women will experience an even greater decline in the need for their labour input into the family farm enterprise and an accompanying demand for their wage-earning power as a substitute contribution. While it is likely that there will always be exceptions to the general rule, the evidence presented here suggests that the pattern will continue both in terms of degree and in terms of

the proportion of women affected.

The trends outlined here for rural-farm women are very similar to those which were discussed earlier for urban women at the turn of this century. Certain rather standard consequences resulted from the increasing exclusion of urban women from the centre of economic production. What remains to be outlined in this study then, are the implications of the patterns noted for farm women in light of the historical evidence available on urban women who experienced a parallel transformation in their role in production.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Work is a central human activity which plays a major part in determining social roles, value, and recognition. The social value and recognition assigned to urban women declined throughout a period of radical transformation of the work in which they were engaged at the turn of this century. Given the time lag concerning the spread of industrialization into rural areas, it was hypothesized that similar changes in the work roles of and social value assigned to rural women would become apparent more recently.

The changing nature of agricultural production has been reviewed. Within this framework of changes in production the relation of farm women to that work has been examined. According to both quantitative and qualitative data collected in this research, the central hypothesis is confirmed. The involvement of farm women in agricultural production has declined as industrialization has transformed that production process. From the analyses of the farm size and 'age' variables, it appears that the process of decline may be an advancing one, likely to continue for the next generation(s) of farm women. Thus, like their urban sisters several decades earlier, farm women within the family farm enterprise are increasingly likely to be working further away from the place where the bulk of

economic production is located.

The parallels found to exist between the work roles of and social status assigned to urban and rural women are numerous. These parallels apply both in the private, domestic sphere of housework, and in the public sphere equivalent of farm work. The similarities will be outlined separately below for each of these sectors.

A. Rural/Urban Parallels: Housework

The findings of this study in relation to the domestic labour of farm women fall into three areas: the changing nature of housework itself, the involvement of farm women in household production activities, and the division of domestic labour by sex.

1) The Changing Nature of Housework. Given the time lag between urban and rural areas along the dimension of availability (and to a lesser extent, acceptance) of modern household technology, most farm women have more recently acquired the majority of household appliances, gadgetry and conveniences. Thus, it has been within the last 20 to 40 years that electricity, running water, electric stoves, refrigerators, deep freezers and so on have become available to many, if not most, of the forty older women in this study. However, once this technology is utilized, the nature of the work itself increasingly resembles its urban counterpart. While there are a number of factors which continue to keep farm household work different from urban

housework, such as the occasional presence of hired help, the existence of more and perhaps dirtier clothes to be laundered etc., the greatest majority of household cleaning, maintenance, and child care appears to be similar to that in urban homes.

As urban research has indicated, household technology does not necessarily result in a decrease in time expenditures in housework. Similarly, many farm women noted the absence of a decrease in the amount of time spent in housework despite the application of newer technology. The farm women also noted rising standards which appear to have accompanied the use of this technology and the household renovations in their homes. While much of the drudgery has been removed from domestic labour, the rising standards have kept time expenditures relatively stable. These findings clearly parallel those documented in urban areas.

2) Household Production. It has been contended in previous research that rural women have continued to be engaged in a range of domestic production activities when such had become a thing of the past for their urban counterparts. For the greatest majority of older women in this study, this contention still holds true. In some instances the nature of this domestic production has been altered (i.e. canning to freezing), but most older farm women continue to produce large quantities of a wide variety of fruits and vegetables for family consumption.

A decline in the household production activities of

farm women was hypothesized in this study. While the findings suggest that this pattern is not all-encompassing, data do indicate a decline to be in progress. In contrast to the first five years of the older women's marriages, the forty older women are now involved in a smaller range of domestic production activities. Partially due to the increasing specialization of farming, many smaller endeavours have been "phased out" of the family farms in this study. Few farm women continue to keep poultry for meat and/or egg production; beef farmers have, for the most part, discontinued milk production, even for family consumption; home butchering is done by only a small minority of farm families. Very much like the removal of domestic production of consumer goods from urban homes early in this century, many of the endeavours in which farm women were engaged in the past, have been removed from the sphere of family farm production. Milk is produced almost exclusively on specialized dairy farms. Eggs and poultry are now produced almost entirely by specialized poultry farms. The 'phasing out' of various enterprises from the family farm has often meant the discontinuation of production activities for which women were primarily responsible. Thus, while older women continue to maintain gardens and preserve vegetables, few continue to be engaged in activities such as poultry, egg and cream production for home use and/or for exchange.

The decline in household production is further advanced for the younger women in this study. Fewer of the younger women

maintain gardens and fewer of them are engaged in activities such as egg and poultry production than is the case for older women.

It is concluded that the level or extent of household production of goods for family use by most farm women remains greater than the occurrence of these tasks in urban households. In contrast to the extent of farm women's involvement in these activities in the past, however, a decline in the amount and range of goods being produced is apparent over time and is further advanced across generations. Fewer younger farm women are engaged in these activities than women in the past and than older women now.

3) The Sexual Division of Domestic Labour. Contrary to popular opinion, the division of household labour between partners in urban areas has not been altered by the increasing participation of married women in the paid labour force. Urban women continue to assume the major responsibility for housework.

Farm women, too, are entering the paid labour force in greater proportions. This is particularly true for the younger women in this study where 50% of the younger women now hold paid positions off the farm. The findings from this research suggest that, like urban households, the division of household labour remains relatively stable in farm homes despite the employment status of farm women. Three specific parallels to urban findings emerged.

First, the greatest majority of farm women continue to assume the responsibility for housework. Second, the husbands of younger, employed women do help with more housework than older husbands or husbands of non-employed wives. This added participation remains at the 'helping' level however, and leaves the main bulk of work to be done by women. Third, the range of tasks with which men help is limited to specific activities. Child care ranks highest in this respect, although, even within this range of tasks, men are found to participate in greatest proportions in the tasks which are likely to be most rewarding or most closely resembling leisure activities. Reading to or playing with children are two examples in point.

All of these patterns concerning the division of household labour clearly parallel the findings of Meissner (1977) and Clark and Harvey (1976) in urban areas of this country. Regardless of employment status, farm women continue to assume the primary responsibility for household labour.

B. Rural/Urban Parallels: Farm Work

It is suggested that the farm work sector within the family farm enterprise can be seen as equivalent to the 'public sphere' of urban production. With this perspective in mind, two distinct parallels with urban findings emerge from this research.

First, the nature of farm work is, itself, approximating urban production. The process of the industrialization of agricultural production has been a continuous one from the turn of

this century with its greatest acceleration having occurred since World War I. Agricultural production within the family farm is now, increasingly large scale, mechanized, capital intensive, and specialized.

Within this period of major transformations in the nature of farm work, significant alterations have occurred in the involvement of women in this public sphere equivalent. Like their urban sisters several decades earlier, farm women have decreased their involvement in the public sphere of (agricultural) production. The industrialization of the work itself has been clearly delineated as a central causal variable in this process of decline. Therefore, not only is this decline in farm women's involvement in farm work similar to earlier findings for urban women, but the cause of the decline also approximates the urban pattern of several decades earlier.

There had always been a distinct division between 'men's work' and 'women's work' within the farm family. This division, however, did not typically follow the housework/farm-work (public/private) division. Farm women were traditionally responsible for farm work tasks such as poultry production and milking in addition to helping with the full range of other farm work activities. Their participation in the public sphere equivalent was, therefore, extensive and recognized as such.

The majority of farm tasks traditionally assigned as 'women's work' have almost entirely disappeared due to the specialization of farming into one or two central enterprises.

Like the removal of economic production from the urban home, many of the production activities assigned to women have been those to be removed first.

Women are now less often required to help with other farm work activities due to the substitution of machine power for family labour. The equipment being used is increasingly specialized, large, and complex. The combination of increased skill and experience required in the operation of this machinery with the decreasing need for family labour has left many farm women outside of the center of agricultural production within the family farm enterprise.

The division of farm labour by sex is now more clearly paralleling the housework/farm work division. 'Men's work' and 'women's work' are more closely approximating the public/private split which has characterized urban production for decades.

As women's involvement in farm work tasks has declined, there has been an increase in their participation in the farm accounts work as the amount of that work has, itself, increased. Like their urban counterparts, farm women have moved in to fill the gaps in the 'white collar (farm) work' generated by large scale, bureaucratized production methods.

The review of literature on urban women and their work suggested that work and women themselves became devalued as women were relegated more exclusively to the home. Their labour became further removed from the center of economic production,

it was not waged work, and it was subsequently devalued and considered to be 'not real work'. Farm women in this study have been found to follow many of the patterns established for urban women earlier. Farm women are participating less in the public sector of farm work and certain questions can be raised concerning the potential for the devaluation of farm women's economic participation. Given that the analyses of the 'age' and farm size variables suggest the trends noted above to be advancing, questions are also raised about the future generations of farm women in relation to their work and the social value assigned to that work.

C. Implications

The aim in this final section is to note a number of potential consequences which may follow from the declining role of farm women in farm work. The findings of this research are based on a relatively small sample within one specific geographical region and, therefore, potential implications must be stated tentatively, pending further investigation of the patterns delineated here.

Farm women have, traditionally, worked long and often hard days. In a society which increasingly values leisure time, the freeing of farm women from farm work may promote options never before available to the majority of farm women. The increasing opportunity to pursue financial independence or career options may be welcomed by the future generations of farm women if they are needed to stay working on the farm to a lesser extent.

However, employment opportunities for women in rural or small town regions are limited in both range and availability. Therefore, while the decreasing need for women to help with farm work may provide a greater freedom of choice in terms of farm/non-farm employment, farm women are even more disadvantaged than their urban counterparts with respect to the availability of 'real' work options.

For those farm women who choose to remain outside of the paid labour force - whether they do or do not work at farm work - certain consequences may follow from the changed (and changing) nature of farm work in terms of women's relation to that production process. From recent studies on Canadian farm women and their farm work, it appears as though the devaluation of these women's economic contribution is already underway. Kerr (1975), Taylor (1976), Kohl (1976a, 1976b, 1978) and the two government publications by the Saskatchewan Department of Labour (1977) and the Council on Rural Development Canada (1979) have all noted the issue of undervaluation of farm women's work. As the definition of 'work' has come to be tied to the receipt of a wage, unpaid female farm workers are the largest single occupational category of 'unpaid' workers in this country. Their economic contribution goes uncounted and for the most part, unnoticed. Thus, the number one conclusion of the CRDC report stated:

In view of the fact that most rural women play a major role in the social and economic well-being of their communities, every effort must be made to:

a) recognize the value of their contribution (whether paid or unpaid), and b) to promote a change in attitudes, toward the meaning of work so that the term itself would refer equally to paid and unpaid forms of labour - rather than being exclusively associated with the world of paid work. Such action would ultimately enhance the status of rural women who more than any other single group are occupied in forms of labour that are receiving no direct financial recognition and which continue to be undervalued.

(Council on Rural Development Canada, 1979, ix).

Present legislation such as Taxation regulations which prohibit a farmer from deducting wages paid to his spouse for taxation purposes serves to nearly prohibit women from receiving wages due. Thus, the likelihood of farm women receiving monetary reward for their labour is almost non-existent under present legislation. One could alternately view farm women as co-owners in the family farm enterprise. However, the original decisions in the Murdock and Rathwell cases indicate how tenuous a claim to property rights farm women have in this country even where those women's contribution of labour and/or finances directly to the farm enterprise were undisputed. If women are to become less involved or less directly involved in the day to day operation of their family farms, one can speculate on the direction which future legal decisions may take.

It has been suggested elsewhere that the farm woman's claim to power and recognition within the farm family was traditionally based on her status as equal partner within the family enterprise. As women are increasingly 'phased out' of farm work, the occupation is most likely to become increasingly male-dominated. An increasing separation of public (farm) and

private (domestic) spheres may result in the sexual division of labour more rigidly following this separation, placing 'women's work' more exclusively within the 'private' sphere. In Canada, as a whole, this relegation of women to the private domestic sphere of the home has become almost 'total' as Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: 60) contend. They have suggested the family farm and corner store to be the two forms which still combine domestic and economic functions. The findings of this study, however, clearly challenge the potential for survival of the 'family farm' as a 'total family' endeavour. Further, one can seriously question the likelihood of women retaining their power base within the farm family if they are to be increasingly excluded from the day to day operation of the enterprise.

Increasingly approximating the nature of production in urban areas, agricultural production may also become characterized by a more rigid division of labour by sex with women, again, seeing their labours being relegated to a sphere further removed from the center of economic production. The findings of this study clearly point to the accuracy of Abell's prediction originally made in 1966 that:

With increased mechanization, specialization and decision making geared to more technical aspects of production, the traditional role of farm women as partners with their husbands in farm operation will change and/or disappear. The role of the rural wife will merge into that of the urban wife.
(Abell, 1970: 213)

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Margaret Mead (1963) arrived at a similar conclusion in her much earlier study of three primitive societies although she focuses more exclusively on psychological traits and temperament than on the division of labour as such.
2. See Oakley (1974: 10-14) for examples of societies in which women are seen as making valuable economic contributions. Mead (1963) also notes several examples. Brown (1970) contends that the extent to which women can participate in subsistence activities is determined by the extent to which this work can be satisfactorily combined with child care. Thus, in societies which depend on subsistence activities which are extremely compatible with simultaneous child care, considerable economic contribution by women is involved.
3. Shepherd (1969: 573) suggests that, in the case of the Kibbutz, there is a greater trend toward the traditional division of labour by sex but that this transformation does not necessarily contradict the goal of equality within the system. Emphasis is placed on "the equality of the value assigned to the different tasks" and not simply on their equal division between the sexes.
4. Canadian Census data did not specify rural/rural-farm until 1951.
5. There is an extreme dearth of Canadian rural literature (Whyte, 1970: 1). An attempt has been made to draw on Canadian data where possible but in some cases, American or British references have been used to fill in gaps or offer further substantiation. Because of the consistent nature of the family farm throughout North America in the period in question, it is unlikely that distortion of the Canadian situation will result from the usage of these (and particularly the American) descriptions.
6. See Reaman (1970: 23-24) for a discussion of agricultural economics and markets in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Ontario. Public markets were established in Kingston and York by 1801 and 1804 respectively and farmers were encouraged to produce beef, pork, oats and potatoes for sale. By the end of what Reaman calls the "early pioneer period" from 1776 to 1812, Canadian farmers were selling surplus not only to local markets but to export

markets in Europe and the United States. For those farms in isolated areas however, the distance to be travelled, combined with the impassibility of roads for as much as ten months of the year meant that the trek to markets with produce was possible only once a year.

7. See, for instance, the conflicting time references used by each of the following authors who generally discuss identical patterns of change: Ehrenreich and English (1975); Galbraith (1973); Cowan (1976); Andrews and Andrews (1974); Vanek (1974); and Oakley (1974).
8. The mention of similar changes which happened in various parts of this country or in other nations may vary significantly by time frame although, as discussed below, the changes themselves were nearly universal in their nature.
9. Similar patterns have been outlined by Oakley (1974) and Clark (1920) for Britain; by Baker (1964), Baxandall, Gordon and Reverby (1976), Cowan (1976), Andrews and Andrews (1974), Vanek (1974), and Ehrenreich and English (1975) for the United States.
10. Zaretsky suggests a roughly equivalent time frame for this transformation in the United States (1977: 60).
11. Baker (1964: 5) notes that in New England, yarn continued to be sent out into individual homes to be spun for at least fourteen years after the cotton industry had been removed from the home.
12. See Eichler (1977) for a discussion of the implications of this dependency.
13. See Gavron (1973) and Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: 73-74) for a further discussion of the situation of the 'Captive Wife' due to the increased isolation of women in the home.
14. Smith (1977) has argued that the division between public and private spheres of work has had further reaching consequences for women. Having a place only in the private domestic sphere has located women outside of the public sphere "where changes in human society occur." (p. 18) Thus, for those women who have not been forced by economic need to enter the paid labour force - that male domain - it has meant "the disappearance of a socio-economic basis for an autonomous selfhood and hence the absence of a base from which to make the reciprocal claim. In our kind of society and for women of the middle class at least, the definitions of our existence are collapsed into those given us from outside. We are exposed as persons to being fully and authoritatively defined by an external order which men occupy and represent to us." (1977: 46)

15. In fact, Cowan (1976: 20-24) assigns a major responsibility to advertisers in the transition of ideology around housework as a moral imperative. She contends that while technology made rising standards of cleanliness and so on more possible, the advertisers were instrumental in encouraging the transition in people's (women's) attitudes about the need to acquire and make extensive use of the newer products available.
16. See Vipond (1977) for a discussion of the image of Canadian women presented in magazines during the 1920's and Eichler (1976a: 10-13) for a presentation of data on the presence of household machines in Canadian households in the later period of 1948 to 1968.
17. Andrews and Andrews (1974: 318) contend that the application of what is now known as Taylorism - efficiency, rationality and so on - began to be applied to housework 100 years before Taylor. There is no doubt that the process of change in the nature of housework, being outlined here, occurred over a time span of many decades and reached high points at different times in different regions of North America. It was probably not until the 1920's in both Canada and the United States that the results of these transformations could be most visible.
18. See Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: 68) for a review of the prestige ratings of the tasks involved in housework. See, also, Eichler's (1976b) Canadian study on "The Prestige of the Occupation Housewife."
19. Benston has been criticised (see for example, Armstrong and Armstrong, 1976: 136) for excluding women's waged work from her analysis. While the criticism is justified, the link between the value of work and the value of the worker is, nonetheless, a solid one.
20. The majority of women who worked in the paid labour force during the late nineteenth century were either single or 'unfortunates', the latter term referring to widowed or divorced women who were "unfortunate" in that they had no immediate male to depend on for support. The ideology which stated that "women's place was in the home" served to keep most married women out of the work force except in those situations where economic necessity demanded that they supplement the family's income through waged labour.
21. That the division of household labour changes little with women's assumption of paid work also holds for other countries as well. See Katheryn E. Walker's work from the United States (1973) and Mannila (1971) for her review of this pattern in Sweden, Finland and The Soviet Union.

22. There have been numerous recent attempts to assess the value of housework and its contribution to the national economy. Galbraith (1973: 79) quotes the estimated replacement value of the labour of housewives to be \$13,364.00 on the basis of the 1970 wage rates for equivalent employment. He also states that the value of the services of housewives have been calculated at roughly one fourth of the total GNP. For other attempts at such calculations, see: Gauger (1973: 12-15), Harvey (1975), Walker (1975; 1974; 1973: 8-13), Pyun (1969) and Rosen (1974).
23. As noted earlier, it is difficult to sort out some of the various effects of industrialization apart from urbanization, for as Whyte (1970: 26) discusses, both trends occurred simultaneously. There are, however, certain changes in production technology, as outlined in this section, that can best be viewed as following from industrialization rather than from urbanization, and these will be the primary focus for the purposes of this work. Because the majority of change resulting from industrialization began or were felt most solidly in urban areas first, they could also be viewed as the spread of an urban pattern into rural areas, but it should be remembered that they began in urban areas primarily as the result of increasing technology and industrialization. See Blumer (1964) for a further discussion of the problems in separating the effects of industrialization from those of other social phenomena which also occur during a period of industrialization.
24. See, for example, Clark (1920), Demos (1970), Sennett (1970).
25. See Katz (1975: 292). Burchinal (1964: chapter 5) and Jones (1973: 80) similarly refer to a lag in rural areas to follow the trends established in urban areas. See also, Abell (1970: 195).
26. In fact, a great proportion of the rural sociology literature of the first three decades of this century was devoted to the examination of the 'rural-urban dichotomy'. Dewey (1960) lists forty separate dimensions used by various scholars to distinguish between rural and urban populations. See also, Sorokin and Zimmerman (1929) for a good summary of the research in this area conducted to that point. Whyte (1970) has summarized these and more recent works on the rural-urban continuum model. See particularly, pp. 2-8 for this review.
27. It seems that as rural society became increasingly like urban areas, many rural sociologists, fearing the death of the family farm and the bucolic existence associated

with rural living, began to emphasise the diminishing differences between urban and rural populations. See, for example, Landis (1940: chapter 18); Locke (1945: 142-150); Anderson (1946: 120-127); Nelson (1957: 20-30); Reiss (1959: 182-195); Fuguitt (1963: 246-261).

As Jones notes (1973: 9-13), more recent works emphasised the rural-urban continuum model which draws attention to the gradual nature of changes which occur from one polar extreme to the other. While urban-rural differences were found to exist along numerous dimensions in more recent works (see, Burchinal, 1964; and McKie, 1968), Tarver's work in 1969 offers evidence to indicate that the extent of these differences is positively associated with distance from urban centers. This, however was not a new discovery as Hiller reported similar findings in 1941. Taylor and Jones (1964: 356-367) hypothesise that as the social organization associated with urban areas continues to reach into isolated rural areas, these differences will, accordingly, continue to diminish. See Whyte for a review of this literature (1970: 2-8).

28. See, for example, Lemlin (1953), for a discussion of the problems associated with such attempts.
29. See Anderson (1946: 122) and Fuguitt (1963). Wasson (1939) identified the role of better transportation and communication systems as crucial in the spread of urban values into rural regions.
30. See Whyte (1970) for a detailed view of the extent to which many of these transformations varied within this country.
31. The most common pattern in the literature is to view this transition as from farming 'as a way of life' to farming 'as a business'. See, for instance, Taylor and Jones (1964); Jones (1973); Rogers and Burdge (1972).
32. Anderson wrote in 1955 that the variation in agricultural productivity was, at that time, greater than in any other industry, and that the 1955 productivity level per unit of labour was similarly, less than in any other non-agricultural sector.
33. In Canada, the definition of a 'census farm' has varied from year to year making comparisons of data over time inaccurate to varying degrees. Thus, a Census farm has been defined as an agricultural holding of one acre or more with sales of agricultural products during the last 12 month period preceding the date of the census of \$50.00 or more (1941), \$250.00 or more (1951), \$50.00 or more, (1961, 1966, 1977), and \$1200.00 or more (1976).

There have been many attempts to determine a suitable working definition of the concept 'family farm'. As Gilson (1962: 4) suggests, there are probably as many definitions of the family farm as there are points of view on the topic, but one of the most commonly accepted definitions of the concept is as follows:

1. The farm operator makes all or most of the managerial decisions,
2. The farm operator and members of his family supply most of the labour needed,
3. The available farm resources are sufficient to provide the family with at least an adequate, minimum standard of living,
4. Tenure is reasonably secure for the operator and his family.

(Gilson, 1962: 4)

For a review of the problems involved in this and alternate definitions, see Gilson (1962: 4-8a); Harsany (1964: 1-3).

34. A note on terms and patterns of speech is probably in order here. The role of language in conveying ideas is an important one and the use of non-sexist language has been attempted throughout this work. When referring to a farm operator, however, the male references are utilized here simply because they most closely 'fit' the reality. The proportion of women who are the primary operators of their farms is very small. For the most part it is men who are seen as the primary person(s) in charge of farms and to a certain extent, this view is based on reality. That is, while women have at least a 'dual' role in both housework and farm work, men generally work only in the latter sphere. They devote almost all of their working time and energy to the farm while women's energy is typically divided among many activities with housework and domestic production probably being primary to most.

There is no intent to diminish women's contribution to farm families by using the male pronoun and so on in this context, but in order to be most accurate, such usage seems advisable. Thus when a farm operator is implied to be male, one must keep in mind that he does not always work alone and that women are also active in farm work activities, decision making and management. See Kohl (1978: 51; 1976a: 4-5, 56-59) for a more detailed discussion of the male role as 'official producer' in North American society.

35. This figure is topped only by the number of female unpaid family members from all other unspecified or defined industrial divisions. See Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: 41).

36. See Kohl, (1978: 50-53) for a further discussion of the ways in which women's economic contributions have been largely ignored by rural sociologists and agricultural economists.
37. For more detail, see the Appendix to Report No. 4 of the Special Study of Ontario Farm Homes and Homemakers (Abell, 1959).
38. For a critique of the structural functionalist model of family roles, see Hoschild (1973); Millman (1971); Millman and Kanter (1975); Millett (1971); Bernard (1973); Friedan (1974); Roby (1972); McCormack (1975).

CHAPTER II

1. Selected Agricultural Statistics for Canada, 1978: 2. These figures are comparable over time because the 1976 definition of a Census Farm has been used throughout their calculation.
2. See, for example, Abell (1970: 181-184).
3. The mixed farm in 1976 represented only 7.8% of all of the farms in this province. (Agriculture Canada, 1978: 56).
4. Wilkening (1954: 31) found a consistently negative relationship between the acceptance of change in farm technology and the extent of labour provided by the family. This suggests that in the smaller farms where mechanization is less advanced and family labour is required to a greater extent, adoption of modernized farming practices is much slower. Williams (1926: 220) in an historical perspective, stated that the great mass of less prosperous farmers do not change their attitudes as rapidly as their more lucrative counterparts. Gilson (1962) has also identified resistance to change as a significant problem for the small farm family in Canada.
5. There are data from the United States for the first three decades of this century (see note No. 25, below). However, there is no solid Canadian equivalent on the extent of farm women's involvement in farm work prior to 1954.
6. The investigator took care to exclude any cases where there had been multiple marriages or particularly late marriages. The reason for there not being an equal number of older and younger women included in the sample was based on practical considerations. Given the financial and temporal restraints on the research, the total sample size was

restricted to no more than 60 respondents. The group of central interest was the 'older' women, given their position to detail potential changes in their work as the work itself had been altered. The younger women group was considered a comparison group and therefore the decision was made to include more women from the former group than the latter. The 20/40 split was chosen for ease of comparison.

7. There is no doubt that there exists a small proportion of women who are farming, independent of a male partner or, who, for various other reasons, have assumed the 'primary operator' role in the running of their farming enterprises. However, for the majority of farms in this country, it is the husband or male partner who assumes the role of primary farm operator. (See Kohl, 1976a: 4-5). For this reason it was decided to control for this variable and require all respondents to be from farms where the husband was farming on a full time basis.
8. It is almost always the case that sons (or sometimes sons-in-law) take over a family farm. Daughters are rarely considered for this role. See the footnote above (No. 7) and Kohl (1976a: 56-63).
9. For details, see the following section on 'Selection Procedures'.
10. The definition of a 'census farm' has varied from year to year. By the 1976 definition (an agricultural holding of one acre or more with sales of at least \$1200.00 worth of agricultural products during the previous year) there were 2,866 census farms in Bruce County in 1976.
11. See Appendix B, for a copy of this letter.
12. There appears to be a slight overlap in farm acreage between the various farm size subdivisions. For example, the smallest farm in the large dairy farm category has as many acres as the largest farm in the small farm category. The reader might therefore question whether a difference by farm size really exists. However, no account was taken of the quality of the land or the proportion of wooded or unimproved land included in the total acreage of individual respondents' farms. Thus, while the largest of the small farms here has 200 acres, it is most likely that a significant proportion of this farm is not under cultivation. The most significant determinant of farm production scale in the dairy division is the quantity of milk produced annually and the figures for average annual production presented in the next table prove without doubt that a substantial difference does in fact, exist between the large and small farms along the dimension of production scale.

The fact that all but one of the farms in this study turned out to be highly specialized in the sense of being engaged in only one or two enterprises also bears on the relationship between farm acreage and production scale. The farms studied produce only those crops needed to feed the livestock which they keep, and none engages in production of any crop for surplus sales. Thus the amount of land that belongs to each farm is most likely to be in direct relation to the amount/number of livestock owned.

13. These calculations were performed by the Bruce County Representative for the Ministry of Agriculture and Food because the confidential nature of annual production records precluded the author's access to them.
14. The definition of a 'census farm' has varied from year to year. These calculations are made according to the 1976 definition (see footnote No. 10, above) and are therefore, comparable over time. The figures presented here on tenure are taken from Agriculture Canada, 1978: 41).
15. See the definition of a 'family farm' as used for this study, section "D1)" of this chapter.
16. Two further characteristics of the women in this sample are included here for interest. Analyses of these variables have not been performed due to the temporal limitations on, and scope of the research. However, the questions in the questionnaire dealing with how each farm family began farming and where the farm woman was raised may provide the reader with background information on the nature of the farm organizations under study and on the farm women themselves. No significant patterns developed in a breakdown of these characteristics by sample sub-divisions and so the numbers and percentages presented here are for the sample as a whole.

STARTED FARMING:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
a) partnership with a parent	1	(2)
b) inherited family farm	0	-
c) purchase of parents' farm	23	(38)
d) purchase from other relative	1	(2)
e) purchase from other (non-kin)	30	(50)
f) rent from family farm company	5	(8)
Total	60	(100)

WHERE THE FARM WOMEN WERE RAISED:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
a) farm	47	(78)

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
b) in town	11	(18)
c) in city	1	(2)
d) town and city	1	(2)
Total	60	(100)

17. See the copy of the questionnaire in Appendix B.
18. See Oppenheim (1966) for a discussion of the problems around 'recall' in the use of time budget data for a time frame in the past.
19. The seventy-four specific tasks chosen for inclusion in this research represent the three broadly defined areas of work activities: housework, farm work and 'other work'. The latter category refers to a range of tasks which does not clearly or exclusively 'fit' into either housework or farm work for various reasons. For example, the activities dealing with poultry production have often been considered as falling within the domestic sphere of work because the tasks were frequently assigned to women, often exclusively so. However, for many readers, particularly those raised in urban centers, labour devoted to producing fowl or eggs does not 'fit' within the definition of housework as it is commonly understood. In a similar sense, yard work, gardening and orchard work are sometimes considered to be part of the domestic sphere when performed by women although they clearly occur outside of the home. The tasks considered here as 'other work' were kept separate during the data collection phase of the research. Analysis of these tasks appear primarily in the housework chapter under the heading of Household Production.
20. The home butchering of family-produced livestock was a task traditionally performed by most farm families. It, like those tasks noted above in footnote No. 19, could be considered to fall within the range of household production tasks within the broader area of housework. However, like the various tasks also placed in the 'other work' area, it is a task which is neither exclusively housework nor 'fits' within the common definition of housework and for these reasons was set aside in the 'other' category for the data collection phase of the research.
21. The questions omitted for the younger women are marked with an asterisk on the copy of the questionnaire in Appendix B.
22. Because the list of potential respondents was limited in a number of the sample sub-divisions, the ten women who

were chosen for pre-testing of the questionnaire did not quite meet the farm size or length of time-married restrictions. They were however, close enough to meeting these conditions to allow them to answer the questions from their own experience and to allow the author to redesign the questionnaire in order to ensure its most efficient use.

23. See Whyte (1970) for a discussion of the extent to which demographic patterns and farming methods vary by province within this country.
24. See, for example, Hiller's work (1941) which indicates urban influence to be greater in regions immediately surrounding urban centers.
25. There were numerous time budgets done in the United States in the second and third decades of this century on farm women. See, for example, Arnquist and Roberts (1929); Rankin (1928); Kneeland (1929); Clark and Grey (1930); Wasson (1930); United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics (1944). Weigand's work (1953) gives a comparative view for the years 1936 to 1952. See also, Vanek (1974) for a broader time perspective.
For Canada, Abell (1954) cites data on Central Alberta farm women and their use of time; Abell's Ontario data (1959) provides time budget information on rural women for 1959. For more recent data on Canadian farm women and their use of time, see: Kerr (1975); Saskatchewan Department of Labour, Women's Division (1977). The CRDC study provides national data (1979).

CHAPTER III

1. The goal here is not to systematically detail how each household task has changed over the last four decades. Rather, the aim is merely to illustrate that the ways in which housework in these farm homes has changed are very similar to the reports of the changing nature of housework in urban homes in the early parts of this century. To this end, certain individual tasks have been chosen for illustration.
Questions about how each task had changed and/or why were not asked of the respondents on a systematic basis. Many issues surfaced throughout the interviews but the reasons given to the question of how housework had changed, varied substantially. No attempt has been made to quantify these responses for to do so would lead to spurious results. That is, to say that 'x per cent of the women noted a reduction in time' while 'y per cent noted a reduction in

labour' would be relatively meaningless unless every woman had been asked specifically about how each machine had altered time and energy expenditures.

The ordering of the issues which appear here has been patterned in a more general manner in the sense that the issues which surfaced most often are usually noted first. Questions about washing machines and freezers were asked of all respondents and so, comments about these two machines occurred most frequently. Within the range of responses to these two questions, however, those which were given most often, are listed first.

2. Most of the comments such as those quoted below came in response to the question of how the respondents' work might vary from the work of urban women.
3. A very small minority of the farms in this study (7.5%) had hired help on a full-time basis. Many hire extra help for a few peak weeks of the year, but for the most part, farm families supply their own labour in the operation of the enterprise.
4. For these data, the distinction between 'doing' and 'helping with' a task has not been presented. When these tasks are performed it is almost always the case that women assume primary responsibility for the task and receive very little help from anyone else. In the very rare cases where women help with the task rather than do it, those numbers of women helping have been included in this table.
5. Because it is important, for these tasks, to determine not only the rate of women's participation in them, but also, the number of farms on which each task is still performed, the percentage of farms applicable for each task is included (i.e. the percentage of farms on which the task occurs). For the remainder of data presentation, this particular percentage calculation will not be included.
6. A decline in pasteurization of milk for family use has occurred for two specific reasons. First, the specialization of one half of farms covered by this study into beef farming has meant the 'phasing out' of dairy activities. Thus, only one of the beef farms still keeps dairy cows for production of milk for family use. On the remaining 29 beef farms, there is no milk produced. Second, on the dairy farms, rising standards around sanitation, imposed by the government on all dairy farmers, have significantly raised the quality of milk being produced. Thus, much of the need to pasteurize milk has been eliminated. For the two younger women who continue to perform this task, both stated that they do so because the milk is consumed by infants and the women wish to be more cautious of the quality of the milk for this reason.

7. This decline in home butchering does not necessarily mean that farm families do not use any of their own livestock for home consumption. For the majority of farm households, the decline represented here means that they have their own livestock custom-butchered. That is, they raise the livestock, but no longer process it themselves, but send it out to be butchered.
8. The task of marketing eggs has been included in this range of household production tasks. While it does not entail the production of goods for immediate use or consumption by family members, it is an activity typically relegated to women and in some cases, may bring in money which is utilized for the purchase of other consumer goods.
9. See the discussion of the term 'sharing' in the methods chapter, pages 105-106.
10. The woman in question here has fifteen children, some of the eldest of which have taken over the task of looking after the needs of the younger children. This has left her relatively free of most child care duties.
11. It is interesting that so many husbands, alone, assume the responsibility for disciplining children when it is women who spend the most time with children. One can seriously question whether the thirteen women who stated that disciplining children was their husbands' responsibility and not at all their own, never discipline their children in any way. On the other hand, these women may have interpreted the task of disciplining only in the most serious sense of reprimanding children for the 'worst' behavior, excluding the day to day disciplining that is normally necessitated in the caring for or minding of children. The reader must keep in mind that the data presented throughout this report represent the perception of the respondents as to the division of labour. Particularly in the case of disciplining children, this perception may not quite 'fit' the reality.
12. The reader may note that in the remainder of this discussion women are said to assume primary responsibility for work while men are said to share this responsibility. The decision to make this distinction is based on the following reasoning. 1) When women 'do' a task, that is, when women assume the primary responsibility for housework tasks, they most frequently do so, exclusive of aid from anyone. Thus when women take on the major duty for housework, they, for the most part, do so alone. It is true that some women receive help from others for specific tasks, but rarely do these others share in the overall responsibility for planning, initiating, and completing the activity. 2) On

the other hand, when men take on a central part of the responsibility for housework, they very rarely do so alone. Other than the two exceptions noted above (playing with children and disciplining children), when men are found to participate at the level of 'doing', they share that participation with their wives. Therefore, women more often tend to assume responsibility for a task while men most often share that responsibility with their spouse.

13. The reader should keep in mind that while the term 'age', as used here, does in fact imply a difference in age as the term is typically used, the distinguishing variable between the two sample groups of 'older' and 'younger' men (and women) in this study is length of time married.
14. The data from a similar analysis of the present performance of housework by 'older' versus 'younger' women will not be presented. The data indicated that, regardless of 'age', women assume the greatest proportion of responsibility for household labour. Two differences between these two sample groups did surface and need mention here.
 First, proportionately more younger than older women perform housework activities, exclusive of help from anyone. This difference is primarily due to the fact that the older women have children who are old enough to help with housework while the younger women do not. This difference holds only at the level of helping, for, regardless of the help received from anyone, almost all 60 women continue to assume the primary responsibility for all of the housework tasks. For further details on the participation of the older women's children in housework, see Tables No. 6 and No. 7 in Appendix C.
 Second, most of the child care tasks are performed in proportionately more of the 'younger households' than in 'older households'. This is clearly due to the presence of younger children in a greater proportion of the 'younger households'. Therefore, younger women do more of this type of work than older women. However, in the few 'older households' where there are young children, older women perform the tasks associated with child care in proportions equivalent to the younger women.
15. See footnote No. 5 for this chapter, above, for reasons why the decline in the performance of this task has occurred.
16. See the sub-section of this chapter on household production for more detail.
17. No attempt has been made in the following analyses to separate the data by part-time versus full-time employment. The sub-group of husbands whose wives work off the farm consists of only 15 cases. To further divide this group

by part-time and full-time employment would further reduce the total and make percentages nearly meaningless. A much larger sample group is needed to determine whether the part-/full-time dimension of women's paid employment influences husbands' participation in housework activities.

18. The sub-group of husbands whose wives are employed off the farm contains an over-representation of 'younger' men. The effects of women's employment status will not be separated out from those of the 'age' variable due to the problem of further dividing an already - small sample group. The reader should keep in mind, therefore, that there may be an influence of the 'age' variable in operation throughout the analysis by employment status which follows.
19. Whether housework is compressed or reduced when off farm work is assumed cannot be determined from the data in this study. See the discussion of the effects of the variable of farm size on women's housework for a further discussion of the 'juggling' of housework tasks which probably occurs as the demands of other work change.

CHAPTER IV

1. Cleaning the milking equipment, often a cream separator in the past, has only four women represented at the helping level. However, given that there were 38 farms on which the task was done, and that 34 women are represented as 'doing' the task, there are only 4 women left unaccounted for, and all four of these helped with the task. Thus, while four women represent 13% of the total of 28, they comprise 100% of the women who are left not represented at the 'doing' level. When viewing the proportions of persons noted here and in the following tables at the 'helping' level, the reader should also take note of the numbers of persons noted at the 'doing' level before drawing interpretations. A small number of 'helpers' may in fact represent a high proportion of those persons not previously listed as participating in the task at the 'doing' level.
2. See the discussion of the way in which field work tasks are divided for the purposes of this study into 'heavy' and 'light' categories in the methods chapter, p. 99.
3. Cleaning milking equipment means simply pushing a button on the majority of dairy farms that now have 'pipeline' milking systems. These systems sanitize and rinse themselves automatically. Similarly, milk cows were often turned out to graze in hay pastures in the past. Now, many farmers keep their dairy herds in the farm yard where

they are fed much higher nutrient feed by machines. The use of an automatic 'bale thrower' has reduced the need for a person to stay on the hay wagon and move the bales from the baler itself, onto the wagon. An attachment to the baler is now used by many farmers which catapults the bales from the baler directly onto the wagon, reducing the need for a person to 'load' the wagon. For these three tasks, at least, the decline in women's involvement may be partially the result of the substitution of machines for labour. On the farms where these newer methods are employed, there is no need for anyone, including women, to perform the task anymore.

4. This is particularly so for dairy farmers who own registered (purebred) cattle. Breeding, calving, and production records must all be kept accurately and up to date. The demands for such record keeping are much lower on beef farms and the table indicates that the task does not occur at all on 11 (55%) of the 20 beef farms included in these figures.
5. One woman who is represented in the three tasks of buying cattle, buying machinery and buying feed stated that she helps with these tasks by going to 'pick up' the purchases after the decision to make the acquisition has been made. This type of help is qualitatively different from first, deciding to buy, and second, deciding which or how much to purchase. The woman in question qualified her response by stating that she participates only rarely in these latter types of decisions.
6. The task of threshing has been omitted from this discussion. Four (11%) women used to do this task, and one younger woman now does the task. Threshing occurs on only three of the 20 'younger farms' now and the one woman who participates at the 'doing' level, therefore, represents 33% of the total. Given the very few farms on which the task continues to be done, the 33% figure is not very reliable and is therefore, omitted from the discussion.
7. As noted earlier, cleaning the milking equipment was performed at one or the other level of task performance ('doing' or 'helping') by all 40 older women in the past. When women were involved in this task, it was most often at the 'doing' level. That is, 36 (90%) women 'did' the task and only 4 (10%) women 'helped with' the task. Thus, while proportionately more younger women now help with the task than older women in the past, the reason for this difference is primarily due to the fact that when women were involved at all in the past, it was at the 'doing' level, leaving very few represented at the 'helping' level

for comparison here. The reader should therefore, take note that while the pattern appears to be reversed for this task, with younger women represented to a greater extent than the women in the past, that reversal is due only to the fact that the majority of older women were 'doing' rather than 'helping with' the task.

8. The task of driving tractor as it appears here is a general task in the sense that it covers those occasions where tractors are used in activities not otherwise covered by this study. For instance, when someone gets stuck while plowing, another person using another tractor is called upon to help. The operation of this second tractor cannot really be defined as plowing, but it is, of course, a task requiring the use of a tractor, nonetheless. There are several tasks such as this which require the operation of a tractor on a less than frequent or regular basis. Thus, the task of driving a tractor in general was added to the list of farm work activities to cover these occasions. It should be noted here that women are usually represented as 'helping with' this task at higher proportions than other field work tasks. This indicates that women may drive tractors on an infrequent and irregular basis rather than 'helping with' specific tasks such as plowing which also involves the use of a tractor, but on a more regular basis.
9. It should, again, be noted here that there are equal numbers of older and younger women within each farm size sample group. Thus, within the 30 small farms category, there are 20 older women and 10 younger women. The same division holds for the 30 large farms. It is assumed that the variation in farm work involvement by 'age', as outlined earlier, will be roughly cancelled out between the two sample divisions by farm size.
10. The analyses of the participation of women in farm work according to the type of farm on which they reside provided no significant patterns of difference. While some tasks are done by more women from dairy farms, others are done by more women from beef farms with no trend in the types of tasks being apparent. Because milking occurs on all dairy farms and only on a small minority of beef farms, the numbers of women from dairy farms represented as participating in milking and associated tasks are much higher. Proportionately however, there is little variation by farm type.

The decline in involvement of women in farm work holds along the dimensions of 'age', time frame, and farm size, regardless of the variable of farm type. The latter variable will, accordingly, be given no further attention.

CHAPTER V

1. There is an admitted danger in drawing conclusions about social phenomena on the basis of personal experience alone. However, when extensive personal experience is combined and congruent with theoretical postulations which are based on a corpus of contemporary and historical literature, and congruent with the quantitative data presented above, the resulting interpretations are likely to be more nearly accurate and/or representative of the reality. It is important to clarify both the nature of the comments chosen for inclusion here and the way in which these comments are to be used.

For the most part, the quotes drawn from the qualitative data collected in this research are very 'structuralist' in their orientation. While there were many comments from the respondents which were most purely 'experiential' in tone, the majority of those used below include a distinctive 'causal' component. That is, the women in this study did not simply talk about what their work is or simply how it has been transformed, but more important for the purposes here, they discussed their understanding of the structural reasons for those transformations. It is true that one can gain significant insights from these comments as to the nature of the experience of farm work and the perception of these women as to what the work means to them. But, the central goal in the use of these quotes is not simply to provide the reader with a sense of the actor's perception of her world. Rather, the aim is to illustrate that many of the respondents themselves conveyed a 'structuralist' perspective. That is, many of them suggested that the primary reason for the transformations in their own work and the work roles of other farm women with which they are familiar is that of industrialization in its various dimensions.

2. The reader will recall that to this point, the data on women's farm work activities have been divided by the degree or level of involvement represented by the terms 'doing' and 'helping'. It was consistently found that greater numbers of women (younger and older, past and present) participate(d) in farm work activities at the level of helping rather than doing. This is reflective of the fact that none of the women in this sample was the primary operator of her family farm. Also, while a minority of women do assume the primary responsibility for a few farm work activities, for the most part, women's role in farm work is most likely to be that of a 'helper'. This is true in the sense that they participate(d) in the tasks less frequently and/or are less responsible for the planning, initiation and completion of the total activity. This is not intended to minimize women's contribution to the operation

and success of their family farm enterprises. Rather, it is restated here to remind the reader of the distinction made earlier. The summary tables prepared for reference throughout this chapter, combine the numbers of women participating in each of the 38 tasks at both levels of 'doing' and 'helping'. Because the declining involvement of women in farm work is similar at each level, the maintenance of this distinction would merely serve to cloud the apparent trends to be discussed. This should not be viewed as new data, but rather, as a summary of that data presented in the preceding chapter. The reader should return to that earlier discussion if more detail is required.

3. For reference to the extent and range of women's involvement in farm work in the past, see Table No. 1 in Appendix E.
4. The reader will recall that the sample was divided by farm size with equal numbers of respondents from small and large family farms. The comments noted above and others like them which have not been included here, appeared in roughly equal numbers throughout the interviews regardless of farm size. It seems that the pressures noted by the women here concerning increasing production scale are experienced by most, if not all farm families. Three of the older women from small farms suggested that they had some regrets about having decided to remain small or having resisted the pressures to increase the size of their farms. However, even a few women on some of the largest farms in the study said that they felt their operation to still be smaller than they might wish. Thus, it appears that the pressures to expand farm size and modernize production techniques are experienced by most contemporary farm families.
5. This aspect of contemporary agricultural production is, of course, integrally linked to the two other aspects of industrialization - mechanization and increasing production scale. As farm work becomes more mechanized, a subsequent reduction in labour requirements results and as more machines, stock, and/or land are acquired, so too does capital investment increase. The substitution of capital for labour through the acquisition of machines is typical of modern farming techniques.
6. In fact, it is interesting that more women have not decreased their involvement in farm work because of age, given the extended age of many in this study. This finding is congruent with the Saskatchewan findings which report: "People are generally supposed to have earned retirement by age 60 or 65 but 15 per cent of farm women age 70 or older still work actively on the farm." (Saskatchewan Department of Labour, 1977: 4).

7. The numbers of women noted below do not add up to 22 because a few older women gave more than one reason for the decline in involvement in farm work.
8. See the discussion below on women's involvement in farm accounts.
9. See Summary Table No. 3 in Appendix E.
10. In response to the questions concerning anticipated changes in these women's work over the next five years, and the expected future of their own family farm, many of the 40 older women raised the issue of retirement. For some, that meant selling the farm to non-family persons, and for others, it meant turning the farm over to sons who wished to begin farming. Regardless of what the future plans were, however, most women expressed concern at the thought of retirement.
11. A rough indication of the extent to which this 'habit' of working applies, is reflected in the data from this study on vacation time. Of the 40 older women in this research, a full 25% have never had a single vacation in the twenty to forty years of their marriage. An additional 38% of these older women have taken only one or two vacations since their marriage. All of the 12 women who stated that they now make a point of taking an annual vacation stated that it has only been recently that this has begun to happen - since their children have been old enough to work the farm in their parents' absence.
12. This theme surfaced most frequently in response to the three questions of how the family divided up the work, how the farm woman's work compares to the work of urban women, and would the farm woman prefer a 9 to 5 job?
13. For references to these patterns in summary form, see Tables No. 2 and No. 3 in Appendix E.
14. The issue surfaced most often in response to the question of whether or not younger women are likely to do as much farm work as were women in the past.
15. Kohl (1976a) found a similar trend in her study of farming and kinship in Saskatchewan. She links this assignment of duties to the fact that women usually have higher educations and perhaps are therefore more able to do accounts. While this could be part of the reason here, there are no indicators of its applicability as no data were collected on education levels, nor did any of the respondents note this as the reason why they, themselves, do this work.

16. This pattern of increased participation in farms accounts tasks holds, for both older and younger women. See Summary Table No. 3 in Appendix E for more detail.
17. The author wishes to thank Wendy Weeks for raising this issue. See Weeks (1977) for a more detailed discussion.
18. This is not meant in any way to imply that the farm women in this study expressed concern over having this work relegated to them. Although there was no attempt made to tap this sort of sentiment, no indication of discontent surfaced in the qualitative data. However, like so much of the other work that women do, barriers to improving working conditions, and recognition are established by the very nature of the work itself.
19. See Marchak (1977) and Armstrong and Armstrong (1978: chapter 2) for more detail on the nature of women's white collar labour force participation.
20. For more detail, see the discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 66-69.
21. See Summary Tables No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3 in Appendix E.

APPENDIX A

Table 1 Percentage distribution of Working Women by
Leading Occupational Groups, Canada,¹
1901-1971

Occupational Group	1901 ⁴	1911	1921	1931	1941 ⁵	1951	1961	1971
Clerical	5.3	9.4	18.7	17.7	18.3	27.5	28.6	32.7
Personal Service	42.1	37.1	25.8	33.8	34.2	21.0	22.1	22.3
Professional	14.7	12.7	19.1	17.8	15.7	14.4	15.5	17.5
Commercial and Financial ⁶	2.4	6.8	8.5	8.3	8.8	10.5	10.2	8.3
Manufacturing and Mechanical ²	29.6	26.3	17.8	12.7	15.4	14.6	9.9	11.2
Other ³	6.0	7.8	10.1	9.6	7.7	11.9	13.6	7.7
Total ³	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1	99.9	99.9	99.9

¹Includes Newfoundland (1951 on), but not Yukon and Northwest Territories.

²Includes stationary enginemen and occupations associated with electric power production.

³Includes armed forces.

⁴Ten years of age and over in 1901; 15 years of age and over 1911-1971.

⁵Not including active service, 1941.

⁶Includes saleswomen.

Source: Ramkhalawansingh (1974: 280).

Table 2 Women as Percentage of All Workers in
Major Occupational Groups, Canada,¹
1901-1971

Occupational Group	1901 ²	1911	1921	1931	1941 ³	1951	1961	1971
Personal Service	71.7	66.8	68.7	69.5	72.8	64.1	66.4	60.1
Clerical	22.1	32.6	41.8	45.2	50.1	56.7	61.5	72.1
Professional ⁵	42.5	44.6	54.1	49.5	46.1	43.5	43.2	41.1
Commercial and Financial	10.4	19.1	23.0	23.1	29.4	35.2	36.7	38.9
Manufacturing and Mechanical	24.8	25.5	24.0	18.7	19.0	18.7	16.8	23.1
Agricultural	1.2	1.7	1.7	2.1	1.7	3.9	11.7	12.9
Propriety and Managerial	3.6	4.5	4.3	4.8	7.2	8.9	10.3	13.4
Transportation and Communication	1.4	3.5	8.4	6.5	5.3	8.2	7.9	15.2
All Occupations ⁴	13.3	13.2	15.4	17.0	19.9	22.0	27.3	33.3

¹Includes Newfoundland (1951 on), but not Yukon and Northwest Territories.

²Ten years of age and over, 1901; 15 years of age and over, 1911-1971.

³Not including active service, 1941.

⁴Includes armed forces.

⁵Includes teaching and nursing.

Source: Ramkhalawansingh (1974: 281).

Table 3 Canadian Population, Labour Force, and
Female Labour Force,
1881-1971

	Total population (thousands)	Labour Force	Female Labour Force	Women as % of Labour Force
1881	4,306.1	1,377,585		
1891	4,801.1	1,606,369	195,990	11.04
1901	5,318.7	1,782,832	237,949	13.3
1911	7,179.6	2,723,634	364,821	13.4
1921	8,775.8	3,164,348	489,058	15.5
1931	10,363.2	3,917,612	665,302	17.0
1941	11,489.7	4,195,591	832,840	18.5
1951	13,984.3	5,214,913	1,163,893	22.0
1961	18,200.6	6,342,289	1,760,450	27.3
1971	21,568.3	8,631,000	2,831,000	33.3

Source: Ramkhalawansingh (1974: 268).

Table 4 Marital Status of Women in
The Labour Force, Canada,
1931-1971

	Single	Married	Other
1931	80.7	10.0	9.2
1941	79.9	12.7	7.4
1951	62.1	30.0	7.9
1961	42.5	47.3	10.2
1966	38.8	52.1	9.2
1971	34.4	56.7	9.0

Source: Ramkhalawansingh (1974: 294).

Table 5 Farm Population
Number and Percent of Total Population,
Canada, Census Years 1931-1976

	Number	Percent of Total Population
	Thousands	%
1931	3,289	31.7
1941	3,152	27.4
1951	2,912	20.8
1956	2,746	17.7
1961	2,128	11.7
1966	1,960	9.8
1971	1,489	6.9
1976	1,057	4.6

Sources: 1) Agriculture Canada, 1976: 6; 1978: 3-4.
2) Andarawewa, 1970: 5.

Table 6 Farm Population
Number and Percent of Total Population, Ontario
Census Years 1941-1976

	Number	Percent of Total Population
	Thousands	%
1941	704.4	18.6
1951	702.8	15.3
1956	683.1	12.6
1961	524.5	8.4
1966	498.0	7.2
1971	391.7	5.1
1976	286.4	3.5

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 3.

Table 7 Farm Operators
Number, Canada, Census Years 1941-1976

No. of farm operators	
1941	673,800
1951	621,350
1961	480,903
1966	430,522
1971	366,128
1976	338,578

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 30.

Table 8 Number of Occupied Farms, Canada and Ontario,
Census Years 1941-1976

	Canada	Ontario
1941	732,858	178,204
1951	623,091	149,920
1956	575,015	140,602
1961	480,903	121,333
1966	430,522	109,887
1971	366,128	94,722
1976	338,578	88,801

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 5.

Table 9 Total Area in Occupied Farm Land
Canada and Ontario, Census Years 1941-1976 (Thousand Acres)

	Canada	Ontario
1941	173,563	22,388
1951	174,074	20,880
1956	173,924	19,880
1961	172,551	18,579
1966	174,125	17,826
1971	169,669	15,963
1976	169,087	15,473

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 7-8.

Table 10 Average Size of Farms, Ontario,
Census Years 1941-1976

	Acres Occupied Per Farm
1941	126
1951	139
1956	141
1961	153
1966	162
1971	168
1976	174

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 14.

Table 11 Average Size of Farms, Canada
Census Years 1941-1976

Acres Occupied Per Farm	
1941	237
1951	279
1956	302
1961	359
1966	404
1971	463
1976	499

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 27.

Table 12 Productivity
Number of Persons Supplied with Food and Fibre by Production
of one Farm Worker, Canada 1935-1972

Number of persons supplied	
1935-39	11
1940-44	13
1945-49	15
1950-54	19
1955-59	25
1960	29
1961	30
1962	31
1972	40

Source: Abell, 1968: 17; 1975: 68.

Table 13 Number of Selected Machines on Farms and The Percentage of Farms with Selected Machines, Ontario, 1951-1976, Defined as a Census Farm in the 1976 Census of Agriculture.*

	1951		1961		1966		1971		1976	
	mach- ines No.	farms with mach- ines %	mach- ines No.	farms with mach- ines %	mach- ines No.	farms with mach- ines %	mach- ines No.	farms with mach- ines %	mach- ines No.	farms with mach- ines %
automobile	80,902	76.3	87,557	96.8	84,744	99.5	80,901	106.9	86,380	112.2
motor truck	32,336	30.5	52,114	57.6	58,047	68.1	59,293	78.4	73,374	95.3
tractor	90,059	84.9	128,171	114.2	142,518	167.3	148,057	195.7	165,623	215.1
grain combine	9,314	8.8	20,795	22.9	23,967	28.1	23,787	31.4	23,787	30.9
swather	**	**	**	**	4,431	5.2	7,505	9.9	11,598	15.1
pick-up hay baler	**	**	26,371	29.2	35,728	41.9	36,089	47.7	37,481	48.7
forage crop harvester	**	**	8,653	9.6	11,278	13.2	12,768	16.9	15,674	20.4

*Calculations of the number of machines and the percentages of farms are all based on the 1976 definition of a Census Farm. Figures are, therefore, comparable over time.

**Data not available.

Source: Calculated from Agriculture Canada, 1978: 6, 72-73.

Table 14 Farm Tractor Sales, by Horsepower, Canada
1966-1976

Horsepower	1966	1968	1970	1972	1974	1976
9-34	1,184	802	553	567	954	844
35-39	7,165	5,674	4,367	3,420	3,300	1,268
40-49	2,913	2,347	1,336	2,161	1,703	3,000
50-59	4,768	4,098	3,675	4,301	6,309	5,078
60-79	5,880	3,851	2,824	3,948	4,957	5,589
80 and over	8,606	6,326	4,772	8,121	11,010	13,857
Total	30,516	23,098	17,536	22,518	28,233	29,636

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 75.

Table 15 Value* of Farm Implement Sales, Canada,
Selected Years, 1949-1976

Year	
	thousand dollars
1949	217,089
1956	170,767
1961	201,776
1966	416,914
1971	326,165
1974	713,696
1975	966,299
1976	1,134,086

*Values are at wholesale prices and exclude repair parts.

Source: Agriculture Canada, 1978: 74.

APPENDIX B

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

AGE: _____

KIND OF FARM: DAIRY () BEEF ()

SIZE OF FARM (acres): OWNED _____ RENTED _____ PARTNERSHIP _____

SIZE OF HERD: (head): _____

PRODUCTION (per year): DAIRY _____ LB/YEAR

BEEF _____ HEAD/YEAR

SIZE OF FARM HOUSE (rooms): _____

NUMBER OF CHILDREN: _____

AGES: _____	M ()	F ()	_____	M ()	F ()
_____	M ()	F ()	_____	M ()	F ()
_____	M ()	F ()	_____	M ()	F ()
_____	M ()	F ()	_____	M ()	F ()
_____	M ()	F ()	_____	M ()	F ()
_____	M ()	F ()	_____	M ()	F ()

Do you have any hired help? YES () NO ()

Are they for the FARM: _____ (No) HOUSE _____ (No)

Do they work PERMANENTLY: _____ PERMANENTLY: _____

TEMPORARILY: _____ TEMPORARILY: _____

SEASONALLY: _____ SEASONALLY: _____

Are there any persons, other than your husband, children and hired help who live or board in this house? YES () NO ()

EXPLAIN: _____

Do either you or your husband work off of the farm? YES () NO ()

HUSBAND: PERMANENT () WIFE: PERMANENT ()

TEMPORARY () TEMPORARY ()

SEASONAL () SEASONAL ()

How did you and your husband start farming?

PARTNERSHIP WITH PARENT ()

INHERITANCE ()

PURCHASE OF PARENT'S FARM ()

PURCHASE FROM OTHER ()

How long have you been married? _____(years)

Have you always lived on this farm since your marriage? YES ()

NO () EXPLAIN () _____

Were you raised on a FARM () IN TOWN () IN CITY ()

There are a number of questions I'd like to ask you about the first few years of your life as a farmer's wife. Try to think back on the first five years after you and your husband began farming here.....

Can you remember how many acres you first started with here?

OWNED _____ RENTED _____ PARTNERSHIP _____

What type of farm was it? BEEF () DAIRY () HOG () MIXED ()
OTHER _____

Can you give me an idea of what your annual production might have been in those first few years? _____

Did you have any children within the first five years of your marriage? No. _____

AGES	_____	M ()	F ()
	_____	M ()	F ()
	_____	M ()	F ()
	_____	M ()	F ()
	_____	M ()	F ()

Did you have any hired help at that point for either the

FARM _____ (No.) or the HOUSE _____ (No.)

Did any of these hired persons live with you in this house?

Were you, yourself, receiving any regular kind of help or assistance with your work from anyone (other than hired help, if any)? _____

Did you () and/or your husband () take regular days off?
YES () NO ()

If so, what would you usually do on a typical day off? _____

Did you () and/or husband () take regular vacation(s)?
YES () NO ()

If so, what would you usually do on a typical vacation? _____

If you can still be thinking about those first few years of farming here, can you tell me what you would usually do if you found yourself with some free time for example, what might you have done if you had an hour or so to spend and didn't have any other work that needed to be done right away? _____

Were you involved in any club or organized activities at that time? YES () NO ()

Housework

Who Does It	How Often	Who Helps	How Often
1 Wife	1 Always	1 Wife	1 Always
2 Husband	2 Usually	2 Husband	2 Usually
3 Children	3 Sometimes	3 Children	3 Sometimes
4 Hired Help	4 Rarely	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely
5 Other (sp)		5 Other (sp)	
6 Wife- Husband (share)			

- 1 Cook
- 2 Clean After Meals
- 3 Dishes
- 4 Shop - Food
- 5 Shop - Clothes
- 6 Bake
- 7 Pasteurize Milk
- 8 Wash
- 9 Iron
- 10 Sew
- 11 Mend
- 12 Vacuum
- 13 Scrub
- 14 Straighten
- 15 Can/Preserve
- 16 Feed Infant
- 17 Bath Infant
- 18 Mind Children
- 19 Play with Children
- 20 Read to Children
- 21 Help with Homework
- 22 Discipline
- 23 Child Tags - Adult

	Who Does It	How Often	Who Helps	How Often
Farm Work	1 Wife	1 Always	1 Wife	1 Always
	2 Husband	2 Usually	2 Husband	2 Usually
	3 Children	3 Sometimes	3 Children	3 Sometimes
	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely
	5 Other (sp)		5 Other (sp)	
	6 Wife- Husband (share)			
24	Get Cows from Pasture			
25	Milk			
26	Clean Milk Equipment			
27	Feed Stock			
28	Feed Calves			
29	Clean Stable			
30	Calving			
31	Breeding			
32	Innoculating			
33	Hay-Bale			
34	-Load-Unload			
35	-Work in Mow			
36	Harvest-Drive Tractor			
37	-Op. Harvester			
38	-Draw Wagons			
39	Combine			
40	Thresh			
41	Plow			
42	Cultivate			
43	Disc			
44	Harrow			
45	Seed			
46	Drive Tractor			
47	Fertilize			
48	Market Cattle			
49	Buy Cattle			
50	Buy Feed			
51	Buy Machinery			
52	Sell Surplus Feed			
53	Care of Other Livestk.			
54	Maintain Machinery			
55	Records - Herd			
56	Banking			
57	Salary			
58	Write Letters			
59	Phoning			
60	Records - Money			
61	Errands			

	Who Does It	How Often	Who Helps	How Often
	1 Wife	1 Always	1 Wife	1 Always
	2 Husband	2 Usually	2 Husband	2 Usually
	3 Children	3 Sometimes	3 Children	3 Sometimes
Other	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely
	5 Other (sp)		5 Other (sp)	
	5 Wife- Husband (share)			
62	Yard care			
63	Cutting/wrapping meat			
64	Care of hired help			
65	Poultry-feeding			
66	- gathering eggs			
67	- cleaning/grading eggs			
68	- marketing eggs			
69	Soil preparation			
70	Planting			
71	Watering			
72	Harvesting			
73	Preparation/Sale of produce			
74	Orchard Work			

We are done with the past now and I would like you to think about the present. Most of these questions are a lot like the ones we just talked about, but we are now concentrating on the present - what things are like today....

Do you () and/or your husband () make a point of taking regular days off now YES () NO () Sundays _____

If yes, what might you typically do on a day off? _____

Do you () and/or your husband () take a regular vacation?
YES () NO () If yes, what do you usually do on your vacation?

Can you tell me what kinds of activities you frequently do with your spare time - for instance, what might be some of the things you would do tomorrow if you had a free hour or so and there wasn't any other work that needed to be done right away?

Do you belong to any clubs or organizations? YES () NO ()

Can you tell me about the activities of these groups, and what kind of things you do as a member? _____

*If you would again look at that list of work tasks, I have another chart, like the last one, that I'd like you to help me fill out. Remember that we're talking about now, the present, and who usually does what work..... (fill in chart)

Does anyone usually or frequently help you with any of these chores? (who, how, which tasks, how often) _____

	Who Does It	How Often	Who Helps	How Often
Housework	1 Wife	1 Always	1 Wife	1 Always
	2 Husband	2 Usually	2 Husband	2 Usually
	3 Children	3 Sometimes	3 Children	3 Sometimes
	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely
	5 Other (sp)		5 Other (sp)	
	6 Wife-Husband (share)			
1 Cook				
2 Clean After Meals				
3 Dishes				
4 Shop - Food				
5 Shop - Clothes				
6 Bake				
7 Pasteurize Milk				
8 Wash				
9 Iron				
10 Sew				
11 Mend				
12 Vacuum				
13 Scrub				
14 Straighten				
15 Can/Preserve				
16 Feed Infant				
17 Bath Infant				
18 Mind Children				
19 Play with Children				
20 Read to Children				
21 Help with Homework				
22 Discipline				
23 Child Tags - Adult				

	Who Does It	How Often	Who Helps	How Often
	1 Wife	1 Always	1. Wife	1 Always
	2 Husband	2 Usually	2. Husband	2 Usually
	3 Children	3 Sometimes	3 Children	3 Sometime
Farm work	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely
	5 Other (sp)		5 Other (sp)	
	6 Wife-			
	Husband			
	(share)			
24	Get Cows from Pasture			
25	Milk			
26	Clean Milk Equipment			
27	Feed Stock			
28	Feed Calves			
29	Clean Stable			
30	Calving			
31	Breeding			
32	Innoculating			
33	Hay-Bale			
34	-Load-Unload			
35	-Work in Mow			
36	Harvest-Drive Tractor			
37	-Op. Harvester			
38	-Draw Wagons			
39	Combine			
40	Thresh			
41	Plow			
42	Cultivate			
43	Disc			
44	Harrow			
45	Seed			
46	Drive Tractor			
47	Fertilize			
48	Market Cattle			
49	Buy Cattle			
50	Buy Feed			
51	Buy Machinery			
52	Sell Surplus Feed			
53	Care of Other Livestk.			
54	Maintain Machinery			
55	Records - Herd			
56	Banking			
57	Salary			
58	Write Letters			
59	Phoning			
60	Records - Money			
61	Errands			

	Who Does It	How Often	Who Helps	How Often
Other	1 Wife	1 Always	1 Wife	1 Always
	2 Husband	2 Usually	2 Husband	2 Usually
	3 Children	3 Sometimes	3 Children	3 Sometimes
	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely	4 Hired Help	4 Rarely
	5 Wife- Husband (share		5 Other (sp)	

- 62 Yard care
- 63 Cutting/wrapping meat
- 64 Care of hired help
- 65 Poultry-feeding
- 66 - gathering eggs
- 67 - cleaning/grading eggs
- 68 - marketing eggs
- 69 Soil preparation
- 70 Planting
- 71 Watering
- 72 Harvesting
- 73 Preparation/Sale of produce
- 74 Orchard Work

AS I SAID EARLIER, I'M INTERESTED IN HOW THINGS HAVE CHANGED FOR YOU IN YOUR TIME HERE.

First, let's just think about the farm work - outside - work that you, yourself have done here....

FARM WORK

- *D1 In comparison to the farm work that you did when you first started here, do you think you do more, less, or about the same amount of farm work now?
- *D2 Has the kind or type of farm work you do now changed at all from the farm work you did in your first few years here? (Are there some things you used to do that you don't do anymore?)
- *D3 Can you tell me why this change has occurred?

HOUSEWORK

LET'S THINK ABOUT THE HOUSEWORK THAT YOU HAVE DONE HERE THROUGHOUT THE YEARS:

- *E1 Do you think that you do more, less, or about the same amount of housework now as you did within those first five years here?
- *E2 Has the type or kind of housework that you do now changed from what you used to do here?
- *E3 Can you tell me why these changes have happened?
- *E4 Modern household equipment has changed housework in many ways. Can you tell me how your washing machine/freezer has changed the amount or kind of work you do?
- *E5 Would you say that you are spending about the same, more, or less time on housework compared to the time you spent on housework when you were first married?
- E6 As you know, farm work changes a lot from season to season in terms of what needs to be done and how hard a farmer needs to work to get everything done. Can you tell me how these seasonal changes affect your own work?....either in, or outside of the house....
- F1 Of all the work that you do here, both farm work and house work, which do you prefer? (housework or farm work?)
- F2 Each individual farm family divides up the work that needs to be done in a different way. Can you tell me how your family decides who should do what work?

- F3 How do you think the amount or kind of farm work that you, yourself, do, compares to other farm wives you know in this area?
- F4 If you had a chance to change your work around or a chance to change one of your days, would you do things differently? (Would you like to have more time for some things or are there some tasks you'd rather not have to do? Do you have enough time to do the work that needs doing?)
- F5 Most people think there is a big difference between life on the farm and life in the city or town. How do you think the work that you do here on the farm compares to the work than an 'average' city woman does?
- F6 Have you ever wished that your work day was a 9 to 5 day like many jobs in the city?
- F7 What do you think about the next five years here for you? Do you think that you will continue on pretty much the same as now? (Do you think you will be doing more or less farm work in the near future?)
- F8 What do you think the future holds for younger farm wives just starting out in farming? (Do you think they will do as much farm work as you have done in your life? ...As much farm work as farm women have done in the past?)
- F9 Do you think the changes that have been happening to farming in the last twenty or thirty years are likely to continue?
- F10 What do you think of the future of the family farm? (Is it likely to survive?)
- F11 In light of all these changes, what do you think about the future of your own family farm?
- F12 Is there anything else you can think of that I should know about the life of farm wives? Is there anything I have missed or anything you would like to add about your own life here?

Dear Mrs.

The purpose of this letter is to request your cooperation in a research project concerned with rural women. I am a graduate student working on a thesis for my Masters degree at McMaster University in Hamilton and my thesis is about farm women. I have chosen to conduct my research in Bruce County primarily because I am from this area myself, and I have spent a considerable amount of time working on farms, both as summer employment and as a full-time job. Farm life and the work of farm women is therefore not unknown to me and is of considerable personal interest.

While I will explain my project to you in greater detail if you wish to participate, the major theme of my work focuses on the farm work that rural women do. Many people have expressed concern about the 'disappearance of the family farm' as the nature of farming itself changes from family-run operations into business-like enterprises. However, few (if any) have been concerned about what these changes in farming might mean to the farmer's wife, and the work that she does. What I wish to determine in this research is whether or not farm wives continue to actively share in the operation and management of the family farm. To do this I will be talking with about seventy farm women in the county, each one chosen very carefully on the basis of her length of time as a farm wife and the size of farm on which she lives.

You are, of course, under no obligation to say yes to this request, but I might emphasise that your cooperation would be appreciated very much. Because there are certain restrictions on the way I have chosen you and the other women I am asking to speak with, the number of women in this county who meet all of the requirements is quite limited. Your participation is therefore very important to the success of my work.

Specifically what I am requesting is about two hours of your time in which I would like to talk with you about your experience as a farmer's wife. My major concern is the kind of farm work you may have done in the past and the kind of farm work you are doing now. There are no questions of a personal nature which you might understandably hesitate to answer and all information will be considered as highly confidential.

It is not necessary for you to tell me whether or not you can spare me this time at this point, but if you should wish any further information about this project or are interested in greater detail before you decide to participate, you can reach me at 367-2641 or c/o Box 905, Walkerton. I will be contacting you by phone in any event within the next two months to arrange a time for us to talk. I understand that your days are very busy and so we will find a time which best suits your own schedule.

In closing, let me emphasize once more that your cooperation would be very much appreciated, and I look forward to speaking with you.

Sincerely,

Linda Graff.

APPENDIX C

Table 2 Overview: Women Participate in Housework

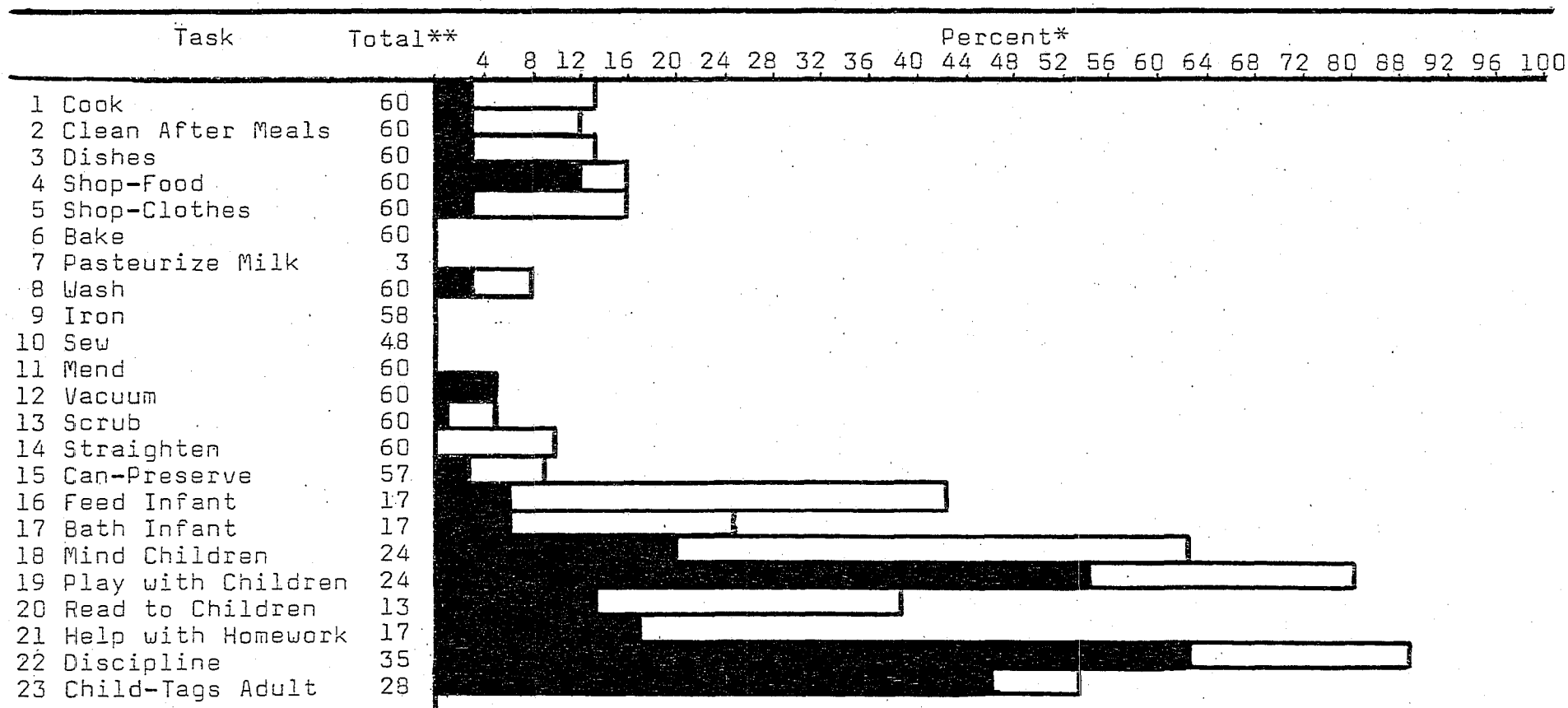
Task	Total*	Women 'Do' Task Exclusively		Women 'Share' Task With Other		Women Receive Help With Task		Women Help With Task		Women Do Not Participate In Task	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 Cook	60	31	52	3	5	26	43				
2 Clean After Meals	60	30	50	3	5	24	40	1	2		
3 Dishes	60	31	52	4	7	22	37	3	5		
4 Shop - Food	60	36	60	9	15	13	22			2***	3
5 Shop - Clothes	60	41	68	3	5	16	27				
6 Bake	60	44	73	3	5	13	22				
7 Pasteurize Milk	3	3	100								
8 Wash	60	50	83	1	2	8	13			1***	2
9 Iron	58	52	90	2	3	4	7				
10 Sew	48	40	83	1	2	4	8	2	4	1	2
11 Mend	60	56	93			4	7				
12 Vacuum	60	40	67	4	7	10	17	2	3	4	7
13 Scrub	60	47	98	3	5	8	13			2***	3
14 Straighten	60	39	65	5	8	16	27				
15 Can/Preserve	57	46	81	2	4	9	16	1	2		
16 Feed Infant	17	9	53	1	6	7	41				
17 Bath Infant	17	11	65	3	18	3	18				
18 Mind Children	24	5	21	6	25	12	50			1	4
19 Play with Children	24	3	13	12	50	7	29	2	8		
20 Read to Children	13	8	61	2	15	3	23				
21 Help with Homework	17	15	88	2	12						
22 Discipline	35	4	11	18	51	10	29	2	6	1	3
23 Child Tags - Adult	28	13	46	12	43	2	7			1	4

* 'Total' in this and all following tables represents the total number of farms on which each of the tasks is performed.

** Percentages are calculated on the basis of the total number of farms where each task is performed, rather than on the basis of the total number of respondents in the sample.

*** One woman in each of these cases is prevented from participation due to a physical disability.

Table 3 Percentage* of Husbands Who 'Share' or 'Help With' Housework



*Percentages are calculated on the basis of the number of farms on which each task occurs.

**'Total' Represents the number of farms on which each task occurs.

■ Husbands 'Share' Task □ Husbands 'Help With' Task

Table 4 Husbands 'Share' Housework - By 'Age'

Task	Older Husbands			Younger Husbands		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	40			20	2	10
2 Clean After Meals	40			20	2	10
3 Dishes	40			20	2	10
4 Shop - Food	40	2	5	20	5	25
5 Shop - Clothes	40	1	3	20		
6 Bake	40			20		
7 Pasteurize Milk	1			2		
8 Wash	40	1	3	20	1	5
9 Iron	40			18		
10 Sew	32			16		
11 Mend	40			20		
12 Vacuum	40			20		
13 Scrub	40	1	3	20		
14 Straighten	40			20		
15 Can/Preserve	40			17		
16 Feed Infant	-			17	1	6
17 Bath Infant	-			17	1	6
18 Mind Children	7	2	27	17	3	18
19 Play with Children	8	5	63	16	8	50
20 Read to Children	5			8	2	25
21 Help with Homework	15	2	13	2	1	50
22 Discipline	24	16	67	11	6	54
23 Child Tags - Adult	15	11	73	13	2	15

Table 5 Husbands 'Help With' Housework - By 'Age'

Task	Older Husbands			Younger Husbands		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	40	1	3	20	5	25
2 Clean After Meals	40			20	5	25
3 Dishes	40	1	3	20	5	25
4 Shop - Food	40	2	5	20	1	5
5 Shop - Clothes	40	4	10	20	4	20
6 Bake	40			20		
7 Pasteurize Milk	1			2		
8 Wash	40			20	2	10
9 Iron	40			18		
10 Sew	32			16		
11 Mend	40			20		
12 Vacuum	40			20	3	15
13 Scrub	40			20	2	10
14 Straighten	40	1	3	20	5	25
15 Can/Preserve	40			17	2	12
16 Feed Infant	-			17	6	35
17 Bath Infant	-			17	3	18
18 Mind Children	7			17	10	59
19 Play with Children	8			16	6	38
20 Read to Children	5			8	3	38
21 Help with Homework	15			2		
22 Discipline	24	4	17	11	5	46
23 Child Tags - Adult	15			13	2	15

Table 6 Children of Older Women 'Share' Housework

Task	Children of Older Women		
	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	40	1	3
2 Clean After Meals	40	4	10
3 Dishes	40	5	13
4 Shop - Food	40	3	8
5 Shop - Clothes	40	1	3
6 Bake	40	3	8
7 Pasteurize Milk	1		
8 Wash	40		
9 Iron	40	2	5
10 Sew	32	4	13
11 Mend	40		
12 Vacuum	40	10	25
13 Scrub	40	4	10
14 Straighten	40	5	13
15 Can/Preserve	40	2	5
16 Feed Infant			
17 Bath Infant			
18 Mind Children			
19 Play with Children			
20 Read to Children			
21 Help with Homework			
22 Discipline			
23 Child Tags - Adult			

Table 7 Children of Older Women 'Help With' Housework

Task	Children of Older Women		
	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	40	19	48
2 Clean After Meals	40	19	48
3 Dishes	40	16	40
4 Shop - Food	40	9	23
5 Shop - Clothes	40	9	23
6 Bake	40	11	28
7 Pasteurize Milk	1		
8 Wash	40	5	13
9 Iron	40	3	8
10 Sew	32	4	13
11 Mend	40	3	8
12 Vacuum	40	7	18
13 Scrub	40	4	10
14 Straighten	40	11	28
15 Can/Preserve	40	6	15
16 Feed Infant			
17 Bath Infant			
18 Mind Children			
19 Play with Children			
20 Read to Children			
21 Help with Homework			
22 Discipline			
23 Child Tags - Adult			

Table 8 Women 'Do' Housework - By Farm Size

Task	Women From Large Farms			Women From Small Farms		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	30	30	100	30	30	100
2 Clean After Meals	30	28	93	30	29	97
3 Dishes	30	28	93	30	29	97
4 Shop - Food	30	30	100	30	27	90
5 Shop - Clothes	30	30	100	30	30	100
6 Bake	30	30	100	30	30	100
7 Pasteurize Milk	-			3	3	100
8 Wash	30	30	100	30	29	97
9 Iron	29	29	100	29	29	100
10 Sew	27	25	93	21	20	95
11 Mend	30	30	100	30	30	100
12 Vacuum	30	26	87	30	28	93
13 Scrub	30	29	97	30	29	97
14 Straighten	30	30	100	30	29	97
15 Can/Preserve	27	27	100	30	29	97
16 Feed Infant	8	8	100	9	9	100
17 Bath Infant	8	8	100	9	9	100
18 Mind Children	11	10	91	13	13	100
19 Play with Children	11	10	91	13	12	92
20 Read to Children	9	9	100	4	4	100
21 Help with Homework	8	7	88	9	9	100
22 Discipline	18	17	94	17	15	88
23 Child Tags - Adult	15	14	93	13	13	100

Table 9 Historical Perspectives:
 Older Women 'Did' Housework (Past) -
 Younger Women 'Do' Housework (Present)

Task	Older Women (Past)			Younger Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	40	40	100	20	20	100
2 Clean After Meals	40	39	98	20	20	100
3 Dishes	40	39	98	20	20	100
4 Shop - Food	40	37	93	20	20	100
5 Shop - Clothes	40	40	100	20	20	100
6 Bake	39	39	100	20	20	100
7 Pasteurize Milk	10	10	100	2	2	100
8 Wash	40	40	100	20	20	100
9 Iron	40	40	100	18	18	100
10 Sew	36	36	100	16	16	100
11 Mend	40	40	100	20	20	100
12 Vacuum	39	39	100	20	20	100
13 Scrub	40	40	100	20	20	100
14 Straighten	40	40	100	20	20	100
15 Can/Preserve	40	40	100	17	17	94
16 Feed Infant	37	37	100	17	17	100
17 Bath Infant	37	37	100	17	17	100
18 Mind Children	38	38	100	17	17	100
19 Play with Children	37	36	97	16	15	94
20 Read to Children	35	33	94	8	8	100
21 Help with Homework	9	9	100	2	2	100
22 Discipline	38	36	95	11	11	100
23 Child Tags - Adult	38	33	87	13	13	100

Table 10 Historical Perspectives:
 Older Husbands 'Shared' Housework (Past) -
 Younger Husbands 'Share' Housework (Present)

Task	Older Husbands (Past)			Younger Husbands (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	40			20	2	10
2 Clean After Meals	40	1	3	20	2	10
3 Dishes	40	1	3	20	2	10
4 Shop - Food	40	5	13	20	5	25
5 Shop - Clothes	40	3	8	20	1	5
6 Bake	39			20		
7 Pasteurize Milk	10			2		
8 Wash	40			20	1	5
9 Iron	40			18		
10 Sew	36			16		
11 Mend	40			20		
12 Vacuum	39			20		
13 Scrub	40			20		
14 Straighten	40	1	3	20		
15 Can/Preserve	40			17		
16 Feed Infant	37	1	3	17	1	6
17 Bath Infant	37			17	3	18
18 Mind Children	38	3	8	17	3	18
19 Play with Children	37	9	24	16	8	50
20 Read to Children	35	2	6	8	2	25
21 Help with Homework	9	2	22	2	1	50
22 Discipline	38	23	61	11	6	55
23 Child Tags - Adult	38	18	47	13	2	15

Table 11 Historical Perspectives
 Older Husbands 'Helped With' Housework (Past) -
 Younger Husbands 'Help With' Housework (Present)

Task	Older Husbands (Past)			Younger Husbands (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	40	1	3	20	5	25
2 Clean After Meals	40			20	5	25
3 Dishes	40	1	3	20	5	25
4 Shop - Food	40	8	20	20	1	5
5 Shop - Clothes	40	11	28	20	4	20
6 Bake	39			20		
7 Pasteurize Milk	10			2		
8 Wash	40			20	2	10
9 Iron	40			18		
10 Sew	36			16		
11 Mend	40	1	3	20		
12 Vacuum	39	1	3	20	3	15
13 Scrub	40	1	3	20	2	10
14 Straighten	40	1	3	20	5	25
15 Can/Preserve	40			17	2	12
16 Feed Infant	37	6	16	17	6	35
17 Bath Infant	37	1	3	17	3	18
18 Mind Children	38	14	37	17	10	59
19 Play with Children	37	15	41	16	6	38
20 Read to Children	35	10	29	8	3	38
21 Help with Homework	9	3	33	2		
22 Discipline	38	8	21	11	5	46
23 Child Tags - Adult	38	4	11	13	2	15

Table 12 Husbands 'Share' Housework -
By Employment Status of Women

Task	Husbands of Employed* Women			Husbands of Non- Employed Women		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	15	2	13	45		
2 Clean After Meals	15	1	7	45	1	2
3 Dishes	15	1	7	45	1	2
4 Shop - Food	15	2	13	45	5	11
5 Shop - Clothes	15			45	2	4
6 Bake	15			45		
7 Pasteurize Milk	-			3		
8 Wash	15	1	7	45	1	2
9 Iron	15			43		
10 Sew	11			37		
11 Mend	15			45		
12 Vacuum	15			45		
13 Scrub	15			45	1	2
14 Straighten	15			45		
15 Can/Preserve	13			44		
16 Feed Infant	8	1	13	9		
17 Bath Infant	8	2	25	9	1	11
18 Mind Children	8	2	25	16	3	19
19 Play with Children	7	4	57	15	9	60
20 Read to Children	3	1	33	10	1	10
21 Help with Homework	3			14	3	21
22 Discipline	8	3	38	27	19	70
23 Child Tags - Adult	8	2	25	20	11	55

* A total of 15 women are employed in the off-farm paid labour force. Nine of these women hold full-time positions, six hold part-time positions.

Table 13 Husbands 'Help With' Housework -
By Employment Status of Women

Task	Husbands of Employed* Women			Husbands of Non- Employed Women		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
1 Cook	15	4	27	45	2	4
2 Clean After Meals	15	4	27	45	1	2
3 Dishes	15	2	13	45	4	9
4 Shop - Food	15	1	7	45	2	4
5 Shop - Clothes	15	3	20	45	5	11
6 Bake	15			45		
7 Pasteurize Milk	-			3		
8 Wash	15	2	13	45		
9 Iron	15			43		
10 Sew	11			37		
11 Mend	15			45		
12 Vacuum	15	3	20	45		
13 Scrub	15	1	7	45	1	2
14 Straighten	15	4	27	45	2	2
15 Can/Preserve	13	2	15	44		
16 Feed Infant	8	4	50	9	2	22
17 Bath Infant	8	3	38	9		
18 Mind Children	8	6	75	16	4	25
19 Play with Children	7	3	43	15	3	20
20 Read to Children	3	2	67	10	1	10
21 Help with Homework	3			14		
22 Discipline	8	4	50	27	5	19
23 Child Tags - Adult	8	1	13	20	1	5

* A total of 15 women are employed in the off-farm paid labour force. Nine of these women hold full-time positions, six hold part-time positions.

APPENDIX D

Table 1 Historical Perspectives:
Overview - Women Participated in Farm Work Tasks (Past)

Task	Total	Older Women: Past					
		Do Farm Work		Help With Farm Work		Participate: Do Plus Help	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	33	14	42	8	24	22	67
25 Milk	38	20	53	11	29	31	82
26 Clean Milk Equipment	38	34	90	4	13	38	100
27 Feed Stock	40	5	13	15	38	20	50
28 Feed Calves	39	16	41	16	41	32	82
29 Clean Stable	40	2	5	9	23	11	28
30 Calving	40	4	10	14	35	18	45
31 Breeding	40	3	8	4	10	7	18
32 Inoculating	39	2	5	7	18	9	23
33 Hay-Bale	40	10	25	11	28	21	53
34 -Load-Unload	40	10	25	16	40	26	65
35 -Work in Mow	40	3	8	8	20	11	28
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	40	5	13	12	30	17	43
37 -Op. Harvester	35	4	11	6	17	10	29
38 -Draw Wagons	40	3	8	10	25	13	33
39 Combine	12						
40 Thresh	38	4	11	6	16	10	26
41 Plow	40			5	13	5	13
42 Cultivate	40	1	3	12	30	13	33
43 Disc	40	1	3	13	33	14	35
44 Harrow	40	1	3	13	33	14	35
45 Seed	40	1	3	3	8	4	10
46 Drive Tractor	38	1	3	22	58	23	60
47 Fertilize	39	1	3	3	8	4	10
48 Market Cattle	39	1	3	6	15	7	18
49 Buy Cattle	39	1	3	5	13	6	15
50 Buy Feed	38	2	5	2	5	4	10
51 Buy Machinery	40	2	5	1	3	3	8
52 Sell Surplus Feed	12						
53 Care of Other Livestk.	40	7	18	7	18	14	35
54 Maintain Machinery	40	1	3	3	8	4	10
55 Records - Herd	24	11	46	3	13	14	58
56 Banking	39	5	13	4	10	9	23
57 Salary	33	5	15	1	3	6	18
58 Write Letters	40	22	55	2	5	24	60
59 Phoning	37	13	35	6	16	19	51
60 Records - Money	35	17	49	5	14	22	63
61 Errands	40	19	48	3	8	22	55

Table 2 Historical Perspectives: Change Over Time in
Older Women's Role in Farm Work - Older Women
'Did' (Past) - Older Women 'Do' (Present)

Task	Older Women (Past)			Older Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	33	14	42	19	3	16
25 Milk	38	20	53	23	8	35
26 Clean Milk Equipment	38	34	90	22	12	55
27 Feed Stock	40	5	13	40	2	5
28 Feed Calves	39	16	41	32	9	28
29 Clean Stable	40	2	5	40		
30 Calving	40	4	10	29	3	10
31 Breeding	40	3	8	34	2	6
32 Inoculating	39	2	5	40	3	8
33 Hay-Bale	40	10	25	40	3	8
34 -Load-Unload	40	10	25	40	4	10
35 -Work in Mow	40	3	8	39		
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	40	5	13	38		
37 -Op. Harvester	35	4	11	39	1	3
38 -Draw Wagons	40	3	8	40	1	3
39 Combine	12			33		
40 Thresh	38	4	11	5		
41 Plow	40			40		
42 Cultivate	40	1	3	40	1	3
43 Disc	40	1	3	40	1	3
44 Harrow	40	1	3	40	2	5
45 Seed	40	1	3	40		
46 Drive Tractor	38	1	3	40		
47 Fertilize	39	1	3	40	1	3
48 Market Cattle	39	1	3	40	2	5
49 Buy Cattle	39	1	3	40	1	3
50 Buy Feed	38	2	5	39	1	3
51 Buy Machinery	40	2	5	40		
52 Sell Surplus Feed	12			5		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	40	7	18	15	2	13
54 Maintain Machinery	40	1	3	40		
55 Records - Herd	24	11	46	29	17	59
56 Banking	39	5	13	40	17	43
57 Salary	33	5	15	36	16	44
58 Write Letters	40	22	55	40	27	68
59 Phoning	37	13	35	40	16	40
60 Records - Money	35	17	49	40	25	63
61 Errands	40	19	48	40	22	55

Table 3 Historical Perspectives: Change Over Time in Older Women's Role in Farm Work - Older Women 'Helped With' (Past) - Older Women 'Help With' (Present)

Task	Older Women (Past)			Older Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	33	8	24	19	1	5
25 Milk	38	11	29	23	6	26
26 Clean Milk Equipment	38	4	13	22	1	5
27 Feed Stock	40	15	38	40	10	25
28 Feed Calves	39	16	41	32	3	9
29 Clean Stable	40	9	23	40	2	5
30 Calving	40	14	35	29	7	24
31 Breeding	40	4	10	34	1	3
32 Innoculating	39	7	18	40	3	8
33 Hay-Bale	40	11	28	40	6	15
34 -Load-Unload	40	16	40	40	7	18
35 -Work in Mow	40	8	20	39	4	10
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	40	12	30	38	7	18
37 -Op. Harvester	35	6	17	39	2	5
38 -Draw Wagons	40	10	25	40	5	13
39 Combine	12			33		
40 Thresh	38	6	15	5		
41 Plow	40	5	13	40	1	3
42 Cultivate	40	12	30	40	8	20
43 Disc	40	13	33	40	7	18
44 Harrow	40	13	33	40	8	20
45 Seed	40	3	8	40	4	10
46 Drive Tractor	38	22	58	40	20	50
47 Fertilize	39	3	8	40	3	8
48 Market Cattle	39	6	15	40	4	10
49 Buy Cattle	39	5	13	40	6	15
50 Buy Feed	38	2	5	39	4	10
51 Buy Machinery	40	1	3	40	2	5
52 Sell Surplus Feed	12			5		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	40	7	13	15	5	33
54 Maintain Machinery	40	3	8	40	2	5
55 Records - Herd	24	3	13	29		
56 Banking	39	4	10	40	3	8
57 Salary	33	1	3	36		
58 Write Letters	40	2	5	40	4	10
59 Phoning	37	6	16	40	9	23
60 Records - Money	35	5	14	40	2	5
61 Errands	40	3	8	40	9	23

Table 4 Historical Perspectives: Change Over Time and Over Generations in Women's Role in Farm Work - Older Women 'Did' Farm Work (Past) - Younger Women 'Do' Farm Work (Present)

Task	Older Women (Past)			Younger Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	33	14	42	8	1	13
25 Milk	38	20	53	10	1	10
26 Clean Milk Equipment	38	34	90	10	4	40
27 Feed Stock	40	5	13	20	2	10
28 Feed Calves	39	16	41	10	1	10
29 Clean Stable	40	2	5	20	2	10
30 Calving	40	4	10	11	2	18
31 Breeding	40	3	8	20	3	15
32 Innoculating	39	2	5	20	1	5
33 Hay-Bale	40	10	25	20	2	10
34 -Load-Unload	40	10	25	20	3	15
35 -Work in Mow	40	3	8	20	1	5
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	40	5	13	20		
37 -Op. Harvester	35	4	11	20		
38 -Draw Wagons	40	3	8	20	1	5
39 Combine	12			18		
40 Thresh	38	4	11	3	1	33
41 Plow	40			20		
42 Cultivate	40	1	3	20		
43 Disc	40	1	3	19		
44 Harrow	40	1	3	20		
45 Seed	40	1	3	20	1	5
46 Drive Tractor	38	1	3	20		
47 Fertilize	39	1	3	20	1	5
48 Market Cattle	39	1	3	20	1	5
49 Buy Cattle	39	1	3	20	1	5
50 Buy Feed	38	2	5	20	2	10
51 Buy Machinery	40	2	5	20	1	5
52 Sell Surplus Feed	12			4		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	40	7	18	4		
54 Maintain Machinery	40	1	3	20		
55 Records - Herd	24	11	49	19	5	26
56 Banking	39	5	13	20	6	30
57 Salary	33	5	15	20	2	10
58 Write Letters	40	22	55	20	10	50
59 Phoning	37	13	35	20	5	25
60 Records - Money	35	17	49	20	6	30
61 Errands	40	19	48	20	10	50

Table 5 Historical Perspectives: Change Over Time and Over Generations in Women's Role in Farm Work - Older Women 'Helped With' Farm Work (Past) - Younger Women 'Help With' Farm Work (Present)

Task	Older Women (Past)			Younger Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	33	8	24	8	3	38
25 Milk	38	11	29	10	3	30
26 Clean Milk Equipment	38	4	13	10	2	20
27 Feed Stock	40	15	38	20	7	35
28 Feed Calves	39	16	41	10	4	40
29 Clean Stable	40	9	23	20	2	10
30 Calving	40	14	35	11	3	27
31 Breeding	40	4	10	20		
32 Innoculating	39	7	18	20	2	10
33 Hay-Bale	40	11	28	20	3	15
34 -Load-Unload	40	16	40	20	2	10
35 -Work in Mow	40	8	20	20		
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	40	12	30	20		
37 -Op. Harvester	35	6	17	20		
38 -Draw Wagons	40	10	25	20	1	5
39 Combine	12			18		
40 Thresh	38	6	16	3		
41 Plow	40	5	13	20		
42 Cultivate	40	12	30	20	2	10
43 Disc	40	13	33	19	1	5
44 Harrow	40	13	33	20	4	20
45 Seed	40	3	8	20		
46 Drive Tractor	38	22	58	20	11	55
47 Fertilize	39	3	8	20	1	5
48 Market Cattle	39	6	15	20	2	10
49 Buy Cattle	39	5	13	20	2	10
50 Buy Feed	38	2	5	20		
51 Buy Machinery	40	1	3	20		
52 Sell Surplus Feed	12			4		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	40	7	18	4	3	75
54 Maintain Machinery	40	3	8	20	1	5
55 Records - Herd	24	3	13	19	3	16
56 Banking	39	4	10	20		
57 Salary	33	1	3	20	1	5
58 Write Letters	40	2	5	20		
59 Phoning	37	6	16	20	6	30
60 Records - Money	35	5	14	20	4	20
61 Errands	40	3	8	20	4	20

Table 6 Women 'Do' Farm Work (Present) - By 'Age'

Task	Older Women			Younger Women		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	19	3	16	8	1	13
25 Milk	23	8	35	10	1	10
26 Clean Milk Equipment	22	12	54	10	4	40
27 Feed Stock	40	2	5	20	2	10
28 Feed Calves	32	9	28	10	1	10
29 Clean Stable	40			20	2	10
30 Calving	29	3	10	11	2	18
31 Breeding	34	2	6	20	3	15
32 Innoculating	40	3	8	20	1	5
33 Hay-Bale	40	3	8	20	2	10
34 -Load-Unload	40	4	10	20	3	15
35 -Work in Mow	39			20	1	5
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	38			20		
37 -Op. Harvester	39	1	3	20		
38 -Draw Wagons	40	1	3	20	1	5
39 Combine	33			18		
40 Thresh	5			3	1	33
41 Plow	40			20		
42 Cultivate	40	1	3	20		
43 Disc	40	1	3	19		
44 Harrow	40	2	5	20		
45 Seed	40			20	1	5
46 Drive Tractor	40			20		
47 Fertilize	40	1	3	20	1	5
48 Market Cattle	40	2	5	20	1	5
49 Buy Cattle	40	1	3	20	1	5
50 Buy Feed	39	1	3	20	2	10
51 Buy Machinery	40			20	1	5
52 Sell Surplus Feed	5			4		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	15	2	13	4		
54 Maintain Machinery	40			20		
55 Records - Herd	29	17	59	19	5	26
56 Banking	40	17	43	20	6	30
57 Salary	36	16	44	20	2	10
58 Write Letters	40	27	68	20	10	50
59 Phoning	40	16	40	20	5	25
60 Records - Money	40	25	63	20	6	30
61 Errands	40	22	55	20	10	50

Table 7 Women 'Help With' Farm Work (Present) - By 'Age'

Task	Older Women (Present)			Younger Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	19	1	5	8	3	38
25 Milk	23	6	26	10	3	30
26 Clean Milk Equipment	22	1	5	10	2	20
27 Feed Stock	40	10	25	20	7	35
28 Feed Calves	32	3	9	10	4	40
29 Clean Stable	40	2	5	20	2	10
30 Calving	29	7	24	11	3	27
31 Breeding	34	1	3	20		
32 Innoculating	40	3	8	20	2	10
33 Hay-Bale	40	6	15	20	3	15
34 -Load-Unload	40	7	18	20	2	10
35 -Work in Mow	39	4	10	20		
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	38	7	18	20		
37 -Op. Harvester	39	2	5	20		
38 -Draw Wagons	40	5	13	20	1	5
39 Combine	33			18		
40 Thresh	5			3		
41 Plow	40	1	3	20		
42 Cultivate	40	8	20	20	2	10
43 Disc	40	7	18	19	1	5
44 Harrow	40	8	20	20	4	20
45 Seed	40	4	10	20		
46 Drive Tractor	40	20	50	20	11	55
47 Fertilize	40	3	8	20	1	5
48 Market Cattle	40	4	10	20	2	10
49 Buy Cattle	40	6	15	20	2	10
50 Buy Feed	39	4	10	20		
51 Buy Machinery	40	2	5	20		
52 Sell Surplus Feed	5			4		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	15	5	33	4	3	75
54 Maintain Machinery	40	2	5	20	1	5
55 Records - Herd	29			19	3	16
56 Banking	40	3	8	20		
57 Salary	36			20	1	5
58 Write Letters	40	4	10	20		
59 Phoning	40	9	23	20	6	30
60 Records - Money	40	2	5	20	4	20
61 Errands	40	9	23	20	4	20

Table 8 Women 'Do' Farm Work (Present) - By Farm Size

Task	Women From Large Farms			Women From Small Farms		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	13			14	4	29
25 Milk	15	5	33	18	4	22
26 Clean Milk Equipment	15	7	47	17	9	53
27 Feed Stock	30	1	3	30	3	10
28 Feed Calves	21	4	19	21	6	29
29 Clean Stable	30	1	3	30	1	3
30 Calving	20	3	15	20	2	10
31 Breeding	25	1	4	29	4	14
32 Innoculating	30	1	3	30	3	10
33 Hay-Bale	30	1	3	30	4	13
34 -Load-Unload	30	2	7	30	5	17
35 -Work in Mow	30			29	1	3
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	30			28		
37 -Op. Harvester	30			29	1	3
38 -Draw Wagons	30	1	3	30	1	3
39 Combine	27			24		
40 Thresh	3			5	1	20
41 Plow	30			30		
42 Cultivate	30			30	1	3
43 Disc	29			30	1	3
44 Harrow	30			30	2	7
45 Seed	30			30	1	3
46 Drive Tractor	30			30		
47 Fertilize	30			30	2	7
48 Market Cattle	30	1	3	30	2	7
49 Buy Cattle	30			30	2	7
50 Buy Feed	30	1	3	29	2	7
51 Buy Machinery	30			30	1	3
52 Sell Surplus Feed	6			3		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	7	1	14	12	1	8
54 Maintain Machinery	30			30		
55 Records - Herd	24	10	42	24	12	50
56 Banking	30	12	40	30	11	37
57 Salary	28	11	39	28	7	25
58 Write Letters	30	14	47	30	23	78
59 Phoning	30	9	30	30	12	40
60 Records - Money	30	16	53	30	15	50
61 Errands	30	16	53	30	16	53

Table 9 Women 'Help With' Farm Work (Present) - By Farm Size

Task	Women From Large Farms			Women From Small Farms		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	13	2	15	14	2	14
25 Milk	15	5	33	18	4	22
26 Clean Milk Equipment	15	2	13	17	1	6
27 Feed Stock	30	3	10	30	14	47
28 Feed Calves	21	1	5	21	6	29
29 Clean Stable	30			30	4	13
30 Calving	20	4	20	20	6	30
31 Breeding	25			29	1	3
32 Innoculating	30	2	7	30	3	10
33 Hay-Bale	30	4	13	30	5	17
34 -Load-Unload	30	2	7	30	7	23
35 -Work in Mow	30			29	4	14
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	30	5	17	28	2	7
37 -Op. Harvester	30	1	3	29	1	3
38 -Draw Wagons	30	3	10	30	3	10
39 Combine	27			24		
40 Thresh	3			5		
41 Plow	30			30	1	3
42 Cultivate	30	6	20	30	4	13
43 Disc	29	4	14	30	4	13
44 Harrow	30	6	20	30	6	20
45 Seed	30	1	3	30	3	10
46 Drive Tractor	30	15	50	30	16	53
47 Fertilize	30	1	3	30	3	10
48 Market Cattle	30	2	7	30	4	13
49 Buy Cattle	30	4	13	30	4	13
50 Buy Feed	30	1	3	29	3	10
51 Buy Machinery	30			30	2	7
52 Sell Surplus Feed	6			3		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	7			12	8	67
54 Maintain Machinery	30	1	3	30	2	7
55 Records - Herd	24	2	8	24	1	5
56 Banking	30	2	7	30	1	3
57 Salary	28	1	4	28		
58 Write Letters	30	4	13	30		
59 Phoning	30	6	20	30	9	30
60 Records - Money	30	2	7	30	4	13
61 Errands	30	7	23	30	6	20

APPENDIX E

Summary Table 1

Combined Levels of 'Doing' PLUS 'Helping': Change
Over Time in Older Women's Farm Work Participation

Task	Older Women (Past)			Younger Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	33	22	67	19	4	21
25 Milk	38	31	82	23	14	61
26 Clean Milk Equipment	38	38	100	22	13	60
27 Feed Stock	40	20	50	40	12	30
28 Feed Calves	39	32	82	32	11	34
29 Clean Stable	40	11	28	40	2	5
30 Calving	40	18	45	29	10	35
31 Breeding	40	7	18	34	4	12
32 Innoculating	39	9	23	40	6	15
33 Hay-Bale	40	21	53	40	9	22
34 -Load-Unload	40	26	65	40	11	28
35 -Work in Mow	40	11	28	39	4	10
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	40	17	43	38	7	18
37 -Op. Harvester	35	10	29	39	3	8
38 -Draw Wagons	40	13	33	40	6	15
39 Combine	12			33		
40 Thresh	38	10	26	5		
41 Plow	40	5	13	40	1	3
42 Cultivate	40	13	33	40	9	23
43 Disc	40	14	35	40	8	20
44 Harrow	40	14	35	40	10	25
45 Seed	40	4	10	40	4	10
46 Drive Tractor	38	23	61	40	20	50
47 Fertilize	39	4	10	40	4	10
48 Market Cattle	39	7	18	40	6	15
49 Buy Cattle	39	6	15	40	7	18
50 Buy Feed	38	4	11	39	5	13
51 Buy Machinery	40	3	8	40	2	5
52 Sell Surplus Feed	12			5		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	40	14	35	15	7	47
54 Maintain Machinery	40	4	10	40	2	5
55 Records - Herd	24	14	58	29	17	59
56 Banking	39	9	24	40	20	50
57 Salary	33	6	18	36	16	44
58 Write Letters	40	24	60	40	31	78
59 Phoning	37	19	51	40	25	63
60 Records - Money	35	22	63	40	27	68
61 Errands	40	22	55	40	31	78

Summary Table 2

Combined Levels of 'Doing' PLUS 'Helping': Change Over
Time and Across Generations - Older Women (Past) -
Younger Women (Present)

Task	Older Women (Past)			Younger Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	33	22	67	8	4	50
25 Milk	38	31	82	10	4	40
26 Clean Milk Equipment	38	38	100	10	6	60
27 Feed Stock	40	20	50	20	9	45
28 Feed Calves	39	32	82	10	5	50
29 Clean Stable	40	11	28	20	4	20
30 Calving	40	18	45	11	4	36
31 Breeding	40	7	18	20	3	15
32 Innoculating	39	9	23	20	3	15
33 Hay-Bale	40	21	53	20	5	25
34 -Load-Unload	40	26	65	20	5	25
35 -Work in Mow	40	11	28	20	1	5
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	40	17	43	20		
37 -Op. Harvester	35	10	29	20		
38 -Draw Wagons	40	13	33	20	1	5
39 Combine	12			18		
40 Thresh	38	10	26	3	1	33
41 Plow	40	5	13	20		
42 Cultivate	40	13	33	20	2	10
43 Disc	40	14	35	19	1	5
44 Harrow	40	14	35	20	4	20
45 Seed	40	4	10	20	1	5
46 Drive Tractor	38	23	61	20	11	55
47 Fertilize	39	4	10	20	2	10
48 Market Cattle	39	7	18	20	3	18
49 Buy Cattle	39	6	15	20	3	15
50 Buy Feed	38	4	11	20	2	10
51 Buy Machinery	40	3	8	20	1	5
52 Sell Surplus Feed	12			4		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	40	14	35	4	3	75
54 Maintain Machinery	40	4	10	20	1	5
55 Records - Herd	24	14	58	19	8	42
56 Banking	29	9	24	20	6	30
57 Salary	33	6	18	20	3	15
58 Write Letters	40	24	60	20	10	50
59 Phoning	37	19	51	20	11	55
60 Records - Money	35	22	63	20	10	50
61 Errands	40	22	55	20	14	70

Combined Levels of 'Doing' PLUS 'Helping': The 'Experience Rationale' and the Variable of 'Age' in Women's Present Participation in Farm Work - Older Women (Present) - Younger Women (Present)

Task	Older Women (Present)			Younger Women (Present)		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	19	4	21	8	4	50
25 Milk	23	14	61	10	4	40
26 Clean Milk Equipment	22	13	59	10	6	60
27 Feed Stock	40	12	30	20	9	45
28 Feed Calves	32	12	38	10	5	50
29 Clean Stable	40	2	5	20	4	20
30 Calving	29	10	35	11	5	45
31 Breeding	34	3	9	20	3	15
32 Inoculating	40	6	15	20	3	15
33 Hay-Bale	40	9	23	20	5	25
34 -Load-Unload	40	11	28	20	5	25
35 -Work in Mow	39	4	10	20	1	5
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	38	7	18	20		
37 -Op. Harvester	39	3	8	20		
38 -Draw Wagons	40	6	15	20	2	10
39 Combine	33			18		
40 Thresh	5			3	1	33
41 Plow	40	1	3	20		
42 Cultivate	40	9	23	20	2	10
43 Disc	40	8	20	19	1	5
44 Harrow	40	10	25	20	4	20
45 Seed	40	4	10	20	1	5
46 Drive Tractor	40	20	50	20	11	55
47 Fertilize	40	4	10	20	2	10
48 Market Cattle	40	6	15	20	3	15
49 Buy Cattle	40	7	18	20	3	15
50 Buy Feed	39	5	13	20	2	10
51 Buy Machinery	40	2	5	20	1	5
52 Sell Surplus Feed	5			4		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	15	7	47	4	3	75
54 Maintain Machinery	40	2	5	20	1	5
55 Records - Herd	29	17	59	19	6	32
56 Banking	40	20	50	20	9	45
57 Salary	36	16	44	20	2	10
58 Write Letters	40	31	78	20	11	55
59 Phoning	40	25	63	20	11	55
60 Records - Money	40	27	68	20	10	50
61 Errands	40	31	78	20	14	70

Summary Table 4

Combined Levels of 'Doing' PLUS 'Helping': The Variable
 of Farm Size - Women from Large Farms (Present) -
 Women from Small Farms (Present)

Task	Women From Large Farms			Women From Small Farms		
	Total	No.	%	Total	No.	%
24 Get Cows from Pasture	13	2	15	14	6	43
25 Milk	15	10	67	18	8	44
26 Clean Milk Equipment	15	9	60	17	10	59
27 Feed Stock	30	4	13	30	17	57
28 Feed Calves	21	5	24	21	12	57
29 Clean Stable	30	1	3	30	5	17
30 Calving	20	7	35	20	8	40
31 Breeding	25	1	4	29	5	17
32 Inoculating	30	3	10	30	6	20
33 Hay-Bale	30	5	17	30	9	30
34 -Load-Unload	30	4	13	30	12	40
35 -Work in Mow	30			29	5	17
36 Harvest-Drive Tractor	30	5	17	28	2	7
37 -Op. Harvester	30	1	3	29	2	7
38 -Draw Wagons	30	4	13	30	4	13
39 Combine	27			24		
40 Thresh	3			5	1	20
41 Plow	30			30	1	3
42 Cultivate	30	6	20	30	5	17
43 Disc	29	4	14	30	5	17
44 Harrow	30	6	20	30	8	27
45 Seed	30	1	3	30	4	13
46 Drive Tractor	30	15	50	30	16	53
47 Fertilize	30	1	3	30	5	17
48 Market Cattle	30	3	10	30	6	20
49 Buy Cattle	30	4	13	30	6	20
50 Buy Feed	30	2	7	29	5	17
51 Buy Machinery	30			30	3	10
52 Sell Surplus Feed	6			3		
53 Care of Other Livestk.	7	1	14	12	9	75
54 Maintain Machinery	30	1	3	30	2	7
55 Records - Herd	24	12	50	24	13	54
56 Banking	30	14	47	30	13	43
57 Salary	28	13	46	28	7	25
58 Write Letters	30	18	60	30	23	77
59 Phoning	30	15	50	30	21	70
60 Records - Money	30	18	60	30	19	63
61 Errands	30	23	77	30	22	73

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